

***BARRIERS TO MAORI STUDENT SUCCESS AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY***

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UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY***

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BARRIERS TO MAORI STUDENT SUCCESS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores how the University of Canterbury has responded to the *Tertiary Education Strategy's* (2002-2007) concerns vis-à-vis declining Maori participation and unsatisfactory rates of retention and completion in mainstream universities. This research is based on the qualitative method of in-depth taped interviews with twenty-five participants enrolled as 'Maori' at Canterbury in 2004. Notwithstanding increased recognition of biculturalism at Canterbury, issues relating to entrenched monoculturalism identified by Grennell (1990), Clothier (2000) and Phillips (2003) appear to be largely unresolved. Participants confirm the Ministry of Education's (2001) contention that Personal and Family Issues, Financial Difficulties, Negative Schooling Experiences, Inadequate Secondary Qualifications, Transitional Difficulties, Isolation, Unwelcoming Tertiary Environments and Inappropriate Support Structures are barriers to Maori success. However, testimonies reflect that these barriers represent exogenous factors derived from state and institutional policies and practices, not endogenous factors attributable to Maori genes, cultural socioeconomic status or engagement with the system. The *Tertiary Education Strategy's* (2002-2007) devolution of responsibility to institutions to address ethnic disparities in human capital imposes the same structural constraints on Maori that undermine achievement in the compulsory sector. The types of support structures participants identify as conducive to addressing deficit cultural capital and fostering academic achievement are Maori-centred initiatives, devoid of the deficit ideology that underpins mainstream assimilationist interventions; and or institutional provisions that incorporate greater stakeholder input with improved accountability and monitoring mechanisms that safeguard against recourse to deficit rationalizations for underachievement. Maori parity in engagement with the tertiary education sector is contingent upon the state and its institutions redressing the cumulative effects of the colonial and neo-colonial marginalization of Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

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CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION TO THESIS

It is now considered a national priority to address declining participation and unsatisfactory rates of retention and achievement of Maori students at mainstream tertiary institutions in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Current government policy, *The Tertiary Education Strategy 2002-07 (The Strategy)*, devolves responsibility for redressing ethnic disparities in human capital to an institutional level. This thesis explores how *The Strategy's* directives translate into a system that is more responsive to meeting the particular needs and aspirations of Maori students at the University of Canterbury, and the congruence between factors defined by the Ministry of Education (2001) (the Ministry) in *Hei Tautoko I nga Watata: Supporting Maori Achievement: A collection of Tertiary Provider Initiatives* as barriers to successful Maori engagement with those factors identified by a group of students at this institution. Accordingly, this research has three primary objectives: to explore the perceptions of participants' regarding the types of support structures they consider necessary for and conducive to a positive and successful tertiary education, both in terms of experience and outcomes; to examine the effectiveness of institutional responses in ameliorating barriers; and to make recommendations on the basis of the research findings.

1.1 ORGANIZATIONAL FRAMEWORK

While the Ministry-defined barriers provide an organizational framework for this chapter they are nevertheless considered problematic for three reasons. Firstly, the explanatory power of ethnicity is, as Reid, Robson and Jones (2000:45) contend, restricted to describing “Maori difference from the non-Maori norm”, a methodology that encourages a deficit analysis which fails to examine institutional structures or acknowledge the impact of institutional racism. Therefore resultant interventions address superficial issues rather than underlying causes. Second, the Ministry's use of factors identified in international studies in preference to recourse to Maori expertise is in itself symptomatic of deficit ideology. Third, despite acknowledgement by the Ministry (MoE, 2001:5) that the increasingly heterogeneous Maori population precludes the formulation of a list of “characteristics”, barriers are derived from factors identified by Australia and America researchers which disregard the bicultural

reality of Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and the variability in assimilatory processes in White Settler Dominions. The Ministry (MoE, 2001:5) does, however, recognize that the pattern of Maori participation differs from that of mainstream students, and identifies the following as barriers to Maori engagement in tertiary study:

- 1) Personal And Family Issues;
- 2) Financial Difficulties;
- 3) Negative Schooling Experiences;
- 4) Inadequate Secondary School Qualifications;
- 5) Difficulty In Transition To Tertiary Study;
- 6) Isolation;
- 7) Unwelcoming Tertiary Environments;
- 8) Inappropriate Support Systems. (MoE, 2001:5).

1.2 THEORETICAL RATIONALE

This thesis assumes the position that the under-performance of Maori within the tertiary sector must be considered within the context of marginalization. While the significance of factors identified by the Ministry (MoE, 2001) is acknowledged, the underlying assumptions regarding their creation and maintenance is challenged. The theoretical framework of marginalization is used to examine the relationship between state policies and practices, and ethnic differentials in educational outcomes. A critique of deficit thinking that highlights state rationalization of Maori educational under-achievement is also incorporated into this framework. This dual approach supports the basic premise of this thesis: that while the Ministry acknowledges barriers to successful Maori engagement in tertiary institutions, causation is primarily attributed to endogenous factors, deficit aspects of Maori “genes, behaviour, circumstances and engagement with the system” (Reid et al., 2000:44). The corollary of this deficit-based approach is that the impact of exogenous factors derived from state policies and practices remains exculpable and as a result the fundamental underlying causes of barriers are not redressed.

1.3 CONTEXTUAL ENVIRONMENT

The socio-political process of marginalization has resulted in the peripheralization of Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The majority are positioned in the most deprived echelons of society, over-represented in all negative social indices, and disproportionately failed by the compulsory education system. These factors have negative implications (both individual and collective) for engagement in the tertiary education market. In addition to class status and the impact of historical marginalization, ethnic discrimination perpetuated under neo-colonial marginalization is recognized as a significant cause of disparities between Maori and Pakeha (Crothers, 2003; Reid et al., 2000; Te Puni Kokiri, 2000:6). While analysis attributes responsibility for ethnic disparities to discriminatory policies and practices of state, in the bicultural milieu, as Linda Smith (2004:18-20) notes, Maori are deemed “responsible for their predicament” and blame is often juxtaposed with the notion of Maori privilege:

Recent public discourses on the place of Maori and the Treaty of Waitangi position non-Maori as victims of discrimination because of the perceived extra special rights that Maori have to be consulted, to have our language and culture recognised, to have Treaty of Waitangi protections built into legislation and policy frameworks.

The sustained breaches of the indigenous rights guaranteed under the Treaty of Waitangi, while beyond the scope of this thesis, are indicative of the systematic marginalization experienced by other colonized indigenous minorities in White Settler Dominions. Indigenous peoples within the post-colonial era are doubly burdened by colour and indigeneity; the former relates to the theory of bio-essentialism and the latter is reinforced by Anderson Singh, Stehbens and Ryerson’s (1998:111) reference to Collishaw and Morris’ (1977:8) premise that racism provides “a window on a world where the notion of race was mobilized not so much against the color of the skin, as against the origin of that color.”

Marginalization is sustained under the aegis of Biculturalism, for although policy represents a counter-hegemonic concession by the state to Maori political unrest in the 1970s and 1980s, change has been limited to a more positive focus on “difference” without any concomitant devolution of power (Johnston, 1998:11). This emphasis on

the position and legitimacy of Maori culture and identity has afforded the state a diversionary tactic from redressing Maori collective disadvantage and increasing inequalities (McIntosh, 2004:40). Frantz Fanon (1967:85) argued that a “given society is either racist or is not”, and as Linda Smith (2004:5) notes: Maori “are constantly vulnerable to the attitudes, judgements and moral panic of the Pakeha majority.” The positive public reception accorded the Leader of the Opposition Dr Don Brash’s “Orewa Speeches” (2004 and 2005) highlights the neo-liberal faction’s use of public discourse to perpetuate societal racism. This response reinforces Graham Smith’s (1990:184) assertion that the state is not neutral, but represents the nexus of Pakeha “state-policies, capital interests and societal interests.” These dominant group interests are collectively reflected in social policies.

1.4 SOCIAL POLICY

The interaction of power and difference has always produced educational policies that reinforce Maori powerlessness (Johnston, 1998:8), and *The Strategy*, which claims that “Maori and the tertiary education system [can work] together to produce success in terms meaningful to Maori” (TES, 2002:18), is no exception. Maori involvement in the policy formulation process was restricted to an advisory role by the Maori Tertiary Reference Group (MTRG) (TES, 2002:16) and the Maori Tertiary Education Framework (MTEF) developed by this group has **not** been accorded formal state endorsement (MTEF, 2003:4) but provides “a reference point for a Maori perspective to be incorporated and considered within various strategies and objectives.”

Therefore, at a Ministry level, Maori input into the creation of a tertiary system that purports to be more responsive to Maori was minimal (MTEF, 2003:7). This factor demonstrates the absence of the paradigmic shift in thinking and decision-making essential to the creation of a system which is “transparent and accountable” to Maori (MTRG, 2003:5). While Maori have made progress in the acquisition of human capital during the period 1986-2001, sizable disparities remain between **both** the population percentile with qualifications, and the attainment levels, of Maori and non-Maori (Baxedine, 2003:84). As Linda Smith (2004:17) notes: “Maori participation rates in tertiary education [are] one of the highest in the OECD but the level at which Maori are participating is a consequence of the failure of schooling to deliver achievement to Maori.” The steadfast refusal of the state to authorize Maori input into

policy solutions that address their particular needs (MTRG, 2003:8), Linda Smith contends (2004:17), disregards the reality that:

...the long term systematic nature of disadvantage has constituted patterns of participation by Maori people in society that are different from mainstream Pakeha norms and as a consequence tend to challenge taken for granted policies and practices of institutions.

This failure to acknowledge the “intrinsic differences between Maori and Pakeha” constitutes a persistent fundamental policy flaw responsible for the creation and maintenance of ethnic disparities in social outcomes (Parata, 1994:45).

1.5 NATIONAL INTEREST

The recent emphasis on increasing Maori participation in the tertiary sector reflects belated recognition by the state that ethnic disparities have negative socio-political ramifications for the nation. *The Strategy* (TES, 2002:11) acknowledges that countries with educated populations will be the most productive and competitive in the international market place, and that global and technological changes increasingly demand tertiary qualifications as prerequisites for participation in the Knowledge Economy. Therefore it is imperative that the deficit of Maori human capital must be redressed if Aotearoa/New Zealand is to maintain “first-world” living standards. Aotearoa/New Zealand will experience greater future demographic turbulence than most other Western democratic nations, with structural and numerical changes occurring in the Pakeha and Maori population respectively. In addition, Pakeha will experience structural ageing¹ in contrast to the numerical ageing² of the Maori population (Pool, 2003:20-21). Social cohesion may be further undermined as one-quarter of the total momentum growth in the 45-54 age group in 2011 will come from Maori, including disproportionate numbers of discouraged male workers - victims of the radical restructuring of the late 1980s – who were deprived of the opportunity to acquire equity for their retirement (Pool, 2003:34-35).

¹ According to Pool, 2003:21 *structural ageing* is “when the proportion of the total population at older ages increases (this is the major Pakeha pattern).”

² “*Numerical ageing*: is when the numbers of people at older ages increases (the major Maori pattern)” (Pool, 2003:21)

The introduction of market principles to education in 1987 has negative ramifications for social cohesion. Lauder and Hughes et al. (1999:137-138) state:

Markets do not take account of national interests because of their underlying principle – that the wealth and wishes of parents should determine educational careers – clashes with the meritocracy principle. Nor do they take into account interests of key groups in society like Maori.

Maori represent the fastest growing and most youthful sector of society, yet the index of potential for Maori youth is well below sixty percent, and if current trends continue, the potential of some 60,000 of the 174,500 young Maori under the age of 15 years will not be realized (Durie, 2002:2-3). This has serious implications. According to Pool (2003:34), “unemployed youth constitute a politically volatile group” and Maori youth aged between 15-24 years will comprise twenty-one percent of this age group in Aotearoa/New Zealand in 2011; thus political stability will require that ethnic disparities in employment and educational opportunities be redressed.

1.6 MAORI PERSPECTIVE

Maori at a national level increasingly perceive education as vital to progress and development within all aspects of society (MTRG, 2003:8). Maori realize that the “emergence of a critical mass of highly educated and skilled Maori” is contingent upon successful engagement with all levels of the education system (MTRG, 2003:8). However, from a theoretical perspective, increased participation in tertiary education is not the panacea for redressing ethnic disparities. Pearl (1997:139) argues that increased minority access to higher education will result in an entirely new form of social stratification. Pearl (1997:153) cites Bourdieu and Passeron’s (1977:153) contention that inequalities are maintained by “transmuting (social inequalities) into academic hierarchies.” Accordingly, Pearl (1997:140-141) maintains, higher education serves to reproduce rather than redistribute cultural capital, as “the dominant class definition of cultural capital can only be appreciated by those who are economically secure.” The cumulative affects of sustained economic marginalization therefore have inimical implications for Maori in the “user pays” neo-libertarian education market, where Maori are forced into state-sponsored debt to redress educational marginalization in the compulsory sector. Thus Maori are denied the

“competitive advantage” (Pearl, 1997:214) that facilitates a seamless entry into tertiary education, where embodied Pakeha cultural capital has currency (Du Bruin, 2000:48), whiteness represents an advantage (Fine, 1997), and social exclusion (Krieger, 2001:695) resulted in a meagre 200 Maori graduates in 1968, a century after the establishment of universities in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Phillips, 2003:139).

1.7 THE UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

Established in 1873, the University of Canterbury is the country’s second oldest university (UC Profile, 2005-2007) and remains a conservative institution (see Grennell, 1991; Clothier, 2000; Phillips, 2003). The University of Canterbury was the last university to adopt a Maori name – Te Whare Wananga o Waitaha - (Phillips, 2003:219) and the last major South Island tertiary provider to sign a Memorandum of Understanding with Ngai Tahu, the predominant South Island iwi, in 2001. This purportedly signalled the university’s commitment to a bicultural agenda and the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and. Recognition of biculturalism, however, came nearly a decade after other universities had implemented programmes and support systems sympathetic to the needs of Maori. In an environment where Maori staff and students represent only two and five percent of the community respectively, the local stakeholder, Te Tapuae o Rehua (Te Tapuae) (2002:32-34), recognizes that despite an apparent increase in cultural awareness by the University of Canterbury over the past decade, monoculturalism remains embedded. It is emphasized by Te Tapuae (2002:32-34) that in order for the university to uphold their obligation to be the “conscience of society, scholarship and research” the institution must comprehensively embrace biculturalism.

1.8 METHOD AND METHODOLOGY

This qualitative research is based on an analysis of data gathered from primary and secondary sources. Primary data was collected using the social research method of in-depth, semi-structured taped interviews (Blaikie, 2000:27). A “snowball” sampling technique generated a sample population (Davidson and Tolich, 2001:35) of twenty-five students enrolled as “Maori” at the University of Canterbury. The abductive strategy was used to ensure that the accounts presented by participants provided an

understanding of their reality and the way they conceptualized and gave meaning to their social worlds (Blaikie, 2000:115). Secondary data was used to produce a review of relevant literature. A Maori-centred methodology is adopted in compliance with mainstream research principles and protocols, even though Kaupapa Maori philosophy informs this study as it assumes a position committed to a critical analysis of asymmetric power relations (Bishop, 1996:12). This accords with the distinction Cunningham (1998:10) makes between these two approaches. While both involve Maori participants, a Maori analysis and produce Maori knowledge, the dissimilarity lies in “whose standards the research was measured against and in whom control was vested”; in Maori-centred research standards and controls are mainstream, whereas in Kaupapa Maori research standards and controls remain with Maori (Cunningham, 1998:10). As this project involved human subjects, approval was received from the University of Canterbury Ethics Committee.

1.9 OUTLINE OF THESIS

This thesis is comprised of eight chapters that are structured in the following manner: Chapter Two outlines the theory of marginalization and explicates how the peripheralization of individuals and groups, on the basis of their identity, ethnicity, culture and environment, is legitimized by and actioned through colonial and neo-colonial processes of state. The attendant critique of deficit thinking emphasizes state and institutional use of this ideology to rationalize differential policies and practices by reason of the purported deficits (both individual and collective) of marginalized peoples. Chapter Three highlights the concretization of marginalization over time under the official policies of Assimilation, Integration, Multiculturalism and Biculturalism, emphasising the relationship between state rationalizations of Maori educational underachievement and evolving variants of deficit theory. Chapter Four describes the methods and methodology employed to generate primary data and the ethical procedures and considerations relating to participants. Testimonies are examined, interpreted and analysed in Chapters Five and Six which are structured in accordance with seven of the eight barriers the Ministry considers detrimental to Maori achievement in the tertiary education sector. In Chapter Seven, four case studies provide a comparative framework within which to explore the eighth barrier,

Inappropriate Support Structures. Finally, Chapter Eight discusses the findings, recommendations and conclusion of this thesis.

1.10 AUDIENCES

This project has a practical application in that it accords with the Ministry's (2001:5) stated need for research that focuses on improving participation, retention, and achievement of Maori students in tertiary institutions. The primary audience addressed, however, is the Maori community on campus, consistent with the Kaupapa Maori philosophy of engaging in research practices that empower Maori. This thesis supplements an existing corpus of work relating to Maori experience at Canterbury, and it is anticipated that it will contribute to an increased awareness of the barriers that impede Maori integration and achievement on this campus. As noted by the president emeritus of Harvard University, Derek Bok:

Universities may not have any special capacity to produce the knowledge needed to prescribe solutions to the nation's ills. But they are better equipped than any other institution to arrive at effective solutions and to prepare the highly educated people required to carry them out (Magner, 1990 quoted in Chandler, 1993:97).

1.11 POSITIONING MYSELF AS A RESEARCHER

As a Maori student of Te Rarawa and Aupouri descent conducting research with the Maori students on campus, my position can be understood as that of a "positioned observer" (Geertz, 2003:97) consistent with my active participation in the field of study. Since enrolling as a part-time student at Canterbury in 1994, I have engaged with the Maori student community in multiple ways, including involvement in Maori peer tutoring and mentoring programmes and Maori student politics. In addition, both my sons earned their undergraduate degrees at Canterbury during this period and their experiences provided the writer with a comparative basis for understanding the advantages that accrue when students possess middle-class cultural capital and have a familial tradition of tertiary education.

1.12 DEFINITION OF MAORI

The definition of *who is a Maori* remains complex and contested. The extensive integration of Maori into the general population precludes establishing a simple dichotomy in terms of Maori versus non-Maori. For the purpose of this research, the identification of Maori within the student population at this university is established on the basis of self-identification through the category of “ethnicity” during the process of enrolment. This corresponds with legal requirements as the “biological inheritance as the sole determinant of ethnicity was replaced by the concept of cultural identification in the 1974 Maori Affairs Amendment Act...” (Durie, 1994:126). Ethnic categorization is not straightforward as Poata-Smith (2003:185) notes: “The shifting nature of identity means that individual Maori can and do represent themselves differently throughout the course of their lives, depending on the time, place and context, the audience, and the purpose of the occasion.”

The following chapter facilitates a theoretical appreciation of factors that impact upon Maori within the context of asymmetric power relations.

CHAPTER TWO - THEORETICAL FRAMES

2.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter two theoretical explanations of the underlying causes of Maori underachievement in educational institutions are examined: marginalization theory is explored and deficit thinking is critiqued. Marginalization theory and deficit thinking provide divergent understandings of the impact of asymmetric power relations and peripheralization on Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The process of marginalization is legitimized by and actioned through colonial and neo-colonial processes of state that have resulted in the peripheralization of Maori on the basis of identity, ethnicity, culture and environment. In the context of education, deficit thinking rationalizes the disparities in the acquisition of human capital that mark Maori from the general population. These theoretical explanations are used to explore the basic premise of this thesis: that while the Ministry acknowledges barriers to successful Maori engagement in tertiary institutions, these barriers are framed as endogenous factors, deficit aspects of Maori “genes, behaviour, circumstances and engagement with the system” (Reid et al., 2000:44). The corollary of this deficit-based approach is that the impact of exogenous factors derived from state policies and practices remain exculpable, and as a result the fundamental underlying causes of barriers are not redressed.

2.1 MARGINALIZATION

Marginalization is a concept, process and experience primarily associated with boundary maintenance of the societal centre by the dominant power group. In this thesis the characteristics and properties of marginalization are those primarily informed by Hall (1999) and her colleagues (Hall, Stevens and Meleis, 1994). The concept of marginalization evolved through the political struggles in the 1960s and 1970s of a multitude of diverse groups including women, indigenous and ethnic

minorities, the poor, immigrants and sexual minorities, all of whom have contributed to an understanding of the processes of exclusion (Hall, 1999:11; McIntosh, 2004:43).

In Aotearoa/New Zealand the socio-political process of marginalization has relegated Maori to the margins of society (Hall et al., 1994; McIntosh, 2004). Margins function as the “peripheral, boundary-determining aspects of persons, social networks, communities and environments,” and divisions maintained relate to intra- and inter-group differences as well as those maintained between the self and others (Hall et al., 1994:25). Marginalized individuals and groups are characterized as “outsiders” different from the societal norm, or peripheral in a multitude of ways compared with those at the societal centre (Hall et al., 1994:25; McIntosh, 2004:43). Thus Maori are “*in* society but not *part* of it,” and their exclusion is invariably portrayed as voluntary, rather than determined by the Pakeha majority (McIntosh, 2004:43).

Marginalization is also an experience (McIntosh, 2004:43) with characteristics that distinguish it from related processes (Hall et al., 1994:25). Although oppression and marginalization are frequently concurrent processes, they are not equivalent terms. Marginalization is “inclusive of oppression, incorporating aspects of the experience beyond power imbalances,” and it “conveys a particular set of dynamics through which oppression is concretized: those having to do with boundary maintenance” (Hall et al., 1994:25). *Alienation* often accompanies marginalization but is less inclusive, focusing almost exclusively “on the subjective experience of not belonging”; *stigmatization* specifically relates to the marking of “outsiders” by the central majority; *segregation* denotes the physical separation of social groups but does not imply the peripheralization or “living on the edge” which characterizes marginalization; finally *vulnerability* relates to “the condition of being exposed to or unprotected from damaging environments” (Hall et al., 1994:25).

Marginalization involves significant social engagement between the central majority and peripheralized individuals and groups. Marginality exists on a continuum; at the outermost “edge” the marginalized are exteriorized and subsist in a sub-human reality beyond all social bounds, and although life for the marginalized at the opposite end of the spectrum may be circumscribed by a multiplicity of limitations and constraints, this positioning may also encourage engagement and resistance (McIntosh, 2004:44).

According to bell hooks (1990:341), marginality is: “much more than a site of deprivation, it is also the site of radical possibility, a space of resistance.” Margins are not necessarily vacant spaces occupied by people trying to escape their confines but can provide spatial environments that facilitate the creation and maintenance of positive cultures and identities (Smith, L., 2004:6). Marginality encourages interactions through which the oppositional possibilities of the concepts of risk and resilience are created and expressed (Hall et al., 1994:24-25). For example, in the context of education, risk constitutes exposure to an institution that is “two and a half times more likely to fail Maori students than non-Maori students” (Robson and Reid, 2001:23) whereas the establishment of Te Kohanga Reo in 1981 and Kura Kaupapa Maori in 1984 (Durie, 1998:64) represents collective Maori resilience in an endeavour to improve chances of educational success. Resistance demands constant adaptation to changing conditions, which in turn gives rise to significant variability and flexibility in strategies and techniques employed across diverse circumstances (Hall et al., 1994:34). While marginalized individuals and collectives are constructed as those most “at risk”,³ somewhat ironically they represent the most potentially resilient members of society (Hall et al., 1994:34).

2.1 Properties of Marginalization

Hall et al. (1994) and Hall (1999) identify fourteen properties of marginalization they consider applicable to the health of peripheralized individuals and groups, ten of which are considered germane to education and this thesis: *Intermediacy*, *Differentiation*, *Power*, *Economics*, *Exteriority*, *Liminality*, *Reflectiveness*, *Eurocentricism*, *Voice* and *Secrecy*. These are outlined below.

2.1.1 *Intermediacy* signifies “the tendency of human boundaries to act both as barriers and as connections” (Hall et al., 1994:25). Interpersonal boundaries mediate the physical and emotional safety of an individual’s interactions with others thus preserving personal integrity, uniqueness, autonomy, and value of self. Personal boundary-maintenance is contingent upon “individual perceptions, intellectual abilities and cultural influences, including gender role expectations, religious beliefs

³ The constructed nature of “at riskness” identified by Valencia and Solórzano (1997:196-197) is discussed later in this chapter, as an aspect of the contemporary resurgence of deficit thinking models,

and ethnic values” (Hall et al., 1994:25). The intermediate nature of margins means that, depending on circumstances, boundaries can be a source of protection and containment, or alternatively can increase the inherent risks associated with living in marginal environments (Hall et al., 1994:34). The effects of different types of boundary maintenance on student achievement at Canterbury are explored in Chapter Seven.

2.1.2 *Differentiation* relates to “the establishment and maintenance of distinct identities through boundary maintenance” (Hall et al., 1994:26-27). In a mainstream context the dominant society is posited as the centre of the community where members’ experiences are represented as “hypothetically homogeneous, normative, and predictable” (Hall et al., 1994:26). In contrast, experiences of the marginalized are characterized in oppositional terms like “outsider”, “other” and/or “deviant” (Hall et al., 1994:26). The increase in demarcation of identities is relative to the distance from the centre and degree of oppression experienced. Peripheralized individuals may become distinct and isolated not only from members of mainstream society but also from each other; thus differentiation encompasses both the mainstream *stigmatization* of “outsider” as well as inter-group distinctions within peripheral identities (Hall et al., 1994:26-27).

The first significant aspect of differentiation entails the *stigmatization* of identities by the dominant majority’s ascription of negative values to physical markers (such as skin colour) or different cultural identities (Hall et al., 1994:27). The power of differentiation is reinforced by a study of ethnic awareness cited by Ranginui Walker (1989:44) where Vaughan found that Pakeha children correctly identified their ethnicity by the age of four to five, whereas Maori children elected to identify as Pakeha up to the age of seven and in some cases as late as nine. According to Vaughan (1972) “...the young Maori likes what he sees on the other side of the racial fence, wants to be part of it”. Participants’ perceptions of the differential treatment they were subjected to as Maori in the compulsory education sector are discussed in Chapter Five.

under the heading of “ Cultural and accumulated environmental deficits”.

Two additional theories have relevance to the differentiation of Maori students in this thesis. The first relates to the institutional management of “colour.” Michelle Fine’s (1997:58) contention is that differentiation in higher education is reinforced through complex institutional processes that ensure white students accumulate benefits. Her argument is based on the following four assumptions: first, the production of “whiteness,” like all “colours,” results in part, from institutional arrangements where “race” (or ethnicity) is not merely managed, but its significance is both created and reinforced. Second, the ascribed value of “whiteness” compared with other colours, especially “blackness”, occurs within a symbiotic relationship where “whiteness” ostensibly becomes a “natural” proxy for quality, merit, and advantage, whereas “colour” epitomizes deficit or “lack.” Third, as “whiteness” and “colour” are not produced in parallel but are fundamentally relational, their production should be recognized as a system. In statistical terms colour differences should be measured as “nested” rather than coherent or independent variables.’ Fourth, the internalization of racial discourses influences individual perceptions of Self and Others, which in turn affects perceptions of racial identities that impact on collective experiences of tension and coalitions. According to Fine (1997:58), “once this process has become sufficiently institutionalized and embodied,” the underlying manipulation that is responsible for colour-based stratification becomes less apparent; “what remains visible”, she emphasizes, “...are the miraculous ways in which quality seems to rise to the glistening white top.” Fine’s argument is concretized in Chapter Six where the differential treatment of Maori at Canterbury is examined.

The second theory examines the effect of social cognition on mainstream services. Van Ryn and Fu (2003:2) define social cognition (unintentional bias) as “the mental representations and processes that underlie social perception, social judgement, social interaction and social influence.” Under consideration is whether provider behaviours are intentionally or unintentionally influenced by societal messages with respect to the “fundamental value, self-reliance, competence and deservingness” of the help seeker, and whether this translates into providers communicating lower expectations to clients on the basis of race, income, class and education than are conveyed to their more privileged counterparts (Van Ryn and Fu, 2003:2). The effect of provider communications on clients’ health-cognition and behaviour is well established (Van Ryn and Fu, 2003:2), and the health disparities between Maori and Pakeha may reflect

the degree to which providers influence the future expectations of Maori clients with respect to the accessibility and necessity of resources and the prospect for future improvements (Van Ryn and Fu, 2003:2). From this theoretical perspective the failure of mainstream service provision to perform in respect of Maori (Parata, 1994:45) is a corollary of the “fundamental human information-processing, social cognition, and social interaction processes” (Van Ryn and Fu (2003:7). The case study relating to Disability Services in Chapter Seven considers the effect that institutional gatekeepers have on Maori at Canterbury (Van Ryn and Fu, 2003:7).

Hall et al., (1994:27) identify the second significant aspect of the property of differentiation as the intra-group diversification of identities within peripheralized populations. Variations in acculturation, and accommodation of coloured and indigenous minorities within mainstream society, means that individuals of mixed heritage may be stigmatized by one or more of their ethnic groups (Hall et al., 1994:27). As *stigmatization* can be caused by phenotypic markers (such as skin colour), light skinned people of colour may be marked because of their ability to access resources available in the dominant society (Hall et al., 1994:27). *Stigmatization* is thus a fluid and complex process that ensures identities are given meaning and value in relation to “their proximity to centres and margins of relevant reference groups” (Hall et al., 1994:27). In the local context, diverse experiences of colonialism and extensive intermarriage within the general population have produced an extremely heterogeneous Maori identity. Robson and Reid (2001:22) identify a range of views with respect to the problematic aspects of measuring or judging “Maoriness” that encompass “the potential for reifying stereotypes of Maori, the ‘quintessential Maori’ (Wall, 1997), good Maori and bad Maori (Wetherell and Potter, 1992) and a hierarchical categorization of authenticity (Smith, L., 1999).” Contemporary Maori heterogeneity emphasizes how differentiation “...creates distinctions within distinction, a multiplicity of identities that shift with varying political, economic, and social circumstances” (Hall et al., 1994:27). Differentiation manifests through an oppositional framework that includes the risk of intra-group *stigmatization* as well as manifestations of resilience amongst individuals who, although stigmatized by the central majority, are nonetheless honoured and celebrated within their group (Hall et al., 1994:34). Case studies on segregated tutorials addressed in Chapter Seven explore how differentiation can be agentic, actively and

strategically chosen by Maori groups in order to assert an identity that differs from and contrasts with that of mainstream students.

2.1.3 *Power* is fundamental to marginalization, encompassing the influence exerted by those at the centre towards the periphery and vice versa (Hall et al., 1994:27-28).

Hierarchical power represents the authority and control that emanate from the centre. In contrast, *horizontal power* represents expressions of resistance originating from the margins; cultural change reflects “an oscillating movement from center to periphery and back again” (Hall et al., 1994:27). While marginalized individuals may attain *hierarchical power*, acquisition is usually conditional upon their concealing differences from mainstream culture and minimalizing manifestations of their own personal power (Hall et al., 1994:27-28).

Hierarchical power is derived from inequities “in political, economic, and social resources” and is therefore dependent on authority that is relatively uncontested (Hall et al., 1994:28). In Aotearoa/New Zealand the effectiveness of bicultural initiatives is constrained by the *hierarchical power* exerted on Maori personnel employed in mainstream institutions. In the context of education, sociological inquiry into the underachievement of minorities is normally restricted to the unilateral movement of power and knowledge from the centre, which reduces peripheralized individuals and groups to entities in need of “development” in the form of interventions or assistance (Hall et al., 1994:28). The policy formation process of *The Strategy* is a case in point as Maori involvement was restricted to an advisory role and *The Framework* developed by the MTRG was not officially endorsed (MTEF, 2003:4). While peripheralized populations consistently challenge *hierarchical power*, the effective exertion of *horizontal power* is frequently curtailed by a lack of solidarity and coalition amongst these groups (Hall et al., 1994:28). Nevertheless Maori resistance can counterbalance risks associated with central domination (Hall et al., 1994:29, 34), as exemplified in the case study on the Maori Law Students’ Association in Chapter Seven.

2.1.4 *Economics* from the perspective of the marginalized, relates to the multitude of contingencies that affect access to resources of all kinds, including class status, income and “costs” related to education (Hall, 1999:8). The impact of economic

deprivation on Maori student indebtedness and transgenerational poverty is discussed in Chapter Five. In the “user pays” tertiary environment the economic risks of Maori engagement are exacerbated by the lack of protection afforded by *The Strategy*. The impediments associated with institutional support structures at Canterbury are explored in Chapter Six, where Maori resilience is contingent upon developing proficiency in locating and accessing resources and balancing one risk against another in the pursuit of human capital (Hall, 1999:8).

