

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

A STUDY OF THE FLAXMERE EDUCATIONAL  
FUTURES PROJECT

A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfilment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
of Master of Arts  
In Geography

Massey University

Edgar Gray Wilson

August 1987

## ABSTRACT

The thesis offers an interpretation of the origins and nature of the community initiative, the Flaxmere Educational Futures Project, an example of local cooperation which occurred in Flaxmere, in 1985 and 1986.

The thesis discusses the development of Flaxmere as a suburb in terms of physical site, population pressure, housing development and demographic patterning. These matters are considered in relation to changing education and social service policy and the aspirations of local residents about education and social facilities. The suburb is viewed as a product of many decisions made by a variety of institutions and individuals over nearly 25 years. Significant influences that set the stage for the local turmoil within which the Flaxmere Educational Futures Project developed are documented and discussed.

The Project represented a relatively sophisticated political response to related but not always obvious local concerns of residents living in Flaxmere and the statutory body responsible for primary education in the suburb, the Hawke's Bay Education Board. The thesis does not attempt to discuss in detail procedures relating to the community survey which was a central part of the Project but only presents results of importance to each interest group. The study identifies the complex set of background influences which carried the residents of the suburb towards a situation where local cooperation was a distinct possibility, and shows that once an arrangement for cooperation for the development of the Flaxmere Educational Futures Project had been achieved, many different groups were able to effectively participate in information gathering and in the preparation of a clear statement of local difficulties, concerns and aspirations regarding education and service provision in Flaxmere.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank those members of the Hawke's Bay Education Board, Flaxmere Community Network, Hastings City Council Planning Division, Flaxmere Educational Futures Project team, Hawke's Bay Herald-Tribune, Hastings High Schools Board and Napier City Planning Division who have supplied information for this study. In particular I would like to thank Mr Charlie Bell (General Manager) and June Harris, both of the Hawke's Bay Education Board, Mark Clews (Hastings City Planner), Margaret Makirere and Christine Teariki (Flaxmere Community Network), Clare Wooding (Flaxmere Educational Futures Project member), James Morgan (Editor: Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune), Neil Taylor (Napier City Planner) and Mr B.A. Krebs (Hastings High Schools Board) for the time spent in providing information given for this thesis.

I would also like to thank Greer Robertson-Brown for assistance in finding background information and to Karen Puklowski for the cartographic work. I am grateful to Dale Rosvall for the typing of this thesis.

I am very appreciative of the support and guidance given by my supervisor Dr Richard Le Heron. Thank you Richard.

Finally I would like to acknowledge the support of my wife. Thank you Raewyn for helping research, for the encouragement and for your patience in the time it has taken to complete this work.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iv
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
LIST OF TABLES	vii
CHAPTER 1 THE THESIS	1
CHAPTER 2 URBANISATION, INDUSTRIALISATION AND URBAN ENCROACHMENT	7
Steady rate of population growth and increasing urban concentration	7
Selected aspects of change in the distribution of the Maori population	10
Hawke's Bay	14
Population relocation	16
Industrialisation	16
Concerns arising from population expansion in major urban areas	22
The Hastings experience	26
CHAPTER 3 SUBURBANISATION AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE	28
Origins of suburbanisation	28
Bases of housing supply in New Zealand	29
Institutional constraints on rate and direction of urban expansion	35
Developers	35
Local politicians	37
Planners and the regulation of urban land development	38
Flaxmere: a suburb differentiated from other Hastings suburbs	47
CHAPTER 4 STATE INTERVENTION IN EDUCATION AND WELFARE	51
CEIS programme development	52
Major social problems in Flaxmere	53
Response to social problems	55
Local departments	61
Role of the interdepartmental committee	61
Making the Flaxmere community network work	62

CHAPTER 5	CHANGING EDUCATION IN THE CONTEXT OF DECLINING SCHOOL ROLLS	64
	Pre-schooling, its growth and philosophies	64
	Public system education	65
	Private schools	70
	Maori education	71
	Population: a changing pattern of demand	73
	Changing New Zealand scene	79
	New directions in education	82
	Whanau House	83
	Activity centres	84
	Rudolf Steiner schools	84
	Flaxmere	86
CHAPTER 6	FLAXMERE EDUCATIONAL FUTURES PROJECT	94
	Response to social problems	95
	The Whanau Question	95
	The Family Centre	100
	Parental Involvement	101
	Flaxmere Community Network	102
	HASTINGS CITY COUNCIL POLICY. Cross Leasing	104
	Plans for more expansion	106
	Education provision for Flaxmere	116
	Community Survey	118
	Flaxmere households	120
	Education facilities	120
	Educational preferences and needs	120
	Growth of Flaxmere and school roll changes	121
	POST SURVEY REACTION. Primary school	122
	Secondary school	123
	Wider reaction	123
CHAPTER 7	ASSESSMENT	125
	Assessment of Flaxmere community initiative: survey results	128
	Assessment of the Flaxmere community initiative: Process	131
	Community initiatives in New Zealand : Insights from Flaxmere	133
	Flaxmere development as part of post-1945 industrialisation	134
POSTSCRIPT		134
REFERENCES		136

## LIST OF FIGURES

1.1	Location map - Flaxmere	4
2.1	Age groups of total population and population 1966	12
2.2	Total employment shifts in the growth of non-agricultural employment. 1953-1968	18
2.3	Changing composition of employment	19
3.1	Two components of population change	40
3.2	Population and household totals	42
5.1	Significant reviews and changes in education policy	69
5.2	Enrolments. Actual 1945-1985. Projected 1986-1996	76
5.3	Summary of developments in Hawke's Bay Education Board	88
5.4	Age groups of the population of Flaxmere	93
6.1	Hawke's Bay Herald-Tribune comments	98
6.2	Potential areas for the expansion of Hastings City	108
6.3	Past and projected population of Hastings 1878-2006	110
6.4	Age groups of New Zealand's and Hastings' population	112
6.5	Anticipated development and expansion of the suburb of Flaxmere until 1989	115

## LIST OF TABLES

2.1	Urban area population and percentage increase over five year intervals	8
2.2	Urban area population and percentage increase over five year intervals - Maori population	13
2.3	Comparative population growth over five year intervals. Hawke's Bay - New Zealand	15
3.1	The amounts and percentage of total housing loan approvals from various institutions	31
3.2	Non-Government new housing mortgages	33
3.3	Sales in thirty-eight urban areas	36
3.4	Household types	44
3.5	Comparison of household size and house size	46
3.6	Urban area population and household numbers. 1971-1981	48
4.1	Grants made by the Flaxmere Community Network	58-60
5.1	Number of educational institutions	66
5.2	Roll numbers of full-year students at educational institutions at 1 July	75
5.3	Changes in the number of new educational institutions	78
5.4	Teaching positions at all educational institutions	80
5.5	New Zealand population 15 years and over by total income (including social welfare income)	81
5.6	Changes in the rolls of primary schools in Hastings urban	89
5.7	Numbers of pre-school, primary and intermediate institutions with roll numbers of primary and intermediate institutions in New Zealand	91
5.8	Number of dwelling units for which permits were issued 1975-1986	92

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE THESIS

Between September 1985 and March 1986 the community of Flaxmere collaborated in the Flaxmere Educational Futures Project. The Project was unusual in a number of respects. Local residents participated in the design of the questionnaire which formed a central part of the Project, made up the interview team and provided objectives in the political sense. Expertise from the Department of Geography, Massey University was sought by both the local community and the Hawke's Bay Education Board.

The Project represented a relatively sophisticated political response to related but not always obvious local concerns of residents living in Flaxmere and the statutory body responsible for primary education in the suburb, the Hawke's Bay Education Board. Disagreements between Maori and Pakeha groups were submerged in an attempt to generate information which would be used by the community at large and by each interest group.

The results of the survey were used by the Hawke's Bay Education Board and the Flaxmere Community Network to resolve the issue of establishing a fourth primary school. The Board principally wanted demographic details of primary and intermediate aged children and younger to provide a basis for predicting future numbers attending Flaxmere schools. The Flaxmere Community Network was more concerned with survey information that pertained to the management of a fourth primary school in a different manner to the other primary schools in Flaxmere. The Network sought to widen the scope of education provision by acquiring information that would identify needs and substantiate claims for

different forms of educational services. The information gathered from the survey allowed the Network to apply pressure on the Hastings High Schools Board to reconsider the establishment of a high school in Flaxmere.

As a member of the original research team the writer was involved in a consultative role in the project. Rather than making the Project the focus of the thesis the intention is to highlight the background influences which resulted in an unique combination of local cooperation which occurred in 1985. Detailed discussion of method relating to the survey is not introduced in the thesis, only results of importance are presented and discussed.

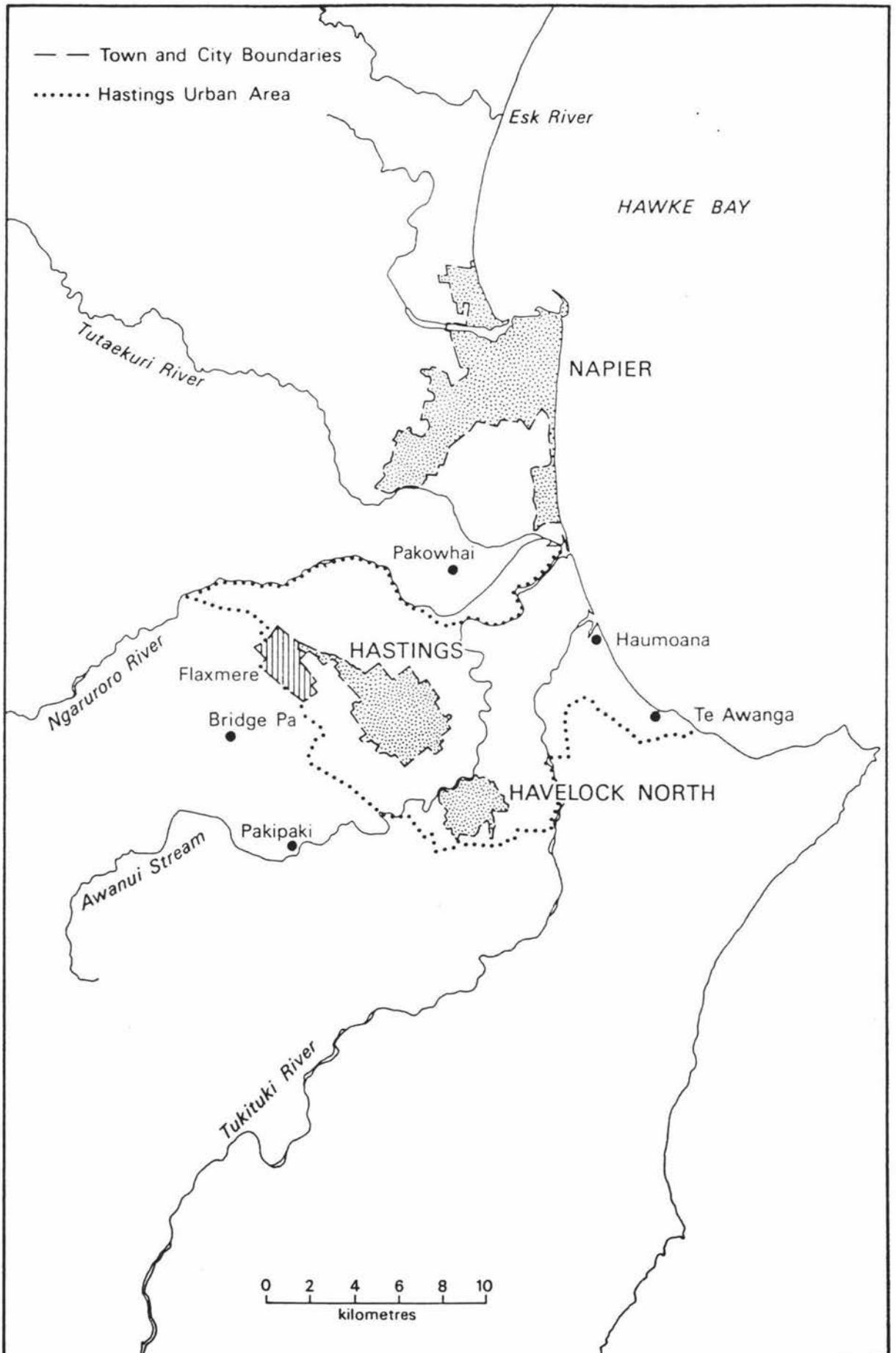
The approach taken in the thesis is to examine the origins of Flaxmere (Figure 1.1) as a suburb in terms of physical site, population pressure, housing development and demographic patterning. These matters are considered in relation to changing education and social services policy and the aspirations of local residents about education and social facilities. The approach emphasises historical geography of the suburb as a product of many decisions made by a variety of institutions and individuals over nearly 25 years. The aim of this thesis is to document and discuss the significant influences that set the stage for the local turmoil within which the Flaxmere Educational Futures Project was spawned.

The thesis begins in Chapter Two with a review of post-1945 patterns of industrialisation and urbanisation because these developments resulted

in a concentration of urban population growth in Napier and Hastings and this development necessitated action by planners to identify new sites for urban growth. Chapter 3 discusses suburbanisation and demographic change looking particularly at the general framework within which particular suburban development took place. Detail is presented about the formation of Flaxmere as a suburb and this covers the institutional constraints of local authorities which largely determined the direction and form the expansion might take. Chapter 4 takes up the way in which the State has intervened in this period in education and welfare and identifies the creation of the Community Education Initiatives Scheme (CEIS) in the early 1980s. This Central Government move was one which directly influenced the Flaxmere community. The next chapter proceeds to discuss the evolution of education policy at a time when school rolls were starting to decline. Information is provided which shows how these twin influences were worked out in Hastings and in Flaxmere. Chapter 6 focuses on the politics of education services in the suburb and indicates why and what ways the variety of groups with claims and grievances entered into a cooperative venture to try to resolve several specific issues and to provide a platform for further, largely independent, action.

A number of different sources were used in compiling relevant information in each chapter. Chapter 2 draws heavily on census information about population and economic activity and refers to planning legislation covering urban encroachment. Chapter 3 looks at information in a number of Housing Commission reports. This enables a simplified

FIGURE 1.1



LOCATION MAP



statement to be made about the main channels about which housing is provided in New Zealand. This is supplemented by local information provided by the Hastings City Council.

Chapter 4 in contrast is largely based on newspaper and government reports connected with the operation and evaluation of CEIS. The focus in Chapter 5 is such that official documentation from the Department of Education (Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand, E1) is used to summarise developments in education policy. Detailed records of the Hawke's Bay Education Board housed in Napier are used to summarise regional education policy.

The discussion found in Chapter 6 principally springs from a search of newspaper and newspaper office records dealing with the variety of 'problems' associated with Flaxmere. This source is especially helpful in establishing the spokespeople of particular views and gives a basis for comparing popular reported views with those identified in the community survey. The report on the Network forms the other important source in this chapter.

It is hoped this study identifies the complex set of background influences which carried residents of the suburb towards a situation where effective local cooperation was a distinct possibility. In the end the setting up of the Flaxmere Educational Futures Project was a relatively chancy affair, there being no particular compulsion for the joint approach amongst the Hawke's Bay Education Board, the Department of Geography, Massey University and the Flaxmere Community Network to take

place. However, once an arrangement for cooperation had been made many different groups were able to effectively participate in information collection and in the preparation of a clear statement of local difficulties, concerns and aspirations regarding education and service provision in the suburb.

## CHAPTER TWO

### URBANISATION, INDUSTRIALISATION AND URBAN ENCROACHMENT

This chapter provides an overview of the changing location patterns of populations in New Zealand. Five themes are explored: growing concentration of population in urban centres; changing distribution of Maori and non-Maori population; pattern of economic growth experienced in New Zealand, especially in manufacturing expansion; and institutional constraints to the physical expansion of the growing urban centres.

The extent to which Hastings shared in these trends is established. This information reveals the situation that prevailed in the Heretaunga Plains in the mid 1960s. It is argued that these trends formed important constraints upon investors, planners, local and central government officials and the public during the period when Flaxmere was proposed and formally planned as a new suburb of Hastings.

#### Steady rate of population growth and increasing urban concentration

After 1945 New Zealand followed the pattern of demographic change common to many countries in the world. That is, population increases of about two per cent a year were recorded but with the population of most urban areas increasing at a much greater rate, with some of the smaller towns and rural areas losing population. In larger cities the reduced population in the city centre itself resulted in even higher rates of expansion in the outer suburban areas. Table 2.1 shows the population size and increase rate of urban areas defined in Census terms as Urban Areas, Town Districts and County Towns with populations 1000 or over (Department of Statistics, 1966, 16).

TABLE 2.1

## URBAN AREA POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE INCREASE OVER FIVE YEAR INTERVALS

Urban Area	1945		1951		1956		1961		1966	
	Number	Per cent change	Number	Per cent change	Number	Per cent change	Number	Per cent change	Number	Per cent change
Whangarei	12248	24.1	15431	26.0	18369	19.0	21790	18.6	29503	35.4
Auckland	286767	26.7	329123	14.8	381063	15.8	448365	17.7	548293	22.4
Hamilton	27319	35.9	33137	21.3	40646	22.7	50505	24.3	63303	25.3
Tauranga	8342	43.6	13010	56.0	18724	43.9	24659	31.7	31606	28.2
Rotorua	10417	17.1	14693	41.0	19004	29.3	25068	31.9	33229	32.6
Gisborne	16995	7.0	19774	16.4	22622	14.4	25065	10.8	27804	10.9
Napier	20741	8.2	24538	18.3	27502	12.1	32716	18.9	38309	17.1
Hastings	20307	13.3	23797	17.2	27787	16.8	32490	16.9	37446	15.3
New Plymouth	21057	13.2	24923	18.4	28292	13.5	32390	14.5	35280	8.9
Wanganui	26262	2.0	29717	13.2	32100	8.0	35694	11.2	38174	6.9
Palmerston North	27820	14.1	32908	18.3	37775	14.8	43185	14.3	49140	13.8
Hutt	55786	49.6	74878	34.2	86053	14.9	98988	15.0	114628	15.8
Wellington	132305	8.4	133414	0.8	138297	3.7	150544	8.9	167859	11.5
Nelson	16523	22.5	20497	24.1	22503	9.8	25321	12.5	27615	9.1
Christchurch	151068	13.1	174221	15.3	193367	11.0	220510	14.0	247248	12.1
Timaru	19672	4.8	22851	16.2	24694	8.1	26424	7.0	27946	5.8
Dunedin	85607	2.3	95457	9.0	99370	4.1	105003	5.7	108734	3.6
Invercargill	27755	7.1	31613	13.9	35107	11.1	41088	17.0	46016	12.0

(Source: Department of Statistics, 1966, 16)

By the early 1950s a trend for the continued and accelerated population movement from rural to urban towns and cities was noticeable. The 1966 Census showed 62.5 per cent of New Zealand's total population dwelling in the 18 major urban areas. This compared with 59.6 per cent in the 1961 Census, 57.85 per cent in 1956, 57.65 per cent in 1951 and 56.92 per cent in the 1945 Census (Department of Statistics, 1966).

Explanation for this population movement is partly sustained by the departure from rural areas for economic and social reasons, migration flows and the urbanisation of the Maori. By the 1966 Census 49.5 per cent of the Maori population lived in cities and boroughs. This compared with only 9 per cent in 1945 (Department of Statistics, 1966). Rowland suggests two factors were responsible for the urbanisation process: first the volume of rural-urban migration and second, the movement of young people lowered the natural growth potential of rural areas while heightening that of urban areas (Rowland, 1971, 21).

Designated Urban Areas as a whole, grew more rapidly than the country in total. Between 1945 and 1966 the Urban Area population increased by 72.6 per cent whereas the total New Zealand population increased by only 55.1 per cent. In 1945 the percent of population in Major Urban Areas was approximately 55 per cent. This percentage continued to increase with the population dwelling in the Major Urban Areas in the 1966 Census totalling 62.5 per cent of total population. Between 1961 and 1966 the population of Major Urban Areas grew on average by 16.1 per cent.

### Selected aspects of change in the distribution of the Maori population

The Maori population between 1945 and 1951 grew at 2.9 per cent per year and between 1956 and 1966 the population increased at an even higher rate of 4.0 per cent. This factor was largely caused by high birth rate and low death rate - the level of which was weighted by the youthfulness of the Maori population. The increase in population growth rate occurred "at a time when there (were) increasing proportions of females married at the young reproductive age group" (O'Neill, 1979, 125).

In 1961 the natural increase of the Maori population was 38.1 per thousand which was more than double the non-Maori figure of 16.5 per thousand. The difference is largely accounted for by the Maori birth rate of 46.4 per thousand which was considerably greater than the non-Maori figure of 25.5. It is important to note that the low Maori death rate related to a very young Maori population compared with a much older non-Maori population. The average age of the Maori population in 1966 was 20.3 years for males and 20.1 years for females, slightly lower than the 1961 figures of 20.7 for males and 20.2 for females. A comparison with the total population shows the youthfulness of the Maoris. In 1961 the average age of non-Maoris was 30.6 years for males and 32.0 years for females. In 1961, 58.4 per cent of the total Maori population was under 20 years of age, compared with 57.5 per cent in 1956. For the total New Zealand population the figure was only 40.8 per cent.

The non-Maori distribution by 1960 of two persons in the urban areas

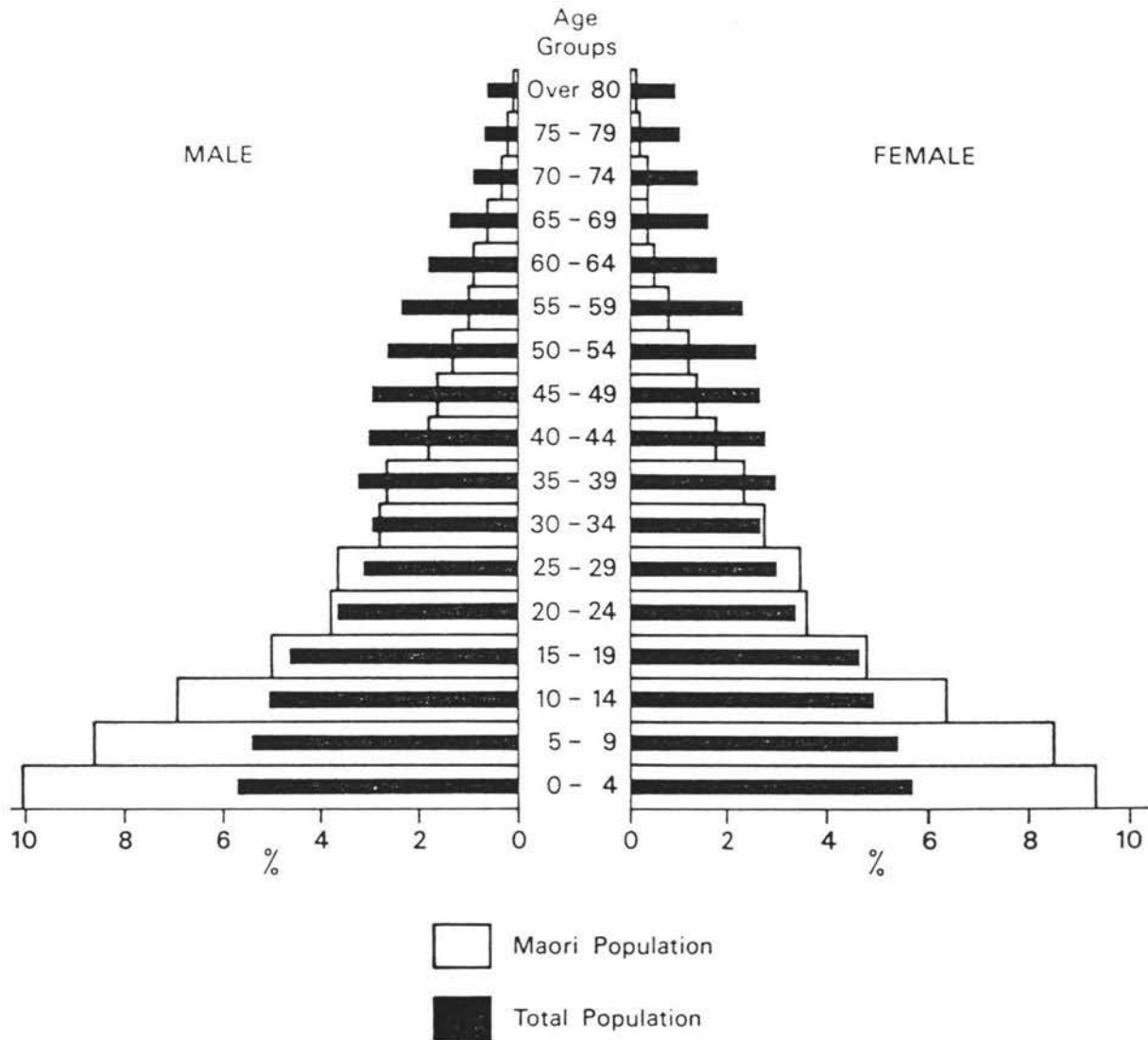
for every one in the rural districts reflected the distribution of available work. The concentration of jobs in urban centres generated a pattern of urban migration of Maoris approximating that of non-Maoris. Following the large increase in urban population over the period 1940 to 1945 (reflecting the need to work in war time industries), the number of Maoris in Urban Areas increased rapidly, reaching a total of 82,658 in 1966 compared to 14,894 in 1945.

