The Impact of Marketisation on Pacific Islands Secondary School Students:

A Christchurch Experience

A THESIS

submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts in Pacific Studies at the University of Canterbury Christchurch New Zealand

By

Ati Henry Mamoe
1999
DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated in loving memory of

Taupo Mamoe
Tauavae Manu
And
Avali'i Tui

All women of strength
Whose spirits passed on during the formulation of this project.
May you never be forgotten.
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GLOSSARY

**Anga fakaTonga**  
The Tongan way or culture

**ava**  
Kava; beverage made of mixing pounded Piper methysticum with water; ceremonial drink to honour the occasion.

**Fa’a/Palagi**  
The European way

**Fa’alavelave**  
Occasion such as a wedding or funeral, when family assistance should be given, in the form of labour or goods for example

**Fa’aloalo**  
To show the correct respectful behaviour

**Fa’aSamoa**  
In the manner of Samoans; according to Samoan customs and tradition. The Samoan way or Culture

**FakaNiue**  
The Niuean way or culture

**ie toga**  
Finely woven mat of pandanus fibres bordered with red feathers. Varieties of ie toga are named according to their size and quality, or for the purpose for which they are given. Usually called ‘fine mats’ in English, although they are not mats.

**Malaga**  
Either the hosting group or one being in the group making the journey

**mana**  
(modern) God’s grace. Samoan equivalence to the Eastern Polynesian term mana is mamalu, which connotes honour and dignity

**O lo’u Afa**  
My Storm

**O lo’u Tapasa**  
My Compass

**O lo’u Tulaga**  
My Position

**Papalagi**  
White man; literally, ‘those who came from the sky’. Also Palagi

**Tapasa o Folauga i Aso Afa**  
The Compass of Sailing in Storm

**The Mau**  
The Mau rebellion had its beginnings in the 1920s and grew out of a number of disparate feelings of dissatisfaction with the government of the country by outsiders. The Mau joined together a disaffected half-caste Samoan community, who felt excluded from the social life and feared for their trade opportunities, and Samoans who were against external government of any kind. Their slogan was Samoa mo Samoa (Samoa for the Samoans). See Davidson (1967), Field (1986) and Meleisea (1986) for further reading.

**Usita’i**  
Obedience
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<td>AIMHI</td>
<td>Achievement in Multicultural High Schools (project)</td>
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<tr>
<td>BOT</td>
<td>Board of Trustees</td>
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<td>Decile Rating</td>
<td>Most schools have decile ratings worked out for them and provide an indicator of Targeted Fund for Educational Achievement (TFEA). This is based on the SES of the community that the school draws students from. Each decile contains 10% of schools.</td>
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<td>ERO</td>
<td>Education Review Office</td>
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<td>ESOL</td>
<td>English as a Second or Other Language</td>
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<td>MIRAB</td>
<td>Migration, Remittances, Aid and Bureaucracy</td>
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<td>MOE</td>
<td>Ministry of Education</td>
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<td>NZQA</td>
<td>New Zealand Qualifications Authority</td>
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<td>PI</td>
<td>Pacific Islands</td>
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<td>PTA</td>
<td>Parent Teacher Association</td>
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<td>SES</td>
<td>Socio Economic Status</td>
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<td>TOPs</td>
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ABSTRACT

This research examines the impact of marketisation on Pacific Islands students in Christchurch high schools. Specifically, this study targeted the Tomorrow’s Schools policy released in 1990 with particular interest in the changes in zoning laws. These changes theoretically allowed the consumers of education (the parents and students) equal access to all secondary schools by breaking down the zones and creating a free market where ‘choice’ and competition reigned supreme. However, this study along with others found that in actual fact it was the ‘popular’ schools with enrolment schemes who had the power to choose what students they preferred. Schools were left to compete for those students deemed ‘undesirable’ by popular schools.

This study found that a dis-empowerment of the schools’ enrolment schemes needs to occur in Christchurch. Obviously, on the other hand, an empowerment of Pacific Islands parents and students through the increase of information also needs to occur. Although the government has made small steps toward making the problem more visible, more definitive work needs to be done in this area.

This study also examined the achievement of Pacific Islands students at a national and at a sample level and discovered that has been very little improvement in this area over the time the Tomorrow’s Schools policy has been in operation. Therefore, this study ventures into an analysis of this problem and suggests possible remedies.

