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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the education of New Zealand's Maori people, noting historical achievement and enrollment gaps between Maori and non-Maori students. This gap is due to family economics, educational resources, cultural and racial barriers at school, negative school attitudes among older Maori students, and the student achievement testing system. The paper discusses the history of Maori education, Maori traditional culture and society, Maori learning styles and teaching techniques, and the Maori cultural revival that began in the latter 20th century. It describes the proliferation of Maori education programs that began within the New Zealand public education system and through separate Maori initiatives since the mid-1970s. It concludes by examining present and future trends, noting that several reviews and policy documents dealing with every aspect of New Zealand's education system (published between 1987-89) profoundly affected the structure of New Zealand education. At the same time, the country became aware of the need to address culture, ethnicity, and race. Definitive evidence is not yet available on the outcomes of Maori education initiatives. Not all New Zealanders support Maori education programs, but despite opposition, biculturalism is advancing at a time when the survival of the Maori language and culture is in doubt. (Contains 30 references.) (SM)

High Stakes Down Under for Indigenous Peoples:

Learning from Maori Education in New Zealand; an Outsiders Perspective

by

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Maori Education Gap

Two New Zealand government reports, published in the early 1960's, first called attention to the plight of indigenous Maori people and Maori education. After surveying education attainment, school retention, employment, crimes, health, housing, and welfare in much detail, the Maori were depicted in these reports as a depressed ethnic minority. Throughout the range of occupations an unequal distribution of Maori was documented, with the vast majority of Maori concentrated in unskilled employment. The reports concluded that education had a major role to play in the social and economic advancement of the Maori people in New Zealand (Openshaw, 1993). The deficit theory and cultural deprivation were used to explain this underachievement and assimilation of the 1960's (G. H. Smith, 1999).

Statistical data compiled over the twentieth century from New Zealand school records such as class rolls, progress and achievement registers, school certificate results, and university entrance results all served to reveal a huge disparity between achievement and retention for Maori students and non-Maori students. Rather than narrowing, the educational gap between these two groups was still widening in the early 1990's. The continued growth of this disparity between Maori and non-Maori in school entry, duration of stay, and academic achievement is a crisis recognized by the government of New Zealand. The pattern of disparity has become so commonplace, however, that it has been accepted as the norm by New Zealand society (Jenkins, 1994).

In higher education Maori and other Pacific Island New Zealanders are under-represented, while New Zealand Europeans (Pakeha) and Asian New Zealanders are over-represented. Statistics from the 1996 New Zealand census revealed an imbalance of enrollments in higher education for students of the four major ethnic groups. Census data were produced on the basis of the major portion of a person's ethnic background, apportioning a single ethnic group to each person. Of college-age students, 61.8% were European (Pakeha), 19.7% were Maori, 7.1% were Asian, and 6.4% were Pacific

Islanders. In New Zealand institutions of higher education, 70.8% were European (Pakeha), 11.4% Maori, 8.6% Asian, and 3.5% Pacific Islanders (Back, Davis, & Olsen, 1998).

Else (1997) suggests that Maori underachievement in education can be attributed to the New Zealand system of education, to the Maori People themselves, and to their unique situation. No single reason for the education gap has been identified, and reasons seem to change for Maori students as they move through the education system. Research, however, indicates that the gap in family economics and educational resources between Maori and non-Maori is a very important reason. About two-thirds of the education gap appears to be attributable to the fact that Maori parents have less money and less education than non-Maori parents. Research suggests that, apart from family resources, the other main reason for the education gap may be a combination of barriers at school and the negative way in which older Maori students, especially boys, react to school. Some identified barriers to Maori students at school include: racist comments by other students, the difficulty some non-Maori teachers have with understanding Maori children, and the small number of Maori teachers. The research, however, does not show exactly how these barriers disadvantage Maori students or what to do about them.

The urbanization of Maori, which occurred mostly after World War II as Maori moved from agricultural to industrial jobs, also contributed to the underachievement of Maori youth. Urbanization led to family breakdown, alienation, and loss of the traditional constraints of tribal elders. By the 1970's the end product was street kids and urban gangs. While 85% of Maori children left school without any recognized academic qualifications, the delinquency rate for Maori juveniles was more than six times higher than for Pakeha youth. The Maori council, concerned with these manifestations of social breakdown as a consequence of social dislocation and urbanization, generated over ninety recommendations directed at assisting Maori adjustment to urban life, conserving Maori

language and culture, educating Pakeha in cultural sensitivity, and transformation towards a more equitable social relationship between Pakeha and Maori (Walker, 1990).

The system of student achievement testing also has impeded Maori progress. The New Zealand School Certificate Examination is critically important because of its role as a gate keeper in effectively limiting entrance to the upper levels or the secondary school system and thereby limiting opportunities for entrance into higher education. Proportionately this adversely affects Maori more than non-Maori. It denies access to good employment opportunities for most Maori children. Because so many Maori students are excluded from higher levels of education by the School Certificate Examination, per capita government expenditure on formal education during an individual's first 25 years is substantially greater for non-Maori than for Maori (Benton, 1987).

The interaction between low socioeconomic status and low academic achievement for Maori has served to perpetuate Maori disadvantage. Research has revealed that the socioeconomic status of the school population was the strongest determinant of achievement and that being Maori or New Zealand European (Pakeha) made almost no difference for students of the same socioeconomic status. The socioeconomic status of the student body also affects the academic achievement of Maori students. When Maori children from families with fewer resources attend schools where there are few poor children, they get better results on the School Certificate Examination. When Maori children from families with fewer resources go to schools with many other poor children, they get worse certification examination results. Research also indicates that having more Polynesian children at the school seems to make a positive difference in the achievement of Maori students (Else, 1997).