Maori population of the Major Urban Areas by 1966 showed 41 per cent of all Maoris in these areas. More than half of the Maori urban-area dwellers lived in Auckland and Wellington. The 22.1 per cent of the Maori population in these areas in 1966 compared strongly with 15.4 per cent in the same areas in 1961. The drift was a continuing one-way migration of young people to the towns in search of work. In Metge's research of Maori population movement who moved to Auckland before 1955, more than "half the people aged 15 or more were unmarried when they came to the city" (Metge, 1964, 123).

The age structure of population for the whole of New Zealand and the Maori population (Figure 2.1) show that by the early 1960s it was evident that Maoris were increasing at a very fast rate and geographically their distribution was changing almost as swiftly with appreciable numbers migrating to urban areas each year. Table 2.2 shows the Maori population in a state of rapid increase and geographic redistribution.

FIGURE 2.1

AGE GROUPS OF TOTAL POPULATION AND  
MAORI POPULATION 1966



Source: Department of Statistics, 1966



TABLE 2.2

## URBAN AREA POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE INCREASE OVER FIVE YEAR INTERVALS

MAORI POPULATION

Urban Area	1945		1951		1956		1961		1966	
	Number	Per cent change	Number	Per cent change	Number	Per cent change	Number	Per cent change	Number	Per cent change
Whangarei	487	186.5	696	42.9	955	37.2	1804	88.9	3388	87.8
Auckland	5187	178.4	7621	46.9	11361	49.1	19847	74.4	33926	70.9
Hamilton	467	118.2	692	48.2	1088	57.2	2138	96.5	4335	102.8
Tauranga	843	10.6	1121	33.0	1519	35.5	1944	28.0	3145	61.8
Rotorua	1999	52.5	2576	28.9	3681	42.9	4933	34.0	7445	50.9
Gisborne	884	93.4	1112	25.8	1712	54.0	2937	71.6	4624	57.4
Napier	513	85.2	608	18.5	712	17.1	1086	52.5	2272	109.2
Hastings	585	140.7	730	24.8	1068	46.3	1771	65.8	3234	82.6
New Plymouth	468	37.2	502	7.3	581	15.7	661	13.8	937	41.8
Wanganui	689	20.7	923	34.0	1056	14.4	1531	45.0	2440	59.4
Palmerston North	210	84.2	353	68.1	494	39.9	765	54.9	1438	88.0
Hutt	514	114.3	834	62.3	1115	33.7	1895	70.0	4064	114.5
Wellington	1079	108.3	1570	45.5	2114	34.6	4026	90.4	6436	59.9
Nelson	161	335.1	156	-3.1	244	56.4	309	26.6	376	21.7
Christchurch	488	73.0	564	15.6	851	50.9	1503	76.6	2837	88.7
Timaru	27	200.0	40	48.1	51	27.5	107	109.8	152	42.1
Dunedin	164	45.1	185	12.8	188	1.6	321	70.7	647	101.6
Invercargill	129	40.2	120	-7.0	190	58.3	377	98.4	962	155.2

(Source: Department of Statistics, 1966, 16)

### Hawke's Bay

Table 2.3 indicates that the growth of the Hawke's Bay population in total over the 11 years to 1966 was slower than for New Zealand as a whole. However, Hawke's Bay shared in the increasing concentration of population in urban centres. The two major urban areas, Napier and Hastings recorded substantial increases. In the Census periods from 1945 to 1966 Napier grew steadily: 18.31 per cent for 1945-1951, 12.10 per cent for 1951-1956; 18.9 per cent for 1956-1961 and 19.5 per cent for 1961-1966. Hastings growth pattern was stronger than Napier in the initial period but later increases were slower. The figures were 17.19 per cent for 1945-1951; 16.77 per cent for 1951-1956; 16.9 per cent for 1956-1961 and 14.9 per cent for 1961-1966 respectively. Especially significant was not the relative ranking amongst the centres or the rate of total increase but the fact that population was growing steadily and that a large proportion of the added population was Maori.

In the Census periods from 1945 to 1966 the percentage increase in Maori population in both Napier and Hastings was significant. In the Census period 1945 to 1966 Napier's Maori population increased rapidly; 18.5 per cent for 1945-1951; 17.1 per cent for 1951-1956; 52.5 per cent for 1956-1961 and 109.2 per cent for 1961-1966. Hastings Maori population growth rate for the same period was equally spectacular; 24.8 per cent for 1945-1951; 46.3 per cent for 1951-1956; 65.8 per cent for 1956-1961 and 82.6 per cent for 1961-1966. In absolute terms Napier's Maori population increased from 513 in 1945 to 2272 in 1966 while at the same period Hastings Maori populations increased from 585 to 3,234 (Department of Statistics, 1966, 16).

TABLE 2.3

COMPARATIVE POPULATION GROWTH OVER FIVE YEAR INTERVALS  
HAWKE'S BAY - NEW ZEALAND

Area	1951	1956		1961		1966	
	Number	Number	Per Cent change	Number	Per Cent change	Number	Per Cent change
Hawke's Bay	91205	102326	12.2	114770	11.9	124960	9.2
New Zealand	1941366	2176224	12.1	2417543	11.1	2678855	10.8

(Source: Department of Statistics, 1966)

### Population relocation

By the 1966 Census about 60 per cent of New Zealand's population was living in 18 Urban Areas. The further concentration of population in the North Island was felt in the northern urban areas of Whangarei, Tauranga, Rotorua, Auckland and Hamilton which showed such rapid growth that all the other urban areas, except Napier (at 17.1 per cent), were below the national average of 16.1 per cent for urban area increase. Hastings percentage was 15.3 per cent (Department of Statistics, 1966, 16).

### Industrialisation

Geographers reviewing urbanisation in New Zealand in the early 1970s generally agreed that the single biggest factor responsible for the major redistribution and relocation of New Zealand's population lay at the door of industrialisation (see Johnston, 1973). New Zealand witnessed decline in the proportion employed in primary industries as the farming industry developed into a capital-intensive, labour-efficient sector. Technological advances, while labour saving in the farming sector, had the additional effect of creating further job opportunities in forward-linked primary processing. Job creation in the urban areas was stimulated by an umbrella of protection and deficit budgeting. The growth of industrial labour force was largely confined to port centres, especially Auckland, Wellington and for a time Christchurch and Dunedin. "The bulk of locational decisions have been made by (those)...who have located near to a labour supply and near to the heavily protected markets for consumer goods which in the main have been located in the metropolitan centres, and in Auckland especially" (Franklin, 1978, 215).

Industrial policy in the 1950s fueled the shift in job creation from the rural to the urban sector. Very quickly the percentage of the labour force employed in the secondary and tertiary sectors increased from 23.7 per cent in 1956 to 26.6 per cent in 1966.

Johnston (1973) documents employment shifts for employment districts during the 1950s and 1960s. He identifies the redistribution of employment during the period 1953 to 1968. Net shifts showed 15 districts experiencing net losses overall, which applied to both manufacturing and services sectors in most cases. Christchurch, as an example "lost" some 5,000 jobs, while more than 11,000 which might have been expected to go to Dunedin in fact went elsewhere (Johnston, 1973, 35). Over the whole of New Zealand net shifts involved 51,000 jobs, about 20 per cent of the total non-agricultural employment increase during the 1953 to 1968 period. The five northernmost districts of Figure 2.2 had the major positive shifts although Napier and Hastings experienced two small net total positive shifts.

By 1968 the spatial patterning of employment was quite different from that of 1953. The Hawke's Bay Employment Division area (in Figure 2.3) depicts shifts in the composition of the workforce for the period 1951 to 1971. The Hawke's Bay figures are compared with the New Zealand total. Nationally a considerable increase took place in the percentage of the workforce in tertiary occupations over the period, accounting for nearly 60 per cent of all employment compared with 56 per cent in 1951. This increase was more or less continuous at a national level although Hawke's Bay experienced a decline between 1961 and 1966, in the share of

FIGURE 2.2  
TOTAL EMPLOYMENT SHIFTS  
IN THE GROWTH OF  
NON-AGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT  
1953 - 1968

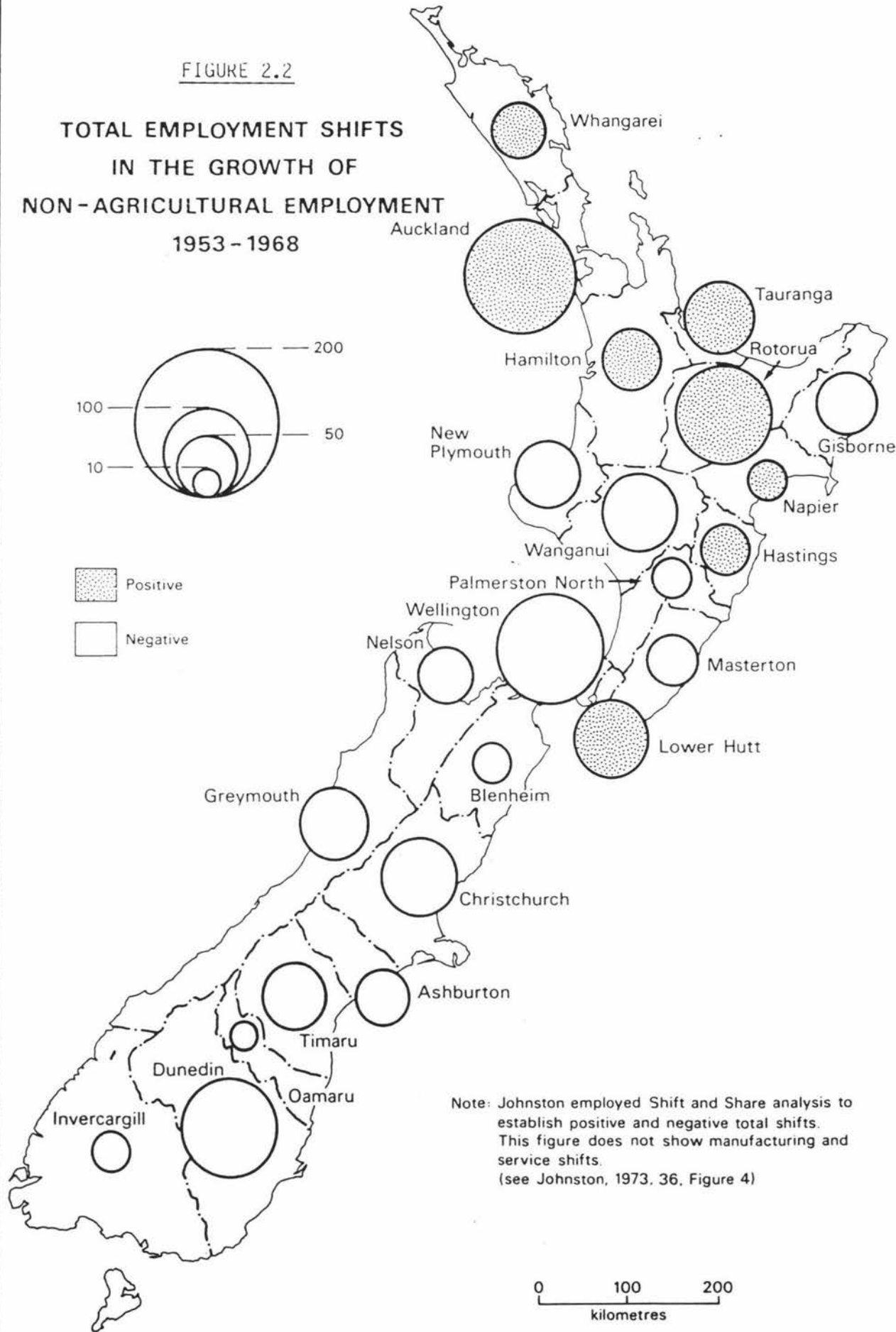


FIGURE 2.3

CHANGING COMPOSITION OF EMPLOYMENT



Source: Department of Statistics, 1971

employees engaged in primary occupations, while manufacturing growth continued to absorb the growing number entering the labour force.

The workforce between 1951 and 1966 grew by about 34.5 per cent with the manufacturing sector and service activities showing the most pronounced growth. Manufacturing increased its share of regional employment from 18 per cent in 1951 to 21.5 per cent in 1966. Manufacturing in the northern half of the North Island received almost all of the positive shifts and Napier and Hastings shared in this with positive shifts associated with the horticulture industry. Nationally, the sustained manufacturing employment expansion was achieved through a series of import substitution activities and development projects. Individual industries or groups of industries showed the effect of expansion by substantial increases in the labour force.

The industrialisation programme implemented in the 1950s and 1960s rested on the pastoral sector which still provided the foreign exchange for imports. Cumberland (1947, 13) recognised manufacturing had been given many incentives through protection and subsidies and other forms of encouragement but he was quick to remind that "the broad agricultural base upon which the well-being and living standards of all New Zealanders ultimately rests (was) being appreciably narrowed, so that the swelling superstructure of (often artificial) industrial and urban development (became) increasingly top heavy".

Dependence on imported materials helped increase the primacy of Auckland. By the mid 1970s Auckland contained a quarter of New Zealand's



population and a third of the manufacturing employment. The localised economic activity in Auckland was extreme when "in the 1970s manufacturing employment (had) grown annually at 2.5 per cent in New Zealand, but at 4.0 per cent in Auckland" (Taylor and Le Heron, 1977, 188). Auckland became increasingly dominant with manufacturing employment growing more rapidly than that of the rest of New Zealand.

Growth did occur in other Major Urban Areas but much of it could be linked to localised developments. Whangarei growth was linked to the oil refinery and an associated increase in light industry. Rotorua based its growth on development of the surrounding farmland from formerly useless pumice land and the contribution of forestry also contributed to Tauranga's growth. The export trade in timber, pulp and paper led to the rapid growth of the Port of Mt Maunganui, which in turn attracted industry and population to the area. Wellington increased its rate of growth between 1951 and 1966 by 8.03 per cent. Wanganui, in contrast, showed a marked decline in its growth rate from 11.2 per cent in the 1956-1961 Censal period to 6.9 per cent in the 1961-1966 Censal period (Department of Statistics, 1966). The latter was well below the national average of 10.8 per cent. The only other North Island Urban Area to be below the average for that period was New Plymouth at 8.9 per cent.

The South Island's five Urban Areas all showed reduced growth rates by the early 1960s. Only Christchurch and Invercargill 12.1 and 12.0 per cent exceeded the total New Zealand average but even these two urban areas dropped from their growth rates of 14.0 and 17.0 per cent respectively between 1961 and 1966.

By the mid 1960s it was apparent a two-tier system in industry was in existence: import-dependent and resource provided. The import-dependent industries located in principally the "largest industrial districts of Auckland, Christchurch and Hutt, and a few of the others (regions), notably New Plymouth, Wanganui, Palmerston North, Masterton and Dunedin" (Johnston, 1973, 31). The type of import-dependent industry developing included: the plastics industry which in 1947 comprised 49 plants with an 800 workforce and in 1965 comprised 145 plants with a workforce of 4300; vehicle assembly and radio assembly.

The import-dependent industries of especially Auckland and the developing industries of resource provided areas (such as the pulp and paper processes of the Volcanic Plateau), accommodated a large part of the North Island regional centres and some South Island centres. At the same time:

"(a) substantial manufacturing sector, supported by substantial local and vested interests, with a high degree of foreign control and interest existed...but on two fundamental issues divisions prevail(ed); amongst the manufacturers themselves concerning the degree and form of protection they require(d); and amongst the nation as a whole, concerning the proportion of national wealth that should be made available for investment".

(Franklin, 1978, 199).

#### Concerns arising from population expansion in major urban areas

Many growing urban areas encountered problems when attempting to physically expand. Conflicts arose especially between urban interests

concerned with finding land for development and rural interests worried about permanent loss of production from land converted to urban use. A rural perspective recognised "many undesirable aspects of urban sprawl, but in New Zealand one of the most serious consequences is the large area of fertile soils put out of production in perpetuity". (Raeside, 1962, 33).

Pressure for urban containment and rural protection gradually heightened. Conflict between rural and urban interests for productive land, particularly prior to the Town and Country Planning Act 1953, created a number of "examples of urban encroachment on to productive land...for instance, the location of Hastings on the highly productive soils of the Heretaunga Plains" (Leamy, 1974, 190). The basic differences of opinion lay in the weight given conserving land for non-urban use, versus the need to provide adequate urban area space.

Moran refers to the Auckland context to illustrate the active competition among urban-rural land users. Auckland's expanding urban area led to urban intrusion which "has been associated with the widespread subdivision during the 1960s of large properties into parcels of land a little over four hectares in size, almost half of which are used primarily as residential site" (Moran, 1979, 166). He argued that land use patterns on the urban periphery are heterogenous and that the factors associated with this state (variables in land use models and peripheries that are constantly changing) generate patterns and processes which are identifiable through such influences as the cost-structure of particular farms and the motivation of land owners and occupiers. It is

within such a framework the "essential conflict lay in the development of competition between urban expansion and agricultural producers" (Le Heron and Roche, 1985, 212).

To reinforce the complexity of land use conflict, "productive agricultural land has many of the attributes that make it also the most sought after land for urban use. Prime farming land is so often prime building land. Flat, well-drained land is cheaper to build upon than sloping or swampy land where site preparation and foundations cost more." (Boileau, 1974, 221). Flat sites were preferred for buildings such as schools and most factories. Boileau argues that the increased costs in the urban development of difficult land far outweigh the economic saving in protecting first class agricultural land. It is conceivable that the agricultural consequences of urban encroachment are insurmountable when subdivision is considered as in the best interests of the community. "As long as there is satisfactory land to move to, the agricultural and economic consequences are minimal. But the social costs of moving may be considerable". (Smith and Forbes, 1974, 193). Low cost housing requires land capable of easy and cheap development. Middle and higher income groups can often make use of more difficult sites if other natural assets render them attractive.

The conflict between city expansion and preservation of agricultural land reflected the situation of economic and population growth leading to insufficient supply of land zones for urban use. Urban growth increasingly involved managing the nature, rate, manner and location of land development (Le Heron and Heerdegen, 1978). This necessitated the

appraisal of the constraints of land, the situation and the site needs of land users; an evaluative stance that involved a continual assessment of the supply of land and the specific needs of land users. The machinery for control of land was developed in 1953 by the creation of the Town and Country Planning Act which provided a means of curtailing urban expansion by determining that as far as practicable all land designated of high, actual or potential value for agricultural purposes be included in a rural zone to avoid encroachment of urban development on the zoned land. "Administration of the Act (would) ensure that, whenever and wherever possible, productive soils (be) retained in crops or pastures." (Leamy, 1974, 190). The Act covered both rural and urban land and made local planning compulsory.

Progress in implementing the Act was slow, for most local councils lacked staff with the knowledge and the expertise necessary for the planning tasks. Over a decade after the passing of the Act concern was expressed that "the objectives of the Town and Country Planning Act should be more vigorously pursued and that the...status, staffing and professional capacity of planning units in local and central government should be reviewed to ensure that they may cope with increasingly heavy demands for their services." (Victoria University, 1970, 254). Hence the District Schemes prepared by local planning authorities were of uneven quality and were not coordinated by central government - thus failing to bring coherence to land use and development.

Central government however created divisions of functions among the various ministries causing difficulty with coordination. Local

government became mainly the responsibility of the Internal affairs sector while central government agencies became "embodied in local planning schemes and in advising the government in some aspects of the planning and development of state land." (Boileau, 1974, 224). The central government agencies became responsible for physical planning and Town and Country Planning which developed as a division of the Ministry of Works. The major concern and source of conflict between the two divisions was that the land needs of central government agencies became embodied in local planning schemes.

New Zealand was ill equipped to manage land use and development either at local levels or at the broader national level and regional level. The lack of coordinated planning and decision making at local and national levels proved a major stumbling block in planning the rapid urban expansion of the 1960s.

#### The Hastings experience

The growth of both Napier and Hastings in the Heretaunga Plains forced local consideration of where the cities would expand. The mix of population forecast, the workforce dependence on industrial employment and the encirclement of the urban area by orcharding represented the stage for subsequent urban expansion in the Heretaunga Plains. Decision makers in a variety of organisations had to assess the best way to manage this expansion. Local events came to a head in 1964.

A combination of factors lay behind the proposal in 1964 for a new suburb of Hastings, at Flaxmere, some 7 kilometres away from the western

boundary of the city. By this time Hastings had reached a population of nearly 37,000 (Census, 1966, 37, 375). Both this city and that of Napier were anticipating severe shortages in sections. Arguments for and against urban encroachment onto neighbouring Hawke's Bay County were similar to those mentioned above. The County Scheme encapsoled the thinking of the county officials. The dependence of the Heretaunga Plains economy on "primary production" was emphasised. "Its overseas exports of Wool, Frozen Meat, Fruit, Vegetables, Grass-seed and other products have an important bearing on the economy of New Zealand" (Hawke's Bay County District Planning Scheme, 1964, 3). The opposing urban and rural interests appeared unwilling to compromise. Resolution was only reached when suburban development on land designated unsuitable for agricultural use (and particularly horticultural spray compounds) because of the existence of an aquifer was identified. So, Flaxmere as a suburb was born.

## CHAPTER THREE

### SUBURBANISATION AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE

This chapter provides an overview of post-World War II suburbanisation and accompanying demographic change. The themes considered include: patterns of suburbanisation, housing provision; institutional constraints determining urban expansion (including the roles of developers, planners and local government); household formation and education implications of a growing population.

#### Origins of suburbanisation

Suburbanisation forms part of the wider process of urbanisation and may be regarded as a feature of capitalist development. Harvey (1973, 1982) recognised that the built environment for consumption involved constructions such as houses which acted as a physical framework for consumption. The 'housing question' has had a major impact upon the urban process, for housing by the early 1950s was more than a shelter. Rather it was part of the creation of a new life style (Kilmartin and Thorns, 1978).

Spatial differentiation also appears to be a characteristic of capitalist urbanisation (Dear and Scott, 1981, 386). A noticeable pattern is the separation of work places from residences (Pearson, 1979, 52). The structure of the urban area in New Zealand gives the expression of a "capitalist society orientated towards consumption, growth and



welfarism, with the particular nuance(s) of home ownership" (Kilmartin and Thorns, 1978, 22).