Again, this study argues that students must be actively empowered by teachers, schools, the government, and by their own people, in order to break down the physical, mental and even spiritual battles that Pacific Islands students face in the New Zealand education system.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND PLAN

My parents came to New Zealand from Western Samoa in the early 1970s, worked incredibly hard in low sector employment to give their children a better life through the 'magic' of education. I attended Aranui High School in Christchurch, a public state school in a low socio-economic area with a high proportion of Pacific Islands students who struggled economically like most other Pacific Island families. Out of all my classmates who were of Pacific Island ethnicity, I was one of the very few who attended and finished University. Most of my fellow Pacific Island students left after Fifth form and are now either unemployed, working in low sector employment or beginning young families. Upon my arrival to university I began to question why Pacific Islands people were failing so badly in New Zealand’s so-called 'developed' education system. All of these experiences led to the formulation of this project.

This project will examine the introduction of Tomorrow's Schools into the New Zealand education system, outlining the theoretical arguments that justified the shift in global political ideology resulting in an increased application of market principals and the consequential devolution in government intervention. In particular, the changes that came with the abolition of school zoning and its effects on Pacific Islands' parental choice, school composition, student population shift, and in regards to Pacific Islands student achievement. This project will also examine the value of Pacific Islands culture within the New Zealand society. How is Pacific Islands culture viewed by the education system and what changes need to be made?

The debate on the supposed effects of the market in the education sector are summarised well in this opening statement in an article by Cate Brett:

"State education is the latest product to hit the shelves of market reform. Schools, like canned food, offer consumers a choice -- from elite $265-a-year brand at Auckland Grammar to the budget $40 no-frills version at Christchurch's Aranui High School. Parents, as consumers, are supposed to be king: if not, competition will drive it either to change or sink. But critics say no: they say it's the schools, not the parents, who are doing the choosing -- siphoning off the intellectual and social cream and leaving the dross for the schools without 'brand' appeal. They say, instead of the government's stated aims of 'equality of educational opportunity', we are headed for a two-tier education system: one reserved for the white middle class and one for the predominantly brown working class. A system that will polarise and further undermine the 'decent' society..."(1994; 74)

It has been a decade since the Tomorrow's Schools policies were first introduced in 1989. These polices promised equality of educational opportunity for the low SES student to complete equally within a fair market. The question asked here is; what has this epoch produced for Pacific Islands students in New Zealand?
The findings of the first Ministry of Education (MOE) sponsored ‘Smithfield Report’ (Lauder et al., 1994) provides an interesting platform for this research. The Smithfield Report which analysed the initial impacts of a new market principles within the New Zealand education system found that Pacific Islands students formed a major group utilising the ‘freedom’ provided by the abolition of zoning laws though the Tomorrow’s Schools policies. However, Lauder (et al., 1994) warns that to assume both Maori and Pacific Islands students gained the most from the zoning changes would be incorrect. Both compositional elements within schools and the low achievement over the last decade of both Maori and Pacific Islands students show that this advantage is not so clear cut.

1.1 Identification Of Research Objectives

This research attempts to assess the merits of the Tomorrow’s Schools approach to address the needs of Pacific Islands secondary students in New Zealand. Statistical studies over the last decade have shown a clear increased polarisation between the predominantly white middle class and the predominantly brown working class within state secondary schools (Lauder et al., 1994). Unfortunately very little literature has been written specifically on the plight of the Pacific Islands students within the New Zealand secondary school system, particularly in Christchurch. Therefore, this project aims to identify some of the problems the implementation of Tomorrow’s Schools policies have created over the past decade and try to find answers to these barriers.

The aims of this project are threefold. Firstly, to make the reader aware of the theoretical background and the inherent bias which plagues the current system. In particular, the rise and influence of the ‘New Right’ theory on New Zealand government policy.

Secondly, this project will focus upon the impacts of market principles in four major areas that are crucial in the debate over the increased marketisation in the secondary school system. The first issue explored here is choice. The principle of opening up the market to the forces of consumer demand will be tested here and the question of who really chooses will be reflected upon. The next issues are interrelated and examine the impact of the market on the shift in student population, and the changes in school composition. What do these trends tells us about Pacific Islands students? The final issue important in this section is that of Pacific Islands student achievement, what advances has been made over the last decade?