In addition to learning difficulties, discipline has become a problem for Maori students. Maori students are overrepresented among New Zealand students of all ages who are experiencing behavioral difficulties at home and at school. Maori and Pacific Island students have appeared in suspension and expulsion statistics in disproportionately high

numbers nationwide. Some schools also have used a procedure known as "kiwi suspension," in which the school responds to student misbehavior by encouraging parents to withdraw their children from school voluntarily in order to avoid the embarrassment of formal suspension or expulsion. There have been marked increases in the proportion of Specialist Education Services referrals of Maori students both for behavioral and for learning difficulties (Glynn, Berryman, Atvars, & Harawira, 1997).

Currently Maori students make up approximately 20% of all students attending New Zealand schools. With a younger age distribution and improving retention rates, the proportion surely will grow. Although a growing number of Maori students do very well, Maori students as a group spend less time in the New Zealand education system, and do less well in it, than non-Maori students as a group. The differences between achievement of Maori and non-Maori students, referred to as "the education gap," shows up on many different measures such as years in secondary school and exam passes. Overall, consequences of the education gap are that Maori are more likely to be unemployed than non-Maori; and they earn less than non-Maori. Evidence shows that the education gap is now beginning to narrow, but that this is happening slowly and unevenly (Else, 1997).

History of Maori Education

Radio-carbon dating and Maori oral tradition suggest that the Polynesian people lived in New Zealand some one thousand years prior to seventeenth-century European contact. Because the Maori had no written language, little is known of education in the years before the coming of the Europeans. It is known, however, that traditional Maori education did include birth rituals, childhood lessons, adult education, and the education of women. Freedom of the individual was a main principle in the education of children up to the age of adolescence. Education imparted practical skills such as cultivation, astronomy, and navigation to all; while higher, abstract knowledge was passed along only to privileged males in a hierarchical society (Openshaw, 1993).

Prior to the arrival of Europeans the Maori had a sophisticated and functional education system. This flexible and adaptable system was made up of a complex oral tradition, a strong knowledge base, and a dynamic ability to respond to changing needs and new challenges. Knowledge in traditional Maori society was seen as belonging to the whole group. Individuals, as repositories for the group's knowledge, were responsible to store, care for, and protect the mana (status) of the group as it derived from this knowledge. Individuals were obliged to contribute and share this knowledge for the collective benefit of the group. All knowledge was regarded as tapu (sacred and restricted). Accuracy and correctness were highly regarded values in Maori learning, not only to protect the mana of the individual, but also to safeguard the tapu, mana, and whakama (embarrassment) of the group. Sub-standard work and skills by individuals could threaten group survival, and the very existence of the group could depend on accuracy and correctness in the practice of individual skills. Precision, accuracy, and correctness were necessary because of the need to set it right for the future well being of the group, because of personal loss of mana, because inferior work detracted from the mana of the group, and because a tapu enterprise could be compromised. Important activities often were accompanied by ritual observances and karakia (chants) which reinforced the need for accuracy and highlighted the significance placed on the activity by the group. Disastrous consequences for the individual or group could result from mistakes made in these highly tapu activities (G. H. Smith, 1997).

From the arrival of the first missionaries in 1814 until the native school system was established in 1867, western schooling for Maori was carried out by various missionary groups. For the Maori, who did not have a written language, schooling focused on literacy and Christianity. By 1840 some Maori in almost every North Island village could read and write. During the 1840's, however, Maori cultural assertion and a steep decline in Maori school attendance were noted by missionaries. A 1847 New Zealand ordinance utilized the existing mission schools, which were now to teach in English rather than in Maori and

were subject to government inspection, to teach industrial education along with literacy and religion. Eventually the Maori suffered confusion and cultural breakdown (Openshaw, 1993).

Dramatic changes in the life style and institutions of the whole of Maoridom took place after the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, which made the Maori people subjects of the British empire. This was a period of both high excitement and considerable pain for the Maori people as they learned a totally different culture. The organization of and support for advanced Maori teaching and learning fell into disarray as a consequence of national bodies which had not embraced Maori custom. Instead they exerted assimilationist pressures on institutions rooted in Maori custom. In courses taught at New Zealand's higher educational institutions Maori culture was not incorporated so as to ensure its advancement, dissemination, and maintenance through teaching and research (Back, Davis, & Olsen, 1998).

The New Zealand colonial government, aware of the declining popularity of the mission schools, introduced the Native Schools Act in 1858. This embodied a plan to assimilate Maori into an increasingly European-dominated economy and society through denominational boarding schools. Money was appropriated for those church schools engaged in the education of Maori children or adults and half-castes, but there were strings attached to the funding. Money was appropriated only to Christian schools where pupils were both boarded and educated with English language as the medium of instruction for the ordinary primary subjects of English education. Industrial training was required while religious education was not a curricular requirement. Before the 1858 Act could be implemented fully, however, schools were forced to close when European-Maori land wars erupted in the 1860's. The Maori, who were distrustful of the Europeans and of the New Zealand government in the aftermath of war which included punitive land confiscation, subsequently withdrew from contact and by 1865 had disappeared almost completely from schools (Openshaw, 1993).

The Native School Act of 1867 established a national system of secular village day schools for Maori which were controlled and administered by the Department of Native Affairs. The government's declared intent was to anglicize the Maori people in general, and Maori youth in particular, as quickly as possible. Parliamentary debates in 1867 highlighted three principles that were to dominate Maori education policy for many years: the schools could be used for the express purpose of social control; assimilation was an appropriate policy for the government to pursue in order to "civilize" the Maori; and education should be made available only to Maori communities who asked for schooling and committed some of their own resources. The government also paid for the education of native pupils who attended European schools. A striking feature of this act was its advocacy of a self-help philosophy in an attempt to induce in the Maori a spirit of self-reliance. Development of Maori secular village day schools was a slow process, however, especially in areas where Europeans had confiscated Maori lands (Openshaw, 1993).