The urban structure broadly provides the framework for the distribution of resources generated by economic growth. The process of distribution creates and indicates social and spatial inequalities. An important aspect of resource allocation is access to housing. Typically, distribution is regulated by the market but it is often regulated by government action (Johnston, 1980). Intervention applies to the resources of income, land and housing which are distributed largely by the market (Johnston, 1974). With respect to housing intervention takes numerous forms but largely through special funding, interest rate control and eligibility criteria.

#### Bases of housing supply in New Zealand

Housing allotment is through a market exercise in which supply and demand are influenced by a variety of strategies which involve intervention by central and local government and a variety of private agents. The extent to which housing needs of different groups are met depends very much on the housing policies of the government of the day. Housing needs "from a national point of view...(involves) the extent to which resources can be invested in housing at the cost of not investing them in other ways" (National Housing Commission Report, 1983, 10). The meeting of housing needs are largely shaped by such factors as political goals, public opinion and expectations. In New Zealand the various political parties have acknowledged the significance of housing in New

Zealand society by encouraging home ownership and a variety of housing types to suit the various individual and group needs.

The role of government in relation to the housing market is significant in providing the opportunity to obtain a dwelling. This can be direct by the government itself building houses or arranging finance or bringing specific regulations into force affecting size or cost of dwellings. It may be in the form of indirect influences such as through the controlling influence of taxation. In New Zealand the government has played a major role as a direct lender of housing finance, initially through the State Advances Corporation and after 1974 through the Housing Corporation.

The Housing Corporation is responsible for a large proportion of mortgages on new properties and consequently it has exerted considerable influence on the shape and the development of the housing market (Table 3.1). Government policy has given priority to first home buyers on lower incomes. The majority of those who obtain Housing Corporation mortgages each year have been young marrieds between 20 and 29 with low incomes, intending to buy new dwellings on the suburban fringes of the city. These houses are generally supplied by group builders and are situated on urban outskirts. As a consequence, loan practices in this group have a marked influence on the rate and pattern of suburban growth.

Housing policies have a major effect upon the costs and standards of housing provided. "The Housing Corporation lends, at rates of interest below the market rate...The qualifying limit is varied from time to time

TABLE 3.1

THE AMOUNTS AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL HOUSING LOAN APPROVALS  
FROM VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS

	Housing Corporation	Trustee Savings Bank	Private Savings Bank	Life Insurance Offices	Building Societies	Post Office Savings Bank
YEAR	% of Total	% of Total	% of Total	% of Total	% of Total	% of Total
1978	33.8	25.4	16.55	9.9	14.0	
1979	34.55	22.7	18.1	9.65	14.85	
1980	33.25	24.05	14.55	10.15	15.95	
1981	21.1	27.65	13.5	10.15	20.35	7.0
1982	25.85	24.8	6.7	15.3	23.0	4.05

(Source: National Housing Commission, 1983)

and is usually about, or a little above the average wage" (National Housing Commission Report, 1983, 55). The Corporation has worked within a loan limit in an attempt to utilise a strategy developed to keep the ever-increasing house and land prices in check. This government loan criteria has resulted in the setting of the low-cost housing markets pricing structure. These low-cost housing market price structures and the building industry, designed houses to meet these financial criteria.

The size of the loan limits meant that extra finance often is required either in cash in addition to the normal deposit, or from additional mortgages. An example of the need for additional finances is from a survey by the Housing Corporation in 1978 which indicated that 75 per cent of non-preferred borrowers required a second mortgage and 10 per cent a third mortgage (National Housing Commission, 1983, 56). It is not the intention of Housing Corporation lending to attempt to assist all those who want home ownership. A borrower must be able to raise the deposit on a house and must have sufficiently high income to meet the interest and repayments. The effect of this policy is that the lower income earners who, being largely reliant upon the Housing Corporation, have fewer opportunities for home ownership than the middle-to-high income earners who benefit from the redistribution of funds from the public to the private sector, through the other financial institutions and other sectors of the private market. Table 3.2 shows the percentage of the mortgage money during 1966 through 1977 taken up with private funds.

Assistance included indirect measures such as the "Home Ownership

TABLE 3.2  
NON-GOVERNMENT NEW HOUSING MORTGAGES (\$ MILLION)

Years Ended March	Total Housing Mortgages	Mortgages for New Houses	(Percentage of Total)
1966	196	32	16
1967	198	30	15
1968	206	30	15
1969	219	33	15
1970	255	40	16
1971	320	47	15
1972	374	55	15
1973	508	83	16
1974	775	149	19
1975	790	152	19
1976	873	142	16
1977	1095	176	16

(Source: National Housing Commission, 1978)

Savings Scheme" which is regarded as a very generous scheme in the amounts it makes available and the access it may give to the Housing Corporation lending without an income qualification. As a scheme it is viewed as "consistent with the general policy of helping those who help themselves" (National Housing Commission, 1983, 58).

In addition to first mortgage assistance, additional finance is provided to offset the inflation effected cost of properties which occurred at the same time that first mortgage levels remained relatively static. The need for second mortgage assistance in financing a house purchase also affects the access of different groups to ownership. Second mortgage loans tend to be short term and thus create additional financing problems. The presence of mortgage interest rates being non-inflation proof makes borrowers very susceptible to financial adjustments.

The central importance of the mortgage market in housing allocation and suburban development is clearly demonstrated by the fact that the majority of dwellings in New Zealand are not owned but mortgaged. For example, in the mid 1970s, (eg 1976), although 69.39 per cent of all permanent private dwellings were classified as owner-occupier, only 27.6 per cent were in fact owned outright - 42.0 per cent were mortgaged (Department of Statistics, 1976).

## Institutional constraints on rate and direction of urban expansion

### 1. Developers

Developers are an integral part of the development process for they are involved in land subdivision, the construction of buildings and change in land-use patterns. In conjunction with the developer is the financier. Harvey concludes that suburbanisation is influenced by a system of finance capital composed of the major lending institutions which strongly impinges on the private and commercial real estate market (Harvey, 1973, 192). Usually private developers are able to influence the pattern of urban growth although there arises counter arguments to the effect that the decisions of developers encourage particular developments.

The financial cost associated with the development of land and dwellings has risen markedly over recent years (Table 3.3). The high cost of land development has encouraged large-scale development activities. In recent years suburban land development has been the domain of developers who not only are intent on funding developments, but also partake in the development itself. This funding has developed a relationship between the developer and financier. The linkage between developer and financier has sometimes generated increased cost of land development through interest rates which have in turn raised the price to be paid by the prospective property owner. This large scale movement of finance into land and property development increased markedly in the 1950s with finance companies developing the capacity to raise funds to become involved in land and property development (Kilmartin and Thorns,

TABLE 3.3

SALES IN THIRTY-EIGHT URBAN AREAS

Year	Sections		Houses	
	Number	Average Price \$	Number	Average Price \$
1974	8431	7247	30317	23409
1975	7472	8920	24219	25452
1976	8909	10195	28032	27476
1977	7118	10867	25157	29251
1978	4934	11493	28300	30139
1979	4606	11990	33259	31821
1980	5835	12602	43468	34320
1981	9077	14339	53446	40706
1982	11041	15462	44768	49984

(Source: Valuation Department, Table 25)



1978). Interest rate pressures have encouraged developers to slow down the rate of infrastructure provision during development and have made access to housing more difficult for many groups.

An important consequence of this has been the reinforcement of spatial differentiation in particular cities, as suburbs funded on low budgets have been populated by people with lesser means. The patterning has sometimes been complicated by the concentration of ethnic groups in various suburbs.

## 2. Local politicians

Local government performs a special role in an urbanised society. In New Zealand local agencies involve over 600 groups including hospitals, education and local authorities in charge of land use planning (Department of Statistics, 1986) and "perform significant social services and constitute an important political infrastructure throughout (New Zealand)" (Levine, 1979, 35).

A major constraint is the composition of the various public bodies and the operations of key members or individuals influential in limiting or aiding the concerns of particular groups in the population. The composition of councils affects the kinds of policies pursued and much of the thinking of councils is concerned with maintaining the status quo. "The background, occupational and residential structure influences local body thinking" (Abbiss, 1985, 7). Changes that might occur in the composition of a city council are often in reaction to ensuring vested interests are maintained.

A further constraint established by local government authority is the difficulty they cause planners and developers by assuming a sufficiently strong lay group or the general public collectively is better able to make decisions than those with professional expertise especially trained for the task. These assumptions are often the cause of antagonism between groups as is also the constraint generated by the general lack of professional and expert knowledge at both government and local government level. "Conflict may occur between individuals, local and national interests, or state and private concerns, but it is likely to be a complicated composition of numerous contradictory interests" (Abbiss, 1985, 7).

### 3. Planners and the regulation of urban land development

The professional town planners are an important group in decision making in urban areas. In whatever form of employment, be it private or public, the planner is tied to the political process of distribution and is thus in a position "to implement programmes that will be either progressive or regressive in their implications for the distribution of the real income of the population" (Kilmartin and Thorns, 1978, 92). As part of bureaucracy it is difficult to ascertain just how independent the planner is in producing change. It is feasible that if planners are influenced by the sectional concerns of the politically dominant groups then the effects upon the distribution of resources within an urban area and upon the type of residential areas planned and developed will reflect an absence of value-free decision making.

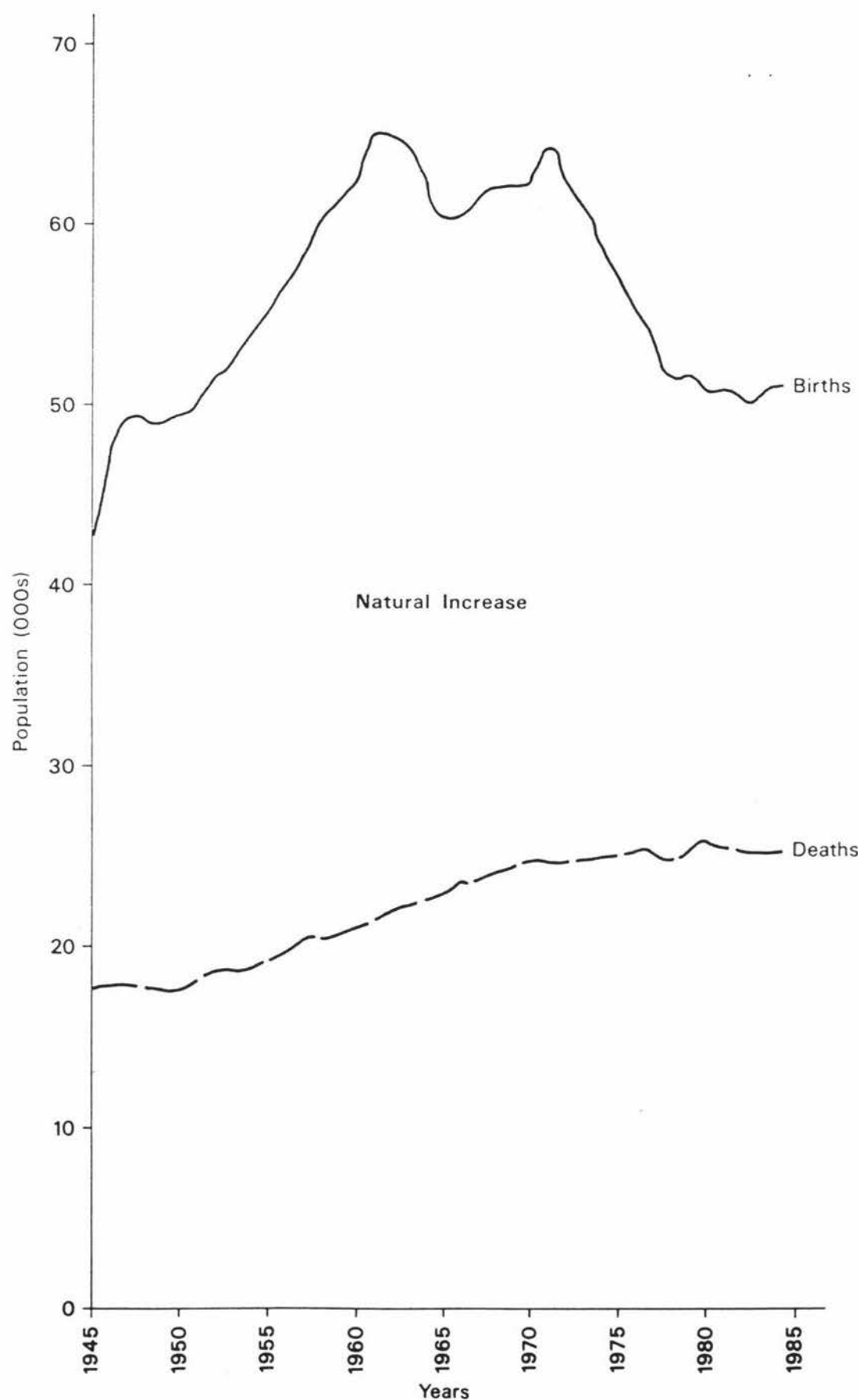
The present demographic experience in New Zealand indicates a downward trend in fertility which began about 1962 and which has accelerated considerably in recent years. Between 1962 and 1984 the crude birth rate (number of live births per 1000 mean total population) dropped from 22.16 to 15.85. In comparison the crude death rate (number of deaths per 1000 mean total population) fell from 8.89 in 1962 to 7.79 in 1984. Figure 3.1 illustrates the total fertility rates between 1945 and 1985. These trends reveal a spectacular fall in natural increase rates. The rate of natural increase fell from 17.32 per thousand of mean total population in 1962 to 7.3 per thousand mean total population in 1984.

Migration contributed a major role to the growth of New Zealand population, especially during the 1960s and early 1970s and more particularly in 1974 when external migration contributed nearly half of the total increase in population for that year. After the years with extremely high excesses of arrivals over departures, net immigration during 1976 fell dramatically until in 1977 a complete reversal in the pattern of net migration was experienced with a net migration per 1000 mean population of negative 4.4 (Department of Statistics, 1981). This downward trend in net migration continues to the present and with the decline in natural increase a lower growth rate of population is being experienced presently than in the early 1960s.

During 1962 through 1986 the rate of household formation continued to increase, by as much as 13 per cent during the intercensal period of 1971 and 1976 and 14 per cent between 1976 and 1981. The number of permanent

FIGURE 3.1

TWO COMPONENTS OF POPULATION CHANGE



Source: Department of Statistics, 1985

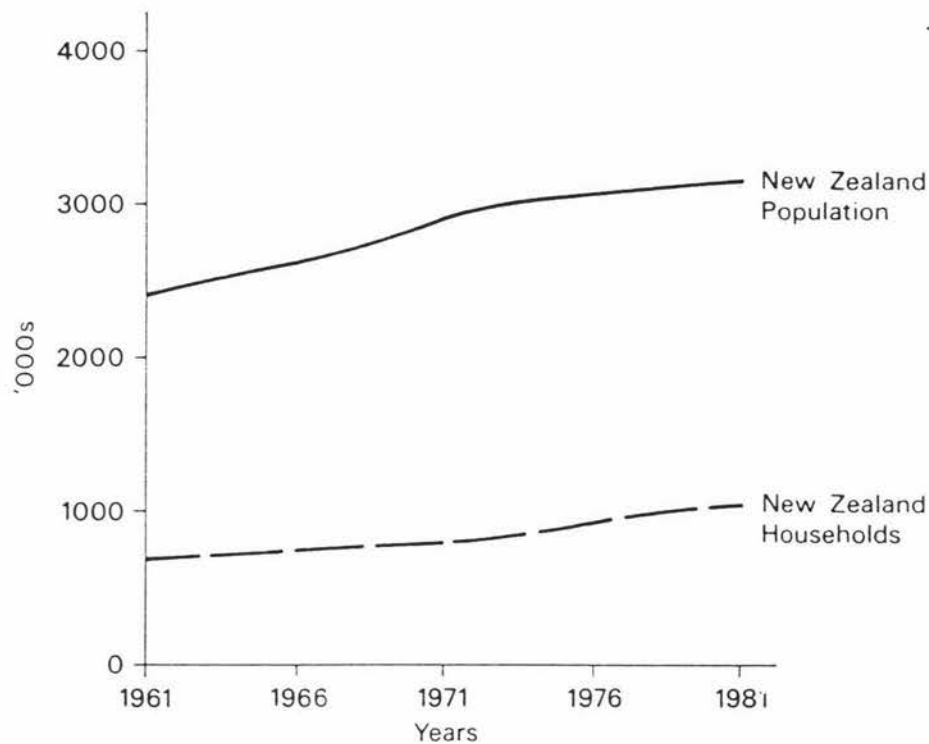
private dwellings increased by 85,582 or 12 per cent between the 1966 and 1971 censuses, while total population for the same period increased by 6.9 per cent. The rate of home building has generally been higher than the rate of population growth in New Zealand. Comparative percentages for the census period 1976/1981 show an increase in private dwellings of 73,043 or 7.8 per cent while population for the same period increased 46,400 or 2.3 per cent (Department of Statistics, 1981). The growth in household rates continues despite a deceleration in the population growth rate, Figure 3.2. "Significant change in household composition with households with children declining relatively while several types of non-family households have increased and household size has reduced" (Ministry of Works, 1981).

This has resulted in particular pressures for the demand for housing. It represents the intentions of householders attempting to achieve particular housing aspirations, such as home ownership or a better quality home. Achieving this largely depends on the factors relating to the aspiring householders income, housing costs and housing expenditure. There are also additional constraints such as the availability and cost of housing finance which could well place definite limits on the types of attainable dwellings caused by the income-cost relationships.

Census data provides information on the relationship between the head of the household and total household income. This data is only fully available since the 1971 Census, but sufficient information is available to show relationship for complete families only (about 70 per cent of household numbers) between 1966 and 1981. By 1981 it was evident that

FIGURE 3.2

POPULATION  
AND HOUSEHOLD TOTALS



Source: Department of Statistics, 1981

household incomes were more widely distributed than the head's income for both total households and one complete family household, showing the importance of income generated other than by the head (Department of Statistics, 1981). It is not surprising then that a greater income contribution from non-heads is made in non-family households, especially when it is realised that family units are usually constrained to, at most, two income earners. Of greater significance is the growing proportion of non-family households (Table 3.4) who have either the wealth or desire to place greater demands on the type of dwelling they intend.

A trend can also be detected in the increasing proportion of part-time, particularly female, employees in the labour force. Department of Statistics data indicates that part-time workers rose in number from 8 per cent in 1966, to 10 per cent in 1971, to 12 per cent in 1976 and to 15 per cent in 1981.

To complicate the ability to achieve housing aspirations is the change in household size. Households are examined according to the number of occupants and since 1961 household size has declined from four occupants per household to below three occupants per household in 1986. A feature since 1951 is that on average the higher the head's income the larger the number of occupants in the household (Department of Statistics). However, as the number of occupants increases so outgoings on other than housing will be increasing, but at a slower rate than housing expenditures. The general tendency, as noted by Kilmartin and Thorns et al., is for households on higher incomes to be both more able to

TABLE 3.4

HOUSEHOLD TYPES

	1966		1971		1976		1981	
	Number	Per Cent Total Households	Number	Per Cent Total Households	Number	Per Cent Total Households	Number	Per Cent Total Households
One complete family	432338	60	485789	61	547471	59	555558	55
All family types	584069	82	645722	81	725661	79	753696	75
Actively engaged heads	557353	73	618913	77	589909	64	754573	76
Total households	716104		801686		923257		1003113	

(Source: Department of Statistics, 1981)



achieve their housing aspirations and also to represent larger sized households.

This has an important implication for the house building industry since it suggests that larger sized households are more effective in achieving their housing desires, whereas there has been a long term trend towards smaller sized households, by which the housing needs may not have been adequately met. By responding to the desires of the more affluent, builders are not likely to be meeting the needs of the community in total.

Difficulty lies in quantifying the extent to which changing household sizes are being satisfactorily matched by changing house sizes due to the lack of data on the shortage or excess number of rooms in each house. Census information approximates a comparison between bedroom numbers and numbers of occupants by subtracting two rooms from the total room numbers (National Housing Commission procedure, 1979).

From Table 3.5 it can be seen that since 1961 the proportions of both one and two occupant households have been steadily increasing while the proportion of all other sized households have declined. In contrast the proportions one and two bedroom houses have been declining with significant growth in three bedroom houses. This trend suggests that houses being built are generally larger than the needs of the total community. Future home owners are less likely to require such accommodation given the continuation of past trends in household size.

With all the changes in household occupancy the rate of household formation continues to increase, illustrated by growth in head of

TABLE 3.5

COMPARISON OF HOUSEHOLD SIZE WITH HOUSE SIZE

	1961	1966	1971	1976
<u>Distribution of Number of Occupants (percentage)</u>				
1	11	12	16	16
2	24	25	26	28
3	18	17	17	16
4	19	18	18	18
5	14	13	13	12
≥6	15	15	13	10
<u>Distribution of Number of Rooms less two (typically kitchen/lounge)</u>				
1	12	12	13	13
2	22	21	20	21
3	40	40	40	40
4	18	18	18	17
5	6	6	6	6
≥6	3	3	4	4

(Source: Department of Statistics, 1976)

household rates, which suggests that the need for housing will grow despite a slow down in the population growth rate. Social changes involving such examples as the desire for independent residence brought about by solo parents, divorced and separated people, couples seeking their own dwelling immediately, elderly people seeking to preserve their independence for as long as possible, the widowed all contribute to the consequences of housing needs.

These trends have a noticeable spatial expression. An examination of Census figures for the increase of population and households from 1971 through 1981 for different urban areas, including Hastings (Table 3.6), shows that in the 1970s population numbers in relative terms exceeded household numbers whereas by 1981 it is evident that the growth in households in permanent dwellings exceeded population growth. At the national level the average occupants per dwelling in 1971 was 3.38; 1976, 3.22 and 1981, 3.15 (Department of Statistics, 1981). This decline in occupancy rate but increase in population contributed to the increase in households over population. An additional contributing factor to household increase is the apparent need for greater variety and improved capacity to cater for the needs of individuals and groups within all socio-economic levels of society.

Flaxmere: a suburb differentiated from other Hastings suburbs

Flaxmere was proposed as the main outlet for the bulk of Hastings growth over the next 25 years. Projections were for a total suburban population of 10,000 by 1990. It was visualised as a solution to the

TABLE 3.6

URBAN AREA POPULATION AND HOUSEHOLD NUMBERS  
1971-1981

Year	Napier		Hastings		Gisborne		Rotorua	
	Population	Households	Population	Households	Population	Households	Population	Households
1971	43601	11727	45512	8768	30161	7419	39752	7650
1976	50164	14185	50818	10201	31790	8610	46650	9156
1981	51330	15498	52563	15928	32062	9160	48314	12388

(Source: Department of Statistics, 1981)

local question of urban expansion. The basis for rapid growth of the suburb existed with the availability of a number of mechanisms to 'channel' the movement of people into one area. The Hastings City Council as principal subdivider and developer in Flaxmere was in a position to commence rapid and extensive supply of affordable and fully serviced sections for the community. Minimum rental properties were built and there was initially a low demand by lower income earners for sections. Census evidence suggests a 'system-selection' of individuals on middle incomes, with larger than average family size, for example, average occupants per dwelling for Flaxmere over the five year intervals 1971 through 1981 were 4.3, 4.4 and 4.1 respectively. The averages for New Zealand for the same period were: 1971, 3.38; 1976, 3.22 and 1981, 3.15 occupants per dwelling.

Although the potential for rapid suburban growth existed the initial development of Flaxmere was slow but nonetheless distinctive in composition. Two significant features affected Flaxmere's initial slow growth. The suburb was not effectively marketed to wider groups of prospective buyers (especially those on lower incomes) until the late 1960s and competing with the establishment of Flaxmere was infill in central Hastings and the development of a number of smaller, previously undeveloped areas, to the east and north of Hastings city.