2.1.5 *Exteriority* relates to “the condition of being outside the dominant system, beyond societal protections and resources”, and associated risks include “suicide, a shortened life span, devaluation of self and cultural collapse” (Hall, 1999:9). Maori exteriority is exemplified by poor health statistics and a reduced life expectancy in comparison to non-Maori (Te Puni Kokiri, 2000). Psychosocial stress theory posits that an underlying cause of these disparities relates to “behavioural and endogenous biological responses to human interactions”, and that chronic and acute social stressors induce disease as well as health-damaging behaviours (including psychoactive substance abuse) in marginalized peoples, in response to hopelessly adverse circumstances, insurmountable tasks or the absence of social supports (Kreiger, 2001:696). According to Carlisle (2001:270), the impact of social inequalities transcends levels of income to include relative deprivation, and people’s health is inversely affected in keeping with their societal positioning; therefore the distribution of stressors corresponds with structural inequalities, and chronic stressors manifest in marginalized individuals and collectives, particularly those deprived of buffering resources (Carlisle, 2001:270).

2.1.6 *Liminality* denotes “altered and intensified perceptions of time, worldview, and self-image that characterize and result from marginalizing experiences” (Hall et al., 1994:33). Social stress theory acknowledges the significance of risks, associated with marginalized peoples’ “sense of living and perceiving at the edge,” in circumscribing the potential for human achievement (Hall et al., 1994:34). However, as several participants in this study demonstrate, liminal experiences can provide valuable insights that translate into determined manifestations of resilience (Hall et al., 1994:34) in striving toward the “imagined possibilities” (O’Rourke, 1995) of acquiring human capital.

2.1.7 *Reflectiveness* is “the fragmenting and conflicting psychic effect” that marginalized peoples undergo as a result of “discrimination, isolation, invisibility,” and the psychological effort required to comprehend and compensate for these effects (Hall et al., 1994:30). As the subjective experiences of the marginalized differ from those of the central majority, marginalized individuals must engage in “continual, purposeful, introspection” in order to address the external contractions and pressures that surround them. Individuals marginalized on the basis of their ethnicity may internalize, as a part of their own identity, the negative stereotypical mainstream images associated with members of their group, which results in an internal fragmentation of identity, “a splitting of the self-image” (Hall et al., 1994:30). Murrell (1997:54) notes that social commentators have long identified this process; for example Freire (1970) asserted it produced “divided, inauthentic beings” and du Bois (1903) defined the condition as one of “dual consciousness” arguing that:

Only as individuals discover themselves to be ‘hosts’ of the oppressor can they contribute to the midwifery of their liberating pedagogy. As long as they live in the duality in which *to be is to be like* and *to be like is to be like the oppressor*, this contribution is impossible.

The process of resolving inner conflicts with respect to self-worth demands conscious, introspective effort and acceptance of “empowering, positive counter-cultural images” that usually requires the support of others (Hall et al., 1994:30). Although the concept of internalized racism⁴ has received little attention in studies relating to identity formation, as discussed in Chapter Five, it nevertheless has significant implications for the educational achievement of marginalized individuals (Hall et al., 1994:30). Victims of marginalization interpret their reality differently from mainstream individuals, and even though self-reflection is potentially empowering and encourages the development of effective coping strategies, it is nevertheless a “double-edged sword” (Hall et al., 1994:31). While “political conscientization” (Freire, 1972; Smith, G. 1999) increases the likelihood of succeeding in mainstream environments, in the

⁴ Robson and Reid (2001:32) use Camara Jones’s (2000) definitions to distinguish between three levels of racism: “Institutional racism is differential access to the goods, services and opportunities of society by “race”. Interpersonal racism is prejudice (differential assumptions about the abilities, motives and intentions of others accord to their ‘race’ or ethnicity) and discrimination (differential actions towards other according to their ‘race’ or ethnicity). Internalised racism is the acceptance by members of the stigmatised ethnic groups of negative messages about their own abilities and intrinsic worth.” (my emphasis).

absence of adequate supports and resources to counteract the concomitant isolation, marginalization may be experienced even more intensely (Hall et al., 1994:31). Chapter Seven explores the formative role of support structures in determining whether reflectiveness translates into a positive or negative experiential process for peripheralized individuals (Hall et al., 1994:34).

2.1.8 *Eurocentrism* is defined as “the pervasive ideology and interpretation of history that holds European and North American values and technologies as superior to those of exteriorized peoples”. Associated risks for marginalized populations include internalized self and group hatred (Hall, 1999:8). Manifestations of resistance, such as demands by Maori students at the University of Canterbury for more inclusive, relevant and bicultural curricula (refer Grennell, 1991; Clothier, 2000; Phillips, 2003), demonstrate cognizance of, and challenges to, the ongoing dissemination of *Eurocentric* knowledge in the tertiary sector.

2.1.9 *Voice* represents “the languages and forms of expression characterising marginalized sub-cultures” (Hall et al., 1994:31), and although these authors identify multiple characteristics of *voice*, three are considered relevant to this thesis. First, in a colonial context, “language death” epitomizes the exertion of *hierarchical power* by the societal centre whereby the indigenous voice is suppressed through the forced imposition of the majority language. In Aotearoa/New Zealand the 1867 Native Schools Act mandated English as the medium of instruction for Maori (Simon and Smith, 2002:169). The late twentieth century resurgence of biculturalism and bilingualism represents an expression of *horizontal power* that has contributed to the re-empowerment of Maori in a neo-colonial environment. Second, the minority voice is marginalized through processes of “misnaming” by those at the centre. In educational contexts, “race” or “ethnicity” suggests un-educability (Hall et al., 1994:32) and Maori were deemed “inherently inferior in intellectual and cultural terms to civilized peoples” under the policy of Assimilation (Simon and Smith, 2001:249). Authoritative colonial histories represent a third aspect of “misnaming” (Hall et al., 1994:34). The Waitangi Tribunal has been formative in reclaiming indigenous histories and documenting reprehensible aspects of the colonial past. Furthermore, Kaupapa Maori theory represents a counter-hegemonic strategy directed at reclaiming empowering expression of the Maori *voice*. While the risks associated

with *voice* include being rendered silent and having meanings and histories misconstrued, *voice* also facilitates the potential for resilience in the form of positive, powerful expression from the margins (Hall, et al., 1994:34). The cogent example of segregated Maori tutorials where the Pakeha *voice* is silenced is explored in Chapter Seven.

A crucially important manifestation of *voice* in the maintenance of established power relations is expressed through mainstream discourses. McCreanor and Nairn (2002:510) use the adage “actions speak louder than words” as an example of how the power of *voice* in the realization of material outcomes is obscured. Far from being a neutral medium of communication, these authors argue that language is instrumental in “the construction of meaning” and constitutes a “pre-eminent form of social action.” Don Brash’s “Orewa Speeches” (2004, 2005)⁵ provide a cogent example of the overt manipulation of the mass media to blame Maori for the disparities that distinguish them from the general population. Brash’s speeches demonstrate that the manifestation of power through *voice* has implications for social practice and social change, and highlights the extent to which “language shapes the context of its own use constructing and transforming identities, relationship, knowledges and beliefs (McCreanor and Nairn, 2002:510).

2.1.10 *Secrecy* affords peripheralized peoples the oppositional possibilities of protection or exclusion (Hall et al., 1994:28-29). The protective aspect is exemplified in the Maori desire for separation from mainstream settings (Jones, 1999). The aspect of exclusion is particularly relevant to Maori entering university as non-traditional students. The two case studies relating to institutional support services at Canterbury examine the potential for the institutional exploitation of Maori, the majority of whom lack appropriate cultural capital, to be accomplished by the withholding of essential information *vis-à-vis* accessing resources and bureaucratic processes. The establishment of Maori study groups illustrates expressions of resilience amongst the Maori students by forging a sense of intra-group trust and belonging (Hall et al., 1994:34). Oppositional aspects of *secrecy* in relation to participants’ experiences at Canterbury are explored in Chapter Seven.

The foregoing discussion of marginalization has identified the processes, characteristics and properties that facilitate the central majority's peripheralization of individuals and groups on the basis of their identity, ethnicity, culture and environment. The critique of deficit thinking that follows highlights the utility of this approach in justifying discriminatory and exclusory policies and practices on the basis of the alleged deficits of the marginalized populations. Deficit thinking underpins the central majority's rationalizations for the ethnicity disparities in outcomes that materialize as a result of differentiation. The characteristics of deficit thinking explicate its theoretical underpinnings, and the evolution of variants reveals their capacity to restructure and re-emerge once the scientific or ideological basis of a variant has been discredited.

2.2 DEFICIT THINKING AND DEFICIT THEORY

The deficit thinking model has a long currency in Western educational practice and thought, and has been formative in providing rationalization for the underachievement of marginalized individuals and collectives in mainstream settings. In this thesis Valencia and his colleagues, Foley, Pearl and Solórzano primarily inform the critique of deficit theory, its characteristics and principal variants. According to Valencia (1997:2) deficit thinking represents:

... an endogenous theory - positing that the student who fails in school does so because of internal deficits or deficiencies. Such deficits manifest, it is alleged, in limited intellectual abilities, linguistic shortcomings, lack of motivation to learn and immoral behaviour. The proposed transmitters of these deficits vary according to the intellectual and scholarly climate of the times... genetics, culture and class, and familial socialization have all been postulated as the sources of alleged deficits expressed by the individual student who experiences school failure.

2.2.1 Characteristics Of Deficit Theory

Valencia (1997) identifies six characteristics that he considers are the fundamentals of the deficit thinking model:

⁵ Election speeches delivered by the Leader of the Opposition, Dr. Don Brash at Orewa in 2004 and

2.2.1.1 Blaming the victim: Valencia (1997:3) contends that William Ryan’s 1971 classic text *Blaming the Victim* was influential in exposing the ideological base of deficit thinking. Victim blaming is typically actioned through a four-step process: the victim’s social problems are identified; differences between the disadvantaged and advantaged are examined and compared; identified differences are determined to cause the social problem; and interventions are devised and implemented to rectify differences or deficits. Reid et al. (2000:44) cite Ryan’s (1971:7) explanation of the seemingly impeccable logic of this process:

With such an elegant formulation, the humanitarian can have it both ways. He can, all at the same time, concentrate his charitable interest on the defects of the victim, condemn the vague social and environmental stresses that produced the defect (some time ago) and ignore the continuing effect of victimising social forces (right now). It is a brilliant ideology for justifying a perverse form of social action designed to change not society, as one might expect, but rather society’s victim.

2.2.1.2 Oppression: Victim blaming represents an insidious form of oppression (Valencia, 1997:xiii, 3-5) that has long inhibited the educational advancement of Maori. As revealed in Chapter Three, asymmetric power relations facilitate the execution of macro- and micro-level educational policies and practices inimical to the realization of equitable ethnic outcomes in education. Erstwhile deficit thinking practices in schooling that affected Maori (including segregated schooling and non-academic technical curricula) were justified by the pseudoscientific hypothesis of the intellectual inferiority of coloured people.

2.2.1.3 Pseudoscience: Valencia (1997:6) uses Blum (1978) to establish the pseudoscientific basis of the deficit thinking model. Blum (1978:12) defines pseudoscience as the “process of false persuasion by scientific pretence” and argues that as deficit-based research is characteristically prejudiced by negative assumptions about the “victims”, it meets the criteria for pseudoscientific research as two different types of occurrences come together: first, scientific methods are violated by grossly inadequate verification processes, and second, the indefensible conclusions drawn are “successfully disseminated to and believed by a substantial audience” (Valencia, 1997:6).

2.2.1.4 Temporal changes: According to Valencia (1997:7), the ideological foundation of deficit thinking facilitates a dynamic fluidity in adapting to temporal changes for two reasons. First, despite its dynamic nature, deficit thinking does not assume a formative role in the shaping of ideological, political and research climates; rather it is influenced by and responds to concurrent contexts. For example, early deficit theory was influenced by hereditarian beliefs of a racial hierarchy of innate intelligence. Second, as the fundamental characteristics (endogenous, imputational, oppressive) of the deficit thinking model remain reasonably static, the fluid aspect is not apparent in the basic framework. The protean aspect involves the redefinition of the perceived transmitters of the alleged deficits. For instance, the “genetic pathology” variant attributed the substandard intellectual ability of non-whites to the transmission of inferior genes (Valencia, 1997:7).

2.2.1.5 Educability: Valencia (1997:7) observes that deficit theorizing is consistent with the aims of social and behavioural sciences in terms of the processes used to understand human behaviour. The pathological or dysfunctional behaviour of victims is described, and the deficits, deficiencies or inadequacies of individuals, families and cultures are identified. Additionally, behaviours are explained as endogenous factors and deficits are predicted to continue and worsen in the absence of interventions. Modification or intervention is often accomplished through a prescriptive method of managing targeted populations that is derived from perceptions of educability (Valencia, 1997:7).

2.2.1.6 Heterodoxy: Valencia (1997:9) refers to Bourdieu’s (1992:169) concepts of *doxa*, *orthodoxy* and *heterodoxy*, to highlight the tensions between the deficit thinking and anti-deficit thinking factions:

... doxa is that part of the class society in which the social world is ‘beyond question’ or there is a ‘universe of the undiscussed (undisputed)’. When argument or crisis occurs in a class society, a ‘universe of discourse (or argument)’ is set in motion... [W]hen the world of ‘opinion’ is opened, heterodoxy (i.e. unconventional opinions; dissent; nonconformity) comes into play as ‘the dominated classes have an interest in pushing back the limits of *doxa* and exposing the arbitrariness of the taken for granted...’. On the other hand, ‘the dominant classes have an interest in defending the integrity of *doxa*, or short of this, of establishing in its place the necessarily imperfect substitution, *orthodoxy*’.

Deficit thinking unquestionably epitomized the orthodoxy in educational policy, notably during the 1920s, 1960s and early 1970s, and notwithstanding persistent challenges, the significant influence this ideology continues to exert emphasizes the need for vigilance against its contemporary resurgence (Valencia, 1997:9). This is particularly relevant in Aotearoa/New Zealand as the neo-libertarian educational reforms during the 1980s and 1990s were rationalized by modern manifestations of deficit thinking (see Chapter Three). The principles of these are examined below in relation to the following discussion of the three primary variants.

2.2.2 The Principal Deficit Thinking Variants

2.2.2.1 The Genetic Pathology Model,⁶ which alleged that inferiority was genetically transmitted, held sway from 1890 until reaching its zenith in the 1930s (Valencia (1997:41-45). Valencia (1997:43) supports Craven's (1978:45) proposal that the hereditarian influence on academic thought "skewed the scientific discussion of the nature-nurture problem towards the conclusion that heredity was all powerful and environment was of little consequence." Analysis was primarily informed by philosophical beliefs together with the concept of measurement; the former was a synthesis of Galtonian eugenics,⁷ Social Darwinism⁸ and Mendelian genetics,⁹ and the latter related to the development of intelligence testing. Valencia (1997:52) cites Chorover (1979:33-34) to emphasize that:

...the power to measure is merely an extension of the power to define... [that] has been linked to claims of human superiority and inferiority and has thereby been used to justify prevailing patterns of behavior control.

⁶ This term was coined by Valencia (1997: xii).

⁷ Valencia (1997:45) defines Galtonian Eugenics as "... the belief that improvement in the human race could and should be encouraged through selective breeding".

⁸ Valencia (1997:45) argues that: "In a sense, social Darwinism was used to explain social stratification. The groups of people who were wealthier, brighter and moral - compared to the poor, intellectually dull and immoral - were in such privileged positions because of their alleged fitter genetic constitutions".

⁹ Valencia (1997:49-50) contends that Mendelian genetics were also used to perpetuate stratification. "Mendelian laws were 1) segregation (during gamete formation hereditary units occur in pairs, thus every gamete receives but one member of a pair); 2) *independent unit characteristics* (height and skin color, for example, are inherited separately as units; 3) *dominance* (which states that in every individual there are a pair of determining genes for every favour - one from each parent, one gene being dominant

By the 1930s theories of genetic pathology were superseded by “cultural deficit” or “deprivation” explanations of difference. The Eugenics Movement lost credibility and respectability following the economic ruin of some elites during the Great Depression and subsequent racial purification programmes in Nazi Germany (Foley, 1997:113-114). The scientific rationale for the re-evaluation of the nature-nurture debate was based on Franz Boas’ highly influential hypothesis that social differences among different racial groups were caused not by different biological experiences, but by different histories (Valencia, 1997:97). Accordingly, the practice of intelligence testing which legitimized non-academic curricula for non-whites lost favour, and by the 1940s it had declined sharply in the United States (Foley; 1997:114), although in Aotearoa/New Zealand IQ testing of Maori persisted throughout the 1960s (Shields, Bishop, Mazawi, 2005:70).

Following the loss of scientific respectability of “racial hierarchy” theories in the post World War Two period, scholars sought models that eschewed the implicit racism of hereditarianism (Foley, 1997:113-114). Within the education context the genetic basis of deficit thinking reached its nadir in 1954 when the United States Supreme Court abolished the legal basis of racial segregated schooling (Pearl, 1997:132); subsequently in 1960 in Aotearoa/New Zealand Hunn (1960:23-23) officially acknowledged the equal intellectual ability of Maori with Pakeha. However, the dilemma for educators and policy makers, was as Pearl (1997:133) notes:

If the differences in school achievement were not genetic then they had to be either the result of some other deficit *or*, caused by persistent unequal treatment, that is, individual and institutional bias. Preponderance of social policy and social science thinking chose the former, which opened the door for the rise to prominence of *cultural deficit* arguments.

2.2.2.2 Culture Of Poverty Model: Oscar Lewis’ (1965) *Culture of Poverty* theory provided a concept of culture that corresponded with the ideological agenda of deficit thinkers (Foley, 1997:113). Pearl (1997:136) cites Lewis’ (1966b:7) hypothesis that:

Once the culture of poverty has come into existence it tends to perpetuate itself. By the time slum children are six or seven [years old] they have usually absorbed the basic attitudes and values of their subculture. Thereafter they are psychologically unready to take full advantage of changing conditions or improving opportunities that may develop in their lifetimes.

and one recessive). Although Mendel’s work was confined to inherited factors in plants, in due time Mendelian genetics...were posited in explaining the consequences of racial admixture.”

This theory provided public policy makers and the general public alike with a comparatively non-technical yet “scientific” method of collectively categorising and characterizing all impoverished people (Foley, 1997:115). The “Culture of Poverty” model was augmented by multifarious theories that incorporated revised paradigms of culture, encompassing class, class culture, and power reflecting current psychological thought. For example, “inadequate socialization” proposed that inappropriate nurturing caused “defects in the ego and superego” (Valencia, 1997:xiii, xiv). However, the “accumulated environment deficits” model ultimately prevailed to exert a profound influence on policy and practice in the 1960s (Pearl, 1997:149).

2.2.2.3 The “Culture Of Accumulated Environmental Deficits” Model: This model postulated that children from deprived backgrounds entered schools with cognitive deficiencies caused by the lack of intellectual stimulation in their formative years and that unless significant remedial action was taken while children were still very young these handicaps would be irreversible (Pearl, 1997:132). As significant differences in academic or measured intellectual achievement were not perceptible until “poor children” reached the fourth grade, the concept of “accumulated” was subsequently added to remedy this tardy manifestation of deficits (Pearl, 1997:149).

“Accumulated environment deficit” theory became official policy in America under the Kennedy-Johnson administrations in the 1960s and formed the ideological basis for Operation Head Start. However, the flaws in the assumption that enrichment programmes would compensate for inadequate intellectual stimulation and language development of impoverished childhoods were ultimately demonstrated. Although Head Start participants gained positive long-term effects and out-performed disadvantaged children not involved in the programme, these advantages were not sustained and Head Start children never achieved at a level that matched the normal population (Pearl 1997:148-150).

While the poor outcomes of Head Start may be construed as verification of irremediable deficits, Pearl (1997:150) argues that the results establish the limitations of operating within a deficit frame of reference, reinforcing his claim with compelling results from three non-deficit based projects involving underprivileged populations.

The Effective School Movement project in a traditional high school setting managed to match the academic achievement of a group of disadvantaged students with those of elite private school pupils when the educational context of the latter group was replicated. The methodological differences that contrasted with public school practices included emphasising “habits of the mind”, and empowering teacher-student relationships. In a programme at the University of Oregon, participants from deprived backgrounds attained the same academic results as students who had met entry criteria. This outcome was realized by focusing on improving participation in decision-making processes that affected the lives of participants, and by consciously engendering a personal sense of belonging, worth, and competence. A New Career project in the 1960s experimented with the advancement up a “careers ladder” of unskilled, inexperienced and untrained students from deprived backgrounds, after on-the-job training and tertiary study. The results were spectacular, as “New Career” participants matched and in some cases exceeded the movement of non-deficit professionals (Pearl, 1997:150).

In the 1960s, in the United States and Aotearoa/New Zealand, the liberal responses to educational disparities emphasized “equal opportunity” through the provision of state education and subsequent policy changes reflected demands for racial and ethnic equality, and challenges to the monocultural nature of the school curricula (Refer Chapter Three). The re-emergence of minority culture, in the context of multicultural and bilingual education, resulted in “deficits” being transmogrified into “difference” and initial changes to the curricula were assimilationist, a move which failed to address the racial and ethnic diversity of school populations in the United States (Pearl, 1997:137-139). Pearl cites D’Souza’s (1991) argument that the incorporation of bilingual programmes in America in the 1970s was restricted to essentially peripheral curriculum changes that proved more effective in stimulating a mainstream backlash than improving the life conditions of the poor. Parallels can be made with the bicultural initiative of Taha Maori which, as discussed in Chapter Three, tended to strengthen “educational racism” (Spoonley, 1995:79-80). While the “Accumulated Environmental Deficits” theory originated as a liberal response to ultraconservative explanations of minority and under-class failure, this extremely persuasive and ubiquitous ideology has survived the resurgence of conservatism, and continues to underpin deficit arguments (Pearl, 1997:148-149).

2.2.2.4 The Contemporary Resurgence Of Deficit Ideology: Contemporary models of deficit theory have, despite academic disrepute and challenge, transformed into particularly virulent discourses that continue to gain currency in the current political environments of conservatism and neo-liberalism in the United States and Aotearoa/New Zealand. Valencia and Solórzano (1997) maintain that while these new manifestations cannot be positioned under a clear rubric as they encompass a conglomeration of erstwhile variants, three fundamental components are readily identifiable.

2.2.2.4a Inferior Genes, Inferior Intelligence, Neo-hereditarianism: The resurgence of neo-hereditarian theories of the uneducability of minorities represents the neo-conservative response to the liberal proposition that education is the primary vehicle through which racial and ethnic equality will be achieved. Valencia and Solórzano (1997:166;174) cite two publications that were formative in the resurrection of biological essentialism: Jensen's 1969 monograph *How much can we boost IQ and scholastic achievement?*, which attributed the failure of preschool compensatory programmes to the innate uneducability of black youths, and *The Bell Curve : Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life* (1994) where Herrnstein and Murray argue that:

...cognitive differentiation among Americans (within-and between-racial/ethnic groups) has resulted in a bifurcated society at the extreme levels of the IQ continuum – the emergence of a *cognitive elite* (top 5 per cent, IQ of 120 or higher) and the *very dull* (bottom 5 per cent, IQ of 75 or lower) (cited in Valencia and Solórzano, 1997:174).

Herrnstein and Murray claimed that “cognitive partitioning” was derived from behavioural-based definitions such as school attainment, occupation and marital status, income levels, illegitimate births, malparenting, welfare dependency and crime. The composition of the “cognitive elite” was disproportionately white whereas the “cognitive underclass” consisted primarily of African and Latino Americans (Valencia and Solórzano, 1997:174-175). In keeping with deficit-based analyses, the negative effects of the numerous factors that impact on educational outcomes were disregarded. School *segregation*, disparities in funding levels, different curriculum taught within schools, and the historical circumstances that underpin inequalities in

American society, were all overlooked (1997:195). Valencia and Solórzano (1997:177) concur with Dorfman's (1995) assertion that the *Bell Curve* represents "soft science with a neo-conservative agenda."

2.2.2.4b Blaming the Victim, Blaming the Poor: The Underclass: The construct of the underclass represents a reordering of the "culture of poverty" model as people trapped in the cycle of poverty are deemed to constitute an autonomous, self-sustaining culture which is responsible for their circumstances (Valencia and Solórzano, 1997:183-184). According to these authors (1997:183-185), this construct is based on the following three primary classifications: "*Persistence-based* definitions" concentrates on people in poverty for periods in excess of 5-8 years. "*Location-based* definitions" identifies sites associated with negative characteristics such as "high school dropouts, unemployment, welfare recipients, female heads of households and poverty". "*Behaviour-based* definitions" (employed in *The Bell Curve*) emphasizes behaviours that deviate from hypothetical social norms measured by variables such as "crime rates, welfare dependency, joblessness, teenage pregnancy and child abuse." In their critique Valencia and Solórzano (1997:185-188) argue that the variables of behaviour and values should be measured independently, as behaviour may reflect "need" rather than "desire" which is disregarded in the impact of economic restructuring of the 1980s and 1990s on unskilled workers, marginalization associated with housing and education and the role of institutional racism in the creation, maintenance and subjugation of minority peoples. Finally, the myth of the passive poor is perpetuated, and their resistance to exploitation is overlooked.

2.2.2.4c Cultural and accumulated environmental deficits: Although "cultural and accumulated environmental deficits" arguments are less persuasive now than in the 1960s, they nevertheless retain explanatory power. Valencia and Solórzano (1997:189-190) identify the following three characteristics: first, that the myth that lower socio-economic parents lack educational aspirations for their children persists. Second, deficit beliefs about the "cognitive socialization and competence" of the "culturally deprived/disadvantaged family, home and child" remains embedded. Valencia (1997:193-194) cites research he conducted with Henderson and Rankin in 1985, which found that proximal variables relating to "learning experiences provided in the home or under the family's direction" were the most accurate predictors of

cognitive performance. The use of only “distal variables of language/schooling, SES, and family size” frequently failed to detect the level of cognitive competence of low-income children, and the methodological shortcomings of the 1960s and early 1970s resulted in the inaccurate assessments of cognitive abilities of this population. Third, the contention that the construction of the “at-risk” child and family represents a resurrected metaphor of cultural deprivation or disadvantage, which predicts school failure on the basis of personal and familial characteristics, overlooks potential strengths and competencies and allows the structural inequalities associated with schools to remain exculpable (Valencia and Solórzano, 1997:189-190).

2.3 ANTI-DEFICIT RESEARCH

In their analysis of anti-deficit research Shields et al., (2005:150) identify student agency and engagement, positive relationships between students and the institution, and institutional accountability as prerequisites for redressing the deficit ideology that underpins ethnic inequalities in educational performance. These factors are predicated on productive relationships between the institution and non-traditional students, the dynamics of which demonstrate that the latter are valued, their participation is expected, and their success is assured. These authors (2005:152) cite Skrla and Scheurich’s (2001) findings that the implementation of high-stakes systems of accountability proved instrumental in displacing deficit thinking and realising equity ideals in targeted schools in the United States. The salience of power relations is emphasized by Shields et al. (2005:150), who contend that student agency is critical to challenging *Eurocentric* precedence, which continues to deprive minority and indigenous peoples of meaningful participation in the decision-making regarding their own education. However, in Aotearoa/New Zealand these prerequisites are constrained by *The Strategy’s* authorization of institutional control over initiatives and programmes purported to reduce barriers to successful Maori engagement. Moreover, institutional accountability is negated by the entrenched nature of and formative influence exerted by deficit theorising in the rationalization of Maori underachievement. Institutional structures and processes *vis-à-vis* Maori in the tertiary sector are discussed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

2.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has established a theoretical foundation for the basic premise of this thesis: that the barriers identified by the Ministry are framed as endogenous factors whereas in reality they constitute exogenous factors that result from the cumulative effects of colonial and neo-colonial marginalization of Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Two theoretical explanations have been outlined as reasons for the disparities in educational outcomes between mainstream and peripheral populations. The account of the theory of marginalization provides a conceptual framework within which to understand how marginalization is legitimized by and actioned through the policies and practices of state. The critique of deficit thinking establishes a theoretical basis for understanding how the resultant educational underachievement is attributed to alleged deficits of the victims, and institutional structures and processes are held exculpable. This theoretical discussion is concretized in Chapter Three where the review of state educational policies and practices relating to Maori substantiates the impact of marginalization and concomitant deficit thinking on ethnic differentials in outcomes.

CHAPTER THREE – EDUCATION POLICIES AND PRACTICES

...yet something has gone wrong. Maori children are not being adequately educated. We [the Waitangi Tribunal] think that the system is at fault and has been at fault for many years. (Waitangi Tribunal Report 1986:44, in Smith, G., 1990a:185).

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the relationship between barriers to Maori participation, retention and achievement in tertiary institutions, and the impact of colonial and neo-colonial marginalization on educational outcomes. The examination of differential state policies and practices with respect to Maori education highlights the concretization of marginalization under the aegis of the official policies of Assimilation, Integration, Multiculturalism and Biculturalism. These processes elucidate the relationship between state rationalizations of Maori educational underachievement and evolving variants of deficit thinking, (outlined in Chapter Two). Literature reviewed in this chapter supports the basic premise of this thesis that factors identified by the Ministry as barriers to successful Maori engagement, while framed as endogenous factors associated with “Maori behaviour, genes, culture, socio-economic circumstance and engagement with the system” (Reid, et al. 2000:44) represent the corollary of the cumulative affects of marginalization. Within the tertiary education sector the acquisition of Maori human capital is impeded by *The Strategy’s* deficit frame of reference that fails to redress the pernicious effects of state policies and practices (Johnston, 1998:144-5).

3.1 ASSIMILATION – 1840 – 1960

The school is the surest means of action by which a civilizing nation can transmit its ideas to people who are still primitive and by which it can raise them gradually to its own standards. In a word the school is the supreme element of progress. It is also the most effective tool of propaganda for the French language that the Government can use (Governor-General Chaudie in 1897 cited in Grillo, 1998:109)

Assimilation was the first official policy and one that has been enduring *vis-à-vis* the incorporation of Maori into New Zealand society. It presented a formidable and ultimately insurmountable barrier to Maori retaining control over their political, cultural or socio-economic destinies, or gaining equitable access to Western education. Judith Simon (1992:3) contends that in 1840, at the time of the emergence of the nascent colony, Maori as a sovereign majority were enthusiastically seeking to augment their traditional knowledge, cultural practices and ways of knowing with Pakeha “knowledge-power,” an assertion she reinforces by citing Alan Ward’s (1974:viii) comment that:

...the Maori response to Western contact was highly intellectual, flexible and progressive, and also highly selective, aiming largely to draw upon the strengths of the West to preserve the Maori people and their resources from the threat of the West itself, and to enable them to enjoy its material and cultural riches co-equally with the Westerners.

Assimilation mandated that Maori “become absorbed, blended, amalgamated, with complete loss of Maori culture” into European society (Hunn Report, 1960:15). This merger was however selective, for notwithstanding the formal equality Assimilation ostensibly afforded, the process of marginalization ensured the peripheralization of Maori (Johnston, 1998:90). The ultimate policy goal of Assimilation was the controlled *entrée* of Maori into a Pakeha dominated society, the eradication of difference and “the demise of Maori language, culture and world-views” (Johnston, 1998:124,90). The separation of the overwhelming majority of Maori from their means of production, through brutal and coercive policies of Crown land acquisition, precluded capital accumulation, and although initially excluded from participating in capitalist society, the process of labour migration ultimately ensured the selective inclusion of Maori into the working-class (Poata-Smith, 1996a:40-1).

According to Mullard (1982:121-125) Assimilation is underpinned by four assumptions that are premised on a fundamental belief in Western cultural and racial superiority:

- 1) A “nation is a unitary whole, politically and culturally indivisible”;
- 2) there exists a system of shared Western beliefs, values and “code of behaviour into which *All* should be assimilated”;
- 3) education is a strategy for social stability;

- 4) education is a strategy for coercion and social control.

Thus education “was not intended as an equalising force in society, rather it was built on a legacy of crude social control” (Poata-Smith, 1996a:46), evidenced by Major Heaphy’s statement that: “Any expenditure in this direction [education] would be true economy, as the more the natives were educated the less would be the future expenditure in police and gaols” (NZPD,1867:862). The issue of control was fundamental to the policies and practices relating to the Western education of Maori; as Simon (1990:67) notes: “Whereas Maori sought schooling as a means to gaining greater control over their lives, the missionaries and the government in providing such schooling were concerned to gain control over Maori” (in Johnston, 1998:95).

The agendas of the Crown and missionaries were assimilationist. Although the Crown’s objectives primarily related to the alienation of Maori land through the establishment of British law and the advancement of Pakeha economic and political interests that conflicted with the humanitarian beliefs of missionaries, both were united by the mutual belief in the *natural* suitability of Maori to manual rather than mental labour (Simon, 1992:22). Education was therefore perceived as the mechanism through which Maori would be most effectively and inexpensively civilized and assimilated into the emerging Pakeha economy. A restrictive non-academic, technical curriculum for Maori that limited access to the amount and type of knowledge ensured a working-class destination (Simon, 1992:5). The three phases discussed below, encompassing the period from 1816 until 1960, highlight the impact of shifting power relations on Maori education.