The foundation of the New Zealand education system was formed by the Education Act of 1877. The act followed the precedent, set by provincial governments, of avoiding dejure segregation of Maori and Pakeha children in the schools. Maori children were exempted from compulsory school attendance until 1909, and Maori parents had the choice of sending their children to either native schools or public schools. Integrated schooling was consistent with the official policies of successive New Zealand governments which also allowed non-Maori children of school age who lived in the attendance area to attend native schools. Defacto segregation did exist in many schools, however, because of Pakeha and Maori resistance to integration. For the administration of primary schools a differentiated system was established with native schools under the Department of Education control and other public schools governed by various school boards. More dollars per capital actually were spent on the education of Maori children in native schools, mostly because of their remoteness. Secondary education for a small number of

exceptional Maori students was provided by denominational boarding schools through government-provided scholarships (Openshaw, 1993).

The Native Schools Code of 1880 made it expressly clear that the prime purpose of native schools was to assimilate Maori children into European civilization. Education was given an important role in counteracting the trend toward extinction of the Maori people whose population, decimated mostly by European diseases, had been reduced by more than 80% during the nineteenth century. Considerable curricular emphasis was placed on personal and community hygiene in an effort to improve health and living standards in Maori communities. Teachers in the Native Schools, who lived in school residences close to native villages, were to set the example as government representatives in the villages, administer simple remedies for illness, and arbitrate local disputes. The intended role of teachers as exemplars of a more desirable way of life was planned to hasten the assimilation process. The 1880 Native Schools Code, which emphasized practical education for Maori, encouraged schools to influence the whole life of the Maori community. Although native schools were instructed in English and from a strongly European perspective, teachers were offered monetary incentives to acquire knowledge of Maori language and culture. Vocational education, especially agriculture, was stressed. Not until 1929 did the Native Schools adopt the same curriculum as public primary schools (Openshaw, 1993).

A new Maori education policy of integration was incorporated into the Native Schools in 1931. The policy was based upon three principles: that the Maori had the same capacity as any other people to adapt to changing conditions; that their happiness and welfare were dependent on the stability and strength of their own social institutions which included pride in race, history, and achievements; and that education should assist Maori to acquire worthwhile elements of both cultures. Teachers were reminded of the need to restore confidence, initiative, and pride in race to the Maori people. Basic English literacy, agriculture, and practical vocational education were the core curriculum. These guidelines, which formed the foundation of Maori education policy for two decades, were based on

cultural adaptation theory and perpetuated the long-standing belief that Maori had a propensity for manual occupations. By 1936, however, scholarships were introduced to induce Maori students to embark on teaching careers (Openshaw, 1993).

Since the end of the great depression the "idea of education" in New Zealand as expressed by its framer, the former New Zealand director of education Dr. C. E. Beeby (1992), has been:

> The government's objective, broadly expressed, is that every person, whatever his level of academic ability, whether he be rich or poor, whether he live in town or country, has a right, as a citizen, to a free education of the kind for which he is best fitted and to the fullest extent of his powers (p. XVI).

Beeby's position expresses the post-depression egalitarianism and governmental paternalism in New Zealand which promoted universal education but allowed little input from parents or students concerning educational needs.

A 1944 government statement on native education reveals that New Zealand's policy of equal educational opportunity did not, however, imply that every child should have the same education. For Maori students, who began their formal English education in 1944 well behind others, equality of opportunity implied special assistance. Underlying both primary and secondary Maori schools was the assimilationist assumption that New Zealand was moving towards a racially integrated population whose differences in color ultimately would be blended through intermarriage. Even some Maori leaders of the time emphasized mastery of English for Maori children as essential for economic equality, and they apparently assumed that Maori language and culture would be preserved within families and communities (Beeby, 1992).

After 1940 a number of native district high schools were opened which were designed to provide outstanding students with qualifications to gain entry into the professions and the remainder of students with extended practical training which would

help them to gain employment and live effectively in their local communities. Before native high schools were established just one-third of Maori students completing primary school were able to continue their schooling, and most Maori secondary students were forced to board away from home to do so. Instead of providing academic curricula in native district high schools, as was traditional in Maori denominational secondary schools, the Education Department adopted the position that only subjects relevant to the future vocational destinations of Maori youth should be taught. Building trades and homemaking were to be taught, and technical rather than classical curriculum was to be emphasized. But Maori parents, many of whom had received classical education in denominational high schools and understood academic knowledge to be the gateway to the university and to the professions, had in mind a very different agenda for the education of their children. Maori parents increasingly were unwilling to accept for their children an education viewed as second best (Beeby, 1992).

Reflecting on the significance of the response to his attempt to persuade local Maori parents to accept a technical rather than a classical curriculum in their new native district high school former education director Beeby (1992) ruefully wrote:

> They objected to the curriculum, and I asked what else they wanted in it. The answer was 'typewriting and Latin!' The village had only three typewriters... and I had no difficulty in showing them that typing skills would only tempt their daughters away to the bright lights of the town. On the subject of Latin I gave them an address... on the concept of education through the use of the hands, in practical skills rather than in words. As I sat down, the leading elder asked, 'Did you take Latin at school, Dr. Beeby?' I admitted to six years of it, and he retorted, 'And look where you got to!' Nearly half a century later, I have still not thought of the apt reply (p.210).

Maori parents obviously had their own very different agenda in mind for their native high schools. They wanted for their children an academic education which would allow them to go on to the university and to the professions.

Government reports published in the early 1960's concluded that equality of opportunity, standards, and status for Maori education would be maximized by the integration of Maori native schools, under local board control, as ordinary public schools in the New Zealand educational system. By 1969 Maori schools amalgamated with board schools as part of the New Zealand public school system (Openshaw, 1993).

The establishment of the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 was however, an attempt to bring treaty obligations and requirements into a more modern light. The Tribunal, which moved away from literal texts and reinterpreted the treaty through the development of principles as a basis for progress, found that the education system was operating in breach of the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi which protected Maori Language and culture. Provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi, which have been integrated into the policy discourse of the government since 1975, have been expressed in the Education Act of 1989 which allows for recent initiatives to move the education of Maori children under the control of Maori parents and communities and for the restoration of Maori culture and language (Whaanga, 1993).