The final aim of this project is to increase the consciousness of the reader in the hopes of understanding the world of the New Zealand born Pacific Islands student. Examining the value that the New Zealand education system places on Pacific Islands culture, learning and scholarship will do this. A new breed of Pacific Islands writers has emerged over the last decade who critically review previous literature that has been taken to be fact and added to stereotypes about the Pacific Islands people. What is the
There is also a need for more research to help inform policy for more effective interventions. To achieve “an education system in which no group experiences unfair outcomes in terms or participation or success” (Ministry of Education 1993: 34). Pasikale points out that there needs to be:

“... more research-based knowledge on Pacific Islands people as a learner group ... Information is required that offers insights into why, despite a decade of interventions, Pacific Island learners in New Zealand still achieve poor academic results, still have lower levels of skills and still lower employment participation results.” (1996: 17-18)

This research is also relevant because the marginalisation of minority people needs to be highlighted irrespective of whether the agencies in the process are conscious or unconscious of the repercussions of their policy. The demoralising factor the researcher experienced is that macro-problems within the education system are largely ‘invisible’ to the ‘lay’ person until attendance at a tertiary institution. Pasikale argues that society at the moment is going through a need to make visible the marginalised groups within society (i.e. women, youth, the poor, ethnic minorities, people with disabilities, etc.). Pasikale noted that feminism rose out of the need for women to deal with their exclusion in a patriarchal world. Spender (1983; 3) claims that:

“Because they [women] experienced this absence of knowledge about women’s lives and feelings, many of these women were centrally concerned with the issue of women’s invisibility ... women wanted to reclaim their own traditions because such knowledge made them feel good, because it enriched their lives, illuminated the world, offered options and facilitated growth and a sense of self esteem.”

This experience can be directly related to the plight of the Pacific Islands people in which Pasikale believes:

“Visibility for Pacific Islands peoples in New Zealand is about dispelling the myths and barriers that prevent them from fully participating in all levels of education and employment. It is also about empowering them to continue a cultural identity that has a valid place in a multicultural society.” (1996; 17)

The research area of Christchurch is also significant as a sample area. It is clear that most projects that have been implemented concerning Pacific Islands education have been initiated in areas with high Pacific Islands population. This is evidenced by the Ministry of Education (1998; 5) who pointed out that:

“Few initiatives involve Pacific Islands communities in areas where their numbers are low or where Pacific Islands peoples are isolated from each other.”

Although less that 5% of the total Pacific Islands population live in the sample area there is a need for studies to be carried out in less populated areas to check trends, or to develop answers that may be applied to larger areas. Little research has been done on Pacific Islands students in the secondary system in Christchurch, this study hopes to change this situation. It is acknowledged that the size of this study may on the other hand limit the ability to comment or provide answers to issues presented above. However, the value of this study is in the hopes to contribute to the increased awareness of the plight of Pacific Islands students within the New Zealand education system.
1.3 **Thesis Outline: Mapping the Chapter Progression**

To substantiate the rationale for this research and achieve the given objectives in this chapter, we must first expand on a theoretical context from upon we base our primary arguments. The chapter progression will unfold in this way.

Chapter Two will provide a background on the issues leading to the specific questions that are to be explored in this project. Chapter Two will then present the method in which this project has used to answer these questions. This will include some theoretical issues raised in researching Pacific Islands people, the instruments of research used, the selection of participants, and the problems encountered in the research process.

The aim of Chapter Three is to provide the reader with a deeper insight into the theoretical background of this project. This will involve the examination of the relationship between the role of state, education, economics, the family, and culture. This will reveal the underlying bias of inequality that remains at the heart of the problems within the education system. This chapter will also outline the grounding the constituted a shift in political ideology in New Zealand towards the 'New Right'.

Chapter Four will provide a historical account of the change to Tomorrow's Schools policies in the New Zealand education system. This will put the ideological changes presented in Chapter Three into a socio-historical account in New Zealand. This aims to provide a deeper insight into how the changes in the New Zealand education system came about.