3.1a: The co-operation or pre-annexation phase (1816-1840) was dominated by the interaction of Maori, missionaries, and traders, in an environment where Europeans, as the minority population, accommodated Maori societal norms in order to trade and survive (Johnston, 1998:84). From the time of initial contact, Simon (1992:2) believes, Maori sought access to European technology and by the 1830s, they were also seeking the knowledge that underpinned that technology. Conversely, the missionaries’ aim in providing education was, Simon (1992:5-6) contends, to facilitate the conversion of Maori to Christianity and thus civilization, two concepts the missionaries perceived as

inseparable. The first schools¹⁰ established by Maori, under the auspices of missionaries, were in Northland where the early Mission Stations were centred, although freed Nga Puhī slaves introduced literacy into other regions prior to a missionary presence.¹¹ By the 1840s Maori interest in evangelical teachings, conducted in te reo Maori, had declined substantially. With the commencement of systematic colonization, Maori sought the technical and scientific knowledge, together with English language skills, necessary to deal with Crown agents and the ever-increasing number of colonists (Simon, 1992:2).

3.1b: The “conflict” phase (1840-1867) followed the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi (in 1840). During this period Maori progressively modified their initial enthusiasm and aptitude for education, to seeing it as a means of retaining control over their sovereignty and resources (Simon, 1992:21). Mission boarding schools¹² were established so that a Maori elite could be inculcated in Western values; they would then return to their villages to “spread the gospel of assimilation” (Simon, 1992:5), a policy that would, Hugh Carleton (a school inspector and member of the House of Representatives) stated in 1862, accomplish a “double object - the civilization of the race and quietening the country.” (AJHR, 1862, #4:17 in Simon, 1992:6). Following the start of the New Zealand Wars in 1863, and the subsequent confiscation of 3.25 million acres of Maori land in the North Island (Durie, 1998:119), mission school attendance plummeted. By 1865 only twenty-two Maori pupils attended a school of any type in the colony (Openshaw, Lee and Lee, 1993:39). Maori now understood that the acquisition of Pakeha knowledge and English language were critical to counteracting threats to their sovereignty and resources by the burgeoning Pakeha population (Simon, 1992:6).

3.1c: During the adaptation phase (1867-1960) Crown domination forced Maori to adapt to their designated position in colonial society. A native school system was

¹⁰ Jackson notes that in the 1830s the enthusiasm for the mission schools created a hiatus in Maori cultural continuity. “By pushing traditional lore and values to the margins”, he says, “the Maori lost much of the traditional system of knowledge and belief and never fully regained it” (quoted in Simon, 1992:17).

¹¹ As Brown (1985:98) stated: “If one native in a tribe can read and write, he will not be long in teaching the others” (cited in Simon, 1992:2).

¹² Under the 1867 Native Schools Act, mission boarding schools received official recognition as secondary schools (Simon, 1992:3).

instituted under the 1867 Native Schools Act¹³ a decade before the public school system was established in 1877 (Simon, 1992:3).¹⁴ Simon and Smith (2001:9-10) note that despite the ongoing requirement for Maori to provide both land and financial support for these schools, the enthusiasm for education was such that fifty-seven native schools were operating by 1879. The English language was designated as the medium of instruction, as *te reo Maori* was, Hugh Carleton had decreed, “imperfect as a medium of thought” (Simon and Smith, 2002:169).¹⁵ The emergence of Social Darwinism, which rationalized European political and economic dominance on the basis of European superiority in the “racial hierarchy”, reinforced changing Pakeha attitudes and behaviours towards Maori, particularly in view of the latter’s resistance to selling land (Simon and Smith, 2001:50). As a result, the monogenist beliefs,¹⁶ which underpinned the paternalistic and humanitarian attitudes of missionaries, were supplanted by polygenist beliefs where Maori were deemed to be “inherently inferior in intellectual and cultural terms to civilized peoples” (Simon and Smith, 2001:249). This is reflected in a statement made by School Inspector Henry Taylor (1862):

I do not advocate for the Natives under present circumstances a refined education or high mental culture; it would be inconsistent if we take account of the position they are likely to hold for many years to come in the social scale, and inappropriate if we remember that they are better calculated by nature to get their living by manual than mental labour (cited in Simon, 1992:8-9).¹⁷

Maori ambitions to access higher education did receive support from some missionary educators; the most notable was John Thornton, the principal of Te Aute College, an Anglican secondary boarding school for Maori boys. Consistent with the petition of Maori parents who stated: “we do not send our boys to Te Aute to learn to plough – we can teach them at home; we send them there so that they may receive a good secondary education and so be placed in a position to compete with English boys in

¹³ “The Act was restricted to primary schools only for the first 70 years. However, scholarships were provided, under this Act, for the most proficient graduates from native schools to have 2 years of secondary education at one of the denominational boarding schools established for Maori.” (Simon and Smith, 2002:10).

¹⁴ Education became compulsory for Pakeha under the Education Act (1877), but not for Maori until 1894. (Simon and Smith, 2002:9).

¹⁵ The use of Maori language in schools was prohibited after 1900 (Kaai-Oldman, 1988).

¹⁶ The belief that all peoples throughout the world originated from one species.

¹⁷ The notion of ‘nature’ was employed by Alton in his 1870 thesis, *Hereditary Genius: An Inquiry into Its Laws and Consequences*, which privileged the role of nature (heredity) to the exclusion of nurture (environment) in relationship to intelligence (Valencia, 1997:42).

the higher walks of life” (in Openshaw et al., 1993:54), Thornton tutored his most able students to matriculation level. Several of them subsequently attended university. Ex-Te Aute graduates in the 1890s included such prominent Maori leaders as Apirana Ngata, Peter Buck and Maui Pomare. However, as Simon, (1990:96) notes:

While these Te Aute students were fulfilling the government’s agenda in terms of being ‘Europeanised’, it seems they were not fulfilling it in quite the way [intended] ...they were not quietly retiring to kainga to help effect the ‘assimilation’ policy. Instead they were gaining a high profile in Pakeha society and demonstrating that Maori could excel in a European field (in Johnston, 1998:101).

Ultimately the teaching practices at Te Aute College became the subject of a government inquiry, and following a Royal Commission in 1906 pressure was exerted on Te Aute College to adhere to the stipulated curriculum of manual and technical instruction in agriculture (Openshaw et al., 1993:54-55). Thereafter, Maori access to higher learning was severely impeded, as the prerequisite subjects for matriculation were not taught in native schools (Shields et al., 2005:63).

The exclusion of Maori from competing in the economic arena or accessing an education beyond a basic level was explicit. Simon (1992:11-12) emphasizes the deficit rationalizations that underpinned the discriminatory policies and practices by citing the Inspector of Native Schools W.W. Bird’s statement in 1906, that education was to prepare Maori “for life amongst Maoris” and not to aid them to “mingle with European in trade and commerce”; Maori were to be educated for life in the rural areas “with their people”. Bird’s directive was supported by Professor Henry Kirk, who in the same year stated that the agricultural skills taught should be “strictly limited,” not equal to those at Lincoln College, as Maori would return to tribal areas to “entirely different conditions”. And they did. In 1892 Maori retained only one sixth of their original land holdings much of it marginal land in remote areas, and by 1911, only 7 million of the original 66.4 million acres remained in Maori ownership (Durie, 1998:119). In keeping with Social Darwinist ideology the perilously low Maori population, which reached a nadir of 42,650 in 1896 (Durie, 1998:85), was attributed to the natural demise of an inferior “race” coming into contact with a civilized people (Simon and Smith, 2001:250).

The dynamics of Maori engagement *vis-à-vis* education changed during the first half of the twentieth century. Simon and Smith (2002:305) note that by 1909 more Maori children were enrolled in public rather than native schools, and while there was an “official silence” regarding the education of Maori pupils within the public system, in practice schools “were neglectful of their needs.” Bird’s 1915 edict was unequivocal:

...so far as the Department is concerned, there is no encouragement given to [Maori] boys who wish to enter the learned professions. The aim is to turn, if possible their attention to the branches of industry for which the Maori seems best fitted (Simon, 1992:12).

In 1928, when the same curriculum was “officially” taught in both native and public schools, senior Education Department officials directed that Maori pupils “were neither expected nor encouraged to reach the standards achieved by Pakeha children” (Simon, 1992:13).

The life-circumstances of Maori were particularly harsh during the Great Depression and were aggravated by lack of entitlement to state relief; in 1933 Maori represented a reported forty per cent of the nation’s unemployed (Simon and Smith, 2002:76). Dire economic circumstances prevented Maori parents from financially supporting the secondary school education of their children. Maori enthusiasm for Western education declined significantly in this period, a trend that was strengthened by a steadfast refusal by Maori to completely abandon their language and culture (Simon and Smith, 2002:193-4). The state’s response was to introduce a policy of “cultural adaptation”. This incorporated selected aspects of Maori custom, arts and crafts into the native school curriculum; however, the emphasis on preparing Maori for manual, agricultural and domestic work was retained (Simon and Smith, 2002:200-1).

In the post World War Two period the inevitable consequences of Crown land alienation policies led to the urbanization¹⁸ of a propertyless Maori proletariat to service the labour needs of the nation’s emerging Fordist industries (Poata-Smith, 1997:175). Maori employment was confined to the lowest echelon in a narrow range of industries, and the “specialized occupational status” of Maori became institutionalized, normalized and permanent, rather than a transitory feature of an

¹⁸ Shield et al. (2005:64) contend that the migration ‘of Maori into the cities in the 1950s was one of the most rapid processes of urbanisation undergone by any people in the world.’

initial adjustment to Fordist capitalist relations (Fleras, 1996:104). Maori socio-economic circumstances severely impeded their own capital accumulation or an improvement of their life-chances (Poata-Smith, 1997:178). Ongoing Maori resistance to these policies, however, resulted in changes occurring.

3.2 INTEGRATION - 1960 through early 1970s

The policy of Integration was short-lived, and reflected state pragmatism and legerdemain in managing Maori rejection of Assimilation. Integration accommodated increased tolerance of cultural difference while maintaining the status quo of equal power relations (Johnston, 1998:110). According to Johnston (1998:100), Integration was introduced after the 1960 Hunn Report officially acknowledged a “statistical blackout”¹⁹ in Maori educational achievement. Consistent with American orthodoxy, ethnic disparities in outcomes were attributed to cultural deprivation. The concomitant liberal ideology of “equality of opportunity”, which dominated educational thinking from World War Two until the 1980s, endorsed the provision of enrichment programmes as the panacea for redressing “individual deficiencies and collective cultural deficits” (Adams, Clarke, odd, O’Neill, Openshaw, Waitere-Ang, 2000:300). From an international perspective, the adoption of the Integration model coincided with changes in global power relations and the increasingly heterogeneous composition of Western societies.

Implicit in integration is that the minorities may retain whatever religious and cultural characteristics they choose provided these characteristics are not incompatible with the harmony of the whole society (Smithies and Fiddick; 1969:61 in Grillo, 1998:177).

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, Hunn’s (1960:15) definition of Integration was “To combine (not fuse) the Maori and Pakeha elements to form one nation wherein Maori culture remains distinct.” The cultural superiority inherent in the policy of Assimilation was to be replaced with the “...more liberal concept of cultural tolerance” (Mullard, 1982:125). According to Hunn (1960:15) the resultant singular national culture would be overwhelmingly comprised of Pakeha cultural values combined with tokens of “only the fittest elements” of Maori cultural relics that had “survived the onset of civilisation.” Acceptable cultural relics were those considered

non-threatening to Pakeha control and national culture; the inclusion of te reo Maori in the curriculum was not a consideration (Johnston, 1998:110). The objective of Integration was the identification of *difference* in order that it could be minimized and controlled (Johnston, 1998:124) and the predominantly rural-based native schools, which operated in opposition to assimilationist policies, were phased out during this period (Johnston, 1998:113).

The publication of the Hunn Report in 1960 signified the official ascendancy of cultural deficit explanations of Maori educational underachievement, wherein responsibility for the cycle of deprivation was attributed to “all aspects of Maori life, personality, home circumstances, family size, economics and educational achievement” (Simon and Smith, 2002:307). Adams et al. (2000:301) cite Johnston and Pihama (1995:81) to highlight deficit assumptions that the homes and communities in which Maori children were socialized precluded the acquisition of cognitive skills and cultural characteristics necessary for scholastic success: Maori were blamed for their own educational failure, and this blame was inextricably linked to their ‘Maoriness’. Cultural difference, in particular, became a term synonymous with ‘cultural deprivation’, so not only were Maori culturally different, but this difference came to mean they were also culturally deprived.

The Kowhai and Rakau Studies were cardinal in providing scientific rationalizations for Maori educational underachievement (Clothier, 2000:160). The Kowhai Study (1946) established that the Maori character structure was “maladapted,” and the Beagleholes argued that educational success necessitated a character structure more closely aligned to that of the Pakeha (Clothier, 2000:160). Maori child rearing practices and family life were identified as barriers to obtaining the full benefits of Western education (Simon and Smith, 2002:305), and preschool education was advocated as a method of rectifying the handicaps associated with the cultural deprivation of Maori children (Johnston, 1998:111).²⁰ The Rakau Study (1958) found

¹⁹ ‘Hunn refers to areas of black-out where Maori were either not present or present in very small numbers at different levels of the education system’ (Johnston, 1998:114).

²⁰ Hunn’s recommendations for addressing ethnic disparities in educational outcomes included the creation of the Maori Education Foundation (Johnston, 1998:114). This was established through the 1961 Maori Education Act. Hunn (1960:26) anticipated that the Foundation would be supported by Maori communities and funded through land sources ‘including unclaimed money from Maori land’

that Maori difficulties with higher education were, according to the Ritchies, very probably attributable to “an average lower mental function” (Clothier, 2000:160). The practice of measuring intelligence quotient (IQ) (refer Chapter Two) served to reinforce the inevitability of ethnic disparities in educational outcomes.

The administration of intelligence tests in public schools resulted in the vast majority of Maori pupils being located in low-stream classes; however, claims that this categorization process was scientifically objective and neutral with regard to “race”, ethnicity and socio-economic status have been challenged (Simon, 1992:22-23). First, Johnston (1998:117) cites an IQ test based on Maori cultural norms that was developed and administered by Archer, Oppenheim, Karetu and St George (1973), which established the presence of ethnic-based discrepancies in standard tests. Second, Shields et al. (2005:70) refer to Lovegrove’s (1966) study, which found no significant difference in scholastic achievement after testing Maori and Pakeha children from comparable home environments. Third, Hunn (1960:27) acknowledged that deficiencies in standardized testing procedures contributed to the “Maori education problem”; nevertheless orthodoxy prevailed and he attributed underachievement to endogenous factors (1960:22-23):

The state of Maori education - not its quality but the demand for it - leaves much to be desired.

There is still more parental apathy than is good for the future of the race.... Maori children are quite capable of absorbing education at all levels. According to teachers...the distribution of intelligence is the same among Maoris [sic] as among Europeans.

The Hunn (1960) and Currie Reports (1962) both emphasized the suitability of Maori entry into the skilled trades (Clothier, 2000:316-317); however, participation in apprentice schemes was curtailed by a lack of understanding of mathematics. While Hunn (1960:26) attributed this problem to the decision of Maori pupils to “to take ‘soft’ options at school”, the contradiction between Hunn’s rhetoric and state policy is evident in a statement made by the Director General of Education T.B. Strong in 1931:

...I have noted with surprise [the Maori] facility in mastering the intricacies of numerical calculations. This fatal facility has been taken advantage of in the Mission Schools and even in

(Johnston, 1998:114). The Foundation’s initiatives, which were unsuccessful in alleviating Maori educational failure (Johnston, 1998:124), included provisions for Maori preschool education and scholarships for post-primary study (Johnston, 1998:124).

schools manned by white teachers to encourage the pupils to carry arithmetic to a stage far beyond their present needs or their possible future needs (quoted in Simon, 1992:12).

Hunn (1960:29) acknowledged the sizeable disparities in participation in higher education, noting: “in 1956, 89 Maori students attended university or agricultural colleges, 1 in 1,541 of the Maori population. The non-Maori figures however were 1 in 85.”²¹ Hunn (1960:25) blamed this discrepancy on the failure of Maori to accept equality of education. He argued that Maori needed to change in order not to “debar themselves, of their own volition, from entry to many walks of life ...both satisfying to the individual and honorific to the ‘race’”. The provision of Maori Education Foundation scholarships was unsuccessful in increasing Maori access as educational failure for the most part occurred at primary school level (Johnston, 1998:124). While the minimalist approach was maintained, the state nonetheless supported university education for an elite group of Maori as integral to progress (Clothier, 2000:321). During the 1970s, Maori university students, encouraged by international civil rights movements, established Nga Tamatoa, an organization that ultimately provided the impetus for the all-encompassing politicization of Maori (Johnston, 1998:120). According to Hauraki Greenland (1991:98-100) the development of new Maori political consciousness focused on three major political aspects: first, “the positive aspect of being Maori” which engendered pan-Maori identity and solidarity; second, decolonization which, from a Fanonesque perspective, enabled the creation of “a new psyche of the oppressed”; and third, “separatist and exclusionist tactics and strategies”.

Resistance to Integration encompassed conservative Maori who, Johnston, (1998:107-109) contends, rejected the unilateral process of integrating into a society that was neither supportive of, nor sympathetic to their interests. Johnston cites the Maori Synod of the Presbyterian Churches (1961) in support of this claim:

Let it be understood that, while we are willing to join with Pakeha in becoming New Zealanders, we have no desire whatever to become Pakehas...For our part we are willing to give as well as take, but we strongly oppose the assumption that we must forget our history, our culture, our racial origins - all that is involved in the word Maoritanga.

²¹ Phillips (2003:139) reports that the total number of Maori graduates in 1968 totalled approximately 200, based on research conducted by Fitzgerald in 1969 and 1977.

Simon and Smith (2002:307) identify resistance to deficit ideology with Koro Dewes' (1968) comment that he was: "...sick and tired of [Maori] being blamed for their educational and social shortcomings, their limitations highlighted and their obvious strengths of being privileged New Zealanders in being bilingual and bicultural ignored." By the late 1960s Maori demands for a bilingual and bicultural education intensified, and as international acceptance of cultural difference gained momentum in the early 1970s (Pearl, 1997:137-139), the policy of Integration became obsolete (Johnston, 1998:124).

3.3 MULTICULTURALISM – 1974 -1984. ²²

The introduction of Multiculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand coincided with the international trend of western democratic nations promoting "cultural diversity as a central aspect of society" (Tait, 1988:76) in response to the impact of increasing immigration on the ethnic composition of Western societies (Johnston, 1998:125). According to Johnston (1998:129), Multiculturalism differed from Integration in that cultural difference was to be "valued" rather than simply "tolerated". Cultural solutions were advocated as the panacea for poor Maori educational outcomes (Johnston, 1998:171), and deficits were "transmogrified into difference" (Pearl, 1998:137). Multiculturalism allowed Maori underachievement to be extricated from "a Treaty framework into an arena where Maori bec[a]me one of a number of competing minority groups" (Reid et al., 2000:45).

Thus Multiculturalism represented an extremely sophisticated refinement of former policies: it acknowledged the political and cultural heterogeneity of society (Mullard, 1982:129) but remained ambiguous in terms of definition. However, Johnston

²² Judith Simon argues that Multiculturalism in education originated from the 1974 Report of the Educational Development Conference (Johnston, 1998:129).

(1998:126-127)²³ concurs with Bullivant's (1981) argument that the approach to multiculturalism adopted in Aotearoa/New Zealand conformed to Gibson's (1976) definition of "Education About Cultural Differences or Cultural Understanding" where Multiculturalism "simply refers to acknowledging and accepting cultural differences." Although Maori language and culture were afforded minimal space in the school curriculum with the initiation of programmes such as Taha Maori, Johnston (1998:128-129) supports Simon's (1990) argument that this concession represented a humanitarian reaction against the overt deficit ideology that underpinned state policy on Maori education in the 1960s.

Social democracy or liberal education theory, which dominated educational thought and practice after World War Two until the mid-1980s, proposed that disadvantages associated with "class background, ethnic origin and gender" would be compensated for, and neutralized by, the equal opportunity afforded by state funded education (Freeman-Moir, 1997:211). While equal opportunity guaranteed citizens a number of years of state schooling, differences in school curricula, teacher expectations and circumstantial criteria ensured unequal outcomes for Maori. Graham Smith (1990a:183) argues that liberal ideology perpetuated inequality by demanding that Maori conform to a Pakeha mode of schooling and authorized schools to "act as an agent of *individual change*"; such practices were justified by the commonsense understanding that education was "intrinsically good" and functioned in the "best interests" of all pupils. Underachievement was attributed to deficit aspects of pupils' background or culture (in contradiction to the egalitarian rhetoric of "equal opportunity" (Smith G., 1990a:183), and the "accumulated cultural and environmental deficits" model (Valencia, 1998) became the dominant explanation for the crisis in Maori education. While deficit thinking suppressed any meaningful analysis of "what constitutes knowledge" (Pearl, 1997:216), the purported "neutrality of 'knowledge', 'curriculum', 'pedagogy', 'school organisation' and 'educational decision-making,'"

²³ Gibson (1976 in Bullivant, 1981) classified 5 approaches to multicultural education, each of which 'delineates basic assumptions regarding underlying values, change strategies, intended outcomes and target populations... the fifth approach 'stems from an anthropological perspective on both education and culture, and unlike the others does not equate education with schooling or view multicultural education as a type of formal education program' (1976:7). The other four approaches or models considered are: (1) Education of the Culturally Different or Benevolent Multiculturalism; (2) Education About Cultural Differences or Cultural Understandings; (3) Education for Cultural Pluralism; and (4) Bicultural Education (cited in Johnston, 1998:126-7).

attention focused on the propensity of educational institutions to reproduce and maintain existing power relations in societies (Jones, Marshall, Mathews, Morris, Smith and Smith, 1995:192).²⁴ Michael Young's 1971 thesis, *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education*, was influential in exposing the "socially constructed nature of knowledge" proposing that disparities in outcomes were the "product of the education system at all levels" (Nash, 1994:167). When applied to the education of Maori, Young's analysis highlighted structural impediments associated with a Pakeha dominated system which included unequal power relations, and a curriculum that endorsed the superiority and validity of Western knowledge (Jones et al., 1995:183, 192; Nash, 1994:167). Ranginui Walker's 1973 critique of the monocultural education system focused attention on the underlying cultural bias of state education (Harker, 1994:292-293). Johnston (1998,138) cites the He Huarahi Report²⁵ (1980) to illustrate that Maori challenged the accepted wisdom of "equal opportunity":

In the past it was felt that the way to improve Maori education was to provide additional tuition and support to enable Maori learners to fit the Pakeha mould. Today however, we have a better realisation that an education system designed to preserve western traditions may not necessarily meet the special needs of culturally different groups.

Changes in state school policies and practices were largely ignored until many Maori parents "opted out" of the mainstream system by sending their children to Te Kohanga Reo from 1981, and Kura Kaupapa Maori from 1984 (Johnston, 1998:139). While these initiatives represented a concession by the state to the counter-hegemonic aims of Maori, explanation for this change could also be attributed to a compromise by dominant interests 'so as to incorporate subordinate interests. The compromise remains built upon and biased towards the dominant group i.e., "hegemonic block".' (Ward 1990, cited in Havemann and Turner 1994:168). Openshaw et al. (1993:79) reinforce this concept, noting that by authorising structural change, the state met the demands of middle-class Maori parents for direct input into the educational decision-making process, and further, that the state in supporting Maori educational initiatives choose the more politically expedient option rather than having to explain ethnic

²⁴ Freire (1972) proposed that the maintenance of power and oppression by elites is closely associated with control over knowledge and education. According to Freire: "The control over what is deposited as valid knowledge is employed to avoid conscientising the oppressed."

²⁵ The National Advisory Committee Report on Maori Education (Johnston, 1998:138).

differences in terms of social class location and educational outcomes. However, initiatives that focused on culture and identity would not enable Maori to achieve socio-economic parity with the general population.

According to Poata-Smith (1996a:37), cultural nationalists²⁶ blamed Maori underachievement, in both education and employment, on monoculturalism, emphasising the loss of cultural identity and the inability of Maori to identify with Pakeha society. By the 1970s, deficit explanations that attributed educational failure to “cultural deprivation” were reformulated, and Maori de-culturalization (the deprivation of traditional Maori values and pride) was deemed culpable (Poata-Smith, 1996a:37-38). McIntosh (2004:40) acknowledges the danger identified by Webster (1998) of “speaking of a culture as a whole way of life outside its own political economic history.” Accordingly, Poata-Smith (1996a:38) questions the validity of cultural or ethnic explanations for Maori inequalities which are premised on assumptions “that the underlying values, attitudes and cultural phenomena that underpin ‘ethnic’ groups are fixed or primordial”. Ethnicity, he argues, is a ‘social construct’ and therefore historically contingent. Poata-Smith (1996b:106-107; 1996a:38) claims that the focus by cultural nationalists on culture and identity as a means of redressing collective disadvantage and powerlessness was manipulated by the state under the policy of Biculturalism.

3.4 BICULTURALISM – from 1984 until the present.

The policy of Biculturalism, Johnston (1998:330) contends, encompasses two positive, albeit distinct, conceptions of difference as a means of redressing the crisis in Maori education: the Pakeha one - which focuses on cultural solutions - and the Maori one - which emphasizes the need for structural change. Johnston (1998:166) notes that, for the first time, causality was not directly attributed to Maori, and the monocultural education system was identified as contributing to disparities in educational outcomes; the pernicious effects of erstwhile state policies and practices, however, continued to be ignored (Johnston, 1998:144-145). Under the aegis of Biculturalism, a series of neo-libertarian economic and educational reforms were initiated, and modern variants

²⁶ Cultural nationalism is defined by Poata-Smith (1996a:37) as “the emphasis on regaining identity and freedom by immersing oneself in one’s traditional culture”.

of deficit theory continued to rationalize the increasing ethnic economic and educational inequalities.

Biculturalism was officially adopted as the policy of state under the Fourth Labour Government in 1984. Poata-Smith (1996b:180; 1997:176) maintains that Biculturalism, together with the extension of the Waitangi Tribunal's jurisdiction back to 1840, represented that government's dual appeasement approach to increasing Maori political unrest. The model that was implemented, however, selectively accommodated the incorporation of "Maori personnel, models of organisation, social practices and cultural symbolism" into the institutions of state, while marginalizing the more radical demands of power sharing and autonomy. Although Biculturalism pays "lip service" to the special relationship of Maori as tangata whenua, it is still essentially an integration model in that the fundamental problem of asymmetric power relations is not addressed (Tait, 1988:76). The bicultural initiative of "Taha Maori" (discussed below) is a case in point. The "design, sanctioning, rationalisation and implementation" of this programme depended upon the co-operation and endorsement of the Pakeha population at all levels (Smith. G., 1990a:188-190).

According to Graham Smith (1990a:188-190), Taha Maori²⁷ represented the state's concession to Maori demands for a more culturally relevant curriculum by endorsing "Maori" as a legitimate field of study in both primary and secondary schools. However, Maori recognized that this initiative would not ensure language or cultural survival, or reverse negative educational trends. Firstly, the fundamental issue of "what learning is ultimately being facilitated?" was overlooked, and as the primary emphasis in mainstream schools focuses on Pakeha learning, Maori epistemology continued to be consigned to an inferior position. While "overtly endorsed in both name and budget of Maori education", Taha Maori's accessibility to all students meant that it was primarily directed towards addressing the needs of the majority Pakeha pupils. Secondly, the programme was underpinned by self-esteem theory, the fundamentally flawed concept that recognising minority students' culture creates an environment conducive to learning by enhancing self-esteem (Smith, G. 1990a:188-

²⁷ Jenkins (1994:155) states that "taha Maori programmes were introduced into selected schools in 1975".

190). According to Spoonley (1995:79-80), bicultural initiatives, such as Taha Maori, tend to strengthen “educational racism,” as the Pakeha cultural values on which mainstream education is based remains invisible when the focus is shifted towards Maori culture. In this context, Taha Pakeha and Taha Maori are not perceived as equal counterparts; instead Maori culture is positioned as “Other”, a deviation from the established norm. In contrast, anti-racist education not only focuses on cultural differences between different ethnic groups but more importantly emphasizes power relationships - the societal privileges or disadvantages that dominant or minority group membership bestows upon individuals (Spoonley, 1995:79-80); the significance of which would increase dramatically with the restructuring of the welfare state.

Since 1987, the Maori socio-economic landscape has been radically transformed by the most rapid and comprehensive implementation of New Right reforms of any country in the world (Lauder et al., 1999:36). Disproportionate representation in the working-class meant that Maori society was not only vulnerable to the collapse of the labour market after 1973, but also to the economic restructuring and minimalization of the welfare state in the 1980s and 1990s (Fleras, 1996:100; Spoonley, 1995:14; Poata-Smith 1997:117). Twenty per cent of the Maori working-age population was made redundant in the two-year period between March 1987 and March 1989 (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998:14). Within a single generation, Maori, who prior to the reform process had lower rates of unemployment than non-Maori, became dependent on state benefits (TPK, 1998:14), a situation which has become entrenched as current Maori uptake rates for the three main types of benefits²⁸ are double that of Pakeha (Baxedine, 2003:93).

The educational reforms of the late 1980s and 1990s were premised, in part, on the National Government’s assertion that the failure of both the compulsory education and welfare systems had created what the incumbent Ministry of Finance Ruth Richardson termed a “culture of dependency” (1991 in Peters and Olssen, 1999:188). From a neo-libertarian perspective, people in employment are considered to be “active citizens,” responsible for themselves, their families and their country, whereas welfare recipients are defined as “passive citizens” (Cheyne, O’Brien and Belgrave, 1997:90). The

²⁸ The three benefits are Domestic Purposes, Unemployment and Sickness/Invalid.

National Government's 1994 reduction in child-care subsidies from thirty to nine hours per week for parents of pre-schoolers, not in work or training, provides a cogent example of the punitive affects of this ideology in that Te Kohanga Reo became inaccessible to the most impoverished and vulnerable Maori (Tai-Rakena, 1994:10). Jones et al. (1995:164-165) usefully cite Grace's (1998) contention that within a neo-liberal framework, social exclusion is rationalized on the basis that education is a "commodity" rather than a "public good". The rights and freedoms of individuals are considered superior to those of group collectives, and the philosophical basis of education moves from an exocentric universal concern for "all" to an egocentric concern for the "individual". This policy shift not only counters Maori communal values and beliefs, but also enables Maori group disadvantage to be disregarded, minimized or concealed beneath the definition of individual difference (Grace, 1998).

According to Graham and Linda Smith (1996:222-227), the neo-libertarian reformists' agenda of introducing market principles to education converged with, and was strengthened by, the Maori demand for greater autonomy over their own education. Underpinned by the rhetoric of "less state and more parental control," the state promoted the reforms as the panacea for Maori determined to redress their own educational issues. While the devolution of power and control to schools at the community level through the new Board of Trustees structure ostensibly afforded Maori autonomy over their education, the shift of power and control proved illusory (Smith, G. and L., 1996:222-227). The reforms enabled the state to extricate itself from responsibility for "difficult, contentious and intractable problems" of Maori underperformance (Nash, 1994:175). Maori disadvantage would be exacerbated in a neo-libertarian educational context where the ideals of individualism, choice and self-reliance are posited as solutions to the inadequacies of state schooling (Peters and Olssen, 1999:194). As Peters and Olssen, (1999:182) note, neo-liberal choice is essentially "a market strategy" which when applied to education tends to exacerbate educational inequalities parallel to economic inequalities".

Lauder et al. (1999:29,31) support this proposition and argue that the democratic foundation of education was challenged by the abolition of residential zoning and the

introduction of school-choice enrolment schemes.²⁹ These reforms transformed the established state school selection process, based partially on meritocratic competition, however imperfect (and detrimental to Maori), into one principally based on private competition between families. Lauder et al. (1999:31) distinguish two fundamental and contradictory principles inherent in this process, which Brown et al. (1997) define as *parentocracy* (as selection is contingent upon the wealth and desires of parents): “the interests of the nation and the natural interest of parents in wanting the best for their children.” In a market context where parental choice affords differential access to credentials on the basis of socio-economic circumstances, the implications for Maori are particularly severe as 56% of this population were identified in the NZDep96 as residing in the three most deprived categories of meshblocks (Reid et al., 2000:3).³⁰

Lauder et al.’s (1999:131) research identified choice, polarization and school effectiveness as the fundamental issues surrounding the debate *vis-à-vis* the marketization of education, and in general terms their findings confirmed trends predicted by critics. With respect to choice, professional and middle-class parents who already possessed cultural and material capital were able to exercise greater choice by transporting their children to schools with high socio-economic status (SES) mixes. A similar expression of choice, by students at the upper-end of the working-class sector exiting their local schools, exacerbated the polarization in school rolls caused by existing residential *segregation*. Lauder et al. (1999:132) found that polarization increased the likelihood that schools with high concentrations of Maori would under-perform in comparison to those with a more balanced student mix, primarily because of the “school mix effect” over which schools had very little control. The “spiral of decline” caused by “white flight” and sometimes “brown flight” of the relatively advantaged working-class students from their local schools created instability in school rolls which inflicted additional penalties on the performance of low decile

²⁹ 1991 Education Amendment Act.