In the 1985 Maori language claim brought before the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal the Tribunal determined that the Maori word taonga, which the Crown was obliged to protect under the Treaty, covered both tangible and intangible matters. Language was defined as a treasured possession essential to culture. The Tribunal further decided that the word "guarantee" in the treaty required that active steps be taken by the government to ensure that the Maori people retain full undisturbed and exclusive possession of their culture and language (Walker, 1990).

Throughout the course of New Zealand history the Maori people were unable to control their formal education. Everything in schooling was decided for them by a Pakeha

system. The Pakeha system of education was once supported by many Maori, including the famous leader Apirana Ngata, as a means of social and economic advancement which would promote equality of the races. The Pakeha system, however, became a replacement for rather than an addition to Maori cultural values. The Western culture of individualism has been replacing the Maori culture based on community. As a result the Pakeha system of education has produced generations of underachievement and failures for Maori who now are relegated to the bottom of the economic strata of New Zealand society (Stewart, 1992).

Maori Culture and Society

Maori have a distinct world view, epistemology, and concept of Aotearoa (New Zealand) geography which is derived form their traditional context and which survives today. Within the Maori language and within Maori-dominant localities such as the Marae (sacred meeting house) and various ritual ceremonies such as Tangihanga (burial ceremonies) this Maori world view still remains essentially intact (G.H. Smith, 1997).

A child, in the Maori world view, is part of a complex system which includes those people immediately around the child. This system locates a child in a whanau (extended family), in a hagu (clan), in an iwi (tribe) and across other iwi. Whanau, which includes different generations and the extended relationships to second and third cousins, is the basic social unit within which individuals develop their core relationships. Childhood is not grown out of or ended in the same way as it is in western views of childhood. An individual becomes a part of the adult world physically, but all extended family members remain as grandchildren of their tribe. The primary responsibility for the education of children is not with the parents but with the grandparents and the generation of the grandparents. Old people, who were never put aside, were the professors of Maori education (Mead, 1996).

In traditional Maori society the male is of higher status: powerful, positive, and embodying life. The male principle, which comes from the heavens and embodies sun and

the color white, is sacred. In contrast the female is of low status, of little power, and is seen in a negative light. The female principle is common and embodies the earth and the color black. Many Maori people still hold to these ideas, and Maori student identity is an embodiment of the many facets of their past which make up their identity (Kent & Besley, 1990).

The view of female in traditional Maori society surely is a contributing factor in the low educational levels for women. Of Maori females over the age of 15, 69% have no national school qualification. This compares with 59% of Pacific Island females and 46% of Pakeha females. A growing body of research, which identifies practices and procedures within the educational system which discriminate against the Maori racial group, also helps to explain why Maori women achieve so poorly in the New Zealand educational system (New Zealand Department of Education, 1989).

It is also important to recognize that some Maori females who hold to traditional Maori values may restrict their activities during menstruation. Maori students may be very embarrassed to talk about or view pictures of female genitalia, and educators must treat this with great sensitivity. Sex education for Maori students involving contraception and/or sexually transmitted disease needs to be sensitive to the Maori perspective on health as a holistic concept and should be carried out by persons who understand the Maori perspective. The Maori concept of health emphasizes that the body is not an isolated entity but is part of a whole. Maori health issues need to be seen in a holistic sense with well-being including spiritual, mental, physical, and family aspects of a person's life (Kent & Besley, 1990).

In Maori society men and women or boys and girls are not seen as isolated or necessarily independent but as part of an integrated social system. This integrated social system is geared more towards group support and caring for each other than it is towards individual competition. The Maori way of life is based upon cooperation and sharing rather than competing and acquiring. The extended family comprises the integrated social system

which envelops all of its members in a protective and supportive way, advocating historically evolved social norms and customs which preserve unity. With increasing urbanization of Maoris (80% live in cites), however, the extended family support system has been broken down in many instances creating economic and emotional pressures which can lead to neglect in child-rearing (Kent & Besley, 1990).

Learning Styles and Teaching Strategies

The most common and most powerful method of traditional Maori teaching is one-to-one in which the learner observes the demonstration of a more competent person and learns by imitating what is being modeled. Maori children are drawn into real-life situations by adults where the children can learn when they are ready and when they want to. The natural setting provides a cultural framework and a pattern of cultural coherence. The emphasis on learning rather than teaching places a great deal of the onus for learning on the child (Kent & Besley, 1990).

The majority of Maori students are whole concept learners who prefer to begin with the big picture before moving to details. Explanations are clearer for them when they move from the whole to the part. Breaking up learning into a series of minute hurdles can be discouraging for Maori students who may not see where it is leading. When explanations move from the whole to the part they are clearer to Maori students. Although all learning styles are found in Maori children as well as in all other groups of people, the majority of Maori and other children learn most easily through the learning styles traditionally practiced by their own cultural group. Maori tend to be visual learners who prefer to model demonstrations by the teacher. They also like learning through stories, pictures, and activities (Walters, Phillips, Olliver, & Gilliland, 1993).

Wait time for student response also is very important, since Maori etiquette often requires a lapse of time before a response. Taking time and deliberating throughout a conversation implies that what the other person says is worthy of consideration. In diverse classrooms with both Maori and Pakeha students, Maori students may seldom have the

opportunity to speak unless the teacher is responsive to this cultural difference. In Maori culture time is with us. Maori are not dictated to by the clock; they believe things should be done as needed. The time orientation of Maori is that they are facing a familiar past while being overtaken by an uncertain future. Maori tend to think that Pakeha are so dissatisfied with the present and so future focused, that they do not enjoy the present to the fullest. Among Maori people patience and the ability to wait quietly are valued characteristics (Walters et al. 1993).