Chapter Five is called 'Poverty's Paradise' and has been included to introduce the Pacific Islands component to the study. This will define the Pacific Islands people in New Zealand and outline their origins and the effect of economic restructuring in New Zealand on this group. This chapter will also provide insight into what exactly is meant by a Pacific culture. This will be given through the example of *fa'aSamoan*. Lastly, we will examine a background of Pacific immigrants by examining the impacts of Western education in the Pacific Islands and then briefly looking at its transition to New Zealand.

Chapter Six will document the results of the literature search, statistical analysis and the empirical research that was carried out with students, former students, parents and in the interviews with administrators in the sample schools in Christchurch in 1998-99.

Chapter Seven will discuss the results that were found in the previous chapter and attempt to meld them with the theory to produce answers. The critical question is posed here; What has Tomorrow's Schools meant for the Pacific Islands student in the New Zealand secondary system? Chapter Seven has been called 'O lo‘u Tapasa o Folauqa is Aso Afa' – 'The Compass of Sailing in Storm' and has been split into three sections. Firstly, 'O lo‘u Tulaga' or 'My Position' aims to present an analysis of the position of Pacific Islands students in the New Zealand education system after a decade of Tomorrow's Schools
policy. Here we will discuss four key issues in the debate over the impact of the educational market in New Zealand. These are choice, student population movement, school composition change, and Pacific Islands student achievement.

The second section is called 'O lo'u Afa' or 'My Storm'. This will examine the value that Pacific Islands culture has in the New Zealand education system. This section will also raise issues particular to the New Zealand-born Pacific Islands student in New Zealand.

The final section is called 'O lo'u Tapasa' or 'My Compass'. This section hopes to answer the issues that have been raised in this project, in particular the verdict on the market within New Zealand education and its future.

Chapter Eight will provide a summary to the study. The aims, the questions and the findings will be reviewed and concluded in this chapter.
CHAPTER TWO

ISSUES AND METHODOLOGY

Chapter Two will firstly present the background of this project that led to the specific questions that are to be explored in this study. Secondly, this chapter will present the procedure or method in which these questions and issues will be addressed. Lastly we will move into a discussion on the research process outlining some of the key issues that must be acknowledged when studying Pacific Islands people and also some of the problems that we encountered throughout the formulation of this project.

2.1 The Issues and Questions Relevant in this Project

The major issues and questions in this project arise primarily as an analysis of the promises that Tomorrow’s Schools policies had in providing a more equitable education system. As indicated earlier, the Smithfield Report in 1994 provided the platform for this research. This report will be outlined and its debate discussed. From here we analyse the primary issues which are choice, the composition of school intakes, the stability of school populations, and Pacific Islands student achievement. The final issue arose primarily out of the personal experiences of both the researcher and the data obtained from the students and school administrators. This looks at the value of the Pacific Islands culture within New Zealand.

2.1.1 The Smithfield Report, 1994

The Smithfield Project to the MOE had the unique opportunity of analysing the creation of market competition in secondary education right from its inception in 1989. Smithfield identified that directly after zoning was abolished ethnic attendance patterns showed that at a gross level Pacific Island and Maori students utilised dezonning more than Pakeha to gain access out of local zone schools\(^1\). However, Smithfield goes on to point out that:

"...the inference that it is Maori and Pacific Island students who have benefited most from changes would be incorrect."(Lauder et al., 1994; 32)

The Smithfield project found that only those who were economically able were the one’s who could ‘choose’ to move into more desirable schools. Iosua Esera (1996) a former principal, concurs with these findings arguing that over the first six years the full implementation in the Tomorrows Schools policy has seen no real gains for Pacific Island students. Esera notes that

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\(^1\) See table 7 in Lauder (et al., 1994; 32)
this is despite ‘brown flight’\textsuperscript{2}, an increase of Pacific Islands population in church schools\textsuperscript{3}, the maintenance of Pacific Island student enrolment percentage at independent schools, and rife market ideology in New Zealand schools since the passing of the enrolment scheme.

Thus, the general question needs to be asked; how has the process of marketisation (specifically the abolition of zoning) practically encouraged or discouraged Pacific Island achievement in New Zealand? And therefore, what needs to be addressed in order for a positive change to occur in Pacific Island achievement levels?