³⁰ “NZDep 96 is an area-based index of socio-economic deprivation that uses nine variables measured in the 1996 census (no access to a telephone, receiving a means tested benefit, unemployment, low household income, no access to a car, single parent family, no education qualifications, not living in own home, overcrowded home). The index provides a deprivation score for each meshblock (geographic units containing a medium of 90 people) in Aotearoa. The NZDep96 scale of deprivation from 1 to 10 orders these meshblocks into tenths. A meshblock with a value of 10 is the most deprived 10 percent of small areas in Aotearoa” (Reid et al., 2000:38).

schools. Thus, the market imposed stresses and changes on schools in the working-class sector whereas elite schools remained virtually untouched.

Lauder et al. (1999:132-133) contend that holding schools more accountable for variations in school effectiveness “is a bogus exercise unless the sociogeography and history of a school within the stratified market is analysed.” In an education market, at the upper-end of the market hierarchy, private schools have greater freedom to remove “undesirable” students. Market forces will increasingly demand that high performing state schools emulate this behaviour, particularly if external examination results signify school performance, and it is highly probable that high-decile state schools will offload “at risk” students or refuse to enter them in public examinations. Lauder et al. (1999:132-133) found that high SES schools remained relatively insulated from competition, and their data suggested that these schools may be employing “social class and ethnicity as a proxy for ability and as a basis for student selection.”

Lauder et al. (1999:134) therefore argue that marketization will not provide a more equitable and effective system of education. A fundamental flaw of education markets is that they are designed to make some schools fail, and as a result students enrolled in these schools are themselves also likely to fail. Lauder et al. (1999:134) claim that neither “efficiency nor equity” is well served in a competitive market because four mechanisms militate against “perfect competition” in an environment where enrolment is open and popular schools have the power to decide which students to admit. First, choice is essentially determined on the basis of social class, ethnicity and gender. Second, individuals are not able to compete equally in the market. Third, market logic dictates that oversubscribed schools select students capable of enhancing the school’s examination reputation and offload students with low academic performances. Finally, the argument that class and ethnicity based inequalities are temporary, and the ability to exercise choice equally will be realized once market behaviours become embedded, is not supported by evidence. The probability of high SES parents getting their children into high-decile schools is three times greater than that of their low SES counterparts.

To the extent that “education is a site of struggle for credentials,” Lauder et al. (1999:135-136) state that the issue is not whether all students will eventually enter the

market as equals, but rather why high SES parents would either allow or contribute to such equality. The tactics employed by high SES parents and schools demonstrate how market forces exacerbate the exclusion of Maori students. The profound influence of the social class and ethnic mix of a school on within-school processes means that school performance is not, for the most part, attributable to school organization and management, as the composition of the student body is a crucial determinant in examination result success. Lauder et al. (1999:138) conclude that Maori progress towards parity with the general population is impeded in the current education market, which “trades-off” the future of Maori to the advantage of more privileged students.

State rationalizations of worsening ethnic disparities in educational outcomes are informed by modern variants of deficit thinking, which according to Pearl (1997:152), represent particularly virulent forms that encompass “competitive advantage” together with aspects of earlier models. Competitive advantage is predicated on assumptions of a “level playing field” and despite irrefutable evidence to the contrary, the reality of differential encouragement and the competitive advantage that accrue to privileged students is denied (Pearl, 1997:214). The 1997 Report to the Ministry entitled *Maori Participation and Performance in Education* provides a cogent example as Chapple, Jefferies and Walker attribute:

...perhaps a minimum of two thirds of the gap [in Maori educational performance]...to family resource factors, leaving other explanations - the most plausible of which is the interaction of peer pressures and the influences of the school system - to deal with the balance (1997:xi).

Despite the well-documented history of marginalization and “attendant racism (both intended and unintended)” on educational performance, Lauder et al. (1999:137) assert that differential outcomes are accepted without critical analysis of society or its institutions; Maori remain “the problem” and causality is attributed to culture or poverty but *not* the existing system (Robson and Reid, 2001:18).

Johnston (1998:8) argues that the interaction of power and difference has always produced particular kinds of state policies for Maori, a claim based on an examination of Maori involvement in three recent policy formation processes: first, *Administering*

*for Excellence/Tomorrow's Schools*³¹ was undertaken by the Ministry of Education in 1988 with minimal Maori involvement.³² The monocultural framework precluded the inclusion of Maori issues on the agenda, and Maori powerlessness ensured Maori interests were marginalized (Johnston, 1998:234-237). Second, *Education for the 21st Century* involved the Ministry of Education and Te Puni Kokiri, and despite the involvement of the Maori Education Group (MEG),³³ Maori educational underachievement was not a consideration. The Ministry of Education reinterpreted the structural issues identified as problematic by MEG within a deficit framework, which resulting in the marginalization of Maori recommendations and maintenance of the *status quo* (Johnston, 1998:265-266). Third, *The Maori Affairs Select Committee of Inquiry into Maori Under-Achievement* (1989-1996) was a protracted process with optimal Maori involvement that genuinely addressed Maori concerns, and highlighted a profound understanding and analysis of Maori educational underachievement. However, the rules and regulations that governed state processes ensured that Maori interests were ultimately overturned (Johnston, 1998:181, 298).

The Strategy provides supporting evidence of the persistence of Maori marginalization in the policy formation process as Maori involvement was restricted to an advisory role and *The Framework* developed by the MTRG did not receive official endorsement (MTEF, 2003:4) reinforcing Johnston's (1998:327-328) argument that the effectiveness of Maori participation in political processes through which *hierarchical power* operates is neutralized by Pakeha control of the rules and regulations that underpin those processes.

Reid and Cram (2004:46-47) contend that increasing disparities between Maori and non-Maori substantiate "the proposal that social policy can increase inequalities" and that the logical implication of this proposal is "that social policy can also reduce inequalities" may constitute the most critical challenge confronting the government.

³¹ The Labour government commissioned this report in 1998. It was the basis of the neo-libertarian reforms initiated under the 1987 Education Act.

³² 'The sole Maori on the Taskforce to Review Educational Administration was Whetumarama Wereta from the Department of Maori Affairs' (Johnston, 1998:203).

³³ The Maori Education Group did consult with the Maori community, conducted four separate hui and sought participation through submissions; however the group was dissolved before they had a chance to analyse the submission responses and they had no influence over the final report (Johnston, 1998:263-6).

What is uncertain, these authors argue is whether policies aimed at achieving parity will correspond with both the Treaty and Maori aspirations and ultimately “reflect the sort of nation we want to be.” Pool, Bedford, Dharmalingam, Pole and Sceats (2003:1-2) concur, stating that social policy in the last fifteen years has reflected belief in the efficacy of markets instead of a macro orientation involving all aspects of human behaviour and needs to refocus on “the more general social and economic environment that social policy must address.”

3.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has highlighted the correlation between Maori educational underachievement and colonial and neo-colonial marginalization as a corollary of discriminatory education policies and practices executed under the aegis of Assimilation, Integration, Multiculturalism and Biculturalism. The correspondence between state rationalizations of ethnic differentials in outcomes with evolving deficit theory has been established. Under the official policy of Assimilation (1840-1960) the state resorted to biological essentialism as justification for under-educating Maori. Under the policies of The ensuing underachievement was, under Integration (1960-1974) and Multiculturalism (1974-1984), blame for the ensuing underachievement focused on endogenous factors relating to Maori behaviour, culture, socio-economic status and engagement with the system (Reid et al., 2000:44). In the contemporary milieu, modern deficit theory continues to attribute blame to endogenous factors and the neo-libertarian doctrine of “individual responsibility” rationalizes the competitive advantage enjoyed by white middle-class students. Exogenous factors directly attributable to erstwhile policies and practices of the state and its institutions are not redressed. Notwithstanding state recognition of the “statistical blackout” of educational achievement in 1960 (Johnston, 1998:114), the crisis in Maori education persists and in the last forty years negligible changes in achievement differentials have been realized (G. Smith, 1997, in Shields et al., 2005:83). Within the racialized context of Aotearoa/New Zealand, Maori underachievement has been established as normal, acceptable and inevitable. The institutional ramifications of national policies on Maori students at Canterbury are examined in Chapters Five, Six and Seven which succeeds the description of the methodology and methods used to generate primary data outlined in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER FOUR – METHODOLOGIES AND METHODS

Research is the gathering of knowledge – more usually, not for its own sake, but for its use within a variety of applications. It is about control, resource allocation, information and equity. It is about power (Te Awekotuku 1991).

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the methodology and methods employed to generate, interpret and analyse testimonies of the twenty-five students who participated in this research. The characteristics of participants, together with the ethical procedures and considerations relating to their involvement in this study, are also addressed.

4.1 METHODOLOGY

The methodological approach I adopted in this thesis is, of necessity, eclectic in order to address the dilemmas I faced as a Maori post-graduate student, conducting research among a group of fellow Maori students. The three primary methodological considerations that required attention were first, the political dimension involved in conducting Maori research; second, issues relating to compliance with mainstream academic protocols and requirements; and third, the incorporation of the theory of marginalization into this methodological framework.

Kaupapa Maori informs the political dimension of the methodological approach adopted is this philosophy acknowledges the need to redress the marginalization of Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Cram, 2004:39) and thus “presupposes positions committed to a critical analysis of the existing unequal power relations within our society” (Bishop, 1996:11). However, in a context where the “legitimacy and validity” of research (Jahnke and Taiapa, 2001:39) is ultimately derived from Western research practices, a Maori-centred research methodology was adopted in order to comply with mainstream academic protocols and principles. In this respect, Cunningham (1998:10) usefully makes the distinction between the Kaupapa Maori

and Maori-centred approaches, noting that while both involve Maori participants, a Maori analysis and produce Maori knowledge, the dissimilarity lies in “whose standards the research was measured against and in whom control was vested.” In Maori-centred research, standards and controls are mainstream, whereas in Kaupapa Maori research standards and controls remain with Maori. Finally, the inclusion of the properties and characteristics of marginalization into the methodology is fundamental, protecting Maori from the *stigmatization* associated with mainstream research practices. Research is “...inextricably interwoven with the concept of knowledge” (Jahnke and Taiapa, 2001:39), and marginalization as “...a guiding concept... promises knowledge development that is well grounded, cogent, justifiable, relevant, and meaningful to the diverse groups [this research] serves” (Hall et al., 1994:24).

The relevance of Kaupapa Maori theory to this thesis is predicated on the political debate that surrounds research involving Maori people and society in Aotearoa/New Zealand. According to Cram (2004:31), Kaupapa Maori theory is one of a variety of emancipatory theories that evolved during the 1960s and 1970s, with the explicit objective of challenging and displacing *Eurocentric* and *oppressive* knowledge, and facilitating positive social change for marginalized and vulnerable individuals and groups. Research for change conducted around the notion of emancipation challenged research imposed on, or designed by, the dominant group, which served to reinforce the process of marginalization. Cram (2004:39) contends the development of an emancipatory approach to Maori research was precipitated by three factors: first, a worldwide demand by indigenous peoples for “self determination and greater autonomy over their own affairs;” second, increasing recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi in the bicultural milieu; and thirdly, the need to establish a research framework that encompasses the concept Linda Smith (1995:1) describes as “research by Maori, for Maori with Maori” wherein the “conceptual, design, methodological and interpretative control” of the research process is maintained by Maori.

However, a Maori-centred approach offers the advantages of fulfilling both mainstream and Maori methodological requirements. Although Jahnke and Taiapa, (2001:45) state that the concept of “research by Maori, for Maori with Maori” is sufficiently broad to “incorporate a full range of methodological approaches” and acknowledge the many points of convergence and similarities between Kaupapa

Maori and Maori-centred research approaches, the previously discussed distinctions identified by Cunningham (1998:10), *vis-à-vis* meeting established academic research protocols and principles, is a salient factor.

The Maori-centred approach adopted in this project encompasses the three underlying assumptions that Jahnke and Taiapa (2001:41) consider relevant and appropriate for Maori research. First, as this thesis is based on a “Maori worldview,” research processes demand “a people focused” cultural context where the principles of “generosity, reciprocity and co-operation” between the researcher and participants are integrated (Jahnke and Taiapa, 2001:41-42). Second, the concept of collective benefit is fundamental to this project. This corresponds with the traditional respect Maori knowledge was accorded, which while “highly valued specialized and hierarchical” also recognized the essential role of the individual’s knowledge and skills to the survival and well-being of the collective (Jahnke and Taiapa, 2001:42-43). Moreover, the need to redress the scepticism and mistrust that characterizes the attitude of many Maori towards Western research practices and methodologies is explicit. Third, the participants and the barriers they associate with their educational experiences are the central focus of this process of enquiry (Jahnke and Taiapa, 2001:43). The properties and characteristics of marginalization provide a framework where Maori *vulnerability* in mainstream western research processes can be redressed. Jahnke and Taiapa (2001:44) usefully cite Mason Durie’s (1996:2) argument that Maori-centred processes must challenge the *Eurocentric* concept of “universality” which disregards “Maori cultural knowledge, values, realities or needs” and therefore produces negative representations or misrepresentations of Maori. The theoretical framework of marginalization and the attendant critique of deficit thinking serves to ensure that exogenous factors relating to state and institutional policies and practices are emphasized, rather than the mainstream perspective which attributes Maori under-achievement in tertiary education to endogenous factors associated with Maori.

This research addresses fundamental considerations relating to Maori “benefit or gain” which, Jahnke and Taiapa (2001:45-46) contend, involve the principles of “enablement, integration and control.” First, the commitment to “enhance the position of Maori or enable Maori to control aspect of own future” (Jahnke and Taiapa, 2001:45-46) is addressed by demonstrating how asymmetric power relations ensure

that Maori educational disadvantage is perpetuated by state and institutional policies and practices in mainstream tertiary institutions, and showing how manifestations of Maori agency translate into positive educational outcomes. Second, marginalization provides a framework that allows the integration of factors derived from historical peripheralization, the contemporary disadvantage associated with Maori over-representation in the most deprived echelons of society, and the lack of Maori political, social and economic control (Jahnke and Taiapa (2001:45-46). Third, “power and control over research process” (Jahnke and Taiapa, 2001:45-46) is collaborative, which ensures the individual and collective well being of all those involved in the research process.

Linda Smith (2004:6) states that research conducted amongst marginalized peoples may be understood as being “socially interested” or as having a “standpoint;” these approaches are also described as critical research, social justice research and community action research. Accordingly, researchers who are members of marginalized communities have a standpoint from which the research is developed, conducted, analysed and interpreted, and so may be considered “insider researchers” (Smith., L. 2004:6). The standpoint I have adopted, however, is what Clifford Geertz (2003:97) defines as a “positioned observer.” According to Geertz (2003:97), “we are part of what we study, in a way; we’re there,” and thus, the notion of not representing ourselves as being present is “false, or at least an imperfect representation”. The notion of being an observer reflects that my involvement, for example as a student, tutor and mentor, has afforded me the opportunity to observe various aspects of this community from particular perspectives. In addition, Geertz (2003:98) usefully refers to Renato Rosaldo’s notion of a researcher being a “positioned scholar,” which incorporates the concept that I study this community at a macro-level. Moreover, the notion of being “positioned” rather than “inside” the Maori student community speaks to the difficulties of what constitutes being “inside” a heterogeneous group where differences in characteristics such as class, age and levels of acculturation are manifest not only between the participants, and myself but also between participants themselves.

4.2 METHOD

One cannot use the same techniques to study the knowledge of the dominated as one uses to study the knowledge of the powerful (Collins, 1989:751 in Hall et al., 1994:36).

This project is a qualitative study based on the testimonies generated by a sample of students enrolled as “Maori” at the University of Canterbury. This method accords with the central tenet of the Maori-centred approach, which while incorporating a range of research methods, requires that Maori people and their experiences assume a central position in the research activity (Jahnke and Taiapa, 2001:44).

Primary data was collected from a “population” defined as “Maori” students enrolled as Maori at UC³⁴ in 2003 and 2004 (Blaikie, 2000:198). A sample of twenty-five students from a Maori population who were engaged at various levels of study, from Stage One through to PhD candidacy, agreed to participate in this study. None of the participants were studying “engineering, information technology, physical sciences or management,” although the Ministry (TES, 2002:45-46) predicts that increased numbers of Maori will graduate in these disciplines. While the majority of participants were enrolled in courses conducted by the School of Maori and Indigenous Studies, in many instances, participants were not majoring in Maori studies. Other areas of study included: cultural studies, economics, English, drama, fine arts, geography, history, law, linguistics, mathematics, philosophy, political science, psychology, religious studies, social work and sociology. Six participants studied part-time,³⁵ and many participants engaged in employment for varying periods of time; ten were employed in a variety of capacities on campus. The sample also included participants who were currently, or had been involved in Maori student politics.

A combination of two non-probability sampling techniques was utilized to ensure that the sample encompassed a wide breadth of the population. First, the “purposive

³⁴ At the University of Canterbury a student’s “ethnicity” is based on student responses to 13 ethnic categories during initial enrolment. This data is used to “calculate” ethnicity in subsequent years. However, the limitations of this system, which follows Statistics New Zealand and the Ministry of Education practices, are recognised by the university, particularly “(a) students who incorrectly identify themselves as Maori and thus improperly add to the Maori total and more importantly (b) students of Maori descent who fail to identify themselves as such at enrolment” (Planning and Institutional Research Unit, PIRA, 2004:14,15).

sampling” technique was used in that students known to me in 2003 were invited to participate (Davidson and Tolich, 2001:111). However, due to the small size of the Maori student population (± 500), and my lengthy involvement with this population, (through organizations such as Te Akatoki, the Te Kete Matauranga and Te Puna Manawa³⁶), the “snowball sampling” technique (Blaikie, 2000:205) was also used to generate a group not previously known to me. This was achieved by asking two Maori tutors to inquire if any of their students would be interested in participating in this project. Their inquiries resulted in four first-year students not known to me, plus another two students, who I had had minimal contact with, agreeing to participate in this study.

The demographic characteristics of the participants noted included age and gender and marital, career and educational status (Blaikie, 2000:191). Eighteen of the twenty-five participants were mature students who began their tertiary study at the age of 25 years or more, four of whom had left school at the very premature age of 14 years and the remaining seven had engaged in tertiary study either as school leavers or before the age of 25 years. Mature participants had been involved in a variety of careers; the most common was the Army where five had been enlisted. The gender distribution of participants was almost equal (thirteen females and twelve males). The marital status was diverse: nine participants were single, sixteen were parents and ten were currently married. At the time this study commenced six participants were post-graduates; during the course of research another eight graduated. Two participants withdrew from university, one transferred to the University of Waikato, three left without completing their degrees and ten continue to pursue their studies at the University of Canterbury.

Participation in this study was, from the outset, based on the understanding that it was a Maori-centred research project, underpinned by the principles of collective need and collective benefits (Jahnke and Taiapa, 2001:47). Russell Bishop (1996:152) notes the propensity of qualitative research to maintain a colonising discourse by camouflaging the researcher’s objectives under “a veil of neutrality or of objectivity”. As university

³⁵ A greater proportion of Maori students are enrolled as part-time students than their non-Maori counterparts (Planning and Institutional Research Unit, PIRU:2004:3).

students, both myself as the researcher and the participants shared the common objective of gaining tertiary qualifications; there was nonetheless a mutual understanding of the concomitant commitment to effect change by identifying barriers to successful Maori engagement at one tertiary institution. Accordingly, this project reflects collective need and ownership, and that information generated in this thesis belongs to the Maori student collective (Jahnke and Taiapa, 2001:46-7). However, it is also understood that this thesis does not purport to represent all Maori on campus.

The data collection technique involved a process of interviews (Blaikie, 2000:27), a process that enabled expression of the minority *voice*, which accords with Hall et al's. (1994:35) contention that:

One key to success in knowledge development with diverse populations is to invite marginalized people to talk at length about the...problems they face, the obstacles that block their access to ... resources, and what they believe is needed to remedy their situation. While this seems almost too simple to be efficacious, the truth is that it is rarely done in research or practice in any discipline.

The data collection process was conducted on campus during the six-month timeframe from January to July 2004. Interviews were of a semi-structured nature in that participants were informed of, and asked to comment on, factors the Ministry of Education (2001) identified as barriers to Maori success in tertiary institutions. The semi-structured nature of the interviews corresponds with the process Powney and Watts, 1987) describe as "...informant interviews whereby the primary focus is on the participants' interests and concerns; rather than respondent interviews in which the interviewer remains in charge" (in Cram, 2004:33). Tapes were subsequently transcribed and forwarded to participants for review and editing. One transcript was not returned and this participant's data was not used in this research; another had been rewritten, albeit skilfully, to the extent that it lost its sense of candour, selected excerpts from this transcript are however, included in this project.

An abductive strategy was used so that the accounts presented by participants reflected an understanding of their reality and the way they conceptualize and give meaning to their social world (Blaikie, 2000:124, 25). Testimonies also reflected

³⁶ The three organizations mentioned respectively represent the University of Canterbury's Maori

participants' orientation to the world, their attitudes³⁷, beliefs, values, norms and behaviours (Blaikie, 2000:191-2). The abductive strategy corresponds with the Kaupapa Maori principles wherein research "by Maori, for Maori and with Maori" (Smith L, 2005:1) is premised on an epistemological tradition that focuses on a Maori world-view and reflects a commitment to social change (Cram, 2004:28). The heterogeneous nature of Maori society was reflected in testimonies which revealed commonalities "as well as contradictions both within and between participants" (Cram 2004:38).

The secondary data that augmented the interpretation and analysis of testimonies was comprised of a review of literature examining marginalization, deficit thinking, and sociological and educational theory. Participants' data was structured in accordance with the organizational framework of factors the Ministry (2001) identified as detrimental to Maori achievement in tertiary environments. The four case studies presented in Chapter Seven were not part of the original thesis plan but were incorporated as they evolved in an organic way from the testimonies. Patton's (2000) contention that participants' data be represented as "strengths-focussed" rather than from a "deficit-based" perspective that is re-colonising, was an important consideration in the interpretation and analysis of data (in Cram, 2004:38). While the personal narratives represented a powerful expression of resilience by a marginalized and vulnerable population engaging in tertiary study (Hall, 1999:11), the framing of data within the oppositional possibilities of risks and resilience required particular attention to ensure that behaviours and attitudes would not be construed as deficits but rather understood in a way that focused attention on structural issues and processes relating to marginalization.

The concept of power sharing resulted in informal discussions between the participants and myself during the period taken to complete this thesis. Drafts of chapters were also sent to ten participants for validation of the interpretation and analysis of the data (in June 2006). However, as this project was conducted on a part-time basis, and was for a time suspended, the remaining participants had already left this university prior to submission of this thesis.

Student Association, the Maori Mentoring Programme and the Maori Tutorial Programme.

4.3 ETHICS

As this research involved human subjects, ethical considerations were a vital component of the project. Application was made to the University of Canterbury Ethics Committee and approval for this project was granted in June 2003.³⁸ Participants were given an Information Sheet³⁹ outlining the intention of this thesis, and all signed a Consent Form⁴⁰ prior to engaging in this study. The small size of the Maori student population meant that issues relating to anonymity and confidentiality were of paramount concern. All participants agreed to the use of pseudonyms as a masking technique. Although the names of schools and towns and other identifiable characteristics were changed, I acknowledge the difficulty of completely camouflaging participants' identities. In accordance with condition D (18) of the Human Ethic Committee application form, participants' tapes and transcripts will be destroyed once this thesis has been approved.

Moreover, the Maori-centred approach adopted in this project meant that Maori research protocols were also of paramount importance. While mainstream research ethics focus primarily on professional regulations and codes of conduct established by the institution, in contrast, Kaupapa Maori research ethics emphasize the importance of relationships. Within this context, the establishment and nurturing of reciprocal and respectful relationships relates not just to individual participants but also to the collective, the community to which these people belong (Smith, L., 2004:10). Linda Smith (2004:10) emphasizes the point made by Bishop and Glynn (1999) that the notion of relationships goes beyond simply making friends and mandates an awareness on the part of the researcher of the need for power-sharing within the entire research process. Moreover, Linda Smith (2004:13) contends that research conducted among indigenous populations demands consideration of two salient issues.

³⁷ The tenacious connection between attitudes and behaviours is acknowledged (Blaikie, 2000:191).

³⁸ See Appendices 2 and 5.

³⁹ Appendix 3

⁴⁰ Appendix 4.

First, sensitivity towards the process of research *per se* is required as former research experiences often reduced indigenous peoples to “objects,” with mainstream researchers providing expert characterizations and representations of these individuals and communities. This experience of mainstream research underpins Maori scepticism of the research process, which many associate with colonialism, racism, inequality and injustice. Second, the principle and practice of informed consent must ensure that individuals are fully informed of the implications of their involvement in the project

This chapter has discussed the methodology and methods used to generate and interpret participants’ testimonies together with the ethical procedures followed. Participants’ testimonies are explored in Chapters Five, Six and Seven in accordance with the organizational framework of barriers, identified by the Ministry, to successful Maori participation in tertiary institutions.

CHAPTER FIVE – PARTICIPANTS’ TESTIMONIES, PERSONAL AND FINANCIAL ISSUES AND THE COMPULSORY SCHOOLING SECTOR

5.0 INTRODUCTION

The eight factors identified by the Ministry as barriers to Maori achievement in the tertiary education sector provide a framework within which primary data is addressed in three chapters. Barriers relating to Personal and Financial Issues together with the Compulsory Schooling Sector are examined in this chapter; the Tertiary Environment in Chapter Six; and the eighth barrier, Inappropriate Support Structures in Chapter Seven. This organizational structure reflects the quantity of primary data involved, and these chapters should not be considered in isolation but rather as a sequential, inclusive and contiguous presentation of participants’ testimonies. The two primary theoretical explanations of the underlying causes of Maori underachievement in education used in this thesis, the theory of marginalization and the critique of deficit theory (outlined in Chapter Two), provide the theoretical framework within which these testimonies are examined, interpreted and analysed. The role of racism, which manifests in various types and forms, is implicit in this theoretical approach. Secondary data, which incorporates statistical data, academic commentary on ethnic disparities in educational outcomes in Aotearoa/New Zealand and sociological theorists including Bourdieu, augments this analysis. This theoretical structure supports the basic premise of this thesis that while the Ministry acknowledges barriers to successful Maori engagement in tertiary institutions, causation is primarily attributed to endogenous factors, deficit aspects of Maori “genes, behaviour, circumstances and engagement with the system” (Reid et al., 2000:44). The corollary of this deficit-based approach is that the effect of exogenous factors, derived from state policies and practices, remains exculpable, and as a result the fundamental underlying causes of these barriers are not redressed.

Primary data is comprised of the testimonies of twenty-five students enrolled as “Maori” at University of Canterbury, and the heterogeneous nature of the participants’ profile is indicative of the complex and multidimensional nature of what constitutes “being Maori”. Heterogeneity notwithstanding, participants’ profiles reflect the impact of colonial and neo-colonial marginalization. The historical exclusion of Maori from higher education, together with contemporary social and economic exclusion, means that all participants are first generation students deprived of the advantage of middle-class cultural capital that facilitates a seamless transition into university study.

Organization Framework: The organizational framework for the testimonies of participants corresponds with the eight barriers the Ministry (MoE, 2001:5) has identified as inimical to Maori achievement, retention and completions in tertiary institutions:

- 9) Personal And Family Issues;
- 10) Financial Difficulties;
- 11) Negative Schooling Experiences;
- 12) Inadequate Secondary School Qualifications;
- 13) Difficulty in Transition to Tertiary Study;
- 14) Isolation;
- 15) Unwelcoming Tertiary Environments;
- 16) Inappropriate Support Systems.

The Ministry (MoE, 2001:5) claims that while a single barrier may be overcome, students subjected to multiple barriers often withdraw from study.

Theoretical Framework: The theoretical framework of marginalization provides a sociological understanding of the ongoing effects of the peripheralization of Maori by the dominant central majority. The properties and characteristics of this theory, defined by Hall and her colleagues (1994; 1999), were discussed in detail in Chapter Two and are recalled below because of their relevance to the following analysis:

Intermediacy: having boundaries that separate and protect;

Risks: boundaries constructed may present obstacles;

Resilience: boundaries may mediate emotional and physical protection.

Differentiation: the strength of cultural and personal uniqueness;

Risks: being stigmatized by central majority;

Resilience: being honoured and celebrated by own group.

Power: access to resources of all kinds;

Risks: enforced conformity and domination;

Resilience: coalition and solidarity amongst own group.

Reflectiveness: social processes that engender internal fragmentation of the psyche;

Risks: the exhaustive processes of constant vigilance, and analysis of each new social encounter necessary for safety, awareness that can be demoralising;

Resilience: survival skills gained from leading an examined life, empowering when there is adequate support.

Liminality: living and perceiving at the edge, having experiences not shared by others;

Risks: stigmatization, alienation, causing altered perceptions and heavy psychic strain;

Resilience: experiences may provide valuable opportunities for changes and ability to empathize with others.

Exteriority: condition of being outside the dominant system, beyond societal protections and resources;

Risks: include shortened life span, devaluation of self, depersonalization, and cultural collapse;

Resilience: oppositional political resistance.

Eurocentrism: belief in superiority of European values, technologies etc;

Risks: internalized self-/group-hatred;

Resilience: awareness of how it operates, so as to avoid harm.

Economics: contingencies that affect access to resources including social class and income, but also “costs” related to education;

Risks: include “costs” that further marginalize and impoverish;

Resilience: ability to locate resources and balance needs against one another.

Voice: forms of language and expression of sub-cultures;
Risks: being silenced and misunderstood;
Resilience: the possibility of positive, powerful expression.

Secrecy: affords protection or exclusion;
Risks: fear of being betrayed or excluded;
Resilience: sense of trust and belonging.

The characteristics of marginalization, identified by Hall et al. (1994:25), affect participants to varying degrees. First, the subjective experience of *alienation* differs considerably depending on the level of integration into mainstream culture and sensitivity towards *Eurocentrism*. Second, *stigmatization* is somewhat contingent on phenotypic markers, as light skinned participants are able to pass as non-Maori, although their affiliation with fellow Maori students or organizations usually results in their being marked as “outsiders”. Third, the desire for *segregation* reflects participants’ individual need for “protective” boundaries to ameliorate perceptions of *alienation* and *stigmatization* they associate with monocultural environments. Fourth, as *vulnerability* is a characteristic that affects all participants, their data is, in many instances, outlined within the oppositional framework of risks and resilience (or strength) (Hall et al., 1994:33). The concept of “risk” emphasizes powerlessness, whereas “resilience” (or strength) highlights the different ways in which participants express resistance in order to overcome obstacles to their academic achievement. Notwithstanding the heterogeneity of the participants’ profile, a common characteristic is that all consider themselves bicultural, conversant with both Te Ao Maori and Te Ao Pakeha; however, despite this attribute, as Maori, all participants are exposed to a greater risk of failing to complete their tertiary qualifications at University of Canterbury.

While the theory of marginalization, the critique of deficit thinking and secondary data collectively provide a theoretical framework for examining, interpreting and analysing primary data, the properties and characteristics of these theories do not manifest discretely or in isolation, and their interrelationship accentuates the all-

compassing nature of the barriers that exclude Maori from participating on an equivalent basis with non-Maori within mainstream tertiary environments.

5.1 PERSONAL AND FAMILY ISSUES

The personal and family backgrounds of participants are indicative of the heterogeneity inherent in contemporary Maori society. The majority of participants were raised in a conventional nuclear family with both biological parents. Alternative familial arrangements included “whangai” adoption and solo parenting following divorce or early parental death; in some cases extended whanau members performed parental roles, and other participants were solo-parented by the non-Maori parent. Cultural backgrounds range from a traditional Maori orientation where both parents are of Maori ancestry, to a Pakeha context where Maori heritage was concealed or demeaned. Some participants are bilingual with high levels of acculturation, particularly younger students who have been educated in Te Kohanga Reo and whanau classes. Environmental backgrounds range from working-class suburbs and state-housing ghettos in urban and provincial centres to remote rural Maori communities. Modes of upbringing also reflect social diversity and range from conservative and religious to extremely dysfunctional, involving physical and psychological abuse. Participants’ testimonies offer assorted insights into five Personal and Family related issues that impinge on their life-circumstances and life-chances.

5.1.1 Familial Dysfunctionality

Maori over-representation in all negative social indices heightens participants' exposure to *liminal* experiences involving family violence, physical, emotional, psychological and mental abuse, and drug and alcohol dependence:

- i) I had a pretty bad upbringing ...typical *Once Were Warriors* father. (John).
- ii) I was brought up by my grandmother and when Mum died, all I ever saw of [my father] was he was drunk. (Watson).
- iii) My childhood existence consisted mainly of abuse in most forms possible - neglect, depression and alcohol dependence. My [Pakeha] father was a seaman, his job kept him away from home...my [Maori] mother ...was also an alcoholic who terrorised me every waking

hour for 11 years of my life...what helped get me back into education was the negative comments my [Pakeha] father would say. I did it to prove to him I wasn't a total loser, the only thing was, he never recognized the positive things in me, only the flaws. (Hana).