The Maori traditional way of teaching children occurred within the circle of the extended family. The learning of children was the shared responsibility of the entire extended family and each generation of kin performed specific teaching tasks. Grandparents and their generation were responsible for teaching relationships, genealogies, and tribal history to children by telling them stories and by singing songs. This is consistent with the Maori world view that you go forward best by looking back. The parents and their generation were responsible for teaching the practical skills of life such as use and knowledge of the environment. Learning in traditional Maori society was holistic, embracing spiritual, social, and physical aspects of life. Maori learning, which was not time-oriented, emphasized mastery of the task rather than the time for task completion. This traditional pattern of learning still exists in many Maori homes and communities and is the means by which traditional culture is transmitted. A major principle of this type of learning is that, even though individuals may be allowed considerable choice, their individuality must be expressed within the context of the group. Since Maori students do not like to be singled out as different from their peers, group work rather than individual competitive activities is more effective for them. Cooperative group learning for Maori students raises self-esteem, enhances student achievement, and builds better attitudes toward school (Kent & Besley, 1990).

Four types of teaching strategies can be identified in New Zealand schools: traditional, bicultural, bilingual, and holistic. In traditional teaching, which has been the

norm, knowledge is treated as though it is culture free with no consideration given to cultural differences and expected responses based upon the needs and experiences of Pakeha students. Bicultural teaching is sensitive to Maori customs such as not touching the head of a student, not sitting on a table, and accepting downcast eyes as a sign of respect. Bilingual teaching, which is also bicultural, uses Maori language wherever possible. Holistic teaching, which is traditional Maori education, does not divide learning into subject areas but integrates the academic disciplines (Begg, 1988).

In traditional Maori families children are not encouraged to ask questions of elders or superiors. For Maori students, who do not tend to question authority, groups should be encouraged to formulate questions where explanations by the teacher are required (Begg, 1988).

For teachers of many Maori children, student self-esteem is a major concern because their students have become convinced that they will not succeed. Although many Maori students have a higher self-concept than their non-Maori peers before they enter school, they fall far behind later on when there is no Maori content in the school program. Too many Maori children lack confidence in problem solving and approach each new challenge with the anticipation that they will perform poorly or fail. In order to build self-esteem and confidence in Maori students, teachers must show respect for students and their culture and integrate Maori values into their teaching. Watching students closely to see that they do the right thing shows a lack of trust in them. It is considered disrespectful and destroys self-esteem (Walters et al. 1993).

For teachers who are unfamiliar with Maori body language, non-verbal communication can present a problem as well. In some Polynesian societies a person can look you in the eye only if you are on equal footing. In some Maori groups direct eye contact is an act of defiance or aggression. For some Maori, looking down is a sign of preserving their own status and dignity as human beings while it permits those in authority to retain the illusion of having their own way. Persistently looking at another person is

intrusive while the downcast eye is courteous. Maori, unless they are quite acculturated, are more likely to look in another direction rather than at each other while in conversation (Walters et al. 1993).

Ignorance and misunderstanding of Maori language and cultural values and preferred learning practices on the part of non-Maori educators has been identified as an important challenge to be addressed. Language and cultural identity are only slowly being recognized by schools as powerful factors influencing the learning and behavior of New Zealand students. Interestingly, with the increasing numbers of refugee, migrant, and international fee-paying students, New Zealand secondary schools are acknowledging the need to modify curriculum and instructional strategies in order to accommodate cultural and language differences. Many schools are slower to acknowledge the same needs, however, when it comes to accommodating the cultural and language needs of their own Maori students (Glynn et al. 1997).

Maori students are still disadvantaged by the way they are sorted, classified, and evaluated. Low teacher expectations of Maori students produce negative outcomes and deny Maori access to knowledge for social and economic mobility. Pakeha schooling has alienated Maori from their culture and language without providing them with enough European knowledge to compete economically with the Pakeha (Simon, 1990).

Hei Awhina Matua, a research project which aimed to establish bicultural partnership strategies for overcoming behavioral and learning difficulties faced by Maori students, was commissioned by the New Zealand Ministry of Education in 1994. It called for the development of an approach which would promote cooperation and collaboration among Maori students, their parents, and teachers through the sharing of detailed information as well as human resources and skills. A behavior management system was implemented which used principles which were compatible with Maori culture. Direct observation data showed increased levels of appropriate student behavior on the playground and in the

classroom. A higher level of teacher presence on the playground also was revealed by the research data (Glynn et al. 1997).

Although there is some evidence that culturally sensitive education does benefit Maori students, support for biculturalism in New Zealand is far from unanimous. New Zealand's Education Forum (1998) questions the effectiveness of Maori education. It warns against the uncritical acceptance of the idea that Maori need different teaching methods than non-Maori and are therefore likely to fail in mainstream schools. The Education Forum states that "we are not aware of any specific pedagogies that apply particularly to Maori children and not to other New Zealand children" (p. 99). Recognized, however, is that emphasis on Maori language and culture may have a very positive effect on the education of Maori children by stimulating greater parental concern and involvement. The Forum contends that Maori-medium schooling, which might appeal to Maori activists and politicians, may actually disadvantage Maori children and widen the gap in academic achievement. The Forum concludes that "in the absence of a sound research basis, the ministry, in promoting Maori-medium teaching, may be indulging in wishful thinking and taking an irresponsible gamble with the education of some of our most educationally disadvantaged children" (p.99). The Forum calls for dissemination of government - supported research into the effectiveness of education, including Maori-medium education, so that parents can choose where the balance of advantage lies for their own children.

Maori Cultural Revival

The closing decades of the twentieth century have witnessed a Maori cultural resurgence in New Zealand and associated demands for an education by and for Maori. The Maori cultural renaissance has given rise to demands, not just for recognition of but for celebration of Maori culture. Selected aspects of Maori culture and language along with issues of biculturalism have become an integral part of New Zealand's teacher training programs (Openshaw, 1993). The teacher education programs in the Wanguni Regional Community Polytechnic are immersion programs in Maori language, culture, and thought.

Other Maori teacher education programs require three years of Maori language with many courses taught from a Maori perspective (Partington, 1997).