The number of dwelling units built per year in Flaxmere accelerated in 1968. At this time the suburb expanded faster than central Hastings and Napier with the exception of Camberly in Hastings and with the exception of Tamatea in Napier. During this phase of expanding

infrastructure provision in the suburb did not keep up with the population growth.

In the late 1960s Flaxmere had a predominantly European population with the Census returns for 1971 giving a total population of 1305 with 316 or 24.21 per cent of the population Polynesian. The school population (5-15 years) comprised 296 persons with 181 or 61 per cent being Polynesian (Department of Statistics, 1971).

By the late 1970s total population composition had altered noticeably. The total resident population for 1981 was 3043 with the Polynesian component increased to 2879 or 36.98 per cent of the Flaxmere population. The school population totalled 2517 with the Polynesian component totalling 1128 or 44.82 per cent of the school population (Department of Statistics, 1981).

Moreover, the local population expected further growth and constantly called for services to meet local community needs. The gap between expectations about population growth and services and later trends in actual population change and service provision was to become an important source of friction in the early 1980s.

## CHAPTER FOUR

## STATE INTERVENTION IN EDUCATION AND WELFARE

This chapter briefly introduces the role of state intervention in the fields of welfare and education and discusses how general developments in New Zealand were worked out in the Heretaunga Plains communities. In particular Central Government initiatives to deal with growing discontent over welfare services and level of employment opportunities for Maori and Pacific Islander groups are considered. Of special importance is the evolution of the Community Educational Initiatives Scheme which was implemented in three New Zealand communities, including Flaxmere.

Within the framework of a managed economy the welfare state assumed the responsibility of ensuring a wide range of individual employment and by its expenditure upon education, health, public works, capital investment and institutional assistance ensured the creation of jobs. The dominating influence of the welfare state created a dual problem. The first involving the management of the economy, the other being the constraint on the direction of economic change (Franklin, 1978).

The late 1970s witnessed wider questioning of the effectiveness of the welfare state. The majority response was to call for more of previous remedies - more education, more educational facilities, more housing, different types of suburbs, more government and state action. At about the same period minority (but significant) groups began to seek alternative forms of society and urban life styles. Discontent had surfaced in a number of the newly established suburbs, especially those suburbs with a relatively high Polynesian representation, a higher than

average number of young persons and those suburbs with low income and high unemployment representation. People in these suburbs often felt rejected, frustrated, powerless, less able to obtain goods and services and were concerned about dependence on the State, a state of affairs which left a lot of people, especially the young, unemployed and at risk.

#### CEIS programme development

In 1981 the Government set up the Community Education Initiatives Scheme (CEIS). This scheme had as its major goal to assist "youth at risk". A core concept was direct community funding rather than indirect funding through government departments. The scheme envisaged interaction between the local community, local bodies and government departments to work on community problems.

In allocating the funds Government prescribed a number of steps in the programme:

- constitute itself as a legal entity and enter into an agreement with the Department of Education to manage funds allocated,
- select and employ a coordinator,
- select the projects to be supported under the scheme,
- distribute funds accordingly,
- refer, where appropriate, to other forms of assistance or advice that is already available in the community,
- maintain a full record of the activities and report regularly to an Interdepartmental Committee,
- maintain a proper set of financial accounts for audit and assist evaluation personnel.



These tasks were to be achieved by developing an organisational structure which would allow the creation of policies through, in the main local community volunteers.

CEIS was greatly influenced by the Report of the Committee on Gangs in 1980. This report recommended greater community initiatives to assist young people at risk. In August 1981 the Government approved the CEIS programme as an incorporated society with a degree of autonomy and local community accountability.

The purposes of the programme were to respond positively to the needs of underachieving students having difficulty in the transition from school to employment and assisting children and young people without constructive leisure time activities, which in turn would give priority to the use of community facilities, skills and existing resources. Improving specific skills among students and young people so that they could earn a recognisable income within six months to two years was also a stated aim of the programme.

In Flaxmere, the arrangement set up to operate CEIS was the "Network", which became a forum for identifying the "basic social, physical, emotional, cultural and economic needs of residents in a wider community context...of inequity, discrimination, vulnerability and impotency" (CEIS Report, 1986, 41).

#### Major social problems in Flaxmere

Until the establishment of the Network there were few government or voluntary agencies (e.g. Te Whanau, Flaxmere Family Centre, H.E.L.P. in

1980), immediately available in the suburb to help people cope with the array of problems such as above average school failure, juvenile delinquency and unemployment. The monocultural character of the schools, social agencies and commercial facilities tended to alienate many Maori parents and youth. Thus while emerging as a planned dormitory suburb, Flaxmere had grown by the mid 1980s to a community of 9150 (1986) with an under provision of community services. General public information about Flaxmere came from media coverage which sensationalised issues.

Headlines such as "Flaxmere is headed for open warfare" (Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune, 2.5.84) and "Flaxmere raid under police investigation" (Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune, 13.6.84, 1) generated images of a community under siege.

During 1982 the type of problems experienced by the local Flaxmere community included an increased number of referrals to the Children and Young Persons Court for vandalism; the Youth Aid Section of the Police Department reporting that 15-30 youngsters were repeatedly offending, and local social workers observed that parents in a number of instances failed to accept their responsibility as parents. "One of the main problems at Flaxmere is simply a lack of parental control of kids who are 14 or 15 years old and are not being supervised at 10 or 12 o'clock at night" (Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune, 1.5.84, 1). Blame was not entirely apportioned parents for "sometimes it was not their fault. The parents themselves needed help to communicate - get on the same wave length - as their children" (Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune, 7.5.84, 1). To compound the social upheaval in Flaxmere many of the social problems had been officially submerged.

### Response to social problems

The implementation of the CEIS programme in the guise of the Flaxmere Community Network drew together the resources of the local community, local body authorities and central government. In its early stage CEIS demonstrated that the community issues were complex with few or no ready-made solutions to social problems. Effectively the CEIS programme created an integrated rather than a piece-meal approach to community development. In an attempt to be more positive than detrimental in lessening the social ills affecting community development, a number of features were implemented as goals for the CEIS programme. These features included recognising the rights of those experiencing inequities, encouraging self-help and self-determinism rather than dependency, giving responsibility to those who would be affected by what is done, by providing these opportunities provision is made to capitalise on both untapped talent and motivation generated from involvement. Goals also included a type of administration based on service, commitment and change with the locally based organisation gaining its own identity and status within the community and within a framework not too complicated to administer (CEIS Report 1986, 92).

The justification for the \$150,000 per annum funding for Network assumed that the community was not necessarily the cause of its own isolation. A fundamental assumption for success with the programme was that the community needs of Flaxmere were enough in themselves to generate a desire for self problem solving when the opportunity was provided. One immediate effect of the CEIS programme was to develop

increased community awareness and shared responsibility. In Flaxmere the Network facilitated the "development of one of the first community organisations capable of identifying and acting in respect of local needs and problems" (CEIS Report, 1986, 86). Although this may well have been the emphasis and the ideal, the reality remained that local body rulings and "outside" influences remained conspicuous in effecting decisions and community activities. The Te Whanau Trust was severely criticised for permitting the Te Whanau Youth Centre at Flaxmere to be used as an overnight sleeping quarters for the suburb's youth. The Mayor of Hastings, Mr J.J. O'Connor indicated that when council had been informed of the centre being open beyond 11.30 pm and used as a dormitory the practice was "squashed...straight away" (Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune, 2.5.84, 1). Criticism by the chairman of the Flaxmere Licensing Trust, Mr James Morgan, of Network's apparent oversubscribing to the Te Whanau Trust was refuted when initial statements alleged by Sir Richard Harrison (M.P. for Hawke's Bay) were challenged by the Network suggesting that not "too much money was going to the centre but had suggested that a limit be put on the amount of money it gave for renovating the building and (that) more emphasis be put on its programmes" (Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune, 1.5.84, 1).

CEIS, through Network, concerned itself primarily with those in the community in need. Those involved comprised people and groups who were suffering the effects of inequity. The major proportion of those at risk, youth, were referred to as young children seen as future youth, those beyond adolescence considered just as needy despite their greater

years, and parents who as important elements in the community would also need support.

The more traditional and bureaucratic concept of social service changed in attitude from performing a function to assist the recipients, to providing the skills, funds and essential elements in conjunction with the members of the community to develop social services. "CEIS has the ability to offset the effect of Central Government by being able to penetrate the corners of the community, identify needs, assess priorities, give support and monitor developments. This series of capabilities developed a social infra-structure in the community that in turn mobilised other local capabilities and which improved and sped-up the contribution of social services" (CEIS Report, 1986, 89). Government departments are not able to cross territorial boundaries to the extent the CEIS programme has managed. The funding control given the Flaxmere community, rather than in government departments, gave decision making power to the people. The Network acknowledged that an important aspect of CEIS was the scope provided to enable the community voice to be heeded. The Network provided support for groups already existing in the community and who were struggling to make headway.

Projects that the Network involved itself were not Network owned. The projects were generally only assisted in part by Network, and those projects already established were serviced by their own personnel. Table 4.1 lists the projects practically supported by Network. In addition to funding Network provided moral support through assistance in planning and evaluation when requested.

TABLE 4.1

GRANTS MADE BY THE FLAXMERE COMMUNITY NETWORK

1983		\$
	Nga Tamariki o Te Whanau (Flaxmere Youth Group)	5,000
	Te Whanau For the sub-contractors HELP	2,800
	Peterhead School feeder area	14,000
	Te Whanau Flaxmere Youth Group Inc.	20,000
	Irongate Kindergarten For special needs room	4,000
	Flaxmere Intermediate For video equipment	5,000
	Flaxmere Maori Culture Group costumes	1,784
	Te Rongo Patahi Putahi Culture Group Costumes	2,000
	Police YAS	
	Disco Talent Quest	250
	Police Camp-out Seven months @ \$280 month	1,960
	Aubert Mission 16 mm projector, screen, equipment	1,600
	Flaxmere Family Centre Tape Deck	400
	Maori Affairs Camp run at Porangahau	1,900
1984		
	Detached Youth Worker's Car subsidy	3,500
	Te Whanau Finish their renovations	15,000
	Flaxmere St. John Mannequin, blankets, etc.	600
	May holiday programme	450
	First Flaxmere Scouts Additions to existing den	7,000
	Club's Raffle Flaxmere School - \$304; Primary School \$402; Intermediate School \$500; FIA Syndicate \$494; Fi Tika Syndicate \$500; Flaxmere Rugby Club \$381; Flaxmere Soccer \$500; Flaxmere Hockey \$500; Te Whanua Youth Group \$323; BMX \$500; FMWWL \$174 + Glencoe Marching Club and Flaxmere Netball Club.	5,000
	Pegasus Basketball Club	250
	Te Awa o te Atua Expenses to Easter Hui, Wanganui	500
	Peterhead HELP July 1984-July 1985	10,000
	Peterhead, Flaxmere and Irongate Schools Video equipment	5,625

2

\$

Children's School Trip (S. Purcell)	.500
PPTA Waahi Marae	
Conference for three people	430
Hastings Women's Refuge	
Children's equipment	1,000
Outward Bound	
Expenses and course fees for two	1,500
Police May Holiday Programme	
Redirected	300
First Flaxmere Scouts	
Three patrol tents	1,710
Te Whanau	
Advertising public meetings	50
Te Whanau	
Travel costs two people to Youth Leadership Training Course	340
August Holiday Programme	
K. Whittington	225
Police August Holiday Programme	
Redirected	300
B. Bartlett's Group	
Servicing lawn-mowers, tools and foodstuffs	100
Flaxmere Playcentre	
Library extensions	1,500
Flaxmere Gymnastics Club	
Equipment	2,000
Flaxmere Rugby Football Club	
Equipment	300
Flaxmere Sports Club	
August programme trophies	400
BMX Club	
Three bikes and outfits	1,179
Flaxmere Intermediate	
Two goal posts and concreting	840
Flaxmere Kindergarten	
Books including parenting	1,000
Ellen Stevenson Kindergarten	
Books including parenting	1,000
Zach's Place Day-Care Centre	
Facilities equipment	15,000
Flaxmere Family Centre	
Toys and books	200

1985

Flaxmere Kohanga Reo	
Grant	12,000
Flaxmere Kohanga Reo	
Equipment	3,000
Mary Hewer Neighbourhood Support Scheme	200
Te Whanau	
Roofing iron, kickboards, fence paint	2,200
Zach's	
Holiday programme expenses	100
Holiday programmes	4,000

	\$
Olaga Hui	
Bus and koha	1,750
Omahu School	
Video camera	800
Association Football Club	4,000
Flaxmere Community Centre Committee	
Interest free loan	2,000
BMX Club	7,000
Primary Schools	
Portable video recorder and camera (to be shared)	2,200
CEIS Hui	4,000
Omahu School	
To cover devaluation	400
Association Football Club	
Interest free loan	2,000
Koha	
Three Network Holiday Programme Organisers	750
Flaxmere Intermediate	
All weather cricket pitch and practice net	2,000
Flaxmere Maori Women's League	
Donation	1,000
Thomas Whakaruru Holiday Programme	700
Zach's	
Play equipment and washing machine	3,200
Marching Team (to be given in August 1985)	3,000
Karamu High School	
Takitimu Marae trip	1,000
Te Awa o Te Atua	
Bus to Easter Hui	2,000
Outward Bound	
Clothing expenses for two girls	1,500
Don Hutana	10,000
Te Whanau	10,000
Te Rongo Patahi Putahi	5,000
Te Whare Putanga	23,000
Trevor Moeke	
Secondary School Teacher	10,000
Ngatai Huata's Group	
(Tautoko Wahine Maori)	10,000
Flaxmere Christian Fellowship	
Thomas Whakaruru	10,000
Peterhead HELP Scheme	4,000
Te Waka Tapu o Takitimu	
Tama Huata	10,000
Hastings/Flaxmere Kuokushinkai Karate Club	10,000
Te Rongo Patahi Putahi	
Suspensory loan	5,000

(Source: CEIS Report, 1986, 48-50)



### Local departments

The Network experienced repeated frustration over apparent inability of local government departments to identify specific needs and to service them effectively. As far as the Network was able to determine the local government department in the initial stages of operation, showed little interest in the existence of CEIS, this despite being well informed about the programme. Not all departments were entrenched in their attitude, more particularly the number of departments seconded to Network, and most departments constructively changed once the programme was operational.

### Role of the interdepartmental committee

The Interdepartmental Committee comprised the Departments of Education, Labour, Social Welfare, Maori and Internal Affairs, Treasury, Justice and Police and the Prime Minister's Department. It was the Committee's role to liaise with these departments, to promote cooperation across the departments in the development of CEIS, particularly at district level and to keep the Minister of Education informed.

The Flaxmere Community Network accepted the Committee and placed great store on the personal contact between parties. The contact generated greater understanding and appreciation of the role of government departments and this group in turn gained insight into community needs, aspirations and opportunities for development. The mutual exchange of ideas and experiences provided a linkage between the Interdepartmental Committee and the Flaxmere Community Network.

### Making the Flaxmere community network work

The Flaxmere Community Network considered the holistic development of the community and concerned itself with assisting community members to become more aware of existing problems, giving members greater ability to deal with community problems as they gained in confidence. The operational aspect of the policy was to set out to identify problems and to allocate funds with minimum bureaucratic processing and with increased involvement of Network members in the activities and groups funded.

The initial expectation that allocated monies would generate a series of new and novel projects to provide instant answers to the problems of youth at risk failed to eventuate. The Network did activate an immediate initiative establishing a home-school liaison officer appointed to act as on-site confidant and trouble shooter for children in difficulties at school. This particular exercise, over time, proved fruitful.

In hindsight, expectations for new project ideas were unrealistic. To a great extent the Network supported existing organisations which were already attempting to serve the community needs and were already receiving community recognition and approval.

Flaxmere Community Network was influential in raising community awareness of the nature of the local social problems and the background to some of the problems. The Network also provided a unique opportunity to develop local skills in community planning. One area of ongoing concern was the nature of education for young people, since many saw the existing educational system as failing to adequately prepare children for the social roles they would be assuming when they left schools.

In an important respect the scope of Network activities was probably not fully appreciated, either within the Flaxmere community or by officials charged with administering a range of services affecting or open to Flaxmere residents. The growing search on the part of Network to find an educational solution - echoing the spirit of the CEIS programme - was for instance not recognised by the Hawke's Bay Education Board, the agency with responsibility for primary and intermediate education in the area. This oversight was to condition the direction of community response in 1985 when the Hawke's Bay Education Board independently commenced an investigation of the possible need for a fourth primary school in Flaxmere.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CHANGING EDUCATION IN THE CONTEXT OF DECLINING SCHOOL ROLLS

The intention of this chapter is to outline the rise of competing philosophies of education in the context of population decline. New directions in education especially in the 1970s are discussed and an interpretation given of the direction of changes associated with a changing order.

#### Pre-schooling, its growth and philosophies

Early childhood education in New Zealand has attracted much interest and involvement since the early 1960s. As pre-school education is relatively free of State intervention it is in the enviable position, educationally, of having a high measure of freedom and experimentation. The many different pre-school programmes that presently function reflect the numerous philosophical, cognitive and sociological positions adopted by those immediately involved with the formulation and delivery of early childhood education.

The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Pre-school Education (1971) acknowledged the wide-ranging and intensifying demands for early childhood education. The Report also acknowledged that controversial ideas about the basic philosophical stances of different groups involved with pre-school programmes, did exist. The Report showed that many of the difficulties faced and experienced in pre-school education were perceived as problems according to the different philosophical positions of those involved. The key point was that there was no common philosophy about the type of education. The operational divergence during the

pre-school years contrasted with the institutionalised philosophies of 'childhood'.

Until about two decades ago educational philosophy coincided with ideas associated with the thoughts of Montessori, Dewey and others, who advocated an approach aimed at adjusting the socio-emotional state of children. The more recent ideas of Piaget, Bloom, Hunt and others has changed the focus to a new intellectual emphasis which has reinforced the social desirability of pre-school education.

The more recent educational philosophies, such as that of Piaget, have provided considerable evidence stressing that the pre-school years form the basis for later intellectual growth. The marked philosophical differences of many pre-school programmes are that they wittingly fail to challenge children intellectually. It would appear that evidence is sufficient to suggest that some pre-school centres deliberately avoid presenting learning skills activities. The presence of competing and on occasions, conflicting philosophies, has not halted the extensive development of pre-school programmes as indicated in Table 5.1.

#### Public system education

The commencement of primary schooling by a child signifies the implementation of a basic premise of New Zealand education with the public education system providing free to user, compulsory education for every child for a stated minimum number of years (6-15 years).

In 1960 the Currie Commission on Education stressed that the life and work of schools should acknowledge the uniqueness of each child and be

TABLE 5.1NUMBERS OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>KINDERGARTEN</u>	<u>PLAY CENTRE</u>	<u>OTHER</u>
1975	401	697	0
1976	424	697	0
1977	441	702	0
1978	474	700	0
1979	511	694	0
1980	524	684	0
1981	528	680	0
1982	535	682	78
1983	539	681	70
1984	543	677	108
1985	545	666	120

(Source: Appendix to the Journals of the House of  
Representatives of New Zealand, 1985, 59)

concerned with his/her fullest development as a person. The Currie Commission generated a philosophical movement away from "class instruction" and "passive learning" to concerning the teacher's energy for the "whole child", "group methods" and "active methods". Social promotion was to replace standard promotion as the basis for class and school organisation.

What was considered radical prior to the Currie Report in 1960 has, today, become rather orthodox. The Report did not appease all critics for competing philosophies in the area of achievement and academic success still feature as paramount in the minds of some educationalists.

Over the last two decades primary educational philosophy has become increasingly humane because primary teachers "take the needs and interests of children as their point of departure" (Renwick, 1976, 2). The primary school programme contains a learning framework that is broader and more varied and adapted to the attainments and ability of individuals.

The substantial change in philosophical stance from that prior to the 1960s is that the educational doctrine generates an atmosphere involving interest, individual differences, active learning and social promotion. Structurally the primary school system reflected the impact of philosophical change with the Education Act of 1964, requiring that the programme of primary education include "studies and activities" as prescribed.

By the early 1970s the revised primary school system was well established as essentially an eight year institution taking children

between the ages of five and thirteen. Variation within the primary structure has occurred with the development of the idea of the "Junior School" to the first three to four years at school; the "middle school" comprising standards two to four with numerous compositions; the "intermediate school" which by 1972 contained 53.78 per cent of the children in forms one and two. Traditional buildings with their rather static pattern of teaching, with children sitting at formally arranged desks began to be displaced in the early 1970s with new flexibility in building design allowing for the development of new teaching practices such as team teaching, open plan, integrated methods and so on.

Staffing considerations were recognised with the provision and implementation of lower pupil-teaching staffing ratios which in the early 1960s was 36-40 per teacher and by the 1970s had been reduced to 35 or less per teacher. By the 1980s the staffing ratio goal was aimed at 20 students per teacher (Figure 5.1).

Secondary educational philosophy has also undergone much change over the past four decades. The traditional secondary school which placed admission on achievement level began to lose identity in the 1940s. Co-educational schools became the most typical secondary school during the years of post World War II expansion. The changes created an environment where secondary education would be responsive to the individual needs of every child of secondary age.

Philosophically the first intention of secondary schools was to ensure as far as possible, that all students at secondary, irrespective



FIGURE 5.1

SIGNIFICANT REVIEWS AND CHANGES IN EDUCATION POLICY

1961	Amendments to Education Act (1914)	
1962	Establishment of Maori Education Foundation Act (1961)	
1963	Religious Instruction and Observances in Public Schools Act (1963)	
1964	Education Act. Complete consolidation of law on education since Education Act of 1914. Indication of major growth in special education, post-primary education and senior technical education.	
1966	Significant decline in sole charge primary schools 1955 + 25%      1965 + 18% Intermediates 1955 + 28%      1965 + 46%	Reflected change in balance and between rural and urban populations
	Major spread of pre-school education	
1969	All schools in Maori Schools Service came under Education Board control	
1970	New staff/pupil ratio for 1972-1975 of 1:35 for primary and intermediate	
1972	Evident fall off in school construction programme	
1974	Pre-school - major strengthening Conference of State Aid to Private Schools	
1976	Passing of Private Schools Conditional Integration Act. Establishment (in Auckland) of the Pacific Islands Educational Resource Centre. Alternative School Certificate papers for students in the South Pacific.	
1978	Johnson Report on health and social education	
1979	Falling rolls at secondary level dealt with (1) establishing teacher priority rights, (2) devising enrolment schemes 51000 children learning Maori language in primary schools 15000 children learning Maori language in secondary schools	
1981	Staffing ratio 1:25 in small primary schools	
1983	Government decision to reduce public expenditure by 3 per cent including education. Trial draft of Maori language syllabus developed. Integration of Roman Catholic schools completed. Recommendations of Committee on Gangs. Te Kohanga Reo established (1982) for pre-school children.	
1984	Draft Maori language syllabus begun in schools	
1985	Upsurge in interest in Taha Maori	

(Source: compiled from Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand, 1960 to 1985)

of varying abilities receive a generous and well balanced education. The concept of the "common core" was prescribed as an aid to growth and as a general preparation for life. The philosophy behind the concept was not to exalt general education at the expense of vocational education. Secondary educators were in the main of the belief that vocational education should include studies in the arts and sciences intertwined with the social implications of the job in view. Secondary schools were no longer selective and thus the schools had to develop programmes that could cater for students of mixed abilities. This action forced a move away from the more traditional achievement based philosophy that a number of secondary schools used.

A typical secondary school in the 1980s offers a wide range of subjects. Curriculum guidelines are laid down by the Department of Education, but, from fifth form level, individual schools have considerable freedom of choice in the subjects offered. The syllabus for the first three years is based on a common core of subjects - English, social studies, general science, mathematics, music, art and crafts and physical education. A minimum amount of time must be spent on these and further subjects are added depending on the philosophy of the school, the type of course or range of available options.