5.1.2 Premature Maori Mortality

Early parental death is a cogent indicator of the *exteriority* of Maori from mainstream society (Hall, 1999:8). Six participants, of their own volition, raised this issue, and three discussed the repercussions of the loss of a parent on their educational endurance:

- i) Well after being told that I was a dummy in High School I actually went over and punched this teacher at [age] 14, walked out of that school, went home and my mother took one look at me and said "you're leaving" and I said "yeah, its time to go" and this is a year after my father had died. (Kahu-puha).
- ii) I really, really liked school but when I was 15, just before I sat School C., about a month before my Mum died, and my Dad was nearly 70 and I was like 15, 16 so I sort of had to finish school to look after myself. (Pania).
- iii) My mother died in March (yay) I lived with my sister... and her family... I was happy... 3 months later [my sister] was killed and I had to go live with my other sister... and her very large family. I was miserable...I was just an extra burden. I quit school when I was 14. (Hana).

The foregoing testimonies reflect the influence of psychosocial stressors on Maori society consistent with socio-economic circumstances and differential access to societal protections and resources. As discussed in Chapter Two the chronic and acute social stressors that manifest in marginalized individuals and groups induce "health-damaging diseases" (resulting in premature mortality) as well as "health-damaging behaviours" (including the abuse of psychoactive substances) in response to hopelessly adverse circumstances, insurmountable tasks or the absence of social supports (Kreiger, 2001:696). Participants' frequent mention of exposure to alcohol abuse is consistent with statistical evidence that Maori alcohol consumption is significantly less moderate than non-Maori (46% and 66% respectively) with more than one-quarter of Maori adults classified as hazardous drinkers (27%) in contrast to 16% of non-Maori (Te Puni Kokiri, 2000). The causal association between the effects of marginalization and the premature death of five of the twenty-five participants'

parents (5.1.2) is substantiated by findings revealed in the NZDep96 where the life expectancies of Pakeha living in the *most* deprived areas exceed Maori residing in the *least* deprived areas (Te Puni Kokiri, 2000). This disparity, as McCreanor and Nairn (2002:515) note, has resulted in the normalization of early Maori death as a characteristic of being Maori.

The cumulative effects of the peripheralization of Maori is recognized by Reid et al. (2000:39) who use three statistical measurements derived from the Index of Deprivation NZDep96 (NZDep96)⁴¹ to demonstrate the effect of ethnicity on deprivation. First, the “distribution gap” indicates that societal privilege and deprivation are **not** independent of ethnicity, as non-Maori are over-represented in SES decile 1, the highest (12%), and under-represented (7%) in decile 10 (most deprived).⁴² Only 3% of Maori reside in decile 1 with 26% located in decile 10, and a total of 56% of Maori reside in the three most deprived deciles. Second, the “outcome gap” reveals ethnic disparities in outcomes even after controlling for deprivation (for example, early Maori mortality). Finally, the “gradient gap” (the relationship between increasing deprivation and ethnicity) indicates that in some instances, the effect of increasing deprivation is greater for Maori, implying an ethnic differential in exposure to risk (Reid et al., 2000:40). Reid et al. (2000:43) argue that The NZDep96 supports the hypothesis that, over and above the effects of increasing deprivation, ethnicity represents an additional and significant effect that underpins Maori marginalization.

5.1.3 Maori criminality

The racialization of Maori deviance in Aotearoa/New Zealand increases the likelihood of participants’ involvement with the Department of Corrections or subjection to mainstream stereotypical beliefs *vis-à-vis* their natural propensity towards criminal behaviour:

- i) I remember some watches going missing [at school] and me and my Maori friend got asked straightaway if it was “us”, when we had no idea what was going on. (Daisy).
- ii) I never left school - I went to prison. (Rapeti).

⁴¹ A region-based index of socio-economic deprivations based on the 1996 census.

⁴² The SES decile rating in the NZDep96 which ascribes 1 the highest and 10 the lowest value is the opposite of the SES rating of schools.

- iii) My family...see...me in a different light...at the time I left home I was still in the [gang] scene.... [Now I'm] standing on the marae and speaking. (Kahu-puha).

The incident involving Daisy (i) highlights the connection between interpersonal racism and institutional racism. Interpersonal racism is “personal bias, prejudice, stereotyping and the ways in which (consciously or unconsciously, intentionally or unintentionally) this affects the dynamics of individual and intergroup interactions” (Adams et al., 2000:105-106). Institutional racism commonly manifests “...in taken-for-granted customs, routine practices and procedures that entrench or uncritically perpetuate stereotypical assumptions about ethnic groups that have negative consequences” (Adams et al., 2000:160). Sarap’s (1991:35) contention that: “These immutable collective qualities are then (further) transformed into taken-for-granted notions by policy makers and officials in institutions” (in Adams et al., 2000:106) is reinforced by Daisy’s experience. Stereotypical assumptions *vis-à-vis* the propensity for Maori deviance are perpetuated by the media and police, which, Peter Sharples (1993:35) argues, reinforces the concept that Maori are “a race of criminals, prone to mental illness with an intelligence disorder.” Sharples’ (1993:12-13) statement that Maori are probably “the most incarcerated ethnic group in the world” is supported by Department of Corrections statistics (Department of Corrections, 2004/05:18) which confirm that Maori, who represent 14.5 percent of the general population, currently constitute almost 50 percent of prisoners and 45 percent of those serving community based sentences. Accordingly the experiences of Rapeti (ii) and Kahu-puha (iii) may reflect differential treatment and over-policing of Maori by the justice system.

Testimonies reflect variability in parental and whanau encouragement for engaging in tertiary study. In some instances older whanau members promoted tertiary study in spite of the negativity associated with their own educational experiences, whereas other participants were dissuaded from considering higher education, as attending university was not an “imagined possibility” (O’Rourke, 1995).

5.1.4 Social Class

Working-class backgrounds, together with the transgenerational effects of differential educational experiences and opportunities, present significant obstacles to a seamless transition to tertiary education:

- i) I got the whole “why are you going to university?” because no one else in my family has a degree...or has gone past 5th form; it was like “you should be working.” (Raina).
- ii) I got into the top class...then my [Pakeha] mother made me leave when I was 14...because I was the oldest and my father and mother had separated so I had to...go to work. (Wai).
- iii) My parents to a certain extent reinforced that [colonial] message, only because they themselves had it rammed down their throats. My father...was pleased when I got School Cert. because that meant I had a good chance of landing a good job...He wanted me to go out and learn a trade and earn money for the family...Mum was willing to let me go back to school but the moment I tripped up was the moment I got out and got a job. Sometimes there was tension between Mum and Dad but they kept their opinions to themselves because I didn't trip up and I kept going back to my pieces of paper (School Cert, UE, Bursary) in the end they would say... “Hey you're a bit too old for this school stuff.” (Chaz).
- iv) ...the only time I ever took homework to [my Uncle] him he would swear and get angry.... He was brilliant...but I think he might have been scared of [educational] failure (Rapeti).
- v) My parents had no education; I think my father finished school when he was like 7.... We [Maori] couldn't look beyond being a carpenter, a painter or a mechanic; we actually looked at that...as a Pakeha person would look towards becoming a doctor etc...I grew up [understanding that] you may as well get a job now, one day you might be able to get an apprenticeship and...become a chippie, a builder and that's how far you're going to get in life. (Kahu-puha).

5.1.5 Whanau Resilience

Manifestations of familial resilience are expressed through supportive whanau challenging the prevailing orthodoxy that Maori do not have high educational aspirations for the younger generation:

- i) [Although my grandmother] wasn't allowed to speak Maori...to be Maori at school...she used to get more of a buzz out of [my academic successes] than I did, so it was for that [reason I achieved]. “ There you go Nan, there's another A on the report”...she used to keep them plastered up on her wall...they were old and faded and covered in fly shit, people would come around and she'd be pointing them out...when I got School Cert. she was going to frame it. (Watson).

- ii) I feel privileged now...and although there was...this bicultural thing happening, my parents still wanted me to further my education and my taha Maori so they sent me [from Otago] to...[a] Maori Girls College in Auckland. Moreover both sets of [Maori] grandparents were motivational...one grandmother, she made me promise to her, before she passed on, that I'd go to the highest that I could...and I've sort of maintained that tono or that request. (Mary).
- iii) My [Maori] dad got his teaching degree when he was 47 and my [Maori] mum went back to Polytech and got her Human Resources Diploma when she was about 42. So they... pushed me to start younger. (Daisy).

Testimonies support the concept that the disproportionate numbers of Maori in the most deprived strata of society constitutes a barrier to participation in tertiary study (5.1.4). However, the deficit rationalizations that attribute Maori under-representation in universities to low intergenerational educational aspirations (Chapple et al., 1997) are challenged by evidence of whanau support and positive role modelling (5.1.5) that encourage “a sense of self-agency and self-determination” (Murrell, 1997:289). Irrespective of whether participants are advantaged by family support and encouragement, all exhibited the resilience necessary to overcome the deficit of cultural capital of students from working-class backgrounds. Moreover, testimonies support the argument that Maori disadvantage and disempowerment is exacerbated by *economic* marginalization, which since the time of colonization has severely curtailed the accumulation of financial capital.

5.2 FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES

Participants support the Ministry's proposal that Financial Difficulties constitute a major impediment to Maori student achievement in the tertiary sector (Jefferies, 1997):

- i) ...realistically I'm only here for the tohu [degree] because when I go back out there, I want good money. (Raina).
- ii) ...I'm the one that has to catch the bloody Orbiter [bus] and they [Pakeha] go home in their mums' and dads' cars. (Wai).
- iii) [universities should] make Maori students, together with their partners, aware of the financial strain when you have been working and earning reasonable money then trying to survive on less cash. (Tacks).

- iv) ...Probably the biggest issue with Maoridom is ...the financial situation... for older Maori it's probably more about finances because you've been working and now you're here ...and you're always concentrating on your money and if you can put that behind you, it's not too bad.
(Nigel).

As all participants experienced Financial Difficulties, this section comprises a discussion of two issues that they considered were of paramount concern: first, the level of Maori student indebtedness, and second, the effects of transgenerational poverty. These two factors reinforce the extent to which marginalization has resulted in Maori "poverty, deprivation and social exclusion" (Krieger, 2001:695).

5.2.1 The neo-libertarian educational market and Maori student indebtedness:

Testimonies confirm that the "user pays" tertiary education system, implemented by the National Government in 1992, has forced a disproportionately high percentage of Maori into state-sponsored debt. The Ministry (MoE, 2001:7) acknowledges: "the increasing uptake of the student loan system by Maori students is indicative of the fact that many Maori students need financial support in order to be educated at a tertiary level." Research by the Aotearoa Tertiary Students' Association found that during the period 1995 to 1999 (excluding 1996)⁴³, the proportional difference between Maori and non-Maori who required student loans had widened. In 1995, 18.9% more Maori than non-Maori (as a proportion of their student populations), acquired student loans. By 1998, it had risen to a 25.5% differential (Clark, 2001). Maori student debt currently represents approximately one billion of the seven billion dollars of the total student loan debt (NZUSA, 2004, Te Mana Akonga, 2004). In a *Treasury Working Paper*, Maani (2000:12) found that while Maori were disadvantaged in both 1986 and 1996 in terms of educational attainment, employment and income levels, the returns to education are greater for Maori compared to non-Maori despite lower attainment levels. However, Maani (2000:14) acknowledges that the "relatively higher income returns to educational attainment.... [are] partly a reflection of relatively lower income levels for Maori without school qualifications." Notwithstanding Maani's

⁴³ MoE statistics cited by Clark, 2001).

findings, Clark (2001)⁴⁴ contends that Maori face a relative disadvantage in repaying that debt, as a Maori with a bachelor's degree earns less than three quarters as a non-Maori graduate with the same qualification. De Bruin contends that the acquisition of human capital mitigates Maori disadvantage as Maori graduates are subjected to comparatively less economic and employment discrimination than Maori without qualifications (de Bruin, 2000:38). De Bruin also cites Winkelmann's (1993:33) findings that "Maori males with tertiary qualifications had an employment probability of 15.4 percentage points above the rate for Maori males without a qualification. For non-Maori males the corresponding difference amounted to only 5.5 percentage points." Notwithstanding the Financial Difficulties associated with tertiary study, Raina (i) and other participants recognized the economic value of academic credentials.

From a theoretical perspective, Hall (1999:9) defines an important aspect of *economic* resilience as "the ability to locate resources." Ethnic disparities in levels of borrowing can be construed as either a lack of Maori resilience or an increased vulnerability because of "being Maori." The Special Rapporteur's (2006:21) recommendation that Maori receive greater financial support is discussed in Chapter Eight. The Ministry (MoE, 2001:7) contends: "...Maori have seen the Student Loan Scheme as an opportunity for them to gain a qualification they could otherwise not afford to contemplate." However, this statement reflects the "push me" scenario in response to *The Strategy's* rhetoric, rather than the "pull me" scenario where the intrinsic value of tertiary qualifications is comprehended. Maori vulnerability vis-à-vis participation in the post-compulsory education sector is emphasized in Crothers' (2003:118) research into urban Maori disparities:

...education is seen widely as a key to liberation from economic hardship. There are very positive attitudes towards education, however, many respondents seemed unclear as to how their educational aspirations might be realised. Respondents seemed unaware that they might find themselves having accumulated debts they cannot repay as a result of pursuing educational opportunities that have not brought tangible benefits.

⁴⁴ Keith Clark was the president of the Aotearoa Tertiary Student Association, Te Whanau Tauira o Aotearoa which at the time represented 14,000 students in 14 polytechnics and universities. His wrote two articles for the NZ Education Review, May 4 and May 11, 2001.

The Strategy's failure to provide requisite safeguards to a population traditionally excluded from higher education and therefore lacking generational familiarity with, and understanding of, the tertiary sector exacerbates Maori *vulnerability* in the neo-libertarian education market. The omission of adequate protection for Maori in social policy is indicative of state racism, manifestations of which remain obscured by the general public's assumptions of the neutrality of the state (Adams et al., 106-107). Some participants have been exposed to *economic* marginalization because of the unnecessary costs of excessive course enrolments that have resulted in withdrawals, non-completions and prolonged study durations. Hall et al.'s proposal (1994:29) that marginalized individuals are *vulnerable* to institutional exploitation is explored in Chapter Seven.

The paucity of state financial assistance and Maori scholarships available to participants further reinforces the unwillingness on the part of the state to redress the impact of *economic* marginalization on Maori education. In a synthesis of international research, Prebble et al., (2005:81) substantiate the correlation between deficit financial capital and the under-achievement of minorities in higher education, citing Padilla, Trevino, Gonzalez and Trevino's (1997) findings that, in the United States, lack of financial resources was one of four primary factors affecting successful outcomes. As compensation for the cumulative effects of marginalization, Camara Jones (1999) asserts that free college education should be made available to all Afro-American citizens, a proposal that is germane to Maori. Such provision would redress breaches of fiduciary obligations *vis-à-vis* indigenous rights (a position adopted in Hawaii that entitles indigenous people to free tertiary education). In addition to the indigenous rights derived from the Treaty of Waitangi, which primarily focus on the redress of historical grievances, the Bill of Rights Act and the Human Rights Act allow for the redress of contemporary socio-economic disparities. Both Acts, which are informed by international law, make provision for the granting of special rights to marginalized populations through discriminatory policies such as preferential access schemes or quota systems. Notwithstanding that the provision of affirmative action policies *vis-à-vis* the redress of educational discrimination is within the legislative power of Aotearoa/New Zealand, the statutory rights that could ameliorate Maori disadvantage are not given effect because of the state's racial underpinnings.

5.2.2 Transgenerational Maori poverty

Participants' testimonies confirm that Financial Difficulties associated with engaging in tertiary study are aggravated by intergenerational poverty and the lack of embedded Maori financial capital. Wai's testimony (ii) supports Hall's (1999:8) contention that economic resilience on the part of the marginalized demands an ability to balance various needs against each another. Furthermore, the majority of participants are mature students,⁴⁵ which is consistent with the higher national ratio of adults in the Maori student population. Sixteen participants were parents, including Raina, Wai, Nigel and Tacks (i, ii, iii, iv), and therefore incur financial pressures associated with having dependent families. A corollary of participants' socio-economic status is that tertiary study is often intermittent, as participants are forced to opt in-and-out of paid employment. Moreover, as Baxedine (2003:94) notes, in addition to earning less, Maori are also disproportionately dependent on state payments, with benefit uptake rates being three times those of non-Maori. The absence of accrued wealth also has ramifications for the small but emerging Maori middle-class as the susceptibility of high-income careers to the vagaries of the job market means that professional Maori are vulnerable during periods of economic "down-turn" when employee redundancies are increased.

Personal And Family Issues and Financial Difficulties are the corollaries of particular colonial legacies that underpin the ongoing marginalization of Maori (Smith, L., 2004:19). In addition to the impact of historical marginalization on the subordinate class location of Maori, analysis has identified racial discrimination as responsible for the substantial disparities between Maori and Pakeha (Reid, Robson and Jones, 2000; Parata, 1994; Crothers, 2003). Participants' testimonies support this reality, and their experiences suggest that institutional, cultural and interpersonal racism both entrenched and endemic in the compulsory education sector.

The marginalization of Maori within the education system has a long currency in Aotearoa/New Zealand (refer Chapter Three). State endeavours to reverse the effects of the policy of under-educating Maori implemented under Assimilation have, since

⁴⁵ At the University of Canterbury, the proportion of adult Maori students increased whereas Maori enrolments in the 18 to 24 age bracket remained relatively constant. (PIRA? UoC, 2004:5).

1960 when Hunn (1960:25) officially acknowledged the “black-out” of Maori achievement, proved ineffective (Shields et al., 2004:73-74).

5.3 NEGATIVE SCHOOLING EXPERIENCES

All participants reported enduring Negative Schooling Experiences and identified different treatment and negative labelling as Maori as the two most prevalent forms of *differentiation*.

5.3.1 Differential treatment as Maori

Testimonies imply that being Maori represented a risk in mainstream schools, and the most extreme form of resistance exercised was Pikau’s (i) refusal to engage with the education system:

- i) Basically I have had no formal education at all. My first school that I went to was the University of Waikato. There’s a lot of reasons why I didn’t go to school...but I have an unusual situation, one of 12 children, 6 boys and 6 girls who were selected to be brought up differently and one of the things [was]... no [state] schooling. (Pikau).
- ii) What I noticed at [a North Island] Girls’ College was that a lot of us Maori were always pulled-up for doing wrong things.... I reckon we were punished more than we were taught. (Hana).
- iii) Although I wasn’t treated differently...I do know that because I was part of a group, and that group were predominantly Maori students, was the whole reason why I had to leave for a term. I was accused of constantly smoking and I’ve never touched a cigarette in my life. (Blossom).
- iv) ...every kid, doesn’t matter whether they’re brown, pink or white can tell about a bad experience they’ve had at school, I mean, everyone has them, depends how you react to them of course. (Nigel).

Only Nigel (iv) denies any correlation between negative experiences and ethnicity: Nigel’s attitude is particularly noteworthy considering the toll racism has exacted on his education:

- v) I left...[a Boys’ High School in South Canterbury] at 14 because I was expelled...I don’t know if you remember, it was about in 1982 or 83 I think...a certain politician got up and said that “all Maoris and Pacific Islanders should be taught in a separate class because they couldn’t keep up with mainstream New Zealanders”...and I had a teacher agree with that [statement], so I bumped him on his arse.... We were doing social economics [in the 4th form] and he decided that “yes all Maoris should be taught in separate classes because we

were a little bit slower on the uptake” which I took exception to.... I had a letter of apology sent by him but I had to be expelled because I had struck a teacher...another school in [the city] wouldn't take me. (Nigel).

The differential treatment experienced by participants is indicative of the “symbolic violence” (Bourdieu) that manifests through institutional domination (Swartz, 1997:84). The punitive treatment of Maori pupils that Hana (ii) notes corresponds with Bourdieu's (1998:28) statement that schools inflict symbolic violence with impunity, and often, “...with a psychological brutality which nothing can attenuate...[the school] lays down its final judgements and its verdicts, from which there is no appeal....” Blossom's (iii) experience provides a clear example of the correlation between symbolic violence and Maori suspension rates (triple those of non-Maori in 2002, Shields et al., 2004:73).⁴⁶ Furthermore, Blossom provides a cogent example of the all-encompassing nature of discrimination; as a light skinned Maori able to pass as Pakeha, she was nonetheless subjected to stereotypical labelling because of her affiliation with fellow Maori. While the incident involving Nigel indicates symbolic violence at an institutional level, at a personal level the contradictions in his statements (iv, v) suggest an inner fragmenting of the psyche; although he denies racism underpins the Negative Schooling Experiences endured by Maori pupils, he nevertheless reacted violently when personally exposed to overt racism at school.

5.3.2 Labelling

Participants report being labelled as “dumb” and “non-achievers” and their responses encompass both the risks of and resistance to being *stigmatized* as Maori:

- i) I always looked at every Pakeha student that was at our Maori school, who were the farmers' kids...as being the brainiest people in that school and we all did, we [Maori] looked at them as being the brainier people. *Question: And they really weren't?* Well, I don't think so, I think we're just the same, but we were the ones that were called “dumb”. ...For me [high school] was...culture shock, coming from out in the country, from a Maori school and then...having to wear shoes and a uniform...[at primary school] we never got to mingle much with Pakeha people. When we got [to North Island Boys' High School] it was trying to spot the Maori face...it was...a totally foreign environment...I didn't understand the work...it was just such a big step from what we had come

⁴⁶ Research by Prochnow and Kearney (2002) found that ‘2001 1% of all schools was responsible for 13% of all student suspension and those were in mid-decile rather than low decile’ (in Shields et al. 2004:81).

from...the teachers thought we should have been up with the play with everyone else who went to school in the cities and...we got called “dummies” and that by the teachers and that led to me rebelling against them... after being told that I was a “dummy” in high school, I actually went over and punched this teacher...[and] walked out of that school. (Kahu-puha).

- ii) One of the things that I’ve always...had is that I never allowed anybody to make me feel stupid, I would never ever give anyone that power. But I can understand when I hear people say, “I’m just a ‘dumb Maori’, I can’t do it” ... somehow those people’s personal power has been lost. (Hine).
- iii) When I left [a Christchurch College] one of my teachers told me that I was going to end up as “a typical Maori on the DPB” and that I would never make it. (Daisy).
- iv) There was a teacher that said to me that “I’d never amount to anything.” I saw that same teacher when I went up north... I remembered that hurtful comment...[she made when] I was maybe 10 or 11...well, it couldn’t have been [because of my] school performance...it can only have been [because of] my colour and maybe the clothes I wore, or that I couldn’t afford a nice white pair of socks. I told her [that]...when I was in Form II, you told me that ‘I would never amount to everything’.” “Did I?” she said.... That was twenty five-ish years ago...it’s that feeling a bit of a stab wound and you never forget it.... I’ve learnt that no matter what people say about me, in my own little world, I go to this created “safe place” where...I’m beautiful and I am the best. (Rangiahua).
- v) ...As a people, we’re easy going, we’re easily led, if you get one leader who wants to get out on the booze, everyone goes along...unfortunately our people can’t seem to get that happy medium.... Some are just lazy. (Nigel).

The racist labelling revealed in participants’ testimonies is recognized as a major deterrent to educational achievement (Shields et al., 2004:9). Kahu-puha’s experience (i) provides an example of how institutional definitions of inferior Maori intellectual ability continue to be considered authoritative by many educators and Maori alike (Bishop and Glynn, 1999:29). The internalization of negative stereotypical myths by Kahu-puha (i) and fellow Maori pupils at a remote primary school where they constituted the majority population demonstrates the propensity of institutional symbolic violence to intensify cultural isolation in the absence of support mechanisms to counteract racism (Hall et al., 1994:26). The insidious effects of labelling are identified by research conducted by Sultana (1989:3) in three high schools in a North Island provincial city in 1986. He found that “...Maori students generally internalize the version of themselves as second class citizens – as ‘dumb’ and ‘thick’ – and therefore worthy of second, if not third best at school and elsewhere.” Kahu-puha’s premature departure from high school supports Sultana’s (1989:2) argument that this type of resistant behaviour by Maori pupils “contains not only elements of strength

and power, but also, at a deeper level, an element of self-damnation. In their rejection of schooling, Maori students “in the end, do the work of bringing about the future that others have mapped out for them (Willis, 1977:198).” Conversely, Hine (ii) demonstrates the manifestation of Maori resilience through the creation of inter-personal boundaries that protect an individual’s self-esteem and foster an ability to emphasize with others (Hall et al., 1994:25).

The labelling of Daisy (iii) and Rangiahua (iv) as “non-achievers” constitutes a form of double jeopardy that reinforces biological essentialism as well as the concept of meritocracy (the belief that scholastic ability, coupled with effort, results in achievement (Adams et al., 2000:237). Together these concepts, which infer that Maori are not only “dumb” but lazy as well, reveal a pernicious aspect of the hidden curriculum (the informal learning that occurs in formal contexts), (Adams et al., 2000:242) in mainstream schools. Nigel’s (v) reference to Maori being “lazy” suggests the risk of internalizing a hegemonic discourse, whereas Rangiahua’s (iv) response to demeaning labelling indicates a resilient manifestation of *reflectiveness* through the construction of protective and empowering psychological boundaries.

5.4 INADEQUATE SECONDARY SCHOOL QUALIFICATIONS

The barrier of Inadequate Secondary School Qualifications highlights the systemic failure of the compulsory education sector to engage successfully with Maori. During the 1996-2002 period, 37% of the approximately 10,000 youths (\pm 18-20% of school leavers in 2000) who left school without qualifications were Maori (TES, 2002:4). Despite pronouncements of “zero tolerance for educational failure” expressed at Hui Taumata Matauranga (2002), second-chance learners constitute a large section of the Maori tertiary population. While seven of the twenty-five participants in this study engaged in tertiary study either as school leavers or before the age of 25 years, four left school at age fourteen.

5.4.1 Differential expectations from teachers

Participants identified low teacher expectations of Maori as inimical to their scholastic achievement:

- i) [Teacher expectations were] low; it didn't matter if I sat back in the class and talked or decided not to participate, there was no encouragement...no push to help or try to motivate me. My Maori teacher encouraged me.... she was really good. (Daisy).
- ii) [At Primary school] I was never encouraged to do anything; if I did poorly, it was "Oh that's OK because she's a Maori girl". So I was "oh sweet, so its OK for me to do shit, everyone expects me to" and that was ... my attitude.... In college it wasn't so overt ... but I find it reflects back now, ... my basic maths and writing skills are crap, just cause from a young age I never learnt those [skills] properly. (Aroha).
- iii) I always think "Of, if I can just impress [my supervisors] with this piece of work that will mean so much to me"... having someone older and having someone there to support you...at the end of the day...that's really, really helpful. And having someone, not just on an academic level...that you can go and ask, "What do you think I should do about this?" is so critical. (Aroha).

Both Daisy's (i) and Aroha's (ii) experiences support Stuart's (2004:9) use of Scheff's (1990) argument that education, as a primary identity-forming process, operates within the oppositional possibilities of failure (shame) or success (esteem), and that the role of teachers as "significant others" (Mead, 1934) in this process is seminal. However, the transformation of Aroha (iii) from a C bursary entrant into a high-achieving post-graduate student exemplifies the transformation response of a marginalized student to supervisors' expectations that are not circumscribed by racialized differentiation.

5.4.2 Deficit Bourdieuan Capitals

The following statement by Aroha encapsulates the quintessence of deficit Maori capitals that impede, which represents a major barrier to Maori achievement in mainstream educational environments:

- i) You have choices, your choice can be "I'm going to leave school when I turn 16"...or "I'm going to go to university" and I think for Maori girls that I knew at [a Marlborough] College that [the university choice] was never really an option, although it should have been because they were smart and intelligent. I don't think they were told by the school or their parents or friends...Like, that's what Pakeha kids talk about, their parents all went to university, their older brothers and sisters, it's more "what university are you going to?" (Aroha).
- ii) I see my nephews and that coming through like that, they would never think of coming through to varsity because they've got the whakaaro that "hell no, I couldn't do it in high school"...I'm telling them that they've just got a lazy brain, anybody can do it. (Raina).

The Bourdieuan concept of cultural capital facilitates an additional understanding of the underlying cause of Maori leaving mainstream schools with Inadequate Secondary Qualifications. Bourdieu defines three forms of cultural capital: embodied cultural capital, which manifests in a particular ethnic group's "ability, talent, styles or even speech patterns"; objectified cultural capital, such as books and art works, which represent cultural identity; and institutionalized cultural capital, which is objectified when cultural capital is channelled into institutional structures, such as universities, which have the capacity to enhance economic status. According to Bourdieu (1986:244), the characteristics of embodied cultural capital represent identifiable features that distinguish one group from another, and as these attributes are acquired through socialization processes, they are not readily transferable or tradable commodities. Within the context of mainstream education, Pakeha embodied cultural capital is compatible with the cultural code of schools and therefore potentially readily convertible into human capital through the acquisition of formal qualifications, whereas Maori underachievement signifies that Maori cultural capital has little currency. Bourdieu (1984:23) states that academic capital is the combination of cultural transmission by both schools and families, the efficacy of which is determined by the amount of inherited familial cultural capital. Within the context of the compulsory education sector, Raina (ii) alludes to how the lack of recognition of embodied Maori cultural capital transforms into the hegemonic exclusion by Maori from the "imagined possibilities" (O'Rourke, 1995) of higher education.

Testimonies reflect the prevalence of Negative Schooling Experiences and Inadequate Secondary School Qualifications amongst participants in this study. Manifestations of the hidden curriculum, including differential teacher behaviours towards, and expectations of, Maori as well as the incongruence of embodied Maori cultural capital with the cultural code of mainstream schools underpin their marginalization within the compulsory education sector. While commentators, such as Chapple, Jefferies and Walker (1997), attribute premature school departure to low Maori educational aspirations, this deficit ideology is repudiated by the willingness of participants to reengage at a tertiary level with an institution that had set them up for their failure (O'Rourke, 1995).

5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined, interpreted and analysed primary data relating to four factors identified by The Ministry as barriers to Maori participation, retention and completion in tertiary institutions. Testimonial evidence supports the Ministry's contention that Personal And Family Issues together with Financial Difficulties represent significant impediments to Maori achieving greater numerical representation and successful outcomes. Testimonies reveal that institutional and interpersonal racism, which manifests through *differential* treatment and expectations of Maori, is an underlying cause of Negative Schooling Experiences endured by participants, which ensured that a disproportionately high number of participants left with Inadequate Secondary School Qualifications. Collectively these barriers have significant implications for participants' success at university.

Testimonies support the basic premise of this thesis: that while the Ministry acknowledges the foregoing barriers to successful Maori engagement in tertiary institutions, causation is primarily attributed to endogenous factors, deficit aspects of Maori "genes, behaviour, circumstances and engagement with the system" (Reid et al., 2000:44). In reality the barriers represent the impact of exogenous factors derived from the peripheralization of Maori; as a result Maori are positioned in the most socially and economically deprived echelons of society, together with entrenched and endemic manifestations of state, institutional and interpersonal racism in the compulsory education sector. Collectively these factors continue to prevent Maori from realising equitable educational outcomes. The implications of these barriers, together with Transitional Difficulties, Isolation and Unwelcoming Tertiary Environments in the context of the University of Canterbury, are explored in Chapter Six

CHAPTER SIX - TERTIARY ENVIRONMENT

6.0 INTRODUCTION

As the sequel to Chapter Five, this chapter employs the same theoretical framework to examine, interpret and analyse primary data relating to a further three factors - Transitional Difficulties, Isolation and Unwelcoming Tertiary Environments - which the Ministry identifies as barriers to Maori achievement in tertiary institutions. The Ministry's (MoE, 2001:5) acknowledgement that variations in regional demographics and the specificity of Maori needs in particular institutions precludes the application of universal policies is especially relevant at the University of Canterbury where Maori staff and students represent only two and five percent of the community respectively. Te Tapuae (2002:32-34), the local stakeholder, states that despite an apparent increase in cultural awareness at University of Canterbury over the past decade, monoculturalism remains embedded. While Te Tapuae has adopted a minimalist approach to regional monoculturalism, Bennett's (1995:672-675) explanations of the ways in which institutional and cultural racism manifest within university contexts provide an alternative basis for analysis. Thus, Maori exposure to the aforementioned barriers is aggravated by demographic factors including numerical under-representation and regional monoculturalism.

6.1 TRANSITIONAL DIFFICULTIES

The Ministry recognizes that transitional difficulties are a significant cause of Maori student withdrawal from tertiary institutions, particularly during the first year of study (MoE, 2001:5). Participants identified the lack of appropriate Foundation Courses or Bridging Programmes, deficit cultural and social capitals and the Maori reluctance "to ask for help" as factors germane to this barrier.