Biculturalism has replaced the New Zealand colonial ideologies of assimilation and integration. The charter for biculturalism is the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, whereby two people, of Maori and English cultural traditions, signed the covenant that brought into being the nation state of New Zealand. Biculturalism in New Zealand as defined by the Maori Education Corporate Plan means the modification of social, bureaucratic, and political institutions to give equal weighting to the two primary cultures of the nation (L. Smith, G. H. Smith, Hohepa, Jenkins, & Pita, 1993).

From a Maori perspective the subversive nature of education was well understood by British colonizers of New Zealand where they introduced their system of education to the indigenous population. From the very beginning they used education or replace Maori language and culture with their own in order to achieve their desired goal of assimilation. Maori language was forbidden even on the playground after 1900, and corporal punishment was administered to children who disobeyed. The twentieth century prior to 1975, a period of retreat for Maori language, was a time in which raw power was used to suppress the heart and soul of a people. Many Maori people, in the early decades of the national school system, viewed the schools as the means by which their children would come to master English and thereby gain access to the new economic and political order. They believed mistakenly that they could maintain their own language at home. The exclusion of the Maori language from the primary school curriculum, coupled with the negative attitudes of many teachers toward the language, adversely affected the attitude of the Maori people toward their own language (Ka'ai-Oldman, 1988).

With increasing diversity in New Zealand Schools, made up of many Pacific Island and Asian students, the education system is grappling with the question of how to be both bicultural and multicultural. The Maori see policies of biculturalism as a safeguard against backsliding into acculturation. A commitment to bicultural understanding acknowledges

Maori special status and the priority given in the spirit of the Treaty of Waitangi to the relationship between Maori and Pakeha. Many Maori leaders are suspicious about talk of multiculturalism which downgrades their status to just another ethnic group. They fear that their special concerns would get lost among the claims of other New Zealand cultural groups (Renwick, 1988).

Maori groups distrust the political agenda embedded in the notion of a cultural mosaic or multicultural society. A result of the multicultural concept would be to treat the Maori people as just another ethnic group, no different from any other in New Zealand. The indigenous Maori people have a special constitutional position in their country under the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, the document upon which New Zealand was founded. Since the cultural mosaic image does not recognize the special status of Maori in Aotearoa, the multicultural vision for New Zealand is rejected (Mead, 1997).

Maori Education Program.

Since the mid 1970's there has been a proliferation of Maori education programs within the New Zealand public education system and through separate Maori initiatives. Three programs have been established in New Zealand for Maori pupils to participate in Maori language and cultural programs. Taha Maori, first introduced into selected schools in 1975, consists of Maori strands to be integrated into the existing curriculum and taught in English plus very basic instruction in Maori language. Since bilingual education first was introduced in 1977, more than 20 bilingual schools and more than 150 other bilingual classes have been established. Maori total language immersion programs also have expanded greatly since their introduction in 1977. A major impediment to introduction of these programs, however, has been the shortage of teachers fluent in Maori language and culture. Since 1980 Maori initiatives in education have led to the development of early childhood and primary schools for the preservation of Maori language and cultural traditions and for the advancement of student achievement. With a ground swell of support from Maori communities, 609 such centers served more than 12,000 children by

1990. Programs are based upon Maori knowledge and Maori pedagogy. To compensate for teacher shortages itinerant resource teachers of Maori have been employed with each teacher servicing a cluster of schools (Jenkins & Ka'ai, 1994).

Maori perspectives have been integrated into all aspects of mainstream New Zealand school organization and curriculum with two main expectations. It is expected that bicultural education of Taha Maori will validate Maori culture and language in the minds of non-Maori New Zealanders, and it is expected that it will help Maori students feel a greater sense of identity and self-worth which may enhance their educational achievements as well. Research conducted in Otago and Southland schools suggests that bicultural education is having a positive effect on non-Maori respect for Maori cultural traditions but only a limited effect on Maori students, perhaps because programs lack a Maori perspective (Holmes, 1992).

Taha Maori, while important for the education of all New Zealand children, has a limited potential for students who are already immersed in Maori life. Many Maori parents see Taha Maori as a shallow, watered down view of Maori culture which does not validate the deeper underpinnings of Maori knowledge. Taha Maori is seen as a barrier to the fundamental structures of both Pakeha knowledge and Maori knowledge by some Maori parents, many of whom have become involved in other Maori cultural initiatives such as pre-school language immersion (L. Smith, 1991). In addition, social amnesia in relation to Maori - Pakeha relations is cultivated within the overall school curriculum by concealing past social injustices. Not only are Pakeha then relieved of the burden of addressing those injustices, but the understanding of Maori-Pakeha relations is distorted by the vacuum in historical knowledge (Simon, 1990).

As New Zealand moves toward the ideal of biculturalism, Pakehas are expected to be as proficient in understanding Maori culture as Maori are in understanding Pakeha culture. In many New Zealand schools, especially where there is a five percent or smaller minority of Maori students, social education programs are planned and taught from a monocultural

Pakeha perspective however. For Maori students there is more likely to be a discontinuity between the common sense everyday knowledge of the home community and the knowledge presented by the school. Movement toward biculturalism involves more than just curriculum content integration. It also includes two other aspects of education which reflect the knowledge code of a culture - the way in which knowledge is transmitted (pedagogy) and the way the system measures the success of knowledge transmission (evaluation) (Kent & Besley, 1990).

Graham Smith (1997) identifies a significant outcome of the struggle since 1980 over the legitimacy of the New Zealand schooling and education system. He interprets the fact that increasing numbers of Maori are beginning to opt out of the system as evidence that they have become increasingly suspicious of whose interests schools and the education system really serve. State schools and education now are understood by many Maori as political and cultural sites which contain contested, multiple relations or power, knowledge, and domination. This Maori view of education is validated by research conducted by Simon (1990) who has concluded that schooling of Maori has contributed significantly to the security and maintenance of Pakeha economic and political dominance throughout New Zealand history. Control of Maori access to knowledge has been of particular significance. The school has been one of the sites of Maori-Pakeha struggle, with Maori resistance playing an important role in the shaping of school policies and practices.