### Private schools

Until Integration in 1975 the largest number of the primary schools and the majority of the private secondary schools were conducted by the Roman Catholic Church. The philosophy of the private school is very much determined by the proprietors.

The Private Schools Integration Act of 1975 made provision for the conditional and voluntary entry of private schools into the State education system on a basis which preserves and safeguards the "special character" of their education. "Special character" is defined as a particular or general religious or philosophical belief and observances or traditions appropriate to that belief. At the end of 1984 there were "196 primary schools, 8 form 1-7 schools and 52 form 3-7 schools that had been integrated into the State school system" (Department of Education, 1985 9).

#### Maori education

The significance of growth and restructuring in educational thought when applied to Maori education is very evident in the 1980s. The development of Taha Maori, Te Kohanga Reo and bilingual education are based on such reports as the Currie Commission on Education (1962) which supported the view that education would play a major role in determining the future both of the Maori people and of race relationships and the Report recognised that action was needed not just from the Maori of New Zealand, but from all of New Zealand society.

Schwimmer recognised that equality in educational standards is clearly a basic requirement for what he termed "the full inclusion of the Maori in the New Zealand societal community" (Schwimmer, 1968, 40). In *Child Rearing Patterns in New Zealand*, Ritchie (1970) notes the differences between European and Maori child-rearing patterns and acknowledges the difficulty that arises from the need of a person reared by Maori methods to live in a European-dominated society.

A section of the Maori community argued that as there was so great a difference between Maori experience and European educational expectations then there should be established separate schools for Maoris where identifiably different values (it is argued) could sustain the pride and effort needed for the general improvement in educational attainment that is required.

In practice, however, the majority of educationalists and others concerned about the achievement of Maori children at school remained with the conventional system, bringing about change from within. An example of the application of Maori attitudes toward education is illustrated with the involvement of Maori mothers in the Play Centre movement and the willingness to think critically about their own child-rearing practices. This change in pattern of involvement contributed to the founding philosophies of recently initiated programmes in education such as that of the Te Kohanga Reo.

By the 1980s the development of programmes to meet the growing demand for a greater understanding of Maori language and culture has become an important focus in New Zealand education. Teacher organisations work closely providing the assistance to help schools in Maori language, cross-cultural understanding and English language programmes.

Not all restructuring and growth in Maori education is viewed in the same positive light. The Wellington Maori Language Board, Nga Kaiwhakapumau i te Reo, as an example, criticised the 1964 Education Act at the Waitangi Tribunal (1985), for prejudicing the course of Maori

language. The Education Department's reaction was to outline initiatives that had been developed in Maori language promotion thus providing a contrary philosophical stance.

Education concerns reflect a number of matters including:

1. The degree of local interest in particular philosophies, especially Maori education, is likely to reflect population composition.
2. Emphasis on individual education experiences created tensions at the level of education management. Local communities were encouraged to take up the idea of differential education provision to better satisfy local needs.
3. Initiatives and responses complicated by nation-wide slowdown in rate of population growth and the localised declines in the numbers in both school age and pre-school children.

The presence of conflict remains within all levels and sections of education and these conflicts highlight an educational framework within the context of both growth and restructuring.

#### Population: a changing pattern of demand

At a time of widening educational provisions, including the provision of numerous alternative educational opportunities from early childhood to adulthood and beyond, there was a growing awareness and concern of the impact of the population fall-off.

By the early 1980s the impact of the falling birthrate and the continuing expansion of pre-school services within New Zealand reduced

the demand for new services. An immediate effect of this was a "change in staff entitlements of primary and intermediate schools introduced to cushion impact of falling rolls and minimum disruption to educational programmes in individual schools" (Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand, 1982, 4). Kindergarten waiting lists were lowered and playcentres generally had no waiting list and often enough were in a position to accept children at will.

The effect of social and economic changes in the role of women and the life style of families are placing increased demands on government services to provide support systems for the care and education of pre-school children. The determination of some communities to move from non-profit pre-school groups to kindergartens with State funded full-time teachers reflects the increasing strain generated by changing attitudes. Evidence of the change in involvement in the types of pre-school institutions is apparent in Table 5.2. The trends in school and kindergarten enrolments from 1945 to 1985 with forecasts until 1995 are set out in Figure 5.2.

Primary school rolls are declining and will continue to do so throughout this decade. Enrolments for primary schools peaked at 525,323 in 1975 and by 1985 had declined to 452,000. This decline is expected to continue and reach a total of about 410,000 in 1990 (Department of Education, 1986).

From their peak of 235,043 in 1978, secondary enrolments have fluctuated around 230,000 from 1975 to 1984. In 1985 secondary rolls

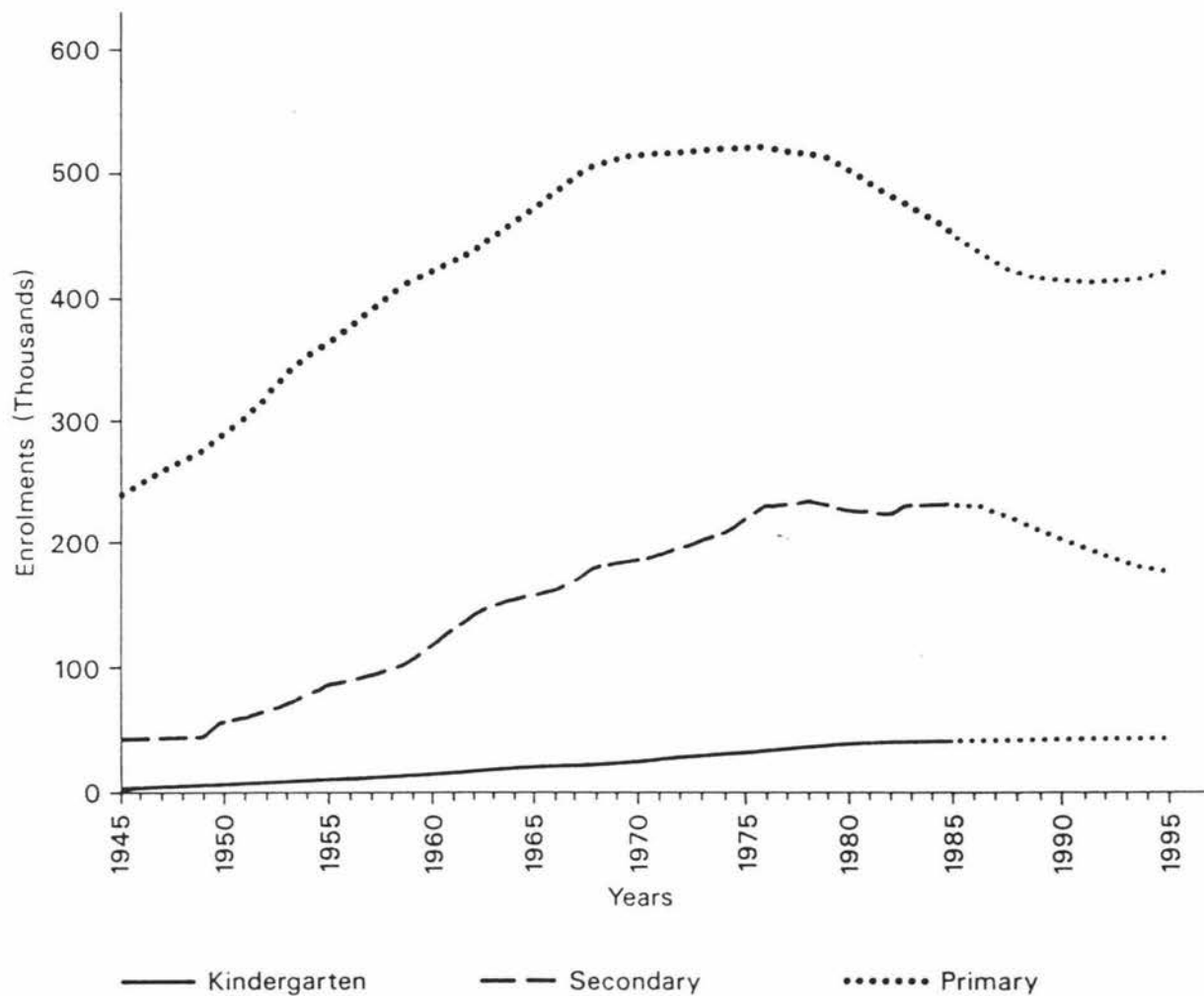
TABLE 5.2

ROLL NUMBERS OF FULL-YEAR STUDENTS AT EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS  
AT 1 JULY

Type of Institution	1975	1984	1985
Pre-school			
Non-profit making groups		3053	3041
Pre-school classes at primary schools		853	1044
Correspondence School		458	488
Playcentres	22400	15514	14923
Kindergartens	32357	40598	41170
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	54757	60476	60666
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

(Source: Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand, 1986, 57)

FIGURE 5.2  
**ENROLMENTS**  
**ACTUAL 1945-1985 AND PROJECTED 1986-1996**



Source: Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand, E.1, 1985, 5.



began to decline and the New Zealand Secondary School's Board in August 1985 calculated for secondary school rolls, a reduction of 22.6 per cent over the proceeding decade. This totalled approximately 52,000 students or a decline of 1000 students per 52 schools. Table 5.3 details changes in the number of new educational institutions in New Zealand from 1960 through 1985. Net change in the primary sector indicates a major shift in institutions from 1980. A net increase continued through to 1980 then some noticeable reduction in primary education institutions occurred. The trend evident since 1980 is likely to remain although evidence suggests that the intensity of the reduction is likely to ease with population numbers at primary level remaining relatively stable.

The greatest source of possible error in the secondary forecasts is the retention of students beyond the minimum leaving age. Changes in the retention of pupils in the senior school arise from such factors as changes in examination structures, economic conditions and community expectations of higher qualifications.

The effects of falling rolls are stressful on those staffing the schools. The demand for teachers is the result of two factors: the number of enrolments, and the staffing ratios in force for each branch of education. Various measures to cushion the effects of falling rolls are being taken with changes to the staffing entitlements of primary schools and the appointments of teachers, being introduced from the beginning of the 1982 school year. Limited job protection for teachers whose permanent positions are surplus to the staffing entitlement of their schools was achieved by amending the Education (Salaries and Staffing)

TABLE 5.3

## CHANGES IN THE NUMBER OF NEW EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

YEAR	NETT CHANGE					ABSOLUTE CHANGE				
	Kindergarten	Play Centre	Primary	Intermediate	Secondary	Kindergarten	Play Centre	Primary	Intermediate	Secondary
1960						200	141	1969	59	150
1961	4	21	10	6	10	204	162	1979	65	160
1962	12	20	20	2	4	216	182	1999	67	164
1963	*	*	26	9	5	216	182	2025	76	169
1964	11	22	20	6	2	227	204	2045	82	171
1965	*	33	24	4	4	227	237	2069	86	175
1966	*	*	22	4	2	227	237	2091	90	177
1967	10	70	22	0	0	237	303	2113	90	177
1968	15	52	17	4	3	252	355	2130	94	180
1969	8	58	7	4	3	260	413	2144	98	183
1970	26	81	14	9	3	286	494	2158	107	187
1971	8	21	5	11	4	294	516	2161	118	191
1972	23	58	0	10	5	318	576	2161	128	196
1973	3	58	0	2	4	329	633	2161	130	200
1974	26	22	*	*	*	355	655	*	*	*
1975	46	42	*	*	*	401	697	*	*	*
1976	23	0	*	*	*	424	697	*	*	*
1977	17	5	*	*	*	441	702	*	*	*
1978	*	*	*	*	*	474	700	2276	144	372
1979	37	-6	14	2	1	511	694	2290	146	373
1980	13	10	-3	1	-2	524	684	2287	147	371
1981	4	-4	-2	2	0	528	680	2285	149	371
1982	7	2	-16	12	1	535	682	2269	161	372
1983	4	-1	-46	9	-6	539	681	2223	170	366
1984	4	-4	-8	-1	-1	543	677	2215	169	365
1985	2	-11	-1	0	3	545	666	2214	169	368

(Source: Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand, 1960 to 1985)

\*: Lack of data available

NOTE: A general net increase occurred through to 1980 and then a noticeable reduction in primary schools, a fall away in secondary institutions. Reductions in play centres were due to the growth effect of kindergartens.

Regulations 1957 and the Education (Assessment, Classification and Appointment) Regulations 1976.

In 1978 secondary schools were introduced to a scheme to offset the effects of fluctuating rolls. This scheme provides students with avoiding unduly disrupted learning programmes. The presence of safeguards and amendments to regulations has not removed the fact that over the past eight years in primary and three years in secondary schools there has been a drop in roll sufficient to terminate a number of teaching positions as shown in Table 5.4.

#### Changing New Zealand scene

Increase in the size of the urban population through the movement into and the growth of the urban areas from within New Zealand and the Pacific means significant groupings of distinctive sub-cultures have emerged. This differentiation especially in the urban population is increasing and becoming more evident.

Coinciding and associated with this process of differentiation is an increase in the rate of stratification in New Zealand society. This has been brought about by population changes especially in urbanisation, industrialisation and the ensuing social pressures brought about by each. Contributing to change in society is the marked difference in income distribution (Table 5.5) with the upper income bracket increasing sizeably. With this increase in income the lower socio-economic groups are becoming increasingly visible through physical separation. Associated with this physical separation is an increased differentiation

TABLE 5.4  
TEACHING POSITIONS AT ALL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Institution	Positions in Full time Equivalents			Full-time Staff 1985		
	1983	1984	1985	Male	Female	Total
Pre-school -						
Playcentres*	256	254	250	*	*	*
Kindergartens	1201	1208	1209	15	1167	1182
Primary -						
State schools	19060	18866	18653	5913	11972	17885
Private schools	412	306	344	135	168	303
Supporting services	931	974	982	320	477	797
Area schools	531	542	579	311	251	562
Composite private schools	595	610	579	198	308	506
Manual training	696	689	683	326	340	666
Secondary						
State schools	13106	13739	13930	7441	5217	12658
Private schools	407	415	437	278	109	387
Departmental special schools	183	182	189	60	112	172
Tertiary -						
Technical institutes	2651	2972	3103	1819	792	2611
Teachers colleges	488	376	381	275	103	378
Universities	2999	2958	3410	2489	446	2935
ASTU	14	11	11	6	5	11

\* All staff is part time

(Source: Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of  
New Zealand; 1985, 58)

TABLE 5.5

NEW ZEALAND POPULATION 15 YEARS AND OVER BY TOTAL INCOME  
(INCLUDING SOCIAL WELFARE INCOME)

Total Income Group	1981 Census Number	Distribution Percent	1986 Census Number	Distribution Percent	Change Between Census
\$5000 or less	885549	42.2	522480	21.9	-363069
\$5001-10,000	514677	24.5	637635	26.7	122958
\$10001-20000	571755	27.3	763926	32.0	192171
\$20001-30000	88719	4.2	324838	13.6	236169
\$30001-40000	18996	0.9	87465	3.7	68469
\$40001 and over	17952	0.9	51294	2.1	33342
Not specified	199056		88353		
TOTAL	2296704	100	2476035	100	179331

(Source: Department of Statistics, 1986)

of value and behavioural patterns associated with the distinctive lifestyle of the different economic groups.

Education in New Zealand is experiencing and witnessing much growth and restructuring because of the increasing diversity of population and because of the increasing differentiation and stratification of the population. Also because of the differential nature of what the child brings to school; because of the differential nature of opportunity and reward sought by various individuals and groups, and because the examination system used assumes that a large percentage of children will always fail, suggests that such a system is no longer adequate. It is in this environment that there is presently an education system in transition.

#### New directions in education

The concept of alternative education generates ideas of confusion for many. Institutions in education do vary enormously but certain types of buildings and certain curriculum tend to be seen as appropriate to various levels of learning.

Dissatisfaction with results in the traditional educational environment is the principal reason for proposing and implementing alternative educational structures. The dissatisfaction can come from within a school where staff and pupils are unhappy about organisation or the way a particular group of students are coping. Concerned groups within the community who perceive inadequacies in the local schools can press for alternative systems or methods to be tried. A second form of

alternative has its basis on philosophical beliefs which point to a different way of educating. The emphasis is on a positive belief in what the alternative has to offer, rather than a negative feeling towards the traditional system.

Alternatives are tolerated although when administered under the auspices of the Department of Education there are a number of constraining influences including finance, the development of ideas, difficulty getting access to potential users, diminishing population and antagonism towards the introduction and implementation of different educational thought. The main recent examples of alternative education in New Zealand are:

#### Whanau House

The 'whanau' is the extended family and within the traditional school framework a small community comprising teachers and students spend much of their time together, teaching, learning, planning and developing. This core group of people spend most of their time in the Whanau house partaking in school activities. The benefits of this close knit framework within the school extends into the family and community. Maori students in particular are able to respond to the Whanau system for they as a cultural group enforce strongly the feeling of the extended family.

Within the curriculum there is an open option system where each subject is designed to allow each student to progress at their own pace. Free time is built into each student's programme to be used at their own discretion. The Whanau house is open from approximately 8.00 am to 5.00

pm providing a community focus as well as a place for learning.

Increased responsibility is placed on students and the response shows a more self-confident student who demonstrates greater concerns for others. Most significantly students and staff see each other as people with many of the same concerns.

### Activity centres

The purpose of the Education Department assisted Centres is to provide for children and adolescents who do not fit comfortably into the traditional school system. The whole emphasis is on the student who does not have to respond to examinations unless so desired, and whose individual development is considered more important than the enlargement of academic skills. Success is achieved by the students acquiring greater self-esteem and consequently being more responsive to others. The Centre places little emphasis on structure but much emphasis on freedom. This permits the student to experience working life while at the same time maintaining contact with the Centre. Each student needs to be sufficiently independent and responsible to be part of the programme.

### Rudolf Steiner schools

The Rudolf Steiner educational philosophy is an example of flexibility possible in education. The structure of the Steiner education platform is that a person reaches maturity after about 21 years. Thus in education three stages are gone through, each of about



seven years. The educational divisions are:

1. Programme for pre-school where physical education dominates.  
Activities are designed to build confidence within the child, giving the child a positive outlook on life;
2. The primary school child who over seven years has the same teacher who emphasises respect for others as well as the basic skills, and
3. After puberty comes the time of idealism and the search for a true understanding of life and the world. Freedom of thought and the will to work and achieve personal ambition are permanently installed.

The Department of Education policy on the development of alternatives within education is not formally formalised. The demand for alternatives within the system is infrequent and tends to be localised, arising from a variety of causes but usually strongly supported by a group of enthusiasts. "Enthusiasm is a strong driving force, but it demands a rapid response. The traditional, tightly defined policies tend to generate resistance to rapid change. Hence, a policy appropriate to alternatives in education must be flexible and responsive to the needs of innovators, provided the interests of children are protected" (Barlow et al., 1978, 4). The existence of common core curriculum and adequately qualified teachers ensures protection.

It is not easy to define an alternative either to satisfy those proposing it or to communicate the basic ideas to others. Nor is it easy to set up an operational alternative. Difficulties arise out of competition for pupils, divergent philosophies and a reluctance on the part of authorities to confer local autonomy.

The concept of alternative education involves increasing community participation in education, encouraging promising practice within the school programme, offering choices in education to parents, students and staff. Parents in particular need to feel that the school system is giving them what they want for their children.

The existence of competing philosophies in education generates new directions in education. It is this desire for change, born out of local perceptions, which forms the platform of alternative school concepts. The opportunity to experience alternative educational forms has generated increased community participation with the effect that communities are responding to what they perceive as their immediate educational needs.

The foregoing discussion highlights the mix of changes underway in the state and private spheres of education. By the 1980s two threads were especially important in most communities. These were: interest in alternative education philosophies and attention on individual education experiences better suited to satisfy local needs. These were complicated by the impacts on education management which the new proposals brought about.

### Flaxmere

Educational provision in Flaxmere conformed closely to the national 'model'. Three years after housing was first built in the suburb Flaxmere Primary was opened in 1970 with a roll of 72. Subsequent two additional primary schools were established in 1973 and 1976. Two years on Flaxmere Intermediate was built.

The type of education delivered to the suburb was overwhelmingly the standard state education. No alternative pre-school education facilities were available and the community had no private primary schools. Figure 5.3 documents major developments in Hawke's Bay Education Board policy and these consistently reflect wider developments already outlined in the chapter. To a large degree however the general adoption by the Board was not rapidly translated into programme alterations in Flaxmere schools.

Table 5.6 displays the rolls for all primary schools in Hastings. Significantly the rolls in central Hastings were beginning to show decline in the mid 1970s. In contrast, the rolls of Flaxmere schools continued to rise into the 1980s. The cases of individual schools were spectacular, for example, Irongate 1976, 163; 1980, 542 pupils, Peterhead 1974, 160 and 1980, 560 pupils; Flaxmere 1971, 127 and 1975, 484 pupils. This was fuelled by the rapid increase in households in the suburb, for example, between 1975 and 1979 Hastings City Council issued 781 permits for dwelling units in Flaxmere. This compares with 534 permits issued for the main Hastings City area during the same period. Since 1980 Flaxmere has been issued a total of 738 building permits compared to 705 in Hastings City area.

Importantly, then the local experience of Flaxmere was atypical in three significant ways. First, the suburb had a population growth which was sharply different to central Hastings and to most other suburbs in the Heretaunga Plains. Two, the school roll growth was even more pronounced whereas Hastings central had dropped many, the Flaxmere primary schools and the intermediate were continuing to rise. Third,

FIGURE 5.3

SUMMARY OF DEVELOPMENTS IN HAWKE'S BAY EDUCATION BOARD

- 1968 Camberly Primary opened (176 roll)
- 1970 Flaxmere Primary opened (72 roll).  
Continued increase in Maori roll numbers. 30.6 per cent of primary school population is Maori.  
Board recognised need for policies and schemes to focus more effectively on the needs of Maori children (H.B.E.B. Report, 1970, 30).
- 1971 Pilot linkage scheme in teaching elementary Maori language at form two level. Initially five primary schools involved.  
Aim: (1) Maori and Pakeha children to become more aware of an important part of their heritage, (2) fluency in spoken Maori.
- 1973 Peterhead Primary opened (11 roll)
- 1974 Inspectors and Advisors were emphasising the relationship between teacher expectation, teacher sensitivity and Maori pupils self-image.  
Hawke's Bay Education Board had a larger proportion of Maori children than in other education board areas.
- 1976 Irongate Primary opened (80 roll)
- 1978 Flaxmere Intermediate opened (252 roll)
- 1979 Establishment of District Advisory Committee on Maori Education - involved local Maori people providing a valuable link between Education Board members and parents.  
Board recognised need for more Itinerant teachers of Maori and to develop Maori studies programmes to assist classroom teachers. Also recruitment of more Maoris into teaching, made more effective by getting Maoris more directly involved in campaigns (H.B.E.B. Report, 1979, 8).  
Concept of bi-lingual schools formally mooted by District Senior Inspector. Actioned at Omahu (formerly Fernhill) and Hiruharama schools.
- 1980 Board saw need for greater coordination between Education and Maori Affairs interests to ensure Maori Affairs programmes for schools are fully complimentary to assisting school programmes.
- 1983 Kohanga Reo: established at Camberly school along with the former school residence for Omahu school.  
Bi-lingual programmes, recognised by the Hawke's Bay Education Board needed special staff appointment arrangements.
- 1984 Hawke's Bay Education Board supported core component of 100 hours in Maori studies in Teachers' College.  
Maori proportion of representation in schools rose to 34.3 per cent.  
Maori language syllabus - trial schools: Omahu, Richmond, Ilminster Intermediate, Waikirikiri, Raupunga.
- 1985 Paki Paki an official bi-lingual school.  
Taha Maori: itinerant Maori services endeavoured to respond to the increasing demands for assistance from teachers wanting to incorporate Taha Maori into teaching programmes.