6.1.1 Bridging Programmes and Foundation Courses

Testimonies support the need for the provision of Bridging Programmes or Foundation Courses suitable for Maori to mitigate transitional difficulties experienced by many Maori:

- i) [There are] a series of events that has to happen or change in order to foster Maori intellectual achievement. One of the things...is the lack of preparation when most [Maori] students actually come to university. [Some] of the Maori student community are actually mature students...people have stopped their formal education in their teens...they've certainly got the ability, the intellectual capability.... A lot of it is really small things, like how to find information in the library, how to reference...small practical skills but those are very important...because you need them if you want to get good grades and if you get a D in your first essay or lower then you're always trying to catch up.... So I think that a little Foundation Course...not everyone wants to go back to [or]...needs to go back to High school but perhaps a preparation course where you can actually gauge maybe after 6 to 10 weeks whether people have the ability to go straight into Stage I or maybe people need just a little bit longer...to give them the basic skills. (Hine).
- ii) Coming from [a low decile High School] the whanau support base there was really strong and the teachers themselves encouraged us to look at tertiary education.... Six of us went into tertiary education... After we left school [with bursaries] there was a whole swag of us that went to Polytech to do Tohu Pokairua.⁴⁷ It is a common thing for people from [our] school to study for one year for a diploma in Maori Studies. (Kahu).
- iii) I was in the whanau class and they were always pushing education...the pro-Maori side of things as well as “go to university straight after school”.... I went to Polytech for a year to do Tohu Pokairua, which was awesome, so that got me 30 points...and it was free.... (John).
- iv) When I decided I was going to study, I looked around at Polytech and university and I wasn't really sure which direction to take...I wasn't really sure that I could do it by myself, so a friend and I jointed...Nga Peka⁴⁸ ...[the tutor] explained that we all came to university as a whanau and learnt things together and then we'd go back to school and relearn them and get help and support that way, so that's why I decided to come here. (Daisy).
- v) A prerequisite for my enrolling was attending Te Ao Marama⁴⁹...I think that was the best thing that ever happened to me...it was about gradually introducing to me to standards, lectures etc. (Wai).

The benefits of Maori attending Bridging Programmes and Foundation Courses, as Hine (i) advocates, are substantiated by the fact that all four participants who took part

⁴⁷ The Diploma in Maori Studies offered at Christchurch Polytechnic. A 30 point transferable credit to University of Canterbury.

⁴⁸ Nga Peka Matauranga o Waitaha, a second-change learning programme in Christchurch.

⁴⁹ Te Ao Marama – New Start – was a bridging programme for adults run by the University of Canterbury: Department of Continuing Education. It has been replaced by the Succeeding at Tertiary Study Preparatory Programme. Unfortunately many Maori are either unaware of this programme or do not attend as this programme is not dedicated to Maori.

in programmes completed their degrees. However, assumptions that mature students are the principal beneficiaries of these courses (because of the time lag between compulsory and tertiary education) are not supported by this study. While Wai (v) is an adult who had left school at the age of fourteen, Kahu (ii) and John (iii) left school with bursary qualifications prior to enrolling in Tohu Pokairua at Christchurch Polytechnic and Daisy (iv) entered university through a second-chance learning programme when she was in her early twenties. A salient feature of most of the programmes participants attended is that they were Maori-centred (as opposed to Maori-friendly) initiatives, and their successful outcomes emphasize the benefits that accrue when the Maori desire for “separation and exclusion” (Jones, 1999) is fulfilled. In addition to providing an environment devoid of the deficit thinking characteristic of mainstream compensatory interventions, spatial separation facilitates expression of the Maori *voice* (normally silenced in mainstream settings) whereby emotional issues, connected with Negative Schooling Experiences, may be attended to prior to any technical issues associated with Inadequate Secondary Qualifications. The interconnectedness of emotional and cognitive issues, which underpins the Maori desire for separation and exclusion in mainstream educational settings, is discussed in Chapter Seven in relation to the concept of boundary maintenance.

6.1.2 Cultural and Social Capitals

The Bourdieuan concept of “capitals” is useful in understanding transitional difficulties experienced by Maori students in monocultural environments:

- i) You have choices, your choice can be “I’m going to leave school when I turn 16”...or “I’m going to go to university” and I think for Maori girls that I knew at [a Marlborough] College that [the university choice] was never really an option, although it should have been because they were smart and intelligent. I don’t think they were told by the school or their parents or friends...Like, that’s what Pakeha kids talk about, their parents all went to university, their older brothers and sisters, it more “what university are you going to?” (Aroha).

Pursuant to the discussion of cultural capital in Chapter Five, Nash’s (1993:21) reference to the Bourdieuan concept of social capital clarifies another underlying cause of transitional difficulties identified by Aroha (i). According to Bourdieu (1986:248) cultural capital is enhanced by social capital: “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.” The

traditional exclusion of Maori from higher education has been formative in ensuring that Maori historical aspirations of attaining social capital were not realized. While this exclusion has contributed to the contemporary under-representation of Maori, in a context that continues to privilege “whiteness” (Fine, 1997:58), Maori social capital in tertiary environments still has little currency. De Bruin’s (2000:49) contention that the conversion of embodied Maori cultural capital into tertiary qualifications, if it happens at all, may be a protracted process, is supported by the prolonged study duration of several participants.

6.1.3 Reluctance to Ask for Help

Transitional difficulties are exacerbated by reluctance on the part of Maori students to “ask for help,” and four participants offer assorted insights into this behavioural trait:

- i) I don’t consider myself that intelligent or even well educated; the only reason I got these pieces of paper is that I learnt how to play the game.... BUT and this is a big but...I didn’t buy into the bullshit that...you’re Maori, you’re going to struggle with this. It just took me longer to learn the rules and how to play the game... to get used to the “ins and outs” of how to get a degree, how to study...how to sit exams but more importantly how to “ask for help” which is a biggy...I come from an old school of thinking...that you have to get off your arse and do something’...and if it is to “ask for help”... then you do it. This is my biggest frustration about Maori students: they don’t ask or they don’t know how or who to “ask for help”. You spend your first year farting around trying to find your way [in the system]...all because you don’t want to look like a fool or appear weak because you don’t know what you’re doing or supposed to do...to me that is a weakness. (Chaz).
- ii) I think it’s really good to have them [support programmes] put in place so that students can “ask for help”...not “asking for help” is a pride thing and mana thing.... Maori people are stubborn...you are not going to succeed if you’re going to be totally stubborn and “asking for help” is one of the things I learnt when I was a first year here...I had a look at my first marks and...I was disgusted and so I asked for help and I’ve never looked back. (Kahu).
- iii) The biggest problem in Maoridom is Maoris don’t like to “ask for help” and we’re a very stubborn people. If you go to Studylink and ask for a food grant they go “you must really need it because you never come up and ask for it”...when I say that, there’s always a couple who will always put their hand out, but that’s in every society. (Nigel).
- iv) It’s an unspoken thing...if you’re not going to be proactive in this university, you honestly are going nowhere; they’re helping you dig your grave; you’re going to be a statistic in the “expected to fail” bracket. (Rangiahua).

Transitional difficulties are recognized as a common feature of first year attendance at university, a period considered critical with respect to student retention. However, issues raised by participants are not exclusive to first year students, and testimonies suggest that Maori perceptions of *alienation* do, as Hall et al. (1994:30) propose, create the need for *reflectiveness* (continual, purposeful introspection) with respect to the external pressures and contradictions that beset non-traditional students in monocultural settings. Stuart's (1995:200) reference to Goffman's (1961) theory *vis-à-vis* the fundamental social desire to avoid embarrassment is useful in understanding the reluctance on the part of Maori to ask for help. The concept of being "weak" identified by Chaz (i) emphasizes the fear Maori attach to needing help, thereby exposing themselves to accusations of having access to special privileges. The characteristics of "pride" and "stubbornness" mentioned by Kahu (ii) and Nigel (iii) may be interpreted as a reaction against embarrassment caused by the *stigmatization* of Maori as "dumb" in mainstream educational environments. However, Maori self-exclusion from institutional resources constitutes a form of hegemony that reinforces Crothers (2003:123) argument that labels represent "mediating variables" between societal structures and educational outcomes by undermining confidence and creating resistance to potentially beneficial development. Conversely, *reflectiveness* on the part of Rangiahua (iv) represents counter-hegemonic resistance to the deficit ideology she perceived rationalizes Maori underachievement at University of Canterbury, a conviction that resulted in her transferring to the University of Waikato, which she considered was more conducive to Maori academic achievement.

6.2 ISOLATION

Participants' perceptions of isolation are primarily related to the *differentiation* that underpins the *stigmatization* and *alienation* of Maori in the context of the city and schools as well as the university.

6.2.1 Regional Environment

Regional demographics create different environments with respect to the percentage of Maori enrolled at particular schools:

- i) ...It's a lot easier back home [Rotorua], I'd hate to be a Maori kid growing up down here; it would be very much more isolated, its very much "spot the black" down here still. (Watson).
- ii) The first time I encountered racism was when I came to live in Christchurch eight years ago, [until then] I never really understood what racism was. As kids we were called "blackies" and we called them Pakeha "maggots".... I was a taxi driver, picking up this Pakeha guy and he turned around and says to me: "I don't want no black nigger picking me up". I was really shocked - it really blew me away...I went out[side], collected myself and went back in and dealt to him.... Everyone up North said "why are you going down there? They're all prejudice down there, they don't like Maoris, especially North Island Maoris" ...I think the reason for that is because most North Island Maori are dark skinned.... We've lived in Aranui for six years, Aranui was sort of like living in the Bronx, and it's who you know that keeps you safe. We've learnt how to look after ourselves, racist remarks don't worry us anymore, it's just like "sticks and stones"... unless they [Pakeha] get physical with us...we just ignore them. (Hana).

Watson (i) and Hana (ii) are bicultural, familiar with both Te Ao Maori and Te Ao Pakeha (Reid and Cram, 2004:34-35). Their experiences of cultural and social isolation can in part be attributed to local demographics, as Maori in Christchurch represent only seven percent of the general population of 344,100, eighty-three percent of which are of European descent as of June 2004.⁵⁰ Moreover, Maori are relatively invisible, tending to inhabit the margins, living primarily within the Eastern section of the city, in areas generally associated with lower socio-economic status. Cultural isolation is exacerbated in a largely monocultural city where great emphasis and pride is placed on its British heritage. While the stature of Ngai Tahu has increased considerably since they achieved political and economic prominence, they remain an exotic "other" on the local (and national) landscape. The incident involving Hana's (ii) refusal to be subordinated by overt manifestations of interpersonal racism demonstrates the potential of *liminal* experiences that are fraught with danger to provide "invaluable opportunities for change and insights" (Hall et al., 1994:33).

6.2.2 Schools

Notwithstanding that participants who had **not** left school prematurely experienced numerical isolation irrespective of geographical location, perceptions of cultural isolation were underpinned by the *stigmatization* of being Maori in mainstream educational settings:

⁵⁰ <http://www.christchurch.org.nz/about/#statisticsDemographics>.

- i) ...by the time I got into the seventh form [at a Central North Island College]...there was one other Maori there...his mum was the Maori teacher at school.... The ratio of Maori/Pakeha in the Third Form was half and half, possibly even more [Maori]...but once you hit 15, everyone was expelled or gone. (Watson).
- ii) Halfway through my third year of [a Taranaki] secondary school, of the 60 plus Maori that I personally knew, less than 10 were still in attendance and for the first time in my life I felt alone. (Whetu).
- iii) There were only two Maori seventh formers in [my Girls' College in Marlborough] (Aroha).
- iv) My [Pakeha] teacher, he had been in the Maori Battalion during the war, so he knew a bit of [te reo] Maori and he used to call me "eh hoa" and I thought he was being bloody rude and it was quite embarrassing because you know you were "singled out"... [a South Canterbury city] is the most European town on the face of the planet I reckon, and "being Maori" ... wasn't really the thing to be and when people were singling me out as being one, it was a bit uncomfortable.... He actually had a lot of respect for Maori and knew my grandfather...there was the odd teacher you knew would rather not have a Maori in their class. (Rakau).
- v) ...at [a South Canterbury] Primary School in standard IV...a teacher...got everybody in the class to say what they were going to do when they grew up. I said I either wanted to be a lawyer or a diplomat. And she thought it was a great joke.... At that stage I was the only Maori in the class ...and her explanation for it being a great joke was because "Maori are only good at the end of a shovel". ...I reacted to the kids, because the rest of the kids thought it was a great joke too and I was really embarrassed about even having said or dared to say that I wanted to be more than a labourer. (Tom).
- vi) [A Christchurch] Intermediate - that was hell...there was some sort of racism there because there were only limited Maori students and even the coloured kids were "white" you know, they had sort of been turned. That's probably because they went to [a middle-class] Primary or whatever...I went back to [another Intermediate in a working class suburb] which was fine because it was predominantly Maori. (John).

The lack of educational persistence by Maori pupils at the North Island high schools attended by Watson (i) and Whetu (ii) is indicative of the way state and institutional racism operates, through institutional policies and practices, to exclude the majority of Maori from achieving educational qualifications, and ensures that participants like Aroha (iii) are isolated by the absence of ethnic peer support during their years as senior students. However, the *stigmatization* experienced by Rakau (iv) and Tom (v) in South Island schools demonstrates how isolation is intensified by expressions of overt interpersonal racism in schools with minimal numbers of Maori pupils. In contrast the sense of isolation John (vi) experienced within a Maori school community

is indicative of inter-group *differentiation* amongst marginalized individuals *vis-à-vis* their integration and acculturation into mainstream settings (Hall et al., 1994:27).

6.2.3 Tertiary Environment

Testimonies offer assorted insights into the reasons University of Canterbury was considered to be an isolating environment:

- i) What I'd like to get across is... how it actually is hard to be a Maori on campus...because I don't look particularly Maori...no one will say anything but...[any] time that I've gone in and advocated for Maori things, like selling blimbling sausages, people come up and say "oh you want to take our foreshore"...and CANTA doesn't help, because it fuels the fire.... (Blossom).
- ii) I've seen ...graffiti saying that Maori should stick to claiming the dole...so I changed it to: "Maori should have stuck to cannibalism." (Rakau).
- iii) I knew I would be able to get a degree in Maori because I've got three children... and if one of them is sick, I can bring him...into the class as long as he is...not disrupting anyone...its not a problem but you...can't do that in other classes...because you don't know if its alright, but in the Maori one you know it's alright. (Pania).
- iv) We don't venture out beyond [The Maori Department] much...if something is happening at Te Akatoki [the whare] we'll go over that way. (Kahu-puha).

Participants' perceptions of isolation at University of Canterbury are underpinned by a sense of being *alienated* as Maori. While Blossom (i) and Rakau (ii) articulate the effects of public discourses in perpetuating the isolation Maori students, Pania's (iii) statement reveals how *alienation* precludes Maori integration into mainstream courses; although Pania is aware that Pakeha parents do on occasion take their children to lectures, the level of discomfiture this prospect evoked was such that she restricted the structure of her degree to Maori subjects. This sense of isolation is reinforced by participants in other studies: Helen Clothier (2000:366) in her doctoral thesis relating to the experiences of Maori women at the University of Canterbury noted that the demographic void permeated the campus in such an all-encompassing manner that all participants "questioned their right to be there," and one perceived the campus 'as a location that was "strictly off-limits to Maori in every way possible...as a learner, teacher, even as a cleaner.'" Prebble et al.'s (2005:79) reference to findings by James (2001) that under-representation of indigenous faculty members constitutes a barrier to indigenous student success has relevance at the University of Canterbury where Maori staff (both academic and other) represents a meagre 2% of employees. In

a second doctoral thesis on a related topic, a participant in Hazel Phillips' (2003:219) study identified the absence of the Treaty of Waitangi in the Students Association (UCSA) charter in 1996 as indicative of the deeply entrenched conservatism and monoculturalism that pervades the campus and forces Maori to contend with personal, cultural and institutional racism. The sense of *alienation* articulated by Kahu-puha (iv) reflects the mainstream expectation that Maori "leave their identity at the gate" (Anderson et al., 1998; Bishop and Glynn, 1999). The Ministry (MoE, 2001:5) acknowledges that the contemporary "emphasis on empowering Maori through strong cultural identity" requires that a middle path rather than what Malezer (1995) refers to as the "sink or swim" approach, where the retention or abandonment of indigenous culture by Aboriginal students respectively determined their failure or success in academic environments in Australia (in Anderson et al., 1998:88).

6.3 UNWELCOMING TERTIARY ENVIRONMENT

Participants identify embedded *monoculturalism*, the curriculum, and deficit institutional and staff professionalism as the underlying reasons for their perceptions of University of Canterbury as an Unwelcoming Tertiary Environment.

6.3.1 Monoculturalism

Participants' perceptions of monoculturalism related to the physical environment as well as the belated and begrudging acceptance of the changing student profile by the institution, staff and other students:

- i) It's a cold environment.... I really didn't want to come here for quite a long time...this place reminded me of that high school I went to. (Kahu-puha).
- ii) It seems that this university only wants nice white middle-class students who are talented school leavers and are not prepared to realize the student population has really changed and do anything about that... this university does not actually celebrate difference or diversity.... (Hine).
- iii) Racism is evident in a range of ways, some lecturers, they can't believe that there are Maori here... but there's also racism in that...you're expected to accept things...comments about "being Maori"...well crap, once upon a time if people said derogatory things about Maori...Maori would have accepted it or not have reacted to it, but not anymore; but there are still people who will say amazingly derogatory things about Maori and think it's a joke. (Tom).

- iv) There have been no Maori students in [psychology's] clinical programme since 1987, and then it ... was not [until] 13 years later that the clinician identified his taha Maori... [Another Maori] applied, and she had a PhD at the time and she still didn't get a look in. (Mary).
- v) Two weeks into this particular university I phoned my mum to say I was withdrawing and going to Waikato and she says "why." Because I don't feel like I'm being supported here..." Well hell, I'd rather go to Waikato [University] who bends over backwards for Maori... and I thought to myself "do I want a bit of that? Do I want to be treated like that? Of course." (Rangiahua).

Te Tapuae (2002) provides one perspective into participants' perceptions of University of Canterbury as a monocultural institution *vis-à-vis* the physical and human environments. According to Te Tapuae (2002:32) the physical environment in terms of "semiotics, landscape, design and architecture" reflects the Western origins of tertiary institutions, which conveys an underlying message to Maori that Donna Awatere-Huata captures when she states: "The education System is the major gate, which keeps the Maori out. There is an invisible sign over every kindergarten, play centre, school, and university. That sign reads, 'Maori Keep Out: For White Use Only.'" For example, the University of Canterbury's Coat of Arms is symbolic of an "oppressive colonial culture" that denotes cultural exclusivity, and while this does not mean that the image of the university is wrong, it implies the institution is monocultural and thus, meaningless to Maori. Kahu-puha's (i) statement captures the sense of *alienation* some Maori associate with the physical environments of mainstream educational institutions. While Te Tapuae (2002:32) concede that Maori culture cannot be fully reflected in universities, they nevertheless maintain that the physical environment could indicate that Maori values are represented beyond tokenistic displays of Maori carvings and signage in te reo Maori.

The embedded monoculturalism in the human environment underpins the dissatisfaction expressed by Hine (ii), Tom (iii) and Mary (iv) and ultimately resulted in Rangiahua (v) deciding to complete her degree in a more bicultural institution. Although Te Tapuae (2002:33) acknowledge that the human environment is conducive to a literal interpretation of Awatere's statement, they dismiss allegations of racism (which implies deliberate intent on the part of staff) and attributes derogatory staff behaviour to regional monoculturalism and a lack of cultural awareness: problems that are not new or peculiar to this University, but issues that urban partners at other

tertiary institutions have also had to address. However, while Te Tapuae (2002:33) acknowledges an improvement in cultural awareness at University of Canterbury over the past decade, they emphasize that the acceptance of biculturalism is an institutional responsibility that accords with the principles of universities as the “conscience of society, scholarship and research”. Bennett’s (1995:673-676) distinctions between the different forms and effects of racism expressed within university contexts is useful in understanding the minimalization of institutional racism by Te Tapuae. According to Bennett (1995:672), in the absence of overt manifestations of racism, institutional racism often remains concealed within institutional policies and practices that operate to marginalize non-traditional student populations.

6.4.2 The Power of the Curriculum

Participants considered the lack of curricular attention to Maori issues compromised the university’s academic objectivity, which in turn negatively impacted on the acquisition of knowledge of both Maori and non-Maori students and violated the ascribed function of a university:

- i) I’ve actually found in classes if they’re studying...a Maori component...that most of the tutors have had a woeful lack of information regarding Maori issues. (Hine).
- ii) Departments should have strong focuses not just on New Zealand but on Maori...psychology is one, [they] don’t have anything, they don’t think that they have to, and yet they’re training psychologists where 51% of Maori are in...negative social indices and they don’t think that they’ve got to train [students to deal with Maori issues], or they can do their one-weekend Treaty of Waitangi Workshop and that’s it, they’ve got the cultural component. ...Clinical students [complain] because what happens is when they go out in the real world – bang - it hits them in the face, they know how much they have not learnt. They’ve complained...to me numerous times. (Mary).
- iii) I was the only Maori on placement with four other [social work] students...and I was going out to work with a Maori family and another student...said to me “I want to come with you to see how you work” and I said, “Well I don’t want you to come with me, it’s not my job to teach you.” She said, “Well, how else am I going to know how to work with Maori families?” I said, “Well there’s a gap you’ve identified in your learning. (Wai).
- iv) [In] first year [law] we have 6 hours of Treaty of Waitangi lectures at 101 level and 6 hours of the Treaty again at 200 level. That’s our whole Maori law content in a law degree.... We don’t learn about Maori land law...[or] anything else related to Maori law. In public law, the content was the same as the content in Laws 101. That lecturer repeated the same information, added a little bit about the 1995 tino rangatiratanga movement, which included the Motoa Gardens case, so we’re talking about something ...that happened 8 years ago and it [was] not a

- dominant movement. There's so many other things...[e.g.] seabed foreshore...of interest to Maori law students.... We have historical colonial papers that you can do, the history of New Zealand from a colonial standpoint, we have absolutely nothing Maori-focused. We have an optional Treaty paper...it has been offered this year [2004]...the first year that it's running in a long time. Its being run by somebody who I certainly wouldn't select...none of our Maori students will...do the course and until we get a better lecturer and there's no Maori lecturers. We've got a guest lecturer coming in for 6 lectures this year for 101 students. (Blossom).
- v) Maori content is ridiculous over at Law School...some of our Maori students have said, "OK, I'd better go elsewhere"- so after they've done their compulsories - they're off. (Blossom).

Blossom has subsequently reported progress since the appointment of the Pro-Vice Chancellor Maori in 2005 demonstrating the influence individual staff members exert on curriculum content:

- vi) ...students within the Law School are much better supported and there is now a part-time Maori lecturer on the staff. There is now more Maori content in the curriculum including Maori Land Law and issues relating to the marine legal environment. The part-time Maori lecturer now teaches the Treaty of Waitangi component of the Laws 101 course.

Once again, Bennett's (1995:672-676) analysis of the way different types and forms of racism are expressed in tertiary institutions is useful in understanding issues raised by participants (i, ii, iii, iv, v). In contrast to manifestations of institutional racism, which are subtle and often concealed in established policies and practices, cultural racism represents the combination of *ethnocentrism* together with the power to suppress or eliminate expressions of other cultures. This is consistent with the exertion of *hierarchical power* by the central majority, which ensures the privileging of certain people and ideas over others at any given time (Tucker, 1990:xx). In Aotearoa/New Zealand asymmetric power relations ensure the supremacy of Western Judean Christian knowledge as "universal truths" and the concomitant denigration of Maori epistemology, as political and cultural elites determine who should have access to what and whose knowledge (Stuart and Thompson, 1995:4). Foucault's concept of "power-knowledge" explains the paradoxical nature of education which is "both empowering as it generates active subjects who 'better understand' the world and themselves, and yet is also controlling because regimes of knowledge limit and prescribe that understanding of it" (Stuart and Thompson, 1995:7).

The importance of curriculum content is not unique to participants in this study. Allen (1997:180-184) found that Black perceptions of tertiary institutions in the United Kingdom were linked to curriculum content (whereas, Whites believed that Black perceptions of tertiary environments related to the number of Black students on campus). The *Eurocentric* bias of knowledge forced many minority students to question the “academic objectivity” of institutions, as the cultural relevance of the curriculum was central to constructs of personal and group identities and the legitimacy of institutional knowledge in view of their lived realities. Allen (1997:186-187) concludes that Black constructs of accessibility to higher education equated with institutional responsiveness to, and the relevance of, Black culture in the curriculum. Parallels can be drawn between Allen’s findings and Blossom’s (v) contention that Maori student dissatisfaction with the curriculum content at the Law School caused some students to transfer to tertiary institutions that embraced bicultural curricula.

6.4.3 Institutional Professionalism and Deficit Ideology

Hine identified student exploitation and a deficit of institutional professionalism as corollaries of the *monocultural* curriculum that intensified perceptions that Maori were unwelcome by both staff and students:

- i) ...you end up being exploited as a student to bridge that knowledge gap...as a student, end up being relied upon as an unpaid kind of teacher and then you, in turn, become politicized. I’ve actually had foul comments directed at me about “Maoris this and Maoris that” and...I felt like I wasn’t actually learning anything and I’ve paid fees to be here, to actually be taught. I...became very politicized within the environment and being the spokesperson for Maori, which is a role I never wanted to play.... You have really quite racist comments directed at you in a tutorial about the Maori political situation in New Zealand.... I’m a strong person and confident and really like a debate, but I’ve had people label me as “a Maori woman” and then the other attachment to that label is “aggressive” so you get a picture built up about you based on stereotypes and assumptions that ends up being really counterproductive to your relationships in departments. ...in what other situation would people be relying on the expertise of an undergraduate student to actually be a spokesperson or provide the content for a course? (Hine).

The proposal that deficit ideology reinforced by racist public discourse aggravates the dereliction of institutional professionalism towards marginalized students is supported by Anderson et al.’s (1998:111) synthesis of research into Black student experiences in predominantly White universities in the United States. These authors cite research

conducted by Feagin, Vera & Imani (1996:4) who found that institutional denial of barriers associated with “race” is accomplished by emphasising “individual agency” and the hypothetical benefits afforded by multiculturalism. Feagin, Vera & Imani (1996:7) note that problems relating to Afro-American engagement are attributed to the students, their families and communities, whereas the impact of White racism in the creation and maintenance of barriers affecting this population is overlooked. Anderson et al. (1998:112) also cite Love’s (1993:29) findings that racism within tertiary institutions is masked by “moral calls for equality and policies of equity for all,” and that in the absence of overt and explicit manifestations of racism, institutional acknowledgment of the effects of “White racism” is negligible. Hine’s (i) comments with regard to being labelled as “aggressive” supports Love’s (1993:29) contention that institutional disregard for the impact of racism on minority students serves to aggravate their sense of *alienation*. According to Love (1993:33), manifestations of racism must be addressed at all institutional levels, as the ability of an institution to provide “equity in educational access” is contingent upon critical analysis of the effects of various forms of racism imparted by institutional management.

The exploitation of Hine corresponds with Bennett’s (1995:672) definition of institutional racism in that *differential* treatment manifests through deficiencies in established policies and practices, which in this instance evokes *Eurocentrism*. The resultant politicization of Hine demonstrates that *reflectiveness* can be “a double-edged sword”. While political conscientization (Freire, 1972 and Smith G, 1999) may enhance chances of survival and success in monocultural environments, in the absence of adequate supports and resources marginalization is experienced more intensely (Hall et al., 1994:31). However, manifestations of resistance have positive physiological effects; McCreanor and Nairn (2002:511) cite Krieger and Sidney’s (1996) research findings “that elevated blood pressure among American blacks who take a passive stance on discrimination compared to those who challenge or resist unfair treatment.”

6.3.4 Staff professionalism

Participants found staff professionalism wanting in various ways that encompassed manifestations of cultural racism, the hidden curriculum and the *stigmatization* of Maori by members of staff:

- i) In my certificate year...[a staff member]...said to me...“some of the students in the class are wondering why you’re doing so well?” ...I actually don’t remember my reply, only my feelings at the time and wondering... What’s the problem, is it because I’m a woman...an older woman or is it because I’m Maori? ...so I said to her, “well I work bloody hard.” I didn’t expect that from someone who should have known better than to repeat what other students said. (Wai).
- ii) I’ve been in lectures...[where] lecturers...are talking about Maori criminal statistics, talking about the degradation of Maori, we already know...that these [statistics] do exist, but not having the sensitivity... to see that Maori students are mameae...we’d had Maori bashing right from mai ra ano [forever and ever]... I’ve seen Maori students walk out... they’ve come and [complained to]... about this [lecturer’s] insensitivity. (Mary).
- iii) I went to the Social Work overview...I was the only Maori... [Other than my support person]... there was also a Samoan... [The lecturer] she got up and greeted to me [in te reo]...and I thought “Oh wow, that is so tokenism” and it really made me angry because her korero wasn’t matching what she meant...She singled me out...in a class of about 50.... [My support person]...jumped to her feet and said “why are you throwing all these Maori words that you know at us, like a wharepaku to catch the shit that’s coming out of your mouth?” ...She said what I wanted to say but because I was intimidated with...“Oh I’m in university, I’m this little wee person”...but...her blatant vocalness of saying it, it made me embarrassed....She said, “I can’t sit there and take this kind of tokenism.” (Rangiahua).
- iv) One of the tutors in the Social Work Department, who wasn’t Maori, made a statement about Maori culture and then looked at me in a class of 35 and said “isn’t that right...?” I felt at the time that I was being pushed into an unfair place from where the rest of my class would perceive me [differently]. Why ask me to represent a Maori perspective, there is none! (Wai).
- v) [In Social Work lecture]...we were talking about certain Maori issues and...there was the first question in the first week...you’re still a little timid and trying to feel your way still.... [The lecturer] says to me “well you should know the Maori for”....“But you don’t know anything about me...so what gives you the impression that I’m even Maori.” [Being]...singled...out in a class of about 200, I felt like...a little brown one-cent coin, that’s how he made me feel.... If I hadn’t had the experience of being in the States and that “up close and personal” [racism] thing, I probably would have burst into tears... a) for being singled out and b) having these certain expectations made because of my colouring, because of my features. (Rangiahua).
- vi) When...the lecturer looks at a Maori and says, “That’s right isn’t it?” they hate being singled out as Maori, because they get shit, that’s what happens. (Raina).
- vii) In the history portion of Laws 101... the judicial history of England and New Zealand - ...[the lecturer] has got such pointed views, he’s openly racist, and I don’t think that’s a secret...everyone knows that... he...personally insulted some students...last year [2003]...he had actually pointed [a student] out because she looked Maori and said something discriminatory to her, so she took...a complaint to the course supervisor. (Blossom).

Conversely, Aroha provides evidence that “being singled out” as Maori can be positive and conducive to achievement in an environment that is perceived as nurturing and supportive:

- viii) I took this kaitiakitanga⁵¹ course last year and I’ve never had a huge understanding of Maori issues and I would never lie about that...then all of a sudden, everyone thought that I was an expert on everything [Maori]...There was one other [Maori] ...in the class ...and we felt all this responsibility was being thrown at us, not just by [the lecturer] but the whole class. And that was fine, because that is showing respect, ...but it was ...a responsibility ...and I felt like we had to “kick arse” in that class and we did ...there was this huge impetus on the two Maori students in the class having to do the best.

Bennett (1995:675) is again useful in interpreting issues raised in testimonies (i – vii). According to Bennett the hidden informal curriculum constitutes a form of cultural racism and the discernible manifestations she identifies were experienced by participants in the following manner: Wai (i) was subjected to low expectations by a non-Maori staff member; Mary (ii), Rangiahua (iii), Wai (iv) all identify stereotypical beliefs about and attitudes towards Maori by faculty members and were forced to endure environments that were neither supportive or friendly and could be considered antagonist. The significance of the hidden curriculum on the academic progress of minority students is reinforced by Rosens (1993:181) who cites Snyder’s (1970) premise that: “a hidden curriculum determines, to a significant degree, what becomes the basis for all participants’ sense of worth and self-esteem. It is this hidden curriculum, more than the formal curriculum that influences the adaptation of students and faculty.

The relationship between of lecturers’ behaviour and minority student retention and achievement is well established in international research; according to Prebble et al., (2005:65-66), desirable staff attributes identified by minority students include fair and unbiased treatment and cultural sensitivity and respect. Testimonies reveal instances where staff failed to afford Maori students fair and unbiased treatment. With regard to cultural sensitivity, Wai (iv), Rangiahua (v) and Raina (vi) articulate how being singled out as a Maori causes embarrassment and humiliation, whereas Aroha (viii) demonstrates that in a culturally-safe environment being singled out can be conducive

⁵¹ A concept relating to guardianship of relationships with peoples and the environment within the world.

to academic achievement. The importance of cultural safety is reinforced in the report *Maori Parents and Education* (2000:150) which states that “respect and trust need to be evident to Maori students, who are extremely sensitive to any behaviour that singles them out and which associates failure with ‘being Maori’.” Moreover, as McIntosh (2004:53) notes “there is no ‘Maori type’.... Being Maori, being perceived as Maori and a sense of Maoriness may all be quite distinct things. What is clear is that many Maori experience different forms of racism and that this marks them socially, psychologically and spiritually in very real ways.” A physiological ramification of ethnic *differentiation* in Aotearoa/New Zealand is identified by Camara Jones (2000) who established parallels between Afro-Americans and Maori: both frequently thought about their race/ethnicity in contrast to their European counter-parts who seldom did, with a concomitant elevation in systolic blood pressure amongst the marginalized groups.