In general, Simon believes that the Schools continue to control and to limit Maori access to knowledge and thereby help to maintain the asymmetry in Pakeha-Maori relations. The multicultural policies instituted by the Ministry of Education are ideological responses to Maori activism which, while creating an appearance of change and of commitment to Maori interests, have in essence functioned to maintain the asymmetry in social relations. Initial Maori thirst for Pakeha knowledge changed after a century to resistance or apathy. Maori, in embracing Pakeha schooling, always were seeking to improve their life chances and to gain greater control over their lives. As the promise of

Pakeha schooling failed to materialize, Maori disillusionment with Pakeha schooling grew. Pakeha schools and the knowledge they teach, when perceived by Maori students as embodying Pakeha authority and control, is treated with distrust and resistance. When some Maori students resist Pakeha knowledge they help to maintain their own deficiency of power, however.

New Zealand's cultural assimilation and integration policies have been questioned by Maori critics since the late 1960's. Many Maori increasingly have come to believe that the education system deliberately has undermined Maori culture and language and that this has lowered the self-esteem of Maori students. The decision made in the early 1980's to introduce a Maori dimension (Taha Maori) into the primary and secondary school curriculum was met with skepticism and distrust because of a lack of Maori control over the what, how, and by whom it was to be taught. The Maori, disenchanted with the state school system, embarked on their own educational reform program. Te Kohanga Reo (the language nursery) which began immersing pre-schoolers in Maori language in 1981, experienced a spectacular growth rate. Bilingual Kura Kaupapa Maori primary schools, which operated initially outside of the state school system, then were established to provide the Kohanga Reo graduates with continued instruction in Maori knowledge, language, and culture while adhering to national curriculum guidelines (Openshaw, 1993).

Kura Kaupapa Maori can be viewed as an initiative by Maori parents to use schooling as a means of engaging in their historical struggle to preserve their language and culture. It also may be seen as an attempt by Maori people to reconstruct history and to move beyond its constraints. Kura Kaupapa Maori is concerned with curriculum issues, not so much with matters of specific content, but with the wider context decision-making such as knowledge selection, transmission, and evaluation. Kura Kaupapa Maori is an attempt to transform patterns of past educational experiences for Maori children into a pedagogy which offers greater academic achievement and better life chances for the Maori people and for Maori society (L. Smith, 1992). With Maori language and culture established at the

pre-school and primary levels, the next step is to provide Maori students in secondary schools with education based upon Kaupapa Maori Theory.

Kaupapa Maori Theory is derived from and attempts to give support to Maori cultural values, practices, and thought as expressed by what many Maori individuals do as part of their lived reality. Kaupapa Maori as a meaningful theory of change has three significant components: conscientisation; resistance; and praxis, which are sufficient only when they work together collectively as one package. Conscientisation, an educational and liberating process for reflection and action, is the concern to reveal, analyze, and de-construct critically existing practices and hegemonies which entrench Pakeha-dominant cultural, economic, social, gender, and political privilege. Resistance is forming shared understandings and experiences in order to derive a sense of collective politics and to respond collectively to dominant structures of oppression and exploitation. Praxis is undertaking transformative action to evolve change, and it is concerned with developing meaningful change by intervening and by making a difference. Kaupapa Maori transformative praxis, as implied in the notion of praxis, is a process which is ongoing, dynamic, and evolving with transformative potential. Maori resistance and transformative endeavors, when reacting to state initiatives as moving targets, need to be flexible while being proactive across multiple sites to create moving targets for the government (G. H. Smith, 1997). Kaupapa Maori Theory also includes six intervention elements intended to infuse the validity and legitimacy of Maori culture into Maori education. Self-determination, which includes participation, involvement and autonomy, gives Maori people control over the education of their children. Cultural aspirations emphasizes the importance of Maori culture, language, and knowledge. Culturally preferred pedagogy teaches to Maori learning styles and customary home learning where older children look after younger siblings. Mediation of wider socio-economic and home difficulties means working together collaboratively for the benefit of the Maori community. Family structure emphasizes cultural support networks within the extended family for Maori to assist each

other. Collective vision of cultural revitalization and educational achievement (Kaupapa) is the vision created by the theory (G. H.. Smith, 1999).

The theory and praxis of Kaupapa Maori is primarily an educational strategy evolving out of Maori communities as a means to comprehend, resist, and transform crises related to Maori student underachievement and erosion of Maori culture, knowledge, and language. The emphasis on transformation acknowledges the central importance of the work schools do covertly with respect to the hidden curriculum as well as the teaching and learning function which they do overtly. The hidden curriculum operates through many levels and processes which include: epistemology, agenda setting, selection of whose knowledge, control of discourse, and control of examination processes. Key points are the ways in which schools maintain social divisions, exercise social control, and perpetuate dominant cultural interests through differential provision of schooling. The hidden curriculum maintains cultural divisions within society through subtle controls exerted in the way which every-day norms, beliefs, and values are inscribed in students' routine, rules, and classroom practices. The net effect of the hidden curriculum on Maori students has been the maintenance of existing inequalities and the preservation of the multiple interests of the dominant Pakeha society (G. H. Smith, 1997).

Trends and Future Outlook

Three reviews and four policy documents, dealing with every aspect of the New Zealand system of education from early childhood to higher education, were published between 1987 and 1989. These publications had a profound effect in shaping the structure of New Zealand education. Five significant flaws were identified in the education system as it existed at that time: over centralization of decision-making; lack of effective management practices; complexity; lack of information and choice; and, feelings of powerlessness. The remedy was a new structure of school-based management in which learning institutions became the basic building blocks over their educational resources. A partnership of education professionals and boards of trustees elected from the local

community were to manage educational institutions. Within overall education objectives set by the state, each institution expressed its own objectives in the form of a charter. Learning institutions were held accountable through a national review and audit agency. As a result of this restructuring New Zealand has undergone since 1990 its greatest changes to the administration of education in history (Openshaw, 1993).