(Source: Compiled from Hawke's Bay Education Board Annual Reports, 1968 to 1985)

TABLE 5.6

CHANGES IN THE ROLLS OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN HASTINGS URBAN

SCHOOL	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Camberly	397	418	442	426	448	437	430	362	343	326	297	286	243	210	195	163
Ebbert Park	413	403	351	344	302	286	264	272	290	298	301	274	218	191	180	168
Flaxmere (opened 2.2.71)	127	212	364	422	484	482	511	551	563	574	574	595	568	555	595	580
Flaxmere Intermediate (opened 1.2.79)									257	321	380	438	481	524	510	497
Frimley	540	502	500	509	523	510	513	510	517	490	441	413	349	319	298	293
Hastings Central	528	550	484	474	452	443	391	387	369	381	384	349	373	369	338	301
Hastings Intermediate	526	564	600	662	646	574	546	592	520	482	418	427	467	457	440	445
Heretaunga Intermediate	621	697	700	692	761	828	904	841	616	553	565	540	539	487	443	432
Irongate (opened 1.2.76)							163	284	420	542	620	634	657	658	604	550
Kowhai Special (opened 1.2.73)				24	25	31	35	41	44	48	53	54	52	52	51	56
Mahora	544	515	486	441	419	378	366	372	371	362	359	380	386	390	369	356
Mayfair	482	510	505	482	479	465	436	420	378	365	368	356	301	307	315	298
Parkvale	505	502	471	470	436	403	378	372	401	378	361	371	354	332	322	303
Peterhead (opened 1.2.74)				160	307	522	524	571	595	560	536	500	443	410	398	386
Raureka	532	513	513	525	507	492	454	468	412	392	375	342	304	338	332	330
Riverslea	140	150	136	150	137	123	113	111	93	110	101	105	100	89	82	69
St Marys*										255	267	251	246	259	252	278
St Josephs*													321	316	309	309
Pakowhai	53	53	51	67	85	78	68	59	65	74	69	71	62	54	48	40
Twyford	128	128	129	124	124	122	137	140	153	145	146	141	140	151	141	143

(Source: Compiled from Hawke's Bay Education Board records)

NOTE: \* Integrated into state system

this experience was in national terms comparatively unusual. Table 5.7 showed the plateauing of the number of pre-school and primary and intermediate schools and the size of their rolls. From an administrative standpoint, the general picture was one of slow national growth of population but rapid reduction in numbers of school-aged children.

The continued pressure on Flaxmere schools arose mainly from the limited options for subdivision open to local authorities in the Heretaunga Plains. Table 5.8 revealed the fall off in inner-city and peripheral subdivision in the main area of Hastings and the strong growth in Flaxmere. Those settling in the suburb were mostly with young families, for example 1497 children under six years which represented 18.38 per cent of Flaxmere's population (Department of Statistics, 1981, 84), and this provided a reservoir of children to supply the local schools, Figure 5.4.

In the 1980s when the three primary schools began to grow at an increased rate, after a short period of slower growth, the issue of a fourth primary school began to receive wide discussion. However, unlike the 1970s when it was normal to build new facilities in direct response to local population change, the 1980s presented both the Hawke's Bay Education Board and the Flaxmere community with a major problem. The overall direction of school roll change was downward and the question often posed locally and by the Board was how long would Flaxmere schools continue to be pressured by a local population expansion.

TABLE 5.7

NUMBERS OF PRE-SCHOOL, PRIMARY AND INTERMEDIATE INSTITUTIONS WITH ROLL NUMBERS  
OF PRIMARY AND INTERMEDIATE INSTITUTIONS IN NEW ZEALAND

YEAR	PRE-SCHOOL									
	Kindergartens Number of Institutions		Play Centre Number of Institutions		Non Profit Pre-School Groups Institutions		<u>PRIMARY</u> Number of Institutions		<u>INTERMEDIATE</u> (including F1-7) Number of Institutions	
		Roll		Roll		Roll		Roll		Roll
1978	474	..	700	..	o	o	2276	393536	186	123762
1979	511	..	694	..	o	o	2290	390221	189	123337
1980	524	..	684	..	o	o	2287	381262	191	123010
1981	528	..	680	..	o	o	2285	367986	194	123497
1982	535	..	682	..	78	o	2269	359011	213	125003
1983	539	..	681	..	70	o	2223	346797	222	127072
1984	543	..	677	..	108	o	2215	337956	221	125140
1985	545	..	666	..	120	o	2214	329337	221	120648

.. Not available

o Not applicable

(Source: Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand, 1985, 59-60).

TABLE 5.8

NUMBER OF DWELLING UNITS FOR WHICH PERMITS WERE ISSUED  
1975-1986

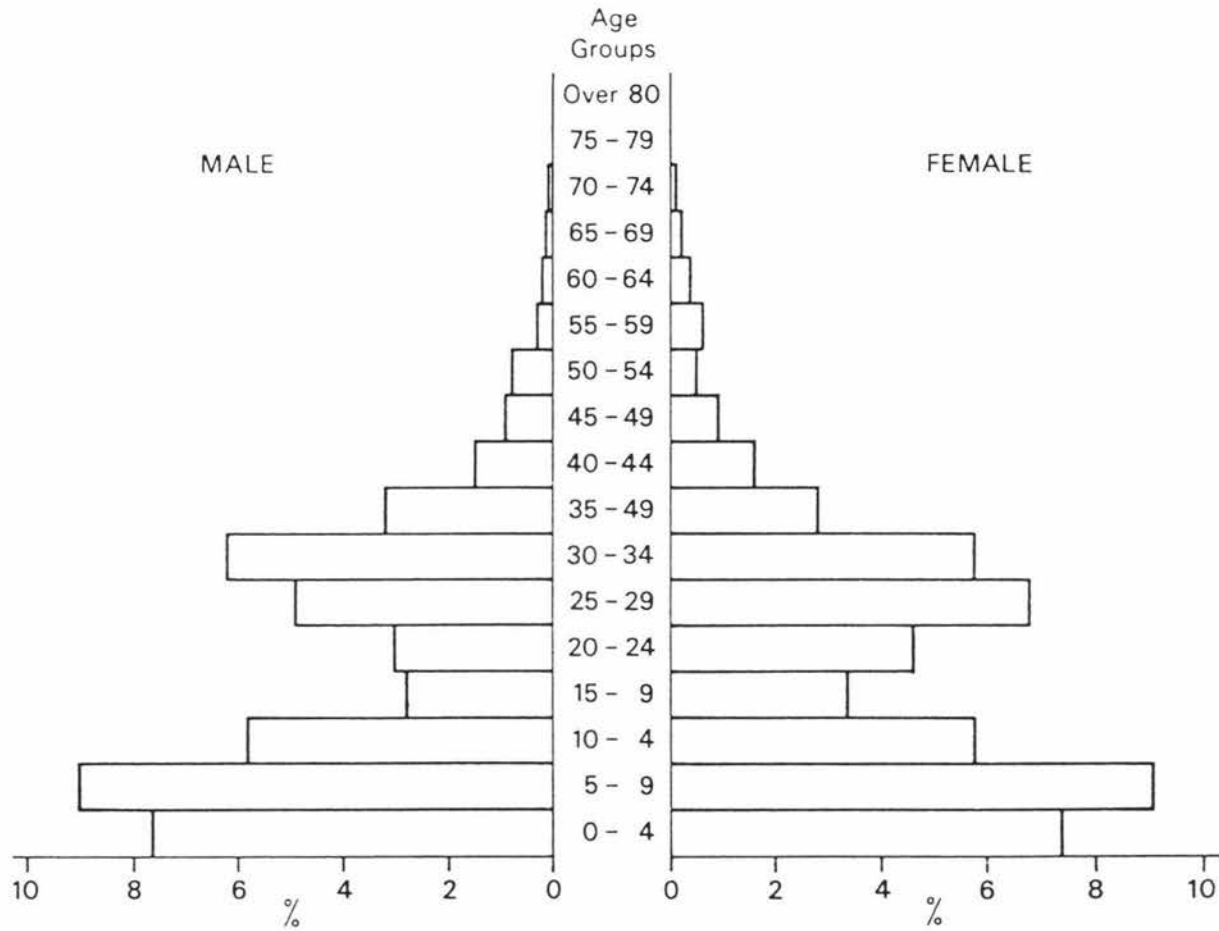
Jan-Dec	Flaxmere	Main City Area	Total
1975	229	119	348
1976	143	176	324
1977	142	105	247
1978	147	85	232
1979	115	49	164
1980	63	90	153
1981	57	65	122
1982	99	52	151
1983	125	86	201
1984	161	135	295
1985	152	151	303
1986	81	126	207

(Source: Hastings City Council, Planning Division, 1986)



FIGURE 5.4

AGE GROUPS  
OF THE POPULATION OF FLAXMERE



Source: Department of Statistics, 1981

## CHAPTER SIX

### FLAXMERE EDUCATIONAL FUTURES PROJECT

The previous chapters have established the context in which community action in Flaxmere in the 1980s must be set. The nature of the Flaxmere Educational Futures Project however was finally determined by the unique mix of influences which those participating directly and indirectly in the project perceived immediately prior to and during the project. These are discussed in this chapter under five headings:

1. the patterns of response to local social problems,
2. the Hastings City Council strategy over subdivision and future urban expansion,
3. the Hawke's Bay Education Board concern over numbers of school children in the suburb,
4. local annoyance about the absence of a high school, and
5. the community based survey organised by the Department of Geography, Massey University.

It is important to appreciate that Flaxmere residents, other Hastings city residents and different members in various organisations had only an incomplete perception of relevant influences at the time. Up to a point, the community survey exposed the influences and forced explicit consideration of their implications. Different groups were affected and constrained in differing ways by the events which demarcated particular influences. The historical detail covered in the chapter helps in clarifying why specific issues and views surfaced in the survey results.

### Response to social problems

By the early 1980s attitudes of many groups towards the suburb of Flaxmere and its inhabitants were well established. Antagonism towards and fear of some minority groups was increasing, with concern and strong opinions being expressed by both Flaxmere and non-Flaxmere residents.

### The Whanau Question

In May 1984 public concern over the considered misuse of the Te Whanau Youth Centre at Flaxmere was aired. The chairman of the Flaxmere Licensing Trust, Mr J. Morgan, described the Centre as "a night-time haven for 'an uncontrolled bunch of young hoodlums'" (Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune, 1.5.84, 1). He argued that residents experienced severe disruption to their lives and large repair bills to their properties as a result of youth activity originating from the Centre.

A series of incidents were listed, including break-ins at the Flaxmere Tavern, injuries to police when dealing with the youth in conflict, and the linking of the Youth Centre with break-ins at a nearby autocentre, vandalism and break-ins at Flaxmere Intermediate and burglaries carried out at a nearby takeaway.

The Trust chairman cited members of the public who had experienced damage to property and theft which, it was assumed, was the responsibility of those attached to the Youth Centre. The chairman labelled the Te Whanau Youth Centre "part of the sad story of (a) well intentioned but socially disastrous experiment" (Hawke's Bay Herald

Tribune, 1.5.84, 1). Further disgust was expressed when reference was made to the doubtful discretion of the city officers in allowing youth to sleep in the Te Whanau Centre overnight - this decision was contrary to city planning regulations.

Reference to Rotary, Social Welfare and Maori Affairs, along with other social agencies, as to these groups apparent concern about the Youth Centre was used to bolster allegations against youths associated with the Te Whanau Centre.

The Flaxmere Community Network, involved in distributing money from the Government's anti-gang grant to Flaxmere, was criticised for providing Te Whanau with the then biggest cash grant of \$37,800. This criticism was applied on the basis that the organisation had already had enough money from the fund. The criticism of the Te Whanau centre by the Licensing Trust Chairman was considered as only one side of the Te Whanau Trust's experiment in the suburb.

One of Te Whanau's administrators, Mr Ron Sharp, argued that the Youth Centre was "'a scapegoat' for the social problems of (a) young suburb" (Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune, 1.5.84, 1). He argued, as a work development coordinator funded by the Department of Internal Affairs, that Flaxmere was experiencing the growing pains of a young community which lacked sufficient numbers of older generations to fulfil the role of a stabilising influence. His concern for the centre was that it lacked parental involvement and much of the work fell on a few willing supporters.

In response to criticisms of the Centre a solution was suggested that a large meeting of all groups involved - police, Government departments and residents - be held to see if the centre could get more support from the community. The Network Community acknowledged that much of the allegations of the Licensing Trust chairman were probably true but the Network had no complaints about associations with Te Whanau. The fact that many parents did not allow their children to go near the Centre during this period further reinforced the need for a community centre - an issue first proposed as early as 1975 with plans for a heated indoor pool, day care centre, basketball courts and sauna. By 1984 such plans had not been realised but merely "scaled down because the Hastings mayor (of that time), Mr J. O'Connor, doubted whether Hastings could afford the project" (Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune, 23.2.84, 1).

The response to the chairman of the Flaxmere Licensing Trust publically speaking out about the problems of lawless youth in Flaxmere generated a number of reactions. Figure 6.1 is illustrative of responses that followed Morgan's public statements. The Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune editorial on May 2, 1984, strongly supported Morgan's comments by acknowledging that it was "high time someone spoke out". The editorial recognised that Government handouts would not solve the social problems but bluntly pointed out that attention needed to be directed "to the start of all the trouble - the parents and the home" (Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune, 2.5.84, 2).

Not all of the early criticism was totally accepted. The suggestion that a number of the crimes committed was directly associated with the

# Flaxmere 'is headed for open warfare'

FIGURE 6.1

Thousands of dollars of public money have turned the Te Whanau Youth Centre into a night-time haven for "an uncontrolled bunch of young hoodlums," Flaxmere Licensing Trust, Mr James Morgan, said today.

98

Constructive move on Flaxmere's problems

**A growing asset for Flaxmere**

...trouble coping with their youngsters...  
...measure of sympathy yesterday at the Flaxmere...  
...called by the Te Whanau Trust...  
...Sometimes it was not their fault. The parents themselves needed help to communicate — get on to the same length — as their children, speakers said.

**Scapegoat for social problem**

**A new approach to Flaxmere's problems?**

...cause of a build-up in frustration...  
...community worker and Te Whanau...  
Monday, May 7, 1984

**Join the queue for policing**

**Public meeting seeks youth centre support**

**Challenge to parents**

**Better use of facilities at Flaxmere is urged**

Flaxmere was heading toward "a state of open warfare" because of its youth and other social problems, Hastings city councillor, Mr Roger McNeill, said today.

**Centre not for sleeping: Mayor**

The Te Whanau Youth Centre at Flaxmere cannot be used as overnight sleeping quarters, Hastings city councillor, Mr Roger McNeill, said today.

**Parents given some sympathy**

IN CALLING a youth problem obvious, and have been given a public airing. The bare facts are destructive to the centre's image, and to Flaxmere, and it is a time for the community to come together and see what measures it can take to overcome a distressing situation.

Alcohol, and lack of parental supervision have been blamed for the behaviour of a section of Flaxmere's youth which has been labelled "an uncontrolled bunch of young hoodlums." This points the finger at two areas of concern.

The Te Whanau Youth centre, Swansea Rd, Flaxmere, has become a "scapegoat" for the social problems of the young suburb, one of its administrators, Mr Ron Sharp, said today.

Mr Sharp, who is funded by the Department of Internal Affairs as a work development co-ordinator at Flaxmere, said the youth centre was regarded by Flaxmere's youths as "a type of large tree hut" where they could belong to a group of people similar to themselves.

**Chairman outlines problems**

**The Hawke's Bay Herald-Tribune**

Wednesday, May 2, 1984

**Tackle the parents of**

**Youths wait down club**

consumption of alcohol and that it was quite feasible for minors to purchase alcohol from the Flaxmere Tavern, of which Mr Morgan was chairman, was presented as a counter claim. This could well have proved a distraction from the real issue of "youth at risk".

The then Hastings senior police officer, Chief Inspector Paul Wiseman was reported in May of 1984 commending the Te Whanau Youth Centre for the dedication of the people running the centre and for the excellent job they were doing.

It is reflective comment that the then Mayor of Hastings in reacting to the public statements about the Te Whanau Youth Centre at Flaxmere stated that "in fact (he'd) had some feedback that they're doing a fairly good job out there" (Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune, 2.5.84, 1).

The result of the initial public expression of concern was a public meeting at Flaxmere involving concerned groups and the Te Whanau Youth Centre which set about constructively solving the serious problem of undesirable youthful behaviour. The unfavourable publicity Flaxmere received was seen by some people as being to the suburb's detriment. By others it was recognised that public awareness would possibly generate action which in turn would create positive rather than negative reaction. The public meeting attracted a mere 100 people and this number could suggest that the well publicised problems needed to be put into perspective. Failure to attract more people could have pointed to a certain amount of indifference. The growth of neighbourhood groups and community action groups that followed from the public gathering and the



resultant action is sufficient to suggest that Flaxmere's problems are being faced up to by the community.

### The Family Centre

A less controversial community structure within Flaxmere was the establishment of the Flaxmere Family Centre in August 1982. The Centre was the first of its kind operating in New Zealand and by 1984 it provided services in dental health, occupational therapy, budget advisory, probationary and educational services. The Centre catered for community groups such as senior citizens and social groups along with community leadership discussions which included the youth leaders of Flaxmere. As an underlying purpose the Family Centre provided a welfare service to meet the needs in all aspects of community health and welfare. The Centre also helped in combating the problem of isolation faced by many Flaxmere residents.

The presence of many young, financially heavily committed families in Flaxmere caused problems of transportation. The fact that most of the family finance had been invested in a home removed the opportunity for the purchase of a second vehicle to provide transport, thus reinforcing the isolation. The absence of an adequate bus system and with few bus routes from Flaxmere to Hastings many families were unable to have easy access to social and health services in Hastings (Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune, 19.5.84, 2). The Flaxmere Community Committee chairman, Mr John Parkinson, expressed a similar view when he stated a concern "about the lack of extensions to the bus route in Flaxmere" (Hawke's Bay Herald



Tribune, 14.7.84, 3). In contrast to the negative expressions about Flaxmere the Family Centre coordinator, Mrs Judy Baxter, found Flaxmere "a wonderful place in which to live" (Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune, 19.5.84, 2).

### Parental Involvement

The experiences of the Flaxmere Te Whanau Centre and the juvenile problems of the early 1980s continued to feature the need for parental involvement. In August 1984 the suburb's community committee planned to investigate ways of involving residents in different group activities. Crime prevention in Flaxmere was one of the major issues the committee planned to get involved in. Also considered was the need for a high school in Flaxmere.

The public meeting with the Minister of Police in Flaxmere on 11 February 1985 recognised the concerns of some young persons were caused by their not infrequent court appearances. A call for increased parental involvement in the holiday programmes for young persons was encouraged. A spokesperson for the Hawke's Bay Justices of the Peace, Mr A.J. McDonald stressed "the police were doing a 'wonderful job' but that they were being let down by parents who needed to play their part if the community was to be safe" (Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune, 12.2.85, 3).

Reinforcing the apparent need for increased parental involvement Constable Ellen Young of the Hastings youth aid section noted that the daily programmes (over the Christmas holidays) funded by Network volunteers, Maori Women's League, religious groups, Maori Affairs and

Social Welfare had greatly reduced the incidence of juvenile crime over this period. Constable Young urged that "parents need to get in behind these programmes" (Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune, 22.1.85, 3).

### Flaxmere Community Network

After initial hesitation in implementing the scheme during 1982, the Network, in 1983, initiated a programme for informing the total community and for dealing with the perceived social problems of, more particularly, youth at risk. The structure of Network rapidly evolved from a non-structured community involved organisation to a formally structured group. This development caused concern among some residents who believed it possible that special interest groups would dominate decision making and funding allocations.

Initial conflict in Network through 1983 restricted the size of grants although the HELP project intended for the parents with children at primary school level received \$14,000 and the other major programme, a community youth centre, Te Whanau, aimed mainly at Maori adolescents at risk, received \$20,000. By 1984 it was evident to most associated with Network that maintaining contact with the Interdepartmental Committee and Departmental Advisor along with making most of the decisions, lay with one group within the Network association.

The existence of division, apparent or not, generated conflict within the Network Action Group (NAG) raising doubt over some decision-making. Anxiety grew to the extent that overtones of racism were suggested. Although action in the form of grant allocations, responses to government

and answering to the Interdepartmental Committee was fulfilled, conflict escalated to the degree that by September 1984 "A Maori-Pakeha split developed and gender issues surfaced also" (Community Education Initiatives Scheme Report, 1986, 44).

The September 1984 meeting of Network created a more concilliatory environment within the Network Committee although divisions were not entirely healed.

A significant contribution to the creating of divisions within Network was the tendency (more specifically Pakeha) to operate in a bureaucratic fashion. The inter-network hui in early 1985 emphasised the need to give urgent attention to youth at risk and especially for the Maori people to receive the support they needed. This support was to be shown through the likes of Kohanga Reo, local marae and other cultural groups.

No matter what criticisms and controversy the Network faced in Flaxmere it was one of the few organisations considering the total community development. It was this structural framework and organisational capacity that gave Network the authority and ability to be part of a major survey, in November 1985, to look at the wide range of educational alternatives for Flaxmere.

## HASTINGS CITY COUNCIL POLICY

Cross leasing

To offset the effects of increasing inaccessibility to home-ownership for working people caused by higher costs and increasing mortgage rates, the Hastings City Council adopted a policy of cross-leasing. The concept of cross-leasing involves a system of land development in which a normal-sized residential site bought from the council is divided into two sections by the owner, often in association with a building firm. Cross-leasing generated much debate for antagonists believed that excessive use of this process was lowering the value of residential dwellings within the suburb. Claimants suggested that by mid-1985, "75 per cent of all sections sold at Flaxmere (were) split into two-unit sites by cross-leasing" (Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune, 25.6.85, 3). An aspect of the argument against the proliferation of cross-leasing was the difficulty the power board and Post Office lines staff had in accurately determining the cabling needed to service the additional houses. The 75 per cent cross-leasing claim of the Hastings city engineer in 1985 was refuted by the city planner who suggested that although there had been a dramatic rise in cross-leasing the percentage involved no more than 40 per cent of all sections.

Whatever percentage of residential dwellings were cross-leased the general concern seemed to be the lowering of the value of those dwellings already established and a possible inadequate provision of housing size for those occupying cross-leased sections. Recently retired Hastings

City mayor Mr J. O'Connor in 1985 defended the size of homes built on the half-sized sites, noting that "many post-war families were raised in houses of only 990 square feet. The home units being built in Flaxmere were the equivalent of about 1000 square feet and if cross-leasing was prohibited, it would simply add extra costs to would-be homeowners" (Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune, 26.6.85, 3).

This viewpoint was not universally held and a number believed Flaxmere has the potential to duplicate Otara or Porirua. The majority of home owners occupying the western end of Flaxmere were low income earners and unable to afford to make grounds attractive because of high mortgages. Established dwellers in Flaxmere considered the Hastings City Council decision to permit cross-leasing on such a large scale to be a negative influence on the suburb. A number of home owners believed they had "paid big money for sections and the Council blithely allowed cross-leased dog boxes on prime sections" (Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune, 25.11.85).

The presence of extensive cross-leasing did have the effect of a rapid increase in the number of dwelling unit permits but at the same time continued concern prevailed over the continual growth of low-cost homes. Housing development in Flaxmere west seems to be a continual growth of low-cost homes. This situation concerned both major housing developers who recognised the need for changes in Flaxmere's future development.

Suggested advancement of Flaxmere's future landscape included provision by the Hastings City Council of areas being made "available for

private clients to buy sections and not builders, a scattering of sections available to builders...scattered sections available for own-your-own flats only (and) a covenant on the house value if a builder buys in a private sector" (Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune, Harding, 30.10.85, 4).

The debate on housing styles continues with continued concern over the growing move towards multiple housing in the suburb. The availability of cheaper section prices of about \$13,000 when compared with the lower price range of \$23,000 in Napier (November 1986), tended to generate less expensive type dwellings. This in turn has generated a residential growth area which has continued to strain inadequate and insufficient social amenities.