Notwithstanding Te Tapuae’s (2002:33) assertion that expressions of cultural racism on the part of faculty members at University of Canterbury are unintentional, the attitudes and behaviours of some staff members are inimical to Maori academic achievement. With regard to overt expressions of racism by a faculty member discussed by Blossom (vii), Mayo (1994:135) usefully cites Paulo Freire’s statement that a university’s stance of neutrality is a “convenient alternative to saying that one is siding with the dominant” (Freire, in Horton and Freire, 1990:104). Furthermore, Blossom’s comment supports Love’s (1993) argument *vis-à-vis* the necessity of university management critically analysing and redressing manifestations of racism, a responsibility emphasized by Adams et al.’s (2000:302) reference to Giroux’s (1996:25) statement that:

[We need to educate] students to live in a critical democracy...in which learning becomes the basis for challenging social practices that produce symbolic and real violence, that makes some students voiceless and thus powerless, and that also implicates teachers in forms of bigotry, colonialism, and racism. Students need to learn that the relationship between knowledge and power can be emancipatory, that their histories and experiences matter and that what they say and do count as a part of a wider struggle to change the world around us.

6.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined, interpreted and analysed primary data in relation to three factors directly associated with the tertiary environment that the Ministry identifies as barriers to Maori achievement in higher education. Within the context of University of Canterbury participants identify how Maori students are marginalized by manifestations of institutional and cultural racism both in terms of experiences and outcomes. Testimonies accentuate the Maori resilience and strength necessary to prevail in a *monocultural* environment that is permeated by *Eurocentrism* on the part of some faculty members and students. Testimonies support the fundamental premise of this thesis that notwithstanding Ministry acknowledgement of these barriers, their causation is primarily attributed to endogenous factors, deficit aspects of Maori behaviours, circumstances and engagement with the system (Reid et al., 2000:44). The cumulative effects of exogenous factors resulting from colonial and neo-colonial practices and policies of the state remain exculpable. Chapter Seven explores Inappropriate Support Structures through the concept of boundaries, which Hall et al. (1994:25) define as the “essence of marginalization”. This chapter analyses the effect of boundary maintenance on Maori student achievement and persistence and identifies an underlying reason for the withdrawal of two participants from the University of Canterbury.

CHAPTER SEVEN: BOUNDARY MAINTENANCE

7.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter addresses Inappropriate Support Structures, the eighth and final barrier identified by the Ministry as inimical to Maori success in tertiary institutions. As ethnic boundaries form the basis of Maori support structures, the property of *Intermediacy*, which relates to the concept of boundary-maintenance, provides the primary theoretical context within which testimonies are examined, interpreted and analysed. In a context where deficit ideology characteristically underpins the institutional provision of compensatory initiatives for marginalized collectives, understanding the dynamics of power relations between students and the institution is critical to understanding different types of boundary construction. Four case studies provide a comparative framework for this analysis. The first explores the Maori desire for “separation and exclusivity” (Jones, 1999), which is explicated through ethnic *segregation* of tutorial groups. The second study highlights two boundary related issues of importance to Te Putairiki (The Maori Law Students’ Association); firstly, “protective” boundaries around tutorials, which in this instance are managed and taught by this autonomous student group, and secondly, preferential access into the Law School. The third study focuses on the provision of dedicated enrolment advice for Maori and the effectiveness of the institutional boundaries of “containment” established around this bicultural initiative. The fourth case study examines Maori access to Disability Services, a mainstream institutional support structure, in the absence of ethnic boundaries.

The property of *Intermediacy*, together with the inter-related concepts of deficit theory and *segregation*, form the theoretical context of this chapter. *Intermediacy*, which Hall et al. (1994:25) define as “the tendency of human boundaries to act both as barriers and connections”, is fundamental to the experience of marginalization. As these authors note, interpersonal boundaries mediate the physical and emotional safety of an individual’s interactions with others and preserve an individual’s integrity, uniqueness, autonomy, and value of self. They also provide opportunities for social connection,

and therefore personal boundary-maintenance is influenced by “individual perceptions, intellectual abilities and cultural influences, including...ethnic values” (Hall et al., 1994:26). Further, Hall et al. (1994:26) recognize the oppositional potential of boundaries established by or constructed around marginalized collectives, and argue that whereas “protective” boundaries have the potential to engender group resilience, within the context of unequal power relations, boundaries of “containment” may serve to exacerbate the inherent risks of marginalized groups functioning in mainstream environments.

The effect of *power* relations between the institution and minority students, as discussed in Chapter Two, has a direct bearing on the construction of boundaries around initiatives designed to improve the performance of minority students in tertiary institutions. In a context where deficit thinking rationalizes Maori educational underachievement, the factors identified by Shields et al. (2005:150), as crucial to counteracting this ideology, provide an additional basis for analysing the formulation of boundaries. These factors are underpinned by *hierarchical* and *horizontal power* dynamics (Hall et al., 1994:27-28) and are contingent upon the types of relationship established between the institution and marginalized students and whether these interactions facilitate effective expression of student agency and positive engagement with the institution, as well as the level of institutional accountability for initiatives created (Shields et al., 2005:150).

Under the aegis of Biculturalism, the concept of ethnic boundaries is receiving mounting state and institutional endorsement as a method of redressing the detrimental effects of *stigmatization* and *alienation* experienced by marginalized students in monocultural institutions. At Canterbury University, Maori student agency resulted in the construction of a space for Maori students, Te Whare o Te Akatoki in 1996. The Ministry’s (MoE, 2001:40) recognition of the importance of this support facility is supported by Kahu: “...I’ve got a tight group of friends...we’re all Maori and there’s...about 10 and we study all the time and that’s one of the things that Te Akatoki provides us with – a study environment – [at te whare] it’s good.”

Alison Jones, an educator in Aotearoa/New Zealand, provides an understanding of the Maori desire for “separation and exclusivity”. Jones’s endeavours to counteract the “culture of silence” which typifies Maori student behaviour in tertiary environments are outlined in her critique of the liberal democratic ideal of forcibly including the “Excluded Other” (Jones, 1999). Spatial separation is becoming increasingly accepted as a method of improving minority student retention. bell hooks (1992:10) contends that “separation has been one of the few locations that has provided space for the kind of decolonization that makes loving blackness possible.” The advantages of institutions facilitating social networks were identified by Prebble et al. (2005:58-59) in their synthesis of international research on minority student success in higher education: Strauss and Volkwein (2001) “found a sense of belonging to the social milieu was a key predictor of ongoing student commitment.” Austin (1993) argued: “the student’s peer group was the single most potent source of influence on growth and development during the undergraduate years.” Zea et al. (cited in Saenz et al., 1999) considered the treatment of individuals by their peers to be “more important than personal attributes” in the realization of successful student outcomes. However, in Aotearoa/New Zealand, spatial separation has connotations of Maori privilege, which is conducive to the internalization of hegemonic discourses by some Maori:

The whakaaro I get over there [at the whare is that] “We’re Maori and we’re better than them [Pakeha], we deserve to be here”, where to me everyone deserves an education whether they’re Maori, Chinese or whatever...its not bad thought, don’t get me wrong, its just because of the strong identity we’ve given ourselves that we seem to concentrate mainly on ourselves, we’ve got programmes in place that no one else has, we have a place all to ourselves which no one else has. (Nigel).

Nigel’s comments reinforce the need for support structures to facilitate what Dee Watts-Jones (2002:591) describes as a “within-group sanctuary for healing internalised racism”.

The following four case studies provide a framework to evaluate the “appropriateness” of support structures in relation to student outcomes.

7.1 CASE STUDY - SEGREGATED TUTORIALS

Environments that fulfil the Maori desire for separation and exclusivity are increasingly being recognized as conducive to and even necessary for positive scholastic outcomes. Such provision offsets the fundamental policy flaw that Parata (1994:45) identifies as “the failure to accept the intrinsic differences between Maori and pakeha, contaminated by a spurious notion of pakeha superiority.” Two examples of ethnically segregated tutorial groups that transpired as a result of student agency and engagement with institutional staff, highlight the benefits of “protective” boundaries. First, participants identified the advantages of segregated Writing and Study Skills (WASS)⁵² tutorials for Maori, a corollary of a long-standing positive relationship between Maori students and staff of the Academic Skills Centre:

- i) ...WASS, they set up things at Te Akatoki [the whare]...we find that a lot better than us going to WASS itself in this big hall and still feeling very much afraid to put our hands up and ask questions in that environment, but when we get one of those tutors over [at the whare] and its just us [Maori] in the room, its not a problem yeah, it sort of works for us. (Kahu-puha).
- ii) To be quite honest if that [WASS] programme wasn't set up, my highest grade probably would have been a B, that's how beneficial that programme was...I didn't care what lecture I had on during those sessions, I was there. (Rangiahua).

Further benefits are exemplified in the second example where in response to Maori and Pacific students' requests for segregated tutorials, the Stage One Tutor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology personally conducted such tutorials in the second semester of 2003. This experiment proved highly successful: not only did grades improve but also all six students passed the second semester course, including those who had failed in the first semester. Attendance was consistently high and student engagement was enthusiastic:

- iii) I liked the separate tutes that were for Maori students, we all did. We were able to open up and ask questions. In the mainstream tutes, the non-Maori students were asking questions, they seemed too clever to us, and we could not think of questions to ask in front of all those people, but when we were on our own, well, we fired questions left, right and centre...it felt good for us. (Hana).

In contrast Rangiahua discusses difficulties experienced in mainstream tutorials:

- iv) I'd have to consider myself someone who is proactive and will speak out if I've got something to say but having said that...I found myself in the larger tutorials...putting my thoughts and my speech in check. I found myself running through what I was going to say...and then the moment's past to make a comment. Why? Because I'm psychoanalysing what I'm going to say...why am I doing that? Is it to be accepted by everybody else? I don't give a damn about them, so why am I in this train of thought to do it, why am I putting myself in check like this...and because I'm mentally doing it, I'm...second guessing my own ability and...it's inhibiting my learning. I look at others who make comments [in tutorials], who are of other ethnic groups, they don't give a damn. I don't see them psychoanalysing what they say.

In both the foregoing examples the tutors were non-Maori which serves to reinforce the fact that Maori desire for *segregation* relates to the provision of a culturally-safe environment that is devoid of deficit ideology that thwarts the academic progress and development of minority students in monocultural settings.

Valuable insights into the dynamics of minority group separation and exclusivity are provided by Alison Jones, who conducted research into the effects of segregating a class of women enrolled in a Stage III 12-week course in 1997 at an Aotearoa/New Zealand university. The two groups were separated on the basis of their ethnicity: Maori/Polynesian and non-Maori. Jones (1999:300-301) reports that Pakeha reaction to the division was generally hostile and their behaviour became “unusually passive and resentful”, whereas the response of Maori and Pacific students was uniformly positive and energetic. Jones uses the “politics of dialogue and voice” to examine the dichotomy of this experience.

Within the climate of democratic social practices, the need for multiethnic communications has almost become the established norm in educational rhetoric. Jones (1999:303-305) notes that this quest for communication and democratic ideals, underpinned by the concept of “sharing”, has been further informed by the more radical proposal of “talking or working across difference”. Differences in *power* as well as ethnicity are expressed and understood through dialogue founded “on the

⁵² WASS (Writing and Study Skills Programme) is the branch of the Academic Skills Centre providing course and individual tuition for students with English as their first language.

possibility of and the desire for mutual empathy”. Jones (1999:299) identifies the limitations of dialogue by invoking Gayatri Spivak’s (1994) question, “can the subaltern speak?,” not in the sense of the oppressed being silenced, but rather their resistance to speak. Radical educators attribute this desire for *separation*, rather than *sharing*, on the part of the subaltern as the failure of the liberal ideal of equality, which, while purportedly treating all people “the same”, functioned to marginalize the subaltern and render their oppression invisible. Conversely, radical educators propose that dialogue and mutual respect will facilitate the development of white students’ ability to “learn to hear and empathize with others” and ultimately, overcome the “culture of silence” that characterizes marginalized students in traditional educational settings. Advocates of dialogic pedagogy oppose the ethnic *segregation* of student groups. The alternative they propose is the pedagogy-as-dialogue model, which emphasizes “transparency, communication and accessibility” as all ‘subjects are “open” to others; creates an environment characterized by “sensitivity” that facilitates an awareness of “difference;” and offers a mutual understanding of “oppression and privilege”. It is within this idealistic setting that respective groups may challenge and redress the “uncomfortable silences” and “closed borders” long contaminated by “colonisation and subordination”. However, this notion of “shared openness and accessibility,” Jones (1999:305-306) asserts, has dissimilar and contradictory meanings for members of the dominant and marginalized groups.

In her critique of the radical pedagogical dialogue, Jones (1999:306) employs metaphors that are embedded in this discourse: *space*, *voice* and *power*. While space within the context of education denotes the perpetuation of “unjust social positions and fixed boundaries” wherein the other is excluded and consigned to the margins, Jones (1999:306) contends that this spatial metaphor, while invoking notions of “centres and (shifting) margins” inhabited by the privileged and others, unwittingly *repositions* white men in the centre from where indigenous peoples have been unjustly excluded. The logical extension of this argument, Jones (1996:306) asserts, necessitates “inclusion” by shifting the marginalized into the centre. Thus, the provision of space for the “excluded other” requires a power-shift from the privileged to the marginalized by “establishing new boundaries with respect to knowledge most commonly associated with the margins.” Jones (1999:306) further challenges the capability of the

subaltern's voice to operate as the vehicle for this power-shift through which equal participation and opportunity will be realized, arguing that this assumption disregards the complexities of power relations and disagreement among voices, together with the fact that the "authentic" voice is a utopian ideal. Moreover, Jones considers that the most important aspect of educational dialogue is the voice that is *heard* and not the one that is *spoken*.

In the context of asymmetric power relations, Jones (1999:307) maintains that the hearing of voices is an idealistic process wherein the privileged and the oppressed "will intermingle and 'be heard' in mutual communication and progressive understanding," and essentially represents the granting of a hearing of the marginalized voice by the dominant group. Moreover, this process is unilateral as the marginalized are immersed in and encounter the voices of the powerful on a daily basis. Accordingly, Jones (1999:308) considers that the real crux of the argument is "exclusion", exclusion not of the subordinate group but the dominant group's exclusion from being able to hear the voice of the marginalized. In a situation of not being heard, the subaltern's desire to speak in a classroom is reduced dramatically; this is a point Jones (1999:308) reinforces with Umu Naraya's (1988) statement that the marginalized "cannot fail to be aware of the fact that presence of goodwill on the part of members of the advantaged groups is not enough to overcome assumptions and attitudes born out of centuries of power and privilege." Thus, the strategy of making space for multiple voices is efficiently reliant on the powerful wanting to hear different voices, and occurs in an environment where border crossing and acknowledging differences facilitate dominant group access to the thoughts, cultures and lives of others. Jones (1999:309) also challenges the assumption that enabling marginalized groups to express themselves in a classroom provides an opportunity for empowerment, citing Homi Bhabha's (1994:98) claim that having to respond to 'the colonizer's benign, maybe even apologetic' queries as in "...what happened?" or "What is it like for you?" represents a "strategy of surveillance and exploitation" which reinforces the authority of the colonizer in that power "remains concentrated at the usual places – that is, with the powerful, who attempt to grant subjugated knowledge a hearing."

In conclusion, Jones (1999:309-10) emphasizes that, despite the provision of space in the classroom for “sharing” and “dialogue”, Maori students in her study expressed scant interest in hearing their non-Maori classmates speak, and stressed that their daily immersion in the dominant culture eliminated the need for sharing. Moreover, for marginalized individuals “speaking across difference” involves “a defiant talking about” rather than sharing. In contrast, separation facilitated an all too infrequent but welcome situation that enabled Maori to learn in a comfortable environment amongst their own people.

Jones’ research is supported by an earlier study conducted by Rosens (1993:179) in the United Kingdom, who found that because of first-chance educational experiences, students’ fears of being labelled “failures” meant that multi-ethnic or “mixed” tutorials became sources of anxiety rather than productive experiences, whereas the *segregation* of students in an “all black” group permitted the exploration of ideas and verbal discussions which proved empowering. This space incited profound personal changes, and in the process students “began to express fear, grief and a new sense of self, but most of all, they allowed themselves to vent anger.” Rosen (1993:191) notes that white staff members, who were both nonplussed and frightened by the intensity of the anger students expressed, became conscious of the extent to which cognitive and emotional factors were interconnected. Group membership afforded students the security and confidence to perform at their optimum individual abilities, and as they were competing only with other blacks, individual students were able to confront their blackness, address their own strengths and weaknesses and develop new self-constructs. Rosens (1993:193) concluded that while black students entering higher education experienced a more intense sense of “otherness, ...the intensity of feeling and reaction demonstrated depend[ed] on the degree of intransigence of both staff and students.” Prebble et al. (2005:70-71) support this view, citing Martinez and Munday’s (1998) identification of collegiality and participative group dynamic in tutorials as important factors in minority persistence. This contention is reinforced in the following study.

7.2 CASE STUDY - THE LAW SCHOOL

Two types of boundary relevant to Te Putairiki Incorporated Society (the University of Canterbury Maori Law Students' Association)⁵³ are explored in this study. First, segregated tutorials are discussed, which in contrast to those reviewed in the previous study are organized and taught by Maori Law graduates and senior Te Putairiki members; moreover, tutorials were conducted on a voluntary basis until 2004 when Student Services made SSG funding available for payment of tutors and programme coordination. Second, preferential access into Law School via the quota system is examined. Founded in 1993, Te Putairiki currently has a membership of 60 students⁵⁴ and the society's accomplishments include distinguished performance of members in the "Canterbury Maori Mooting Team"⁵⁵ in national and international Law Moots.

7.2.1 Segregated Space and Tutorials

The allocation of a designated Maori "space" in 1995 has provided Te Putairiki with a venue where, amongst other things, Maori law graduates and senior Te Putairiki students conduct exceptionally professional tutorials. However, as Blossom notes, the popularity of these programmes has proved problematic in terms of ethnic boundary-maintenance:

...since 1995 [Te Putairiki]...offered tutorials and...although they have not been...exclusive only to Maori, they've always been narrowly marketed to Maori students... in the last year or two, we've had more and more students who aren't Maori...want to join because of the reputation that we've established. Our students all achieve...they all get into 2nd year law.

⁵³ Te Putairiki was formally established in 1993, the same year the first Maori Liaison Officer was appointed at UC. In a meeting held between the Maori Liaison Officer and Maori Law students, the decision was made to form a society. A constitution was written and became incorporated in 1995.

⁵⁴ Email from Te Putairiki executive member, August 1995.

⁵⁵ Two Te Putairiki members established the Canterbury Maori Mooting Team (CMMT) in 2002. The same year they won the Australasian round of the Stetson International Environmental Law Moot. As a result the CMMT represented Canterbury at the International Final in Florida in 2002. A member of the CMMT in conjunction with a non-Maori student won the New Zealand Mooting Competition. As a result of this win, two members of CMMT were among the New Zealand contingent that competed at the Jessop International Moot in Washington 2003. A member of CMMT won the Canterbury Mooting Competition in 2003 and represented Canterbury at the New Zealand Nationals, inaugural Human Rights Moot and Australian Law Students' Association (ALSA) competition in Brisbane 2003. In 2004 two CMMT represented Canterbury at the ALSA in Sydney. Another CMMT represented Canterbury at the ALSA competition in 2005 where his team won second place.

The inclusion of non-Maori students, Blossom contends:

...changed the dynamics of the group...whereas Maori are more prepared to...work in a group environment, and let the group come up with the answer... [non-Maori]...were interacting differently, they don't understand this subconscious group [dynamic, that]...within a Maori group – no one wants to “show pony” – we're all part of a collective...I don't know what it is but it's a very nice feeling, but these non-Maori students...totally disrupt that vibe and they even put the Maori students down if they get it wrong, so it got to a point where all...Maori students were clamping up. This group of non-Maori students...had no interest in Maori. What are they going to do for Maoridom long term? Nothing, nothing at all. They're there to get...what they can...they're taking advantage of a programme that's there to help Maori.

Blossom has subsequently advised that Te Putairiki adopted a new policy with regard to non-Maori attending LAWS101 tutorials and cites minutes dated March 4, 2005:

Te Putairiki membership is open to all people regardless of ethnicity. Te Puna Manawa tutorials are only available to Maori students and Pacific Island students as stipulated by Student Services. However, the Te Putairiki executive has the discretion to accept non-Maori into the Te Puna Manawa tutorials⁵⁶ on an individual basis.

Te Putairiki has demonstrated that the creation of “protective boundaries” mediates disadvantages that confront minority students in a *monocultural* environment (Hall et al., 1994:34). The benefits of minority group *segregation*, identified by Blossom, reinforce research by Jones (1999) and Rosens (1993) discussed earlier in this chapter, as well as other studies. For example, in the United States, Murrell (1997:27) found that group membership helped Black students offset the western values of individualism, competitiveness, materialism and the “winner/loser” philosophy; Prebble et al. (2005:82) cite Szelenyi (2001) and Sanchez's (2000) claim that minority student retention was enhanced when “different motivational, task engagement and learning strategies” were accommodated. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, Clarke (1998:67) maintains that for many Maori “their ability to survive psychologically, intellectually, culturally, spiritually...has been dependent often times on the support of their fellows around them.” Moreover, Te Putairiki's accomplishments reinforce Bennett's (2001) assertion that a university's investment in facilities such as study rooms is justified by the benefits that accrue to Maori students (in Prebble et al., 2005:85).

⁵⁶ Te Puna Manawa is a Maori student tutorial programme, which is funded by SSG and managed by Student Services.

The boundaries established by Te Putairiki represent the exertion of *horizontal power* by an autonomous group in resistance to the hegemony of the centre, and the acquiescence of the Law School to Maori students' requests reinforces the potential of "relating across human difference as equals" to empower and create power (Hall et al., 1994:28). The expression of solidarity of Te Putairiki members demonstrates the potential of first, margins - as sites of resistance (hooks 1990; Smith L., 2004; McIntosh, 2004) - to engender a sense of self-determination (Hall et al., 1994:34); and second, student agency to negate deficit arguments that characteristically disregard the capacity of marginalized groups to create support structures which foster academic excellence.

7.2.2 Preferential Access via the Quota System

The second type of boundary construction raised by Blossom relates to the preferential entry of Maori into Law.

- i) ...we have ten spots for Maori students... entry into 200 level⁵⁷. ...[The] quota was used twice [in 2003] and that was the only time in a number of years it has been used.... In fact, ...[it] is apparently unusual to have two people in one year...the quota is only for first and second year...so you'll never get a law degree on quota, because its only...one subject that you can ever use the quota for, out of eight compulsories, plus all your "optionals"... Maori in law have a "thing" about it, they don't want to use it, if you don't get through, you don't get through.

Blossom contends that:

- ii) ...it is my belief and [that of] others in TP, that the quota system is not effective for Maori students. It shows that there is a lowering of the bar (so to speak) instead of providing proper assistance to raise our people to the bar. [Moreover] LAWSOC...buy into this stereotype of what a Maori law student is...the executive of LAWSOC...believed that we all used the quota system.

⁵⁷ There are potentially ten places available for Maori law students to enter 200 level law. At UC there are five 200 level courses (Contract Law, Criminal Law, Land Law, Law of Torts and Public Law). There are 200 places in each of these course, 20 of which represent the quota allocated to Maori and international students. Quota placements not filled by preferential entrants are competed for, on the basis of academic achievement, by mainstream students. Thus, Maori who pass Laws101 with good grades have the option of applying for preferential entry. However, as noted above, Maori students seldom exercise this option.

The winner of the 2003-mooting contest maintains that mainstream student resentment over preferential entry, underpinned by deficit-based discourses, detracts from the merit-based successes realized by Maori:

- iii) Four people, including myself, made it through to the finals. [An unsuccessful competitor] complained to the other three [finalists] that I only got through because I was Maori. Two of [the three finalists] agreed with her and encouraged her to make a formal complaint. [My partner] in the finals...[confirmed] that he was encouraged by [X] to make a complaint.... I never heard anymore about it, except later when I went to a national competition with [my partner] he kind of apologized....

According to Durie (2005:7), opposition to affirmative action programmes for Maori primarily focuses on two issues: the first is underpinned by public discourse that such programmes allow Maori to graduate with lesser standards, and the second is that entry criteria should be based solely on merit. Durie (2005:7-8) challenges the first assumption on the basis that, notwithstanding different admission criteria, Maori students are subjected to the same qualifying standards. However, public discourses that juxtapose Maori deficit and privilege use language effectively “as a pre-eminent form of social action,” which, as McCreanor and Nairn (2002:509) contend, “...has a frontline role in the maintenance of power relations both via mass media... and in inter-individual interactions.” A case in point is the anti-affirmative action comments made by Dr Don Brash⁵⁸, which provoked the following rebuttal from The Hon. Steve Maharey:

New Zealand universities and the key professional associations have since confirmed in writing that, contrary to Dr Brash’s claims, the standards for graduation and entry to professional associations have never been lowered for Maori or any other group (Press Release: 23, February, 2004).

Te Putairiki members’ rejection of the potential benefits of affirmative action, partly as a result of the *stigmatization* associated with the quota system, reinforces the Michelle Fine’s (1997:58) argument that the institutional privileging of “whiteness” creates ‘an organizational discourse of race and a personal embodiment of race, affecting

⁵⁸ Comments were made by Don Brash on One News and repeated by Gerry Brownlee on 20/20 in February 2004.

perceptions of Self and Others, producing both individuals' sense of racial "identities" and collective experiences of racial "tensions," even coalitions.'

Durie (2005:7-8) also challenges the second assumption regarding the merit based criteria, arguing that as education has both personal and public benefits, there is a concomitant obligation for educational institutions to make a contribution to society, a view reinforced in the New Zealand University charters where the need to afford public good a high priority is acknowledged. Furthermore, the current neo-libertarian educational environment, as discussed in Chapter Three, has resulted in the increasingly unequal provision of compulsory education for Maori pupils (Lauder, 1999) many of whom attend low decile schools. Preferential access schemes for Maori entering medicine and law provide a vehicle for neutralizing the "competitive advantage" enjoyed by white middle-class students (Pearl, 1997), without which the under-representation of Maori in these professions would be even more acute. Although affirmative action represents a controversial and imperfect form of boundary construction, Dovidio (2003:381) argues "it is still needed" as a means of counteracting the continued social exclusion of minorities from elite professions.

7.3 CASE STUDY - ENROLMENT ADVICE

The provision of dedicated enrolment advice for Maori students at the University of Canterbury represents a form of boundary-maintenance that accords with *The Strategy's* objective of compensating for deficit Maori cultural capital. In this context Maori agency is minimal, as management and control of this bicultural initiative rests with the institution. Responsibility for the delivery of advice is designated to the Maori Liaison Officer whose primary portfolio focus is the targeted marketing of the university to Maori throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand. While boundaries of "containment" have been implemented to assist Maori students to ameliorate the Transitional Difficulties and barriers associated with Inadequate Secondary School Qualifications, this study explores the dissatisfaction expressed by three mature male participants:

The first participant, Nigel, a premature school leaver, enrolled in a 48 point workload in his first year and commented that “the hardest thing about...coming to university...[was being] given wrong information [at the time of enrolment].” Nigel’s course workload exceeded the 36 points (excluding summer school) recommended for full-time students by the university. Furthermore, the institutional stipulation that enrolling in additional courses was subject to receiving permission from relevant heads of department or deans was overlooked.

The second participant, Tacks, left high school at the age of 18 “...with 3 School Certificate subjects and Sixth Form Certificate” and was enrolled in a 60-point workload during his first year of study. Tacks states that:

- i) ...I ... passed 30 but it was extremely hard.... There were 11 of us [Maori] in my first year... all doing more than 36 points... two passed all their papers but the rest of us didn’t... [University staff] had not explained fully on how the university system worked, for example [I was told] ...that many students are capable of doing 42 points as opposed to 30 or 36 points...the reasoning was that by doing 42 in the first year, 42 in the second, would leave 18 points for the last year, when you needed the time. However... Studylink will only pay a student allowance if you are doing more than 30 points.
- ii) This year (2004)... I was concerned that over half the Maori students were doing more than 36 points. Me and another experienced student advised them not to do that, to leave it at 30 or 36 points. As a consequence of overloading many of these students, only three, I think, passed exams this year.

As noted by Tacks, receipt of a student allowance from Studylink is conditional upon students being enrolled in more than 30 points. As a result students enrolled in 18 points are not eligible for student allowances although Limited Full-Time status may be granted under exceptional circumstances.

The third participant, Rapeti, who also left school at the age of 14, was enrolled in mathematics, statistics, philosophy, Maori society and Maori language papers:

- iii) I was hugely disappointed with university... the elite of learning and everything will be so efficient... hogwash ...I tried to express...that I hadn’t been at school since 1979 and that I didn’t make it to high school... that I wasn’t that well-educated and their best advice for me was I should be able to cope with 36 points.... I was only given 3 options, 28, 36 or 42 points...and I thought... I had better go for the middle [option]. I then I discovered half way through the year that that’s not entirely true.

Outcomes: Rapeti withdrew from university after one year, having incurred a student debt in excess of \$4,000. His situation is discussed further in the following Case Study on Disability Services. Tacks and Nigel have both incurred increased financial burdens in terms of student loans and costs associated with their prolonged study durations, and while Tacks continues to persist with his studies, Nigel has withdrawn from university without completing his degree.

Deficiencies in service provision *vis-à-vis* Maori students at the University of Canterbury were belatedly acknowledged in the Statement of Service Performance – Third Quarter 2004:

Advice was given as to the University recommendations for course workload. For example, it is not recommended that 42 points in the first year of study be undertaken. Following advice most students re-adjusted their papers to 36 points or less. Recommendations were made for students to enrol in the WASS Programme and the Te Puna Manawa Tutorial Programme to enhance their success.

This statement is indicative of institutional deficit ideology, as endogenous factors associated with the students, rather than deficiencies relating to service provision, were identified as the source of the “problem”. Accordingly, bicultural interventions and fit-up programmes serve to “perpetuate deficit thinking, while simultaneously purporting to offer opportunities for academic success” (Shields et al., 2005:3). A percentage of Maori students have, and will continue to successfully complete annual course loads of 42 point or more; however, these students are not usually premature school leavers.

This study demonstrates that the imposition of institutional boundaries of “containment,” ostensibly to mediate disadvantage (Hall et al., 1994:34) and compensate for deficit cultural capital, can perpetuate the marginalization of Maori staff and students. While issues relating to Maori staff are beyond the scope of this thesis, this case study suggests that the size, breadth and diversity of the Maori Liaison Officer portfolio is such that the Maori Liaison Officer position is set up for failure. As a result Maori students are deprived of the same enrolment checks and calibre of advice afforded non-Maori students, and concomitant exposure to *economic* marginalization whereby costs that further impoverish are incurred (Hall, 1999:8). A

corollary of marginalization is, according to Hekia Parata (1994:49), the restraints imposed on the bicultural environment and implementation of bicultural policies by the lack of skilled Maori personnel. Redressing this deficit requires institutional commitment and investment in staff development to ensure parity of service provision. The manner in which this bicultural initiative has been imposed on Maori students at the University of Canterbury does not adequately allow for the expression of student agency, create the potential for constructive student engagement with the institution or facilitate the development of a positive relationship between Maori students and the university; these are factors Shields et al. (2005:150) identify as crucial to counteracting institutional deficit thinking that attributes poor retention rates and underachievement to Maori engagement with the system. Moreover, deficit ideology obviates the need for a critical analysis of institutional monitoring processes and accountability (Shield, et al., 2005:150). Thus, while the boundary of “containment” constructed around the delivery of dedicated enrolment advice for Maori students has facilitated opportunities for social connection at an interpersonal level (Hall et al., 1994:26), it does not afford protection to a marginalized minority -the *raison d'être* for its implementation.

The critical importance of academic counselling and pre-enrolment advice in minority student retention is emphasized by Prebble et al. (2005:60-62), who cite various researchers' proposals to overcome this institutional weakness that include prioritising both the “quality and dissemination of information” (Yorke, 1998a:195 in Prebble et al., 2005:62). Major studies by Martinez and Munday (1998), Yorke (1998a, 1998b, 1999) McInnis, Hartley, Polesel and Teese, (2000), McInnis, James and Harley (2000b) all identified inappropriate enrolment decisions as a major cause of withdrawals and non-completions, and all these reports advocate: “links to schools, pre-course briefings, course sampling or taster opportunities, interview guidance, specialist guidance, involvement of current students, improved selection policy and practice, induction programmes, early diagnostic assessment and feedback on progress” (in Prebble et al., 2005:62). However, as McInnis et al. (2000a:43-44) state: “Without management support for a policy of effective pre-course counselling, inappropriate enrolment will continue, with associated high levels of non-completion” (in Prebble et al., 2005:62).