While these changes were taking place, rapidly increasing diversity in the New Zealand school population was creating a need for schools to address issues of culture, ethnicity, and race more actively. In meetings between New Zealand school principals and the Race Relations Coordinator three suggestions emerged which were published in the 1993 Annual Report to Parliament. It was suggested that schools needed cultural awareness programs which were relevant to the lives of students, assistance to develop racial harassment procedures, and anti-racists programs for student and teacher development. Subsequent field research was conducted to identify best practices in the area of race relations for schools across New Zealand. The conclusion drawn from that research was that when students learn about cultures, including their own, and interact with members of different groups, that barriers and beliefs which support racist attitudes and behaviors are broken down. Teachers at the primary level supported cultural diversity by integrating cultures, languages, and experiences of children into daily activities and curriculum. Most of the secondary schools in the study had in place a whanau (Maori extended family) house pastoral care structure for students to stay in the same group under the supervision of a single teacher for five consecutive years. Some schools have designated staff members whose specific role it is to provide support for students from non-Pakeha backgrounds, and culture clubs are an important part of secondary school life. At both the elementary and secondary levels new students were supported through peer tutoring and buddying systems which provided friendship and mutual support for students from all cultural groups. Programs were most effective when they were developed through

collaborative efforts by students, faculty, parents, and members of the board of trustees (Donn & Schick, 1995).

Definitive evidence is not yet available concerning the outcomes of the various Maori education initiatives. Because current Maori education programs were not introduced until the 1980's and then expanded gradually, data are not yet available as to the extent to which children educated in these programs have succeeded later in life. Maori education is highly politicized and politically charged. Information on Maori education tends to be anecdotal, descriptive, and qualitative in nature. There is a dearth of research into the relative merits of various Maori education programs in terms of student achievement which would allow for meaningful comparisons and evaluation (Partington, 1997).

Research conducted to explore what was happening to Maori girls in immersion, bilingual, and mainstream schools, however, revealed considerable differences in program outcomes. In immersion schools, which had greater family input and programs based upon the Maori world view and culture, Maori girls were more confident in terms of the way they interacted with teachers and in their ability to capture the attention of their teachers. In mainstream schools teachers were supportive of Maori children, but they did not integrate the Maori world view and culture effectively. Maori girls observed in mainstream school classes did not interact with their teachers with as high a level of confidence and effectiveness as did girls in immersion classes. Maori girls in schools with bilingual programs fell somewhere in the middle of the continuum (Carkeek, Davies, & Irwin, 1994).

The revival of interest in Maori language and culture and the rapid expansion of state-funded Maori educational programs has created a strong demand for teachers who are Maori speakers as well as insistence that all New Zealanders should have some basic competence in Maori language. Maori parents have expressed a wide range of demands for the educaiton of their children. Most of these parents would like their children to acquire culture-specific knowledge, but not at the expense of their broader education. Diversity of

provision at the school level and diversity in teacher education are key to offering parental choice and meeting the demands of the many different types of schools (Partington, 1997).

The New Zealand Ministry of Educaiton, in the 1997 Annual Report on Maori Education, articulated several key points for the conduct of Maori educaiton. The Ministry calls for continued support for Maori language initiatives, Maori access to early childhood education, Maori participation in education policy making and administration, and Maori responsibility in education. The Ministry calls for higher achievement levels for Maori students, increased Maori participation in higher education, and greater representation of Maori in the teaching profession. In order to enhance Maori educaiton programs the ministry plans to strengthen links between education providers, promote Maori education research, and encourage Maori education innovation and initiative.

Not all New Zealanders are supportive of Maori education programs, however. Ruth Laugesen, writing in the March 7, 1999 Auckland Star Times, reported on the resistance of some New Zealanders to government-supported biculturalism and the special place given to Maori culture and language by the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal. The One New Zealand Foundation, an assimilationist group founded in the 1980's, has campaigned for abolition of the Tribunal and against any special funding for Maori education. In 1992 it reported New Zealand to the United Nations for promoting racial disharmony by providing too much help to the Maori. One New Zealand president, Colin Robertson, has accused the New Zealand government of advancing Maori interests by letting lose in government educational institutions and agencies politically correct bicultural zealots who drive their uncompromising wedges deep into the New Zealand national fabric. Robertson has accused the Tribunal of intruding into national sovereignty by requiring the New Zealand government to advance Maori interests to the exclusion of other groups. This is viewed as divisive and unjust by Robertson.

Despite opposition by splinter groups, biculturalism is advancing in new Zealand at a time when the very survival of Maori language and culture is in doubt. Stewart (1992)

believes that the process of survival for Maori language and culture needs to be centered first in the decolonization of the mind. Empowerment of the Maori people is being indicated and determined by promotion of the use of Maori language as the most vital part of the Maori as a distinct people. The political consciousness of the Maori is awakening as they attempt to take control of their own destiny. Maori strategy for reclaiming their language, identity, and cultural heritage is expressed as Tino Rangatiratanga, which means that the Maori people must assume local control, Kaupapa Maori, which provides the philosophy and methodology, and Tikanga Maori, which ensures excellence.

The Maori self-help strategy is admirable, and their use of the legal system to ensure their rights guaranteed by the Treaty of Waitangi has been ingenious. Recent changes in New Zealand and Maori education, however, have been more ideological than research based. Innovations in Maori education have been highly emotional and not piloted or scientifically evaluated. Unfortunately, there is no strong research evidence which indicates that they will be successful in elevating overall academic achievement and/or socioeconomic status for the Maori people. Results over time ultimately will determine the success of innovative Maori education programs which have stimulated Maori enthusiasm and involvement. If they continue to activate Maori parents, motivate Maori students, and build Maori community, they have great potential for education success. But even if preservation of Maori language and culture is the only outcome, it will be a major achievement. Certainly educators around the world will be watching Maori education as a potential model for the education of other peoples in similar circumstances.

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