#### Plans for more expansion

Early in mid 1985 the Hastings City Council anticipated a population for Hastings of up to "60,000 people with upward of 16,000 of these people living in Flaxmere by the year 2000" (Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune, 22.8.85, 2). The obstacles of development facing the City Council includes a reluctance to see productive agricultural land disappear under commercial and residential development and the need to safeguard the purity of the underground water supply which forms the basis of the prosperity of the Heretaunga Plains.

The direction of city expansion is ultimately constrained by land the Hastings City Council owns. This includes 490 hectares of farmland in two major blocks. One of these areas is west of Flaxmere to Highway 50

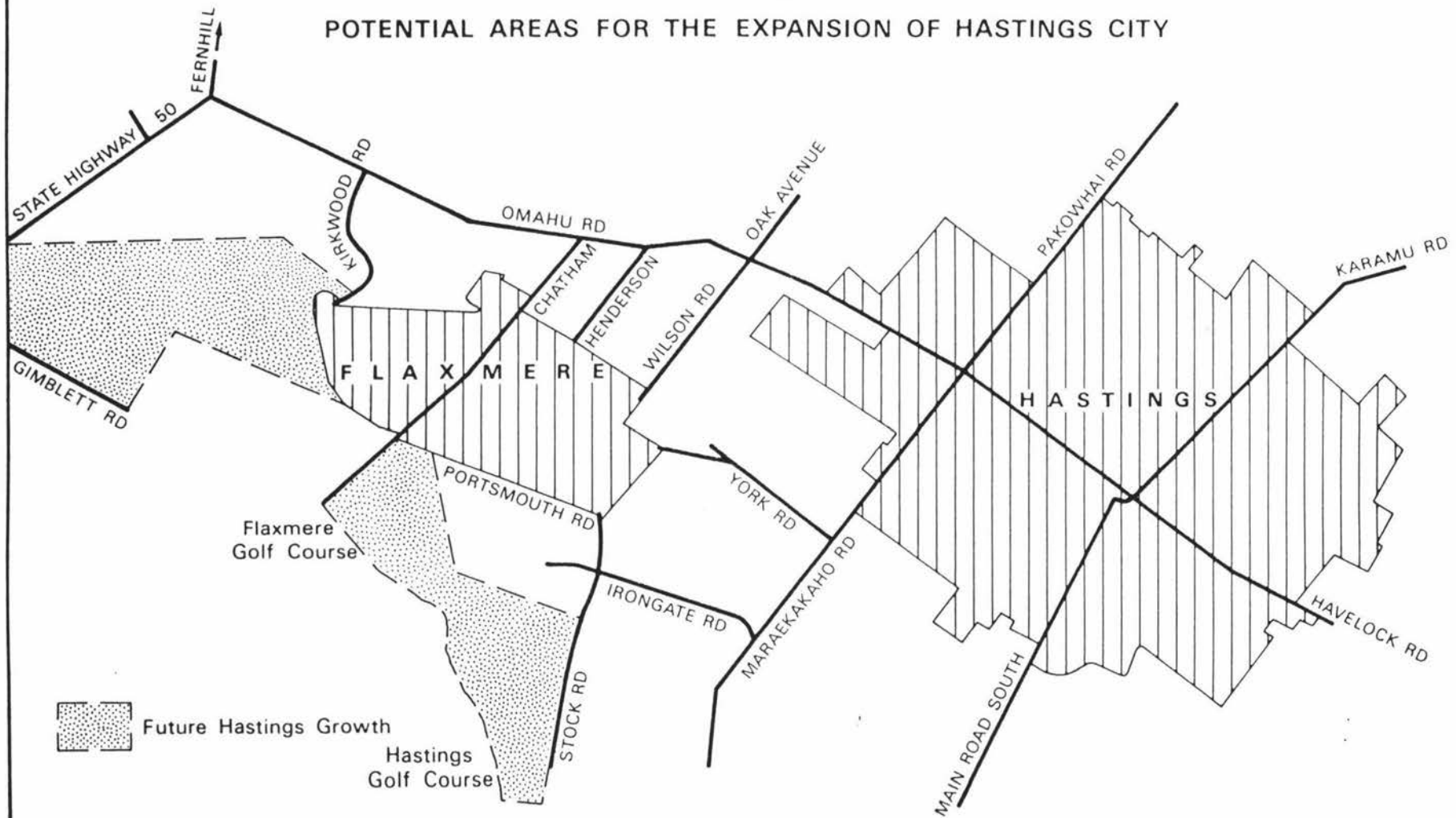
and the other block runs south-west from the southern boundary of Flaxmere along a part of the Hastings and Flaxmere Golf Clubs (Figure 6.2). In late 1986 the Hastings City Council bought nearly 30 hectares of land at Fernhill west of Hastings to develop as a residential site, providing about 200 building sites on the block. The Council anticipated that "the block would provide Hastings with an attractive and valuable suburb in the next 10 to 15 years" (Dominion, 4.10.86, 6).

The Hastings City Council Planning Department in its report to the Council in 1986 elaborated on house construction and land uptake. In terms of Hastings residential development the West Flaxmere block was always intended to provide for the greater percentage of growth. Since 1981 this has resulted in some 400 sites being developed and sold by Council. The remaining area which will yield a further 293 sites, is currently under development and these sections will be made available for purchase as demand requires.

The west Flaxmere block when annexed to the city in 1976 was predicted to cater for section demands into the mid to late 1980s, the actual date of full uptake being determined by the level of growth over the period. The actual uptake suggested predictions over the whole period to be exaggerated as a result of the severe downturn in sales and house building over the 1980-81 years as shown in Table 5.8. Excluding this period the average uptake rate has in fact been at the predicted levels although 1986 indicates a marked downward movement from the 1983-85 years.

FIGURE 6.2

POTENTIAL AREAS FOR THE EXPANSION OF HASTINGS CITY





The existence of a waiting list in excess of 170 average over the last 3 to 4 year period suggests a demand for sections. If the financial difficulty is overcome the Council could expect all available undeveloped sections in the city to be taken up in less than a further eighteen months. This is on the assumption that the downward move of 1986 is not to be the typical pattern of land uptake of the immediate future.

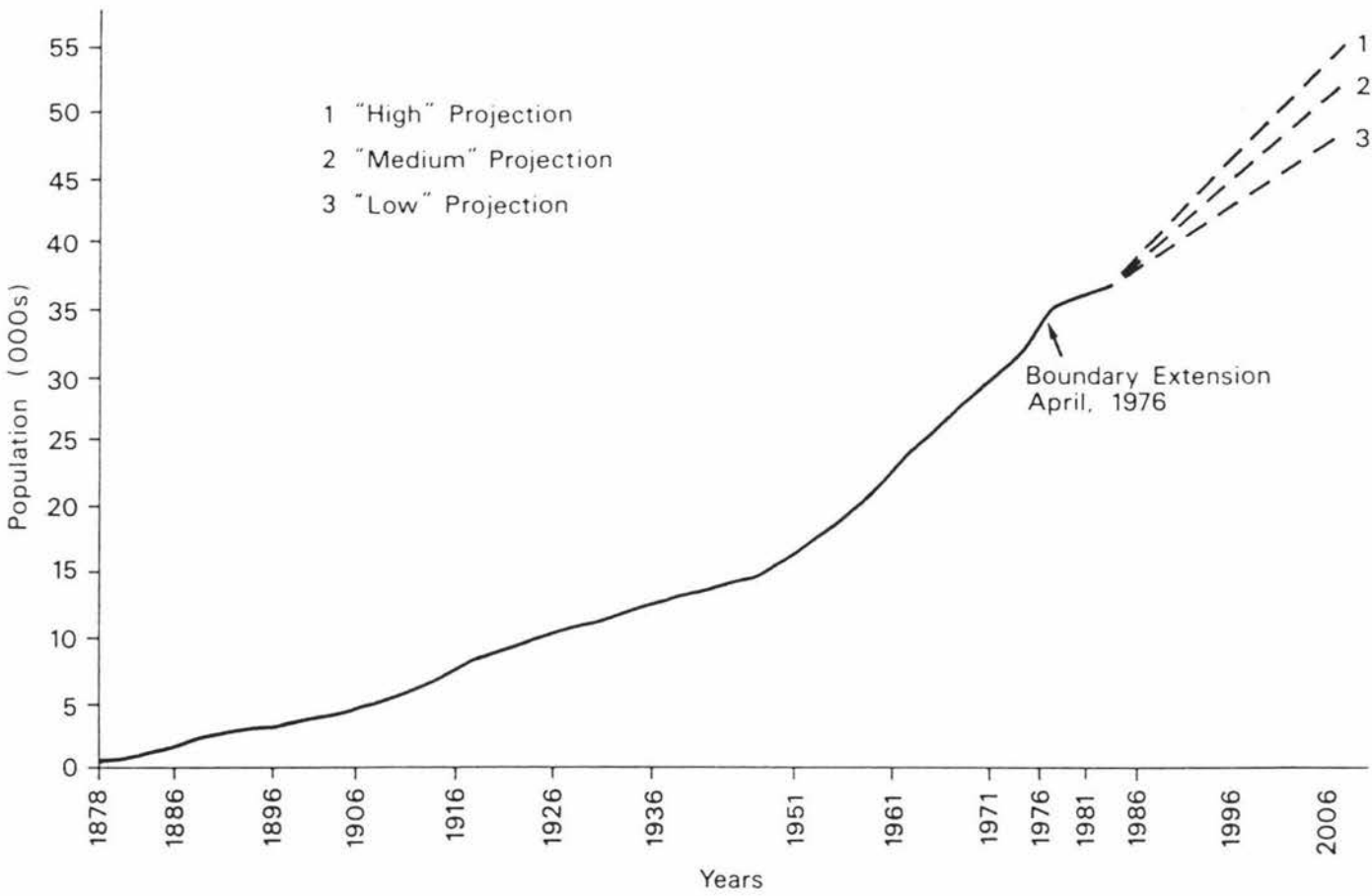
In terms of building construction Flaxmere has maintained a high average level since 1983, being in excess of 130 units per annum. If 1986 dwelling unit numbers are excluded on grounds of the downturn being temporary then the 1984-85 figures have approached the peaks of 1975-78 (167 units).

If future population trends match the medium line shown on Figure 6.3, then the population of the city should reach a minimum figure of 52,280 persons by the year 2006 (Hastings City Council, Planning Division, 1986). This would be the equivalent of a net increase in population of at least a percentage rise of about 35 per cent or 1.76 per cent per annum (Hastings City Council Planning Division, 1986, 5.2.4). The accuracy of this medium projection can be tested against the intercensal growth rate between 1981 and 1986 which showed Hastings City increasing by 1348 people or 7.14 per cent. The most recent census data suggests an annual growth rate of 1.43 per cent, down 0.33 per cent on the Hastings City Council Planning Division medium line calculation.

Household occupancy rates have shown significant changes with Hastings experiencing a downward trend in household occupancy levels from

FIGURE 6.3

PAST AND PROJECTED POPULATION  
OF HASTINGS 1878-2006



Source: Hastings City Council, Planning Division, 1986

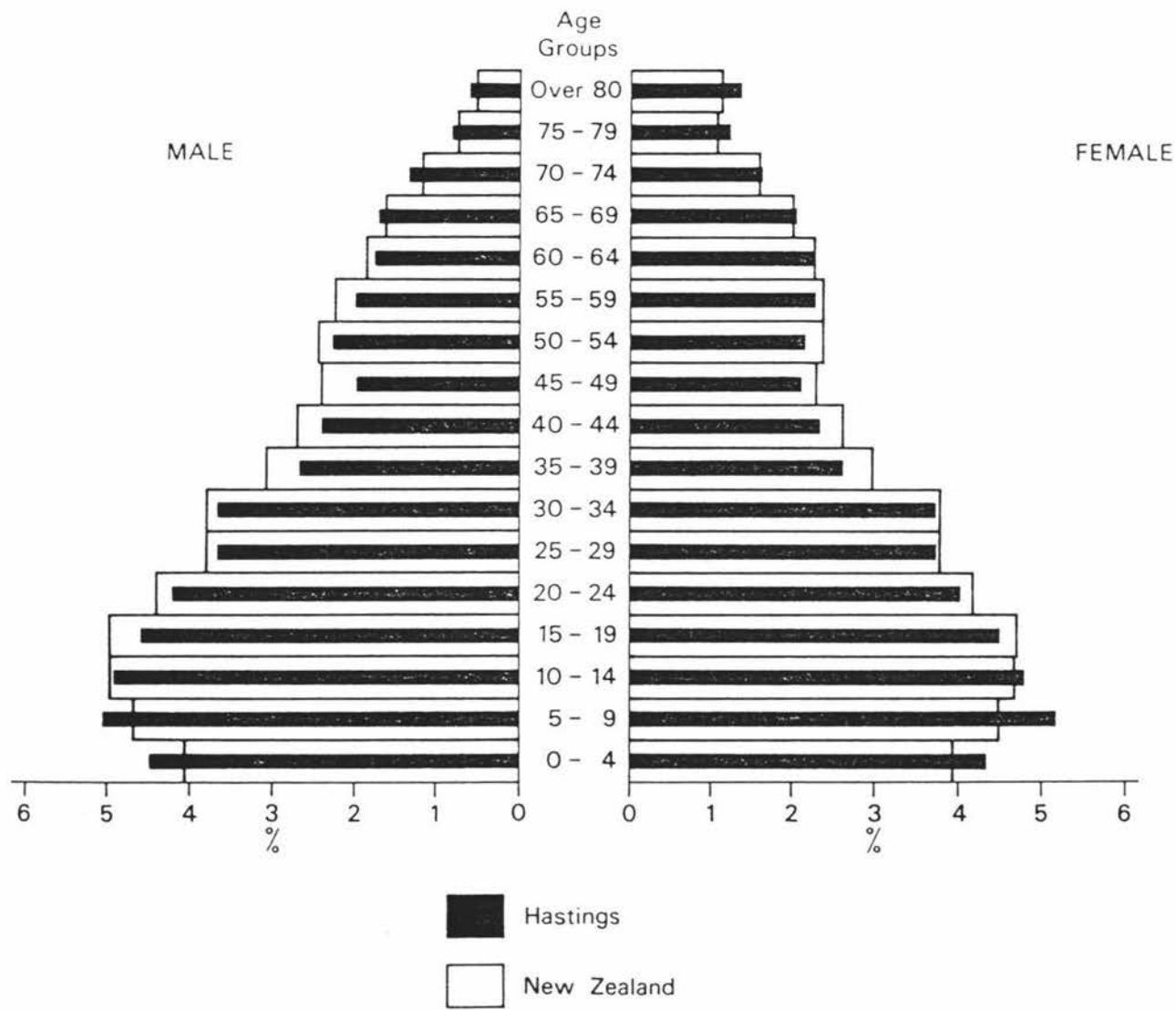
3.31 in 1976 to 3.09 in 1981 (Department of Statistics, 1981). In the older suburbs of Hastings household occupancy has dropped from 2.98 persons per household in 1976 to 2.74 persons per household in 1981. More recently established suburbs reflect a downward trend, even though it has originated from higher initial occupancy levels. It has fallen from 4.47 persons per household in 1976 to 3.38 persons per household in 1981 (Department of Statistics, 1981). In 1985 a survey conducted by the Hastings City Council Planning Division of 240 households in the westernmost area of Flaxmere detected an occupancy rate of 3.5 persons per household, indicating a decline in occupancy rates that may reflect major and progressive trends even in recently established residential areas. The probably continued fall-off in occupancy rates in Hastings as a whole will probably be sufficient on its own to form the basis of a continued significant demand for new housing.

The current population distribution in Hastings indicates that the population is significantly younger in percentage terms than the national average (Figure 6.4) (Department of Statistics, 1981). The likely result of this is to increase the potential rate of household formation in the city in comparison to the national trend.

Examining the population distribution in detail there has been no decline in the 5-yearly age group divisions for the city, except in the 0-4, 5-9 years group. For the total New Zealand population declines are recorded from the 0-4 years group through to the 20-24 years group. Effectively Hastings is lagging behind the national average in terms of the fall-off in birth rates. As a result of this Hastings can expect for

FIGURE 6.4

AGE GROUPS OF  
NEW ZEALAND'S AND HASTINGS' POPULATION



Source: Department of Statistics, 1981

a longer period a continued increase in population numbers entering the age groups where household formation occurs.

The distribution of population within Hastings City is also pertinent to land requirements. "Low and lowering household occupancy rates will largely take up the new dwellings provided without consequential population increases. As such it may be expected that the greater percentage of the net increase in population for the city will continue to be provided for in greenfields development at Flaxmere or in its immediate environs" (Hastings City Council Planning Division, 1986, 5.2.12).

Economic factors also affect residential house and land requirements. In Hastings most new suburban development has been undertaken by the City Council itself. This has involved the direct acquisition of suitable land areas and then the design and construction of new suburban areas. Basic land costs present a significant factor in terms of the prospective areas suitable to become part of Hastings City. The land bank of 490 hectares, referred to earlier, is available for residential development at land prices determined by the City Council. The servicing and development of sections requires much investment by the Council although it is anticipated that present development funds will provide for the future services and development to proceed without the need for additional loans.

Taking into account the fact that the Council is determined to continue to influence residential development, it is probable that

section values in new areas should continue to hold a comparative price advantage over older suburbs in the foreseeable future.

The Hastings City Council is continuing with its aim of development in the western Flaxmere sector. The subdivided sites that are already serviced should provide a satisfactory level of supply until at least 1989. Further development and expansion includes completing development at the present westernmost part of Flaxmere and development within a triangular shape of land formed by the proposed motorway at the eastern section of Flaxmere. These two areas already have adequate access to services and will provide a further 50 hectares of land for further residential development, Figure 6.5 (Hastings City Council Planning Division, 1986).

The Hastings City Council has published a development schedule for about 5 to 7 years on and within the immediate vicinity of Flaxmere. Once scheduled developments are completed it is anticipated that no further western extension of Flaxmere will be contemplated because of the unconfined aquifer. Rather the southwestern extension shown on Figure 6.2 will most probably be developed, for this block would be close to the point of origin of the new trunk services, thus enabling some cost savings to be achieved. The Hastings City Council Planning Division estimates that this block could provide from the 215 hectares some 1450 to 2160 sites for residential use of a further 6 to 10 years' supply at expected total population growth rates.

It is out of this mix of the growth patterns and population structure of Flaxmere that educational concerns and the attitudes of educational groups was raised.

## ANTICIPATED DEVELOPMENT AND EXPANSION OF THE SUBURB OF FLAXMERE UNTIL 1989



### Education provision for Flaxmere

By 1984 the Hawke's Bay Education Board was concerned about the adequacy of educational facilities in Flaxmere. In February 1985 the Board approached the Geography Department of Massey University to conduct a survey to ascertain a number of factors pertinent to the Board. A survey was proposed to provide information about the suburb of Flaxmere "with the view to preparing a report for (the) Board and the Department of Education on the suburb's school accommodation requirement in the future" (Letter from General Manager, 25.2.85).

The primary focus of the survey was to determine a number of aspects about the suburb including:

- "(a) Would the existing three primary schools cope as Flaxmere continued to expand? (Figure 6.5).
- (b) Likely long-term expansion of the suburb:
  - : Direction of growth
  - : Rate of growth, and
  - : Number of school aged children?
- (c) Would parents and guardians accept walking distances in excess of 2 kilometres for 5 year olds from the housing extremities to the nearest of the existing schools?



(d) Could the building of a fourth school be justified?

If so, when?

What rate of growth and size of school?

Effect on accommodation and staffing of existing schools."

(Letter from General Manager, 25.2.85).

The intermediate school was considered by the Board to be centrally located and able to cater for future suburban developments.

Although not part of the initial survey brief, it was recognised that consideration for the provision of a secondary school in Flaxmere could, with Department of Education and Hastings High Schools Board approval, be investigated. The whole question of a secondary school in Flaxmere district had by 1985 become a very live issue with the Member of Parliament for Hawke's Bay taking an active part. Until August 1986 the High Schools Board position on the matter was not publically known for all discussion remained In Committee. At this point in time the concerns of the Board however had been expressed to the Minister of Education.

A factor that could have some significance on the attitude of the Board is that no Board member, past or present resided in Flaxmere during office (Letter: Hastings High Schools Board Secretary, 15.8.86). The effect of demographic distribution may be insignificant but it is conceivable that lack of representation by Flaxmere residents, who by 1986 contributed in excess of 800 students to the Hastings High Schools, could work to Flaxmere's disadvantage.

The high school in Flaxmere was to feature as an issue in the final report of the published survey findings.

### Community survey

The Flaxmere Network viewed the survey as a community based exercise aiming "to look at a wide range of educational alternatives for Flaxmere with a particular emphasis on the bicultural character of the community and the needs of all age groups from pre-school to primary to secondary to adult and continuing education. A kura wananga or village of learning for the entire community was the aim" (Community Education Initiatives Scheme, Education Report, 1986, 47). Prior to the survey of November 25, 1985 the Flaxmere Community Network was quoted in the press that one aspect of the survey was "to establish what extra schooling residents would like in their suburb" (Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune, 31.10.85, 3).

The financial contribution of the Flaxmere Network to the Flaxmere schools of in excess of \$15,000 during the period of 1983 through 1985 (Figure 4.1) generated a determination to participate in educational decision-making. This attitude was further reinforced when the Flaxmere Community Network Committee was invited by the Department of Education to be a part of future deliberations on schooling needs for Flaxmere. The Network Committee provided a grant of \$9,000 for the survey with the proviso that questions on educational needs of the community and alternative education be examined.

Different expectations of the Board and Flaxmere Network over the survey were apparent. The Board was mainly after demographic details of primary and intermediate aged children and younger to provide the raw data for estimating future numbers attending Flaxmere schools. Flaxmere

Network was concerned to open up the scope of community education provision and thus, this group aimed for information that would identify needs and substantial claims for different educational opportunities (Le Heron, 1986, 4).

The Flaxmere community was involved in preparing the questionnaire. This led to the identification of five major issues:

1. lack of adequate learning facilities and educational choice along with inadequate alternative learning approaches for life-long learning,
2. need to establish and encourage the use of community facilities,
3. lack of skills development among students and young people,
4. difficulty of under-achieving students in achieving transition from school to employment, and
5. need for greater community focus with family learning involvement (Le Heron, 1986, 3).

The issues reflected local residents' concerns over the provision of an inadequate and mono-cultural schooling system. Local residents are of the belief that education exists to widen individuals' life chances - a belief not achieved within the schooling structure operating in Flaxmere in the early 1980s. The existence of major social problems, documented in the Gangs Report 1980, stimulated an urgent need to find answers to social problems.

The following summary of the findings of the Flaxmere Educational Futures Project indicates the suburb's school age population and the

educational preferences and needs of Flaxmere residents. The summary is prepared from the Project Report (Le Heron, 1986).

#### Flaxmere households

The survey established that at the end of 1985 Flaxmere had 2579 households with a total population calculated at about 9150 persons. Some 4850 young people (under 19) were living in approximately 2040 households. A large number of young were concentrated in the under fives and primary school ages.

#### Education facilities

The under fives totalling 28 per cent of the population were mainly educated in kindergartens, kohanga reo and play centres. An estimated 25 per cent of children between 3 and 5 years did not attend an education facility. Of the 1800 primary children in Flaxmere 1600 went to the three local primary schools. The September grading rolls of 1985 were: Flaxmere Primary, 595; Irongate Primary, 604; Peterhead Primary, 398, with an estimated 200 students attending schools outside Flaxmere. An estimated 680 children attended intermediate schools with 510 (grading roll, September 30, 1985) enrolled at Flaxmere Intermediate. It was estimated that 700 Flaxmere students were of high school age and the majority attended the three central Hastings high schools.