7.4 CASE STUDY - DISABILITY SERVICES

Disability Services represents an institutional response to the current policy objective of providing a more “inclusive learning environment” for disabled students (TES, 2004:30). In a mainstream context without any form of ethnic boundary maintenance, *The Strategy* directs that tertiary providers “will be cognisant of, and more responsive to...groups of Maori learners with particular needs such as... disabled Maori” (TES, 2004:30). A Special Supplementary Grant (SSG) of \$32.18 (GST included) per funded EFTS place is paid to all education institutions for the express purpose of first, improving the access, enrolment numbers and educational achievement for students with disabilities; and second, increasing “...accountability of tertiary institutions for their support of students with disabilities consistent with their obligations under the Human Rights Act 1993 and the Education Act 1989”.⁵⁹ This service provision accords with Section 8 of the University Charter (2003-2010:12) wherein the University undertakes to lower barriers for students with disabilities consistent with the New Zealand Disability Strategy, which states that:

...disability is not something individuals have. What individuals have are impairments. They may be physical, sensory, neurological, psychiatric, intellectual or other impairments. ...disability is the process which happens when one group of people create barriers by designing a world only for their way of living, taking no account of the impairments other people have (Kia Orite Achieving Equity, MoE:2004:9).

A total of five participants acknowledge having disabilities that hindered their studies; two felt too diffident to approach Disability Services for assistance and a third refused to return, believing that she “was getting the run around”⁶⁰ after her initial interview. The experiences of the two participants who did engage with Disability Services are explored below.

The first participant, Dash, a mature Maori woman, learnt of her disability at primary school and received remedial assistance from age seven until entering the fourth form in high school. Dash describes her disability as “... a very light autism spectrum”.

⁵⁹ (http://www.tec.govt.nz/funding/ssg/tstudent_disabilites/tstudent_disabilities.htm).

⁶⁰ Hana.

Unable to cope with her course-work Dash, of her own volition, approached Disability Services in the first term of 2002:

...my second essay and I knew...I was struggling.... I attended the WASS programmes ...but it wasn't enough.... At first...[The Co-ordinator of Disability Services] said that there was nothing wrong with me.... Actually she did say 'you're not stupid, you're not silly, you just need to work a bit harder or take your time'.... She said "maybe you have taken on a bit too much" and I says "well I'm only doing two [papers] this semester"...she said "come back in 2003", so I did...She read my essay and she said it was "good", so I said, "...Why have I got a D on it? Tell me what I'm doing wrong?" She said "well you just need to take a few more extra skills with direction from WASS programme". OK been there...but yeah but I was still up against a bit of a wall here, I wanted to say, "hey help me with this"...

Dash revisited Disability Services in the first semester of 2003.

...[The Co-ordinator] put me back to the WASS programme again and suggested that I take up extra tutorials at that time. In the first semester I had looked at taking up extra tutorials for two classes...and then into the second semester, that's when I thought...I need to get something sorted out.... The offer was there for me to have extra time [for exams]...or a writer...I sought for extensions on two exams in the first semester...they gave me extra time...I asked actually to be on my own and she gave me that assistance...I actually felt more comfortable being on my own and the answers were a lot easier for me to see off the paper.

In the second semester of 2003, Dash returned to Disability Services, accompanied by the Maori Co-ordinator of Te Puna Manawa, who strongly recommended a professional assessment by Seabrook McKenzie⁶¹ as Dash exhibited signs of a learning disability, which had also been detected by both her peer tutors who reported that they were unable to assist this student. Following her professional evaluation at the end of the 2003 when the authenticity of a learning disability was confirmed, Dash remarked:

[If Disability Services]... had of referred me to...[Seabrook McKenzie] right from the beginning in entry here, I would have got a better picture...and a better chance of succeeding. I would have got higher points for sure but now having this result at the end of a loss, how am I going to have to rebuild my profit now, it just works backwards?

Without access to Seabrook McKenzie's analysis and recommendations it is impossible to gauge how Dash would have coped with university course work with

appropriate support, however, an earlier diagnosis could have limited or perhaps prevented the *economic* marginalization of this student (Hall, 1999:8).

The second participant, Rapeti, was cognizant of a familial predisposition to learning disabilities that affected him as well as two of his children. Rapeti approached Disability Services for assistance accompanied by the Co-ordinator of Te Puna Manawa. On this occasion his request for an evaluation was rejected and the difficulties he was experiencing with written work were attributed to Inadequate Secondary School Qualifications. However, pressure exerted during his second interview with Disability Service, also attended by Te Puna Manawa personnel resulted in a referral to Seabrook McKenzie for a professional assessment. Seabrook McKenzie confirmed the presence of a learning disability together with an intellectually superior ability in mathematics.⁶² Again, it is impossible to envisage the effect that appropriate support mechanisms could have had on this participant's ability to complete a degree but given his intellectual acumen, it is disappointing that his needs were not met in a more professional manner.

Outcomes: Both Rapeti and Dash left university following their Seabrook McKenzie evaluations, disheartened with university processes, burdened with a sense of failure and encumbered with debt. Rapeti withdrew with 12-points after a full year of study and a student loan of \$4,000 (Refer Enrolment Advice); Dash left after eighteen months with a 6-point credit towards a degree after investing her own savings and acquiring a student loan. She felt the experience had been costly: “\$5,700 [student loan in 2003] plus the year before and living which I've paid for myself, actually that would have been about \$3,000, so I'm looking close to \$10,000 in a matter of 2 years....”

⁶¹ Seabrook McKenzie is the Specific Learning Disabilities Centre in Christchurch.

⁶² A professional evaluation by the Seabrook McKenzie costs \$225, which is shared by the student and Disability Services. Staff who administer tests are either clinical psychologists or specialists in the field of disabilities; tests include Weschsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS) and the screening battery developed by Dr. Jean Seabrook (copyright held by SPELD CANTERBURY INC and Seabrook McKenzie Specific Learning).

The University has subsequently effected changes to ensure better service delivery, perhaps as a result of *horizontal power* exerted by Maori. Student Services' End-of Quarter Two Report (as at June 30, 2004) stated that:

...Extra tuition has been provided for students who have been identified by the Disability Service as falling behind in their studies. Additional hours of literacy skills support for disabled students have also been negotiated with the Academic Skills Centre for the second semester....

In 2005, the Writing Tutor from the Academic Skills Centre undertook a seventy-two hour training course on specific learning disorders at the Seabrook McKenzie Centre and currently assists students referred by Disability Services.

“Protective” boundaries are especially crucial for Maori students with disabilities as the subjective experiences of this group may result in double marginalization. In addition to the *stigmatization* and *alienation* (Hall, 1994:24) experienced in mainstream educational settings, marginalized disabled students are frequently unaware of the prevalence of learning disabilities amongst mainstream students, many of whom benefit from support mechanisms that enhance their coping strategies. The combination of these factors serves to intensify minority students' sense of isolation and uniqueness (Hall et al., 1994:31). Support staff must therefore be cognizant of and sensitive to the multiplicity of factors that influence the interpersonal boundaries created by disabled Maori students. Moreover, within the context of mainstream service provision, the institution has the ultimate authority to determine access to resources (Hall et al., 1994:27), and marginalized individuals are compelled to “trust that their interests will be served” (Hall, 1994:29). Some would consider that access may be conditional upon financial considerations, a precursor to *economic* marginalization (Hall, 1999:8); Rapeti prophetically commented as: “the only thing that could come close to it [racism] would be...Disabilities, but I don't think that was based on racism...I'm pretty sure it was mainly based around figures...”.

The significance of disability support in tertiary institutions is receiving increasing recognition. Prebble et al. (2005:73) cite McInnis et al.'s (2000a) findings that “without student services, over one in five students (and nearly one in three with special needs) might have dropped out of their courses.” At the University of

Canterbury, the lack of institutional professionalism highlighted in testimonies could be ameliorated by the utilization of expertise on campus and staff training to improve diagnostic competence. Professor Hornby identified *The Bangor Dyslexia Test* (developed in Wales by Professor T R Miles), as a diagnostic tool that suitably qualified staff could administer.⁶³ Hornby acknowledges that Aotearoa/New Zealand lags behind other Western nations; for example, disability policies were introduced in the United States and the United Kingdom in 1975 and 1994 respectively, and international evidence indicates that 1 in 25 people or 4% of the general population is affected by learning disabilities. When introduced in NZ For Maori, the situation is particularly acute. Whiringa-a-Rangi (2002:13) reports that the New Zealand Disability Survey identified Maori as having “higher unmet needs and a higher proportion with multiple disabilities” (Statistics New Zealand, 2000). According to Howell and Hackwell’s (2003:1) conservative estimate, some 6,250 Maori children of working age beneficiary households are not receiving the Disability Allowance. The probability that Maori students will continue to present as “unmanaged cases” at post compulsory educational institutions remains high.

The failure of mainstream service provision to perform in respect of Maori, according to Hekia Parata (1994:45), is exacerbated “not only by the size and entrenchment of the disparities, but more perniciously by the size and entrenchment of the passivity of the sectoral agencies with which the primary responsibility and principal funding lies.” Hackwell and Howell (2002:1-2), substantiate this claim by stating that “in ten service centres Pakeha clients were more than 4 times more likely to receive Special Benefit than Maori clients,” despite official recognition that the latter group has a lower income status. Thus Maori scepticism about receiving fair and equitable access to, or service from, mainstream institutions is well founded, and analysis attributes differential treatment by service providers as “responsible for the disparities that marked Maori well-being from the general population” (Parata, 1994:40-2). Two participants further emphasize this point:

- i) Once I was in a situation where I had to deal with an alcohol problem, so I went through the non-Maori system, I felt uncomfortable; there was no empathy, just textbook propaganda. I

⁶³ (personal communication, August 2004).

find I am not the only Maori who doesn't trust the [mainstream] system to cater for our needs. (Hana).

- ii) What scares me about mainstreaming is it just makes people feel more isolated (Hine).

Social cognition (unintentional bias) provides another possible explanation for Disability Services' lack of performance with respect to participants. This theory, which is gaining increasing international acknowledgement as an underlying cause of ethnic disparities in the provision of mainstream social services, recognizes the effect of Maori ethnicity on the behaviour of non-Maori service providers and educators in Aotearoa/New Zealand (see Chapter Two). Van Ryn and Fu (2003:2) define social cognition as "the mental representations and processes that underlie social perception, social judgment, social interaction and social influence". These authors (2003:1,7) contend that as ethnic characteristics influence provider behaviours in a way that contributes to "institutional racism (differential processes or outcomes according to race/ethnicity)", government policies and strategies will not ameliorate ethnic disparities unless the "fundamental human information processing, social cognition, and social interaction processes that contribute to institutional discrimination" are addressed. Van Ryn and Fu (2003:7) assert that despite the fact that social categorization constitutes "an automatic and dominant information-processing strategy," provider awareness and motivation can overcome the automatic activation of stereotypes. Changes at the level of the individual, while necessary, are contingent upon the institutional reorganization of delivery systems to ensure that providers are equipped with the cognitive resources to prevail over their "unconscious bias." Such provision would, according to Parata (1994:49), guarantee that "Maori would not be a charitable cause vulnerable to the whims and largesse of more powerful patrons."

7.5 CONCLUSION

Intermediacy, together with the interrelated concepts of deficit thinking and *segregation*, has provided a theoretical framework within which to explore the impact of ethnic boundaries, or their absence, on the effectiveness of support structures for Maori students. The four case studies highlight the oppositional possibilities of human connections to enhance or impede (Hall et al., 1994:26) academic outcomes. The first study substantiates the benefits that accrue when "protective boundaries" are established - in terms of spatial separation and segregated tutorials - that accord with

the Maori desire for “separation and exclusivity” (Jones, 1999). The “protective boundaries” explored in the second study highlight the effectiveness of student agency, expressed by an autonomous group of Maori Law students, to create, manage and teach programmes that foster scholastic excellence. Conversely, these students rejected the institutional imposition of ethnic boundaries constructed around preferential access in the Law School as unnecessary and unhelpful, largely in response to the associated connotations of Maori privilege and deficit characterized in public and institutional discourses. The third study reinforces the propensity of institutional boundaries of “containment,” imposed under the guise of bicultural initiatives, but without adequate consultation and review with stakeholders, to marginalize Maori students. Finally, the fourth study highlights the complexities and obstacles of Maori accessing mainstream services in the absence of any form of protective boundaries. At an institutional level, the latter two cases - dedicated Maori enrolment advice and Disability Services - demonstrate that when accountability for and monitoring of Maori student outcomes rests with university systems and lacks stakeholder input, deficit ideology, rather than a critical analysis of service provision, rationalizes poor academic performance and retention rates. The three participants in this study who withdrew from this university provide a cogent example of Inappropriate Support Structures failing to fulfil their ascribed mandate of mediating Maori disadvantage. As a result these students have been subjected to marginalization at multiple levels, including *economic* marginalization as costs that further impoverish have been incurred (Hall, 1999:8). The persistence of other participants with their studies exemplifies Maori resilience and agency in the face of institutional limitations in addressing Maori underachievement.

Testimonial evidence relating to Inappropriate Support Structures supports the premise that notwithstanding Ministry acknowledgement of this barrier, Maori continue to be marginalized by the deficit assumptions that operate through *The Strategy's* sanctioning of institutional control and management of support services mandated to improve Maori student outcomes. Within the context of unequal power relations, this study's comparative analysis of support structures accentuates the effectiveness of Maori, both with and without the encouragement and assistance of non-Maori staff, in creating and implementing initiatives that further Maori achievement and retention at the University of Canterbury. The three participants in this study who withdrew from

university demonstrate the effect of exogenous factors associated with deficit institutional policies and practices. This chapter highlights how Maori marginalization is perpetuated by Inappropriate Support Structures reinforcing the operation and maintenance of institutional racism under the aegis of biculturalism. The following chapter summarizes the findings, recommendations and conclusions of this thesis.

CHAPTER EIGHT - FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

8.0 INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores the barriers that impede Maori participation, completion and retention at the University of Canterbury. In the current context where government policy, *The Tertiary Education Strategy (2002-2007)*, devolves responsibility for redressing ethnic disparities in human capital to an institutional level, this thesis examines how *The Strategy's* directives might translate into a system that is more responsive to meeting the needs and aspirations of Maori students at this institution. The factors the Ministry (MoE, 2001:5) defines as barriers to successful Maori engagement provide a framework for analyzing the congruence of Ministry-defined barriers with those identified by participants in this study. In this chapter the research findings are discussed and recommendations made, based on the types of support structures participants consider necessary for, and conducive to, a positive and successful tertiary education, both in terms of experience and outcomes. Finally, conclusions are drawn.

8.1 FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

While this research acknowledges the impact of the Ministry-defined barriers to Maori success in tertiary education, findings challenge the underlying assumptions regarding the creation and maintenance of these barriers. The theoretical framework of marginalization and the attendant critique of deficit thinking have highlighted the relationship between state policies and practices, and Maori educational underachievement, as well as the state's recourse to deficit-based rationalization to justify the ethnic differentials in attainment outcomes. Moreover, although the concept of racism is implicit in both the concepts of marginalization and deficit thinking, student testimonies revealed such pervasive manifestations of racism that explicit references are made to the various types and forms of racism that affect participants' educational experiences and outcomes (refer Chapters Five, Six and Seven). The role of racism in

the creation and maintenance of the disparities that distinguish Maori from the general population in Aotearoa/New Zealand is receiving increasing international recognition. The recent publication in the prestigious medical journal *The Lancet* (Harris, Tobias, Jeffreys, Waldegrave, Karlsen and Nazroo, June 2006) discussing the impact of racism on Maori health, and the United Nations' Raucouter's Report (2006), which in general terms describes how legal racism constrains the opportunities for redress of state policies, exemplify the role of racism in circumscribing Maori life-chances and life-circumstances.

The socio-political process of marginalization encompasses both the concepts of oppression, associated with unequal power relations, and peripheralization (Hall et al. 1994,25). Maori powerlessness is reinforced in the contemporary milieu by the concurrence of the state's official policy of biculturalism and the political ascendancy of neo-liberalism. Public discourses that juxtapose biculturalism with the spurious notion of Maori privilege (Parata, 1994:49), and with the neo-liberal ideology of "individual responsibility," hold Maori culpable for ethnic disparities in human capital. In the social policy arena, the peripheral position accorded the Maori Tertiary Reference Group (TES, 2002:16) during the *Strategy's* formulation process had the inevitable resulting of marginalizing the inclusion of stakeholder input into the implementation of strategies that could ensure that the specific needs of Maori were addressed. The marginalization of Maori at the state level has ramifications for Maori within institutional contexts.

This study augments earlier research conducted by Grennell (1991) and two PhD theses (Clothier, 2000; Phillips, 2003) into the experiences of Maori students at the University of Canterbury. While Te Tapuae (2002:34) acknowledges increased institutional recognition of biculturalism at this institution over the past decade, this study suggests that many of the barriers to Maori achievement identified in earlier research remain unresolved. The Ministry's statement (2001:6) that: "it is seldom the institution that proactively initiates any solutions" is germane, as so many successful Maori support programmes (such as tutoring, mentoring and pastoral care services) have evolved from within the Maori student community. The repositioning of these initiatives within the "Equity and Access" division of Student Services has had the effect of decreasing stakeholder input into best practice methods of service delivery as

well as stakeholder usage. As a result, problems that confront many Maori students continue to be addressed in an *ad hoc* fashion by senior Maori students and sympathetic staff members. These informal Maori support services demand the investment of considerable time, energy and resources on the part of senior Maori students and staff. Moreover, the location of centrally funded Maori support services can be detrimental to stakeholders with vested interests in Maori academic achievement. Institutional control of processes of “consultation” with Maori means that the allocation of resources is primarily an institutional prerogative. Decreasing and sporadic stakeholder participation constrains grassroots input into best practices for enhancing academic success, and it facilitates institutional recourse to deficit rationalization for Maori underachievement. According to Shield et al. (2005:150), expression of student agency, the establishment of positive relationships between stakeholders and the institution, together with the implementation of stringent monitoring and high-stakes accountability mechanisms are essential to counteracting deficit explanations for the underachievement of minority students. Institutional failure to incorporate such mechanisms adequately into service provisions detracts from the validity of evaluation criteria. Determining the effectiveness of support programmes on the basis of increased enrolments, rather than improved student outcomes⁶⁴, also implies “political arithmetick” to use Sir William Petty’s (1691) oft-quoted phrase (quoted in Kukutai, 2003:97).

8.1.1 PERSONAL AND FAMILY ISSUES

The participants’ testimonies confirm that Personal and Family Issues (and Financial Difficulties) are corollaries of particular colonial legacies of Maori marginalization (Smith, L., 2004:19). The disproportionate location of Maori in the most deprived echelons of society (NZDep96), and their over-representation in all negative social indices, indicates that societal privilege and deprivation are not independent of ethnicity (Reid et al., 2000:39). Testimonies reflect Maori *exteriority* from “societal protections and resources” (Hall, 1999:9) and *liminal* experiences associated with living on the periphery of a racialized society. Some participants’ backgrounds emphasize the relationship between familial dysfunctionality and psychosocial stress

⁶⁴ Student Services’ End-of-Quarter Two Report (as at June 30, 2004).

responses to despairing circumstances. *Differential* access to societal resources, which result in manifestations of “health-damaging” diseases, contribute to premature Maori mortality and induce “health-damaging” behaviours, such as substance abuse (Kreiger, 2001,696; Carlisle, 2001:270). Other participants’ testimonies imply that *differential* treatment of Maori by the Justice Department gives rise to over-policing. Testimonies reinforce that the cumulative effects of colonial and neo-colonial marginalization have deprived participants of the familial, cultural, social and financial capitals (Bourdieu) available to many of their mainstream counterparts. Accordingly, for many participants, educational success is contingent upon overcoming Personal and Family Issues which manifest as a broad range of personal, social and emotional factors that impede academic achievement.

Recommendation: The state should mandate and/or fully fund institutional provision of Maori-centred pastoral care for Maori students. Support services must incorporate stakeholder input and monitoring of client satisfaction with the care provided.

8.1.2 FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES

Engagement in the tertiary education market required all participants in this study to enter into state-sponsored debt; their collective Financial Difficulties highlight the causal relationship between sustained *economic marginalization* and transgenerational poverty. This suggests that the lack of embedded wealth in Maori society remains a deterrent to participation in tertiary education. Contemporary ethnic disparities in socio-economic circumstances reflect the impact of nineteenth century Crown land policies. The alienation of Maori land precipitated the post World War Two urbanization of a propertyless Maori proletariat, confined to the periphery of Fordist industries (Poata-Smith, 1997:175; Fleras, 1996:104). The status of Maori as unskilled or semiskilled workers became entrenched and normalized, and resulted in ethnic differentials in rates of unemployment during the restructuring of the labour market in the 1970s and 1980s (TPK, 1998:14). Reductions in state welfare provisions during the 1990s further circumscribed Maori life-chances and life-circumstances by enforcing the poverty associated with welfare dependency on disproportionate numbers of Maori unemployed (Baxedine, 2003:93; TPK, 1988:14). The size of the Maori student debt, currently one billion of the seven billion dollars of total student

debt incurred since the introduction of the tertiary education market in 1990 (NZUSA, 2004; Te Mana Akonga, 2004), exemplifies the state's role in perpetuating ongoing *economic* marginalization of Maori.

The repercussions of *economic* marginalization are recognized in the Special Rapporteur's Report (2006:21), which recommends that "...[Maori] student fees should be lowered and allowances increased so as to stimulate the passage of more Maori...[into] degree level programmes in tertiary education." Financial assistance could be legislated by giving effect to statutory provision in the Treaty of Waitangi, The Bill of Rights Act, and the Human Rights Act, which allow for the redress of historical and contemporary marginalization. Moreover, the Ministry's (MoE, 2001:7) proposal that: "...it seems, it may be of both immediate and long-term value to the Maori students for providers...to provide up-front resourcing in the form of scholarships covering living costs, course-related costs and tuition fees" should be made mandatory and not dependent on institutional "good will." Such provision would facilitate an institutional contribution to the "public good" and provide a measure of compensation for the contemporary deficit of Maori social, cultural, and financial capital that has been aggravated by the former exclusion of Maori from universities by the limitations placed on their secondary schooling.

Recommendation: The university education of Maori students is primarily funded through state and/or institutional provisions consistent with indigenous rights and citizenship rights that allow for the redress of historical and contemporary economic marginalization.

8.1.3 COMPULSORY EDUCATION SECTOR

All participants in this study are first generation tertiary students, exemplifying the legacy of *differential* educational policies and practices for Maori. Ethnic disparities in human capital highlight the efficacy of former state policies designed to under-educate Maori, and the ineffectiveness of state endeavours, since 1960, to redress the "statistical blackout" (Hunn, 1960) of Maori educational achievement (Shields et al. 2005:83). The ongoing marginalization of Maori within the compulsory education sector suggests that racism remains deeply entrenched in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Although manifestations of state and institutional racism are no longer explicit, or overtly expressed by policies such as those that formerly restricted Maori to a non-academic curriculum, testimonies support the reality that the: “New Zealand education system is two and a half times more likely to fail Maori students than non-Maori students” (Robson and Reid, 2001:12). The prevalence of Negative School Experiences and Inadequate Secondary School Qualifications amongst participants reinforces the inherent risk of being Maori in mainstream educational settings. All participants reported enduring ethnicity-based Negative Schooling Experiences: institutional racism was expressed through acts of symbolic violence that resulted in suspensions and expulsions, and cultural and interpersonal racism was manifest in the *differential* treatment of Maori.

Testimonies support the concept that education is a primary identity forming process that operates through the oppositional possibilities of failure (shame) or success (esteem) (Goffman, 1961 in Stuart, 1995:200). The shame participants associated with teachers *stigmatizing* them as “dumb”, “non-achievers,” or implying that they were thieves, impinged on their academic achievement. Testimonies reflect the interconnectedness of emotional and cognitive issues (Rosen, 1993) and the psychological effects of internalizing (or reflecting upon) negative stereotypical labels (Hall et al., 1994:30). Four of the twenty-five participants in this study left school at the age of 14 years, and in some instances, labelling by teachers was a contributing factor. However, premature school departure represents a form of hegemonic compliance with institutional expectations of Maori failure (Sultana, 1989:2). Findings indicate that *differential* expectations from and treatment by teachers, together with a sense of *alienation* in a monocultural environment, were an underlying cause of Inadequate Secondary School Qualifications.

8.1.4 TRANSITIONAL DIFFICULTIES

Testimonies indicate both the need for, and benefits of, appropriately structured Maori-centred Bridging Programmes and Foundation Courses. The majority of participants are second chance learners and mature students who started tertiary study without the requisite skills; unsurprisingly, many experienced Transitional Difficulties *vis-à-vis* engaging with a monocultural institution that privileges whiteness (Fine,

1997:58) and fails to recognise embodied Maori cultural capital (de Bruin, 2000:49). Existing programmes should be reviewed to ensure that the multi-dimensional nature of barriers, with respect to deficit cultural, social and financial capital as well as the emotional and cognitive issues that underpin Transitional Difficulties, are comprehensively addressed.

Recommendation: The University should implement fully funded, Maori-centred Bridging Programmes and/or Foundation Courses. Programmes should incorporate stakeholder input and monitoring of student progress and achievement.

8.1.5 ISOLATION and UNWELCOMING TERTIARY ENVIRONMENT

Testimonies reflect that Maori encounter Isolation at all levels of society, emphasizing the ongoing *alienation* of Maori by the dominant central majority. Participants' experiences of the University of Canterbury as an Unwelcoming Tertiary Environment are primarily associated with manifestations of different types and forms of racism. Notwithstanding that Te Tapuae (2002) attributes Maori perceptions of the university as unwelcoming to regional monoculturalism, the issues and concerns raised by participants accord with Bennett's (1995:672-675) definitions of institutional and cultural racism. Testimonies suggest that institutional racism is concealed within existing policies and practices, and manifests in a lack of institutional professionalism towards Maori students. Testimonies also suggest that cultural and interpersonal racism is manifest in the *Eurocentric* bias of the curriculum and deficit staff professionalism. Moreover, participants' discomfiture at "being singled out" and their concomitant reluctance to "ask for help" is indicative of the fear of *alienation* and *stigmatization* many Maori experience in mainstream educational contexts.

Recommendation: The University of Canterbury should address issues relating to institutional, cultural and interpersonal racism across all levels of the institution.

8.1.6 INAPPROPRIATE SUPPORT STRUCTURES

The effectiveness of support structures has been examined within the conceptual framework of boundaries which Hall et al. (1994:25) contend represent the “essence of marginalization”. Testimonies confirm the proposal that “protective” boundaries constructed around segregated Maori tutorials are conducive to academic achievement. *Segregation* alleviates the “culture of silence” that characterizes Maori student behaviour in mainstream tutorials, as the minority *voice* can be expressed without the fear of *stigmatization* that many participants associated with the Negative Schooling Experiences they endured in monocultural settings (Jones, 1999). However, testimonies confirm that the Maori desire for “separation and exclusion” (Jones, 1999) does not preclude recourse to non-Maori expertise. The paucity of Maori expertise in academic environments is a recognized corollary of marginalization (Parata, 1994). Nevertheless, testimonies emphasize that the success of segregated tutorial programmes is predicated on positive relationships between Maori students and institutional staff.

The tutorials conducted by Te Putairiki (The Maori Law Students’ Association) further reinforce the benefits of “protective boundaries” around *segregated* tutorials, but more significantly demonstrate that exertions of *horizontal power* by marginalized groups fosters scholastic excellence. Te Putairiki initiatives explicate a highly effective expression of student agency together with the execution of high stakes accountability and monitoring systems. Te Putairiki’s rejection of the quota system that allows Maori students preferential access into law as “not effective for Maori students” (Blossom, 2005) emphasizes the potential of boundaries of “containment” to *stigmatize* Maori students. Although the benefits of Maori preferential access into faculties such as law are supported by academic research (Durie, 2005:7), the *stigma* attached to affirmative action programmes highlights the impact of social discourses on impeding Maori from realizing parity with the general population.

Recommendation: Faculties and Departments at the University of Canterbury should work in conjunction with Maori stakeholders to create and implement initiatives that foster Maori academic achievement. These include: first, the provision of *segregated* tutorials for Maori (and Pacific) students; the ratio of students per tutor should take

into consideration the under-representation of Maori within the student population. Second, the provision of *segregated* Maori facilities such as Te Putairiki's study room; and third, institutional support for the establishment of discipline specific Maori study groups.

Several testimonies highlight the potential of institutionally imposed boundaries of "containment" to create obstacles (Hall et al., 1994:34). Structural defects in the provision of dedicated Maori enrolment advice resulted in the *economic* marginalization of several participants. Findings suggest that institutional safeguards that monitor mainstream enrolments were bypassed. This example reinforces the need for early detection systems, high stakes accountability and results-orientated monitoring of institutionally imposed support structures, as the absence of these mechanisms undermines institutional analysis of service provision (Shields, et al., 2005:150).

Recommendation: Bicultural initiatives and staff portfolios at the University of Canterbury should be monitored to give weight to one of the goals adopted in *The University Charter (2003-2010)* (UoC, 2003:11):

... The University will seek to make a difference to Maori achievement in tertiary education by strengthening the position of Maori within the University, by encouraging and supporting access, participation and success of Maori students and staff...

Testimonies relating to Disability Services exemplify Maori access problems to mainstream support services. In the absence of ethnic boundaries, it is suggested these services reinforce the perception that Maori receive unfair and inequitable service delivery. Testimonies suggest an urgent need to review provisions for Maori students which factor in the dynamics of Maori skepticism *vis-à-vis* accessing mainstream services; the greater unmet needs of Maori with disabilities, compared to the general population (Statistics New Zealand in Whiringa-a-Rangi, 2003:13); the potential marginalization of disabled, minority students (Hall et al, 1994:24); the effect of cognitive racism (Van Ryn and Fu, 2003:7); deficit staff professionalism, and the financial constraints imposed on institutional services.

Recommendation: Maori students needing to access mainstream support services should be afforded the option of being accompanied by a Maori student representative.

8.2 CONCLUSION

The *exteriority* of Maori from mainstream societal resources and protection heightens exposure to a multiplicity of barriers that circumscribe life-chances and life-circumstances (Hall, 1999:9). In the context of tertiary education, the Ministry (2001) acknowledges that Personal and Family Issues, Financial Difficulties, Negative Schooling Experiences, Inadequate Secondary Schooling Qualifications, Transitional Difficulties, Isolation, Unwelcoming Tertiary Environment and Inappropriate Support Structures are barriers to Maori success. The willingness of many participants to engage with the tertiary education sector without the cultural capital that facilitates the acquisition of credentials (de Bruin, 2000:49), reinforces the proposal that, although marginalized students are constructed as most “at risk”, they are, of necessity, the most resilient (Hall et al., 1994:34). While the scholastic endeavours of all participants were circumscribed by the combined effect of these barriers in an assortment of ways and to varying degrees, contrary to the Ministry’s (MoE, 2001) assumptions, multiple exposures did not result in student withdrawals. The exception was Inappropriate Support Structures, which in conjunction with other factors, proved an insurmountable barrier for two participants. Testimonies suggest that support structures that are necessary for and conducive to a positive and successful tertiary educational experience are either Maori-centred initiatives devoid of the deficit ideology that underpins mainstream assimilationist interventions, or institutional provisions that incorporate power sharing, enabling Maori student participation in decision-making processes.

The Strategy’s devolution of responsibility for redressing ethnic disparities in human capital to mainstream tertiary institutions has imposed on Maori students the same structural constraints that undermine Maori achievement in the compulsory education sector. Testimonies reinforce the basic premise of this thesis, that notwithstanding Ministry acknowledgement of barriers to successful Maori engagement in tertiary institutions, causation is primarily attributed to endogenous factors, deficit aspects of Maori: “genes, behaviour, circumstances and engagement with the system” (Reid et

al., 2000:40). The corollary of the Ministry's deficit-based approach is that exogenous factors, derived from state policies and practices remain exculpable, and thus the underlying causes of the barriers are not addressed.

Reid and Cram (2004:46-47) argue that the logical extension of the proposal that social policy is responsible for increasing Maori inequalities is that social policy can also decrease inequalities. Pool et al (2003:1-2) support this view, arguing that government belief in the efficacy of the market (that underpins many of *The Strategy's* assumptions) is myopic and that the state must refocus on the "the more general social and economic environment [that] social policy must address." Taking into consideration the profound social, political and economic ramifications of the predicted demographic turbulence that Aotearoa/New Zealand will experience within the next decade, failure to redress ethnic disparities life-circumstances and life-chances in human capital has the potential to render all citizens vulnerable to the consequences of the marginalization of Maori. The continued peripheralization of Maori, not only has the potential to engender political volatility and undermine social cohesion (Pool, 2003:34-35), but also impinges on the nation's ability to maintain first world status (TES, 2002:11). In order to achieve ethnic equivalency in human capital the state and its institutions must redress the barriers that marginalization has imposed on Maori. It is also imperative that Maori continue to exert *horizontal power*, for as Paulo Freire (1970:26) contends:

... the great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed [is] to liberate themselves and their oppressors.... The oppressors... by virtue of their power, cannot find in this power the strength to liberate either the oppressed or themselves. Only power that... springs from the weakness of the oppressed will be sufficiently strong to free both.

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PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS

Professor Garry Hornby, August 2004

APPENDICES (not included)

1. Thesis Proposal
2. Human Ethics Committee Application
3. Participants Information Sheet
4. Participants Consent Form
5. University of Canterbury Approval Letter