#### Educational preferences and needs

The survey indicated strong local resident support for educating children and adults in Flaxmere. The approximate percentages choosing

Flaxmere as the location at each level were: under fives (89 per cent), primary (90 per cent), intermediate (86 per cent), secondary (78 per cent) and out of school (66 per cent).

Kindergartens were most preferred for under fives, followed next by kohanga reo and then play centres. State school was the main preference for primary, intermediate and adult learning. Many adults in Flaxmere supported the idea of community college education and evening classes for post-secondary and adult education. A significant proportion of residents (40 per cent) supported changes from the usual division of schools, most particularly within the primary and intermediate levels.

An additional primary school was regarded by a significant number (more particularly respondents from west Flaxmere) as important and many supported alternative schooling. Overwhelming concern was expressed by Flaxmere residents for a secondary school to be the next educational institution built in the suburb. The fact that 25 per cent of those surveyed were against a Flaxmere-based secondary education would probably mean not all Flaxmere children would go to a local high school.

#### Growth of Flaxmere and school roll changes

The development of a further 400 households planned by the Hastings City Council in west Flaxmere could add over 700 more children to the suburb. Household occupancy of new dwellings had been 60 per cent in the under fives and 25 per cent in primary age groups. The information on households from the survey and projected growth patterns could be used to estimate likely primary, intermediate and secondary school numbers.

Projected rolls indicated major changes between 1986 and 1990, with a rise in preschool numbers likely to occur in west Flaxmere. School rolls will decline for Irongate and Peterhead but Flaxmere Primary is likely to experience a net gain. The intermediate numbers are calculated to rise steadily and the number of high school students as a result of increased primary and intermediate numbers will increase sharply initially and then level out.

The community survey revealed important changes in the potential numbers of children at different school levels between 1985 and 1990, along with some significant gaps in education provision in the suburb and some clear preferences by Flaxmere residents (Le Heron, 1986, 5-20).

#### POST SURVEY REACTION

##### Primary school

The Hawke's Bay Education Board set up a school committee almost immediately to plan the development of a fourth primary school. This decision was transmitted to the Department of Education who analysed the concept of the proposed school and approved its development. Flaxmere Community Network and the Hawke's Bay Education Board coordinated meetings between themselves and the residents of Flaxmere to form a pro-forma school council to oversee the planning of a new pre-school and primary school on the western side of the suburb (Leader, 23.4.86, 1).

### Secondary school

The case for a Flaxmere high school was publically reactivated with the published finding of the Flaxmere Education Futures Project survey. The high school question remains a contentious issue with the Hastings High School Board recognising that "a secondary school in the Flaxmere district has recently become a very live issue indeed with the Member of Parliament for Hawke's Bay taking an active part" (Letter from the Secretary, Hasting High Schools Board, 15.7.86). All discussion however by the Hastings High School Board about the prospects and implications of establishing a secondary school in Flaxmere remain In Committee. Possible closure of a high school such as Karanu or a redefinition of the secondary schools under the jurisdiction of the Hastings High School Board as a result of possible development at Flaxmere has generated much discussion and reaction by those implicated in any changes.

### Wider reaction

Educational concerns of Flaxmere residents and the feasibility studies of a high school in the suburb by the Department of Education form part of a wider range of measures considered necessary to improve the life chances of the people of Flaxmere. Dr Bill Sutton, the MP for Hawke's Bay called for a fair deal for Flaxmere. He urged on the Hastings City Council to introduce a wide ranging series of measures to improve the services and opportunities for those people in Flaxmere.

"Road safety, buses, cross-leasing of sections, the proposed high school, electoral boundaries and a possible ward system for city council

elections (considered by Dr Sutton) to be of particular concern to Flaxmere residents" (Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune, 7.3.87, 2).

Road safety features with concern over dangerous intersections and inadequate provision of pedestrian crossings. Intersections associated with Omahu Road give greatest concern especially because of the many school children who travel to central Hastings along that route. The lack of an adequate bus service continues to concern residents of the most recent housing development in west Flaxmere. The provision of bus servicing continues to lag noticeably behind the development of dwellings, especially in west Flaxmere. The issue of inadequate public transportation has persisted in Flaxmere for many years.

Cross-leasing and the high school issues have previously been discussed but a dimension little referred to is the political implications of changed electoral boundaries as the possibility of a ward system. Much of the lack of political clout for the residents of Flaxmere seems to lie in the basis that "only one councillor from Flaxmere has been elected to the Hastings City Council in the last 10 years" (Hawke's Bay Herald Tribune, 7.3.87, 2). The belief that all councillors do attempt to help all of Hastings and Flaxmere is valid but the lack of proportional distribution throughout the city does have a detrimental effect on adequate provision for Flaxmere residents.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### ASSESSMENT

This thesis has considered the development of Flaxmere in the context of New Zealand industrialisation and urbanisation and Heretaunga Plains suburbanisation and the provision of education and social services in Flaxmere in relation to national policies on education and social welfare. The Flaxmere Educational Futures Project is discussed as an outgrowth of national and local influences. A number of conclusions can be drawn from the interpretation put forward.

The first conclusions cover those dealing with the formation and growth of Flaxmere as a suburb of Hastings. Perhaps most important is the evidence presented about the highly politicised sets of influences which affected the timing, magnitude and nature of Flaxmere's development. Urban expansion of Hastings and Napier is evidenced in the conflict between retaining revenue producing horticultural land and possible encroachment of such land by urban expansion. The importance of horticultural activities in the Heretaunga Plains and bordering Hastings City created a boundary effect on the city limiting potential urban expansion into green field areas. The determination of Hastings City to expand the urban area to provide for additional population was strongly resisted by rural land users. With the continued growth of Hastings local consideration of where the city would expand came to a head in 1964.

The proposal in 1964 to establish a new suburb of Hastings, at Flaxmere, revealed opposing urban and rural interests who appeared

unwilling to compromise. Resolution was only reached when suburban development on land designated, in the Hawke's Bay County, as unsuitable for agricultural use was agreed to. The new residential area was however located some distance from central Hastings.

Initial development of Flaxmere was slow with two significant features affecting growth. The suburb was not effectively marketed to wider groups of prospective buyers and competing with the establishment of Flaxmere was infill in central Hastings and the development of a number of smaller, previously undeveloped areas east and north of Hastings City. By 1968 growth of the suburb of Flaxmere accelerated and the number of dwelling units per year exceeded the growth rate of central Hastings. During this phase of expansion, infrastructure provision in the suburb did not keep up with population growth. A steady growth in households and total population occurred but this was not matched by any comparable growth in education and social services.

In the late 1960s Flaxmere had a predominantly European population with the 1971 Census showing a 24 per cent Polynesian representation. The total resident population for the 1981 Census indicated a Polynesian representation of 37 per cent of Flaxmere's 8043 population. The school population in 1981 of 2517 showed a Polynesian component totalling 45 per cent of the school population. The rapid growth in total population and the increasing Polynesian representation in the local population created calls for services to meet local community needs.

Failure on the part of Hastings City Council, government departments and education authorities to provide what many residents considered

adequate social services stimulated community initiatives to attempt to formally represent the perceived needs of local residents. The gap between actual population and service provision (in the form of sufficient social services, enough retail outlets, health care centre and education provision) was to become an important source of friction by the 1980s.

In the early 1980s the need for a fourth primary school became apparent to residents of Flaxmere west. A significant number in the suburb as a whole saw need for an alternative primary structure to provide an option from the three monocultural schools already present. The need for a fourth primary school gave an opportunity to express a mix of reactions to underprovision in at least three elements; these being a fourth primary school, alternatives in education and a local high school. The issue of provision of a secondary school within Flaxmere had prevailed for some years and consideration for a local high school intensified as sufficient numbers of students within the suburb provided numerical justification for such an education facility. The implications of establishing a high school in Flaxmere generated reaction from the Hastings High Schools Board. The Board was unwilling to go public on the issue and was apparently determined not to encourage consideration of a further high school in Hastings. This frustrated local residents.

It was out of this series of concerns that a political base developed for the Flaxmere community initiative centred on the Flaxmere Community Network and later, the Flaxmere Educational Futures Project. The joint cooperation of the Flaxmere Community Network and the Hawke's Bay

Education Board meant the three elements (a fourth primary school, alternative education provision and a high school) were considered in the project although the Hawke's Bay Education Board had no statutory responsibility for dealing with the high school question.

The Flaxmere Educational Futures Project was a novel experiment in New Zealand. The project can be assessed in at least two ways. First, in terms of information generated which was useful to local residents as well as to the Hawke's Bay Education Board and the Department of Education. Second, the operation of the project itself ran counter to the usual hierarchial organisation of education in New Zealand. These are commented on in the next sections.

#### Assessment of Flaxmere Community Initiative: Survey Results

The main findings of the Project related to information on young people in Flaxmere showed educational requirements at different ages and concerns adults had about educational preferences for their children. The survey established the number of households in the suburb and the approximate total population along with an estimate of the number of households with children or likely to have children by 1991. There was a definite geography to the above patterns. Households less likely to have children were clustered in the older, first settled area of the Peterhead School District, while other areas had higher percentages with future population growth in the suburb concentrated in the west where the likely presence of children in the next few years justified the proposal of a fourth primary school.

Results relating to education of young indicated that under five year olds were mainly educated in kindergartens, kohanga reo and play centres but about one-quarter of children between 3 and 5 years did not attend an education facility. Flaxmere had about 1800 primary children with 1600 attending the three local primary schools. An estimated 680 children went to intermediate schools with over 500 enrolled at Flaxmere Intermediate. An estimated 700 Flaxmere children were of high school age and the majority attended the three central Hastings State high schools. Projections of increases in high school aged children (based on a follow through of primary children) revealed increased numbers being generated from the suburb over the next five years. The local political implication of this was obvious. The three central city high schools would be more dependent (assuming Hastings rates of increase remained below Flaxmere) than before.

The survey clearly established that residents strongly favoured the idea of educating their children and themselves in Flaxmere. Education preferences for under fives were first kindergarten, then kohanga reo and finally play centres. State provided education was the main preference for primary, intermediate and adult learning. Adults in Flaxmere indicated a preference for a broad range of learning opportunities for themselves in conjunction with evening classes and community college education.

Both a secondary school and a fourth primary were strong expectations for the future. Residents overwhelmingly singled out a secondary school as the school they hoped would be built next in Flaxmere. The survey also indicated sizeable support for alternative schooling.

The pattern of households occupying new dwellings over the two year period prior to the survey indicated 60 per cent in the under fives and 25 per cent in the primary age groups. Survey information and details on households in Flaxmere indicated big changes particularly in primary rolls between 1986-1991. Growth is estimated to occur in preschool numbers in Flaxmere west, a net growth of some 300 children at primary level and an increase in intermediate level.

Some facts published in the report were not available until the survey was carried out. Alterations in demographic profiles since the 1981 Census were identified and the study substantiated the claim that the suburb was experiencing increasing growth in numbers arriving at all stages of education. In conjunction with education needs questionnaire responses indicated a conspicuous group of residents striving for alternatives in education. The survey endorsed local talk about educational preferences and needs on schooling, along with preferred locations for different levels of schooling.

Some information was already known prior to the survey but not understood. This included a recognition by a segment of Flaxmere residents, especially the Network group, that there existed a need to open up the scope of education provision. Information gained from the survey encouraged residents to reinforce claims for different forms of educational services. Some facts were also correctly known but not used. This included a general awareness of primary and secondary student numbers. The survey results provided impetus for establishing a new and alternative style of primary school and in addition the published

information refocused attention on the numerical viability of a secondary school in the suburb.

Survey results confirmed the accuracy of many claims made by residents. Results showed the need for a further primary school, areas of growth in the suburb and the changes in demographic structure since the 1981 Census. Information reinforced claims for alternatives for education in Flaxmere and gave numerical justification and local support for the establishment of a secondary school in the suburb.

The Flaxmere Educational Futures Project and the Project results were part of several political processes. Because of this they were promptly used. In the short term the community-based survey had the effect of drawing various groups together to achieve common goals. The medium term effect is the planning and development for a fourth primary school which is expected to accommodate growing roll numbers in Flaxmere west and to provide an alternative educational environment from the three monocultural primary schools in the suburb.

#### Assessment of the Flaxmere Community Initiative: Process

The Flaxmere Community Network was established as one of three pilot Community Education Initiative Scheme (CEIS). It represented a highly specific outcome of a national initiative. Without the revised awareness of different groups, especially Maori ahead of Pakeha which stemmed from Flaxmere Community Network work, the basis for temporary reconciliation to facilitate the community based survey would not have been possible.

The scope and nature of community cooperation in Flaxmere during the Flaxmere Education Futures Project involved local residents participating in the design of the questionnaire used, making up the survey team and responding widely to approaches for information. Community knowledge of local organisations and the contribution of press, radio and general conversation all played a part in shaping local attitudes towards the survey. The common needs of many residents particularly in the area of under-achieving and jobless youth provided the grounds for collaboration.

Local groups were able to accomplish much through the Network programme. They were able to identify the social ills affecting the community and were in a position to voice concerns identified by each group. Direct funding of local groups by Network encouraged self-help and self-determination within the community and this encouraged a willingness by community members to participate in decision making affecting the suburb. The Network programme assisted a number of education and social requests by removing bureaucratic dependency and by creating a framework of responsible local decision making. The local community developed the ability to work with established bureaucracies through an understanding of key organisations (for example, Department of Education, Hawke's Bay Education Board, primary schools) and with an appreciation of the power networks through which resources are allocated and with some idea of the politically popular views in different organisations. Essentially the community groups obtained greater power by becoming visibly political and by demonstrating this power through the Network and a sub group, the Network Action Group.



In the Flaxmere Educational Futures Project the Department of Geography, Massey University acted in a facilitating role by providing a bridge between the local community (especially in the form of the Network) and the Hawke's Bay Education Board.

Local residents were concerned with exercising control over the gathering of information particularly relevant to ascertaining the scope of community education provision. Information was sought that would identify needs and substantiate claims for different forms of educational services. The extent of local control was evidenced by different community groups being willing to share and cooperate with the Network and Hawke's Bay Education Board to ensure the Flaxmere Educational Futures Project kept to agreed deadlines. The effectiveness of joint community action gives some credence to the not always politically popular idea that local groups are capable of self regulation.

#### Community initiatives in New Zealand: Insights from Flaxmere

The experience of the Flaxmere Education Futures Project is of general interest to other community groups for it provides a framework for community cooperation and evidence that soundly based community initiatives can generate positive local response. The Project also showed that cooperation between institutional bureaucracies and local community groups is possible provided understanding and appreciation of each group's intentions are recognised by the other.

### Flaxmere development as part of post-1945 industrialisation

The thesis has discussed the historical geography of a suburb and recent local action by residents over perceived injustices in developments connected with the suburb. Solutions to these matters were greatly influenced by the assumption that the overall population of the Heretaunga Plains would not seriously fall and that any growth in population would be mainly channeled into Flaxmere. The recent closure of Whakatu and the Watties retrenchment has meant the baseline of population growth may no longer hold. Since the closures are part of national restructuring of economic activity in a deregulated economy, the terms under which the suburb develops in the future will probably be sharply different from those of the past 40 years.

This thesis has shown how the development of the suburb and the nature of suburban experience especially in education provision, is a social product. The Flaxmere residents involved in the community based survey (its preparation, implementation and subsequent lobbying of results) are probably very aware of what, in comparative terms, is 'owed to them'.

### POSTSCRIPT

The findings of the Flaxmere Educational Futures Project have in part been immediately implemented with the planning, organisation and setting

up of a fourth primary school in west Flaxmere. Reference to the Education Gazette indicates the establishment of an educational environment along the lines of the hopes and aspirations expressed in the Flaxmere Educational Futures Project.

### **Hawke's Bay Education Board**

#### *Principal*

Salary, Scale G5

130—West Flaxmere Community School, approximately 8 kms from Hastings City, is a new school that is intended to provide education for children from 0–12 years and cater for the educational, cultural and recreational needs of a multi-cultural community. This school will open on 1 February 1988, for pre-school and junior school children (N.E.–J.3). It is expected that the opening primary school roll will be 130, rising to 500 pupils by 1991. The primary principal will be responsible to the director of the school and share with other sector leaders in early childhood education and continuing education, the responsibility for the development of a community school concept. This will involve consultation, communication and interaction with parents, community groups and individuals from a wide variety of backgrounds, about the curriculum and management of the school. The successful applicant will have the personal and professional qualities necessary to lead and manage the primary sector of the school, co-ordinate programmes of work, have a sound knowledge and understanding of the curriculum, the needs of primary school children and current teaching practices.

An empathy with and a sense of commitment to Maori language and culture is essential (approximately 50% Maori and Pacific Islands roll)

Source: The New Zealand Education Gazette 1987, 596.

## REFERENCES

- Abbiss, J.E. 1985. Planning for Private Forestry Development in New Zealand : A Structural Analysis. M.A. thesis, Massey University, Palmerston North.
- Anderson, J., Duncan, S. and Hudson, R. (eds). 1983. Redundant spaces in Cities and Regions. Academic Press, London.
- Bagnall, P.W.T. 1974. Planning for the Containment of Cities. New Zealand Agricultural Science, 226-232.
- Barlow, P., Culliford, P. and Scott, N. 1978. Policy on alternatives. Education (New Zealand), 2-4.
- Bates, R.J. and Codd, J.A. 1980. Theory and Practice in New Zealand Education, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North.
- Bedford, R.D. 1983. Contemporary Polynesian migration in New Zealand. Proceedings Twelfth New Zealand Geography Conference, Christchurch, 226-235.
- Boileau, I.E. 1974. Future Patterns of Land Use. New Zealand Agricultural Science, 220-225.
- Community Education Initiatives Scheme Evaluation, 1986, Massey University, Palmerston North.
- Cox, K.R. and Johnston, R.J. (eds). 1982. Conflict, Politics and the Urban Scene, Longman, London.
- Cumberland, K.B. 1947. The Importance of the Land: The Future of New Zealand Agriculture. New Zealand Geographer, Reprint Series, No. 5.
- Davey, J.A. 1977. Social Factors and Housing Needs in New Zealand. National Housing Commission of New Zealand, Wellington.
- Dear, M. and Scott, A.J. 1981. Urbanisation and Urban Planning in Capitalist Society. Methuen, London.

- Department of Education, 1971. Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Preschool Education, Department of Education, Wellington.
- Department of Education, 1985. Education Statistics of New Zealand, Government Printer, Wellington.
- Department of Education, 1987. The Curriculum Review. Report of the Committee to Review the Curriculum for Schools. Government Printer, Wellington.
- Department of Education, 1987. The New Zealand Education Gazette. Government Printer, Wellington. 596.
- Department of Statistics, Census Findings, 1945 to 1986. Wellington.
- Franklin, S.H. 1978. Trade, Growth and Anxiety, Methuen, New Zealand.
- Forrest, J. and Dews, E.A. 1966. Urban Sprawl: The Economic Use of New Zealand's First-Class Soils. Australian Planning Institute Journal, 16-19.
- Goodlad, J.I. et al. 1975. The Conventional and the Alternative in Education, McCutchan, University of Berkeley, California.
- Gradon, F.R. 1978. The Whanau House. Education. (New Zealand), 9-10.
- Harvey, D. 1973. Social Justice and the City. Edward Arnold Ltd., United Kingdom.
- Harvey, D. 1978. The Urban Process under Capitalism: a framework for analysis. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research. 101-131.
- Hawkes Bay County, 1964. District Planning Scheme.
- Hawkes Bay County, 1974. District Scheme Review. No. 1.
- Johnson, J.H. 1974. Suburban Growth. John Wiley and Sons. London.

- Johnston, R.J. 1973. Urbanisation in New Zealand. Geographical Essays. Reed Education, Wellington.
- Johnston, R.J. 1980. City and Society. Cox and Wyman. Great Britain.
- Kilmartin, L. and Thorns, D.C. 1978. Cities Unlimited: the sociology of urban development in Australia and New Zealand. Allen and Unwin, Australia.
- Leamy, M.L. 1974. Resources of highly productive land. New Zealand Agricultural Science, 187-191.
- Le Heron, R.B. 1986. Flaxmere Educational Futures Project. Survey Findings, Implications and Alternatives. Department of Geography, Massey University, Palmerston North.
- Le Heron, R.B. and Heerdegen, R.G. 1978. Towards the Planning of Urban Land Development in New Zealand: A Methodological Inquiry. New Zealand Geographer, 13-23.
- Le Heron, R.B. and Roche, M.M. 1984. Exotic afforestation and Land Use Policies in New Zealand, 1960-1984. Studies in Rural Change, University of Canterbury, Christchurch.
- Le Heron, R.B. and Roche, M. 1985. Expanding Exotic Forestry and the Extension of Competing Use for Rural Land in New Zealand. Journal of Rural Studies. 211-227.
- Levine, S. 1979. The New Zealand Political System. Allen and Unwin, Australia.
- Ministry of Works and Development, 1982. Hawke's Bay Area Planning Study. Regional Analysis, Employment Study. Parts I, II and III. Project Reports Water and Soil Division.
- Metge, J. 1964. A New Maori Migration, Athlone Press, London.

- Morrish, I. 1976. Aspects of Educational Change. Allen and Unwin, London.
- Moran, W. 1979. Spatial Patterns of Agriculture on the Urban Periphery: The Auckland Case. Journal of Economic and Social Geography. 164-176.
- Nana, N. 1981. National Housing Stock in New Zealand. Volume 10. New Zealand Totals. National Housing Commission Research and Information Series. Research paper 81/6.
- Nash, R. 1983. Schools Can't Make Jobs. Dunmore Press. Palmerston North.
- National Housing Commission, 1979 and 1983. Housing in New Zealand. Wellington.
- New Zealand Council Monitoring Group, 1984. The New Zealand Population: Patterns of Change. Population Monitoring Group. Wellington.
- O'Neil, C.J. and Neville, R.J. (eds). 1979. The Population of New Zealand: interdisciplinary perspectives. Longman Paul, New Zealand.
- Parkyn, G.W. (ed). 1954. The Administration of Education in New Zealand. New Zealand Institute of Public Administration. Wellington.
- Parliamentary Papers, Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, E.I. 1960 to 1986.
- Pearson, D. 1979. Johnsonville, Continuity and Change in a New Zealand Township. Allen and Unwin. Australia.
- Physical Environment Conference, 1972. The Physical Environment Conference, 1970. Government Printer, Wellington.

- Raeside, J.D. 1962. Urban Sprawl. New Zealand Institute of Agricultural Science Proceedings, 33-38.
- Renwick, W.L. 1976. An Agenda for Primary Teachers. Delta. Wellington.
- Renwick, W.L. and Ingram, L.J. 1974. Educational Planning in New Zealand. Government Printer. Wellington.
- Ritchie, Jane and Ritchie, James. 1970. Child Rearing Patterns in New Zealand. A.H. and A.W. Reed. New Zealand.
- Rowland, D.T. 1971. Maori Migration to Auckland. New Zealand Geographer, 21-37.
- Scott, A.J. 1980. The Urban Land Nexus and the State. Pion Ltd, London.
- Schwimmer, E. (ed.) 1968. The Maori People in the Nineteen Sixties. Longman Paul. New Zealand.
- Smith, A.W. and Forbes, I.G.M. 1974. The Agricultural Consequence of Loss of Productive Land to Urban Use. New Zealand Agricultural Science. 192-195.
- Taylor, M.J. and Le Heron, R.B. 1977. Agglomeration, Location and Regional Growth in New Zealand. The Role of Auckland. In Bush, G. (ed). Auckland at Full Stretch, 138-200.
- Town and Country Planning Division, Ministry of Works. 1981. Changes in New Zealand Households. Wellington.
- Town and Country Planning Division. 1982. Hawke's Bay Area Planning Study: Urban Development Direction. Ministry of Works and Development, Wellington.
- Victoria University of Wellington. 1970. Physical Environment Conference. Wellington, New Zealand.