2.2 The Debate – The Major Issues in Marketisation of Education

The introduction of proxy market mechanisms is a relatively recent phenomenon and equates to a lot of debate over its merits. Lauder defines the problem:

“Neo-liberal champions of the market have derived their justification for market policies from an idealised model of market behaviour and from the claimed superior performance of private schools over state schools. In contrast, their critics have argued the existing inequalities in education would simply be exacerbated by the introduction of market mechanisms in education. This claim is made on the basis of well documented evidence concerning the economic and social causes of inequality in education and on the additional assumption that markets in education will behave, as they do elsewhere, to polarise rich and poor.” (et al, 1994; 7)

Lauder identified four related issues at the heart of the debate over marketisation;

1. Parental choice of schools and schools’ choice of students
2. The composition of school intakes
3. The stability of school populations
4. The consequence of schools entering a spiral of decline\textsuperscript{4}

These issues combined with a look at the statistical achievement of Pacific Islands students within the secondary education system and the value of Pacific Islands culture in New Zealand will form the basis of investigation in this project.

2.2.1 Parental Choice of Schools and Schools’ Choice of Students – Who Really Chooses?

Government education policy during the late 1980s and early 1990s espoused the rhetoric that increased choice by dezonig would increase the power of the consumer – a natural assumption in market place economics. However, studies have indicated that although

\textsuperscript{2} ‘Brown Flight’ is a term that describes the exodus of Pacific Island students out of undesirable low SES schools to high SES schools. In Auckland this trend is from South to Central Auckland schools and in Wellington, from Porirua to Wellington City schools

\textsuperscript{3} This was recorded for Catholic schools from 14.9\% in 1989 to 16.5 in 1995; Source: Esera (1996)

\textsuperscript{4} However, because of the nature on the project area this thesis will focus in on the first three issues. Although the latter issue is very important, the nature of the research area in this study means that the last issue is not yet applicable.
increased consumer choice has occurred, the debate over the issues of fairness and equity come to the fore.

In the period leading up to the Tomorrow’s Schools reforms which took effect in 1989, each state secondary school in New Zealand was ascribed a geographical zone by the Department of Education. All students who lived within that zone had the right to attend their local school and while there were students who attended out of zone schools, their numbers were restricted because out of zone places were limited (McCulloch, 1990). The introduction of Tomorrow’s Schools reform allowed a more market led approach to secondary school enrolments with maximum rolls being set for all schools\(^5\). This legislation only had one year of operation, 1991, before being superseded by further legislative change. In 1992, home zones were abolished and local students were no longer guaranteed attendance at their local school. Some schools were now at serious risk of overcrowding. Oversubscribed schools were permitted to introduce their own enrolment schemes that set a maximum roll for the school (negotiated with the MOE). However, the details of selection procedures were left to the discretion of individual schools\(^6\).

Neo-liberal proponents of marketisation argue that as a matter of human freedom parents ought to have the right to choose within the context of market competition (Friedman; 1980). They continue to argue that markets in general (especially education markets) provide the most efficient means of allocating resources and achieving desired educational outcomes. This assumption is based on the feeling that markets provide the appropriate motivational structures to ensure schools maintenance of high standards of performance\(^7\). Neo-liberals point to the performance of the private sector in education attributed to operation in the competitive market (Chubb and Moe, 1990).

Critics of marketisation believe that rather than engendering human freedom for all, the application of choice to education simply enhances the privilege of those already empowered with material and cultural capital (Ball; 1990).

The issue here is who actually does the choosing? In schools where demand exceeds the supply of places the allocation of the students is rationed, thus, the mechanism of rationing (or enrolment policies) has become a crucial issue. Critics argue that schools will choose already privileged children because of their experience. Research supports that the privileged students are more likely to be successful in gaining educational credentials making the middle class the bearers of the appropriate cultural capital to succeed (Bourdieu and Passeron; 1970). Ethnic

\(^5\) This meant that local students (defined in terms of home zones) had priority for their local school but out of zone applications could be freely accepted up to the maximum roll number. Where there were an excess of applications over places, out of zone enrolments were decided by ballot.

\(^6\) Selection procedures had to comply with the requirements of the Race Relations Act (1971), the Human Rights Commission Act (1977) or the Bill of Rights Act (1990).

\(^7\) For example, the fear of unemployment and the spur of higher reward. Source; Lauder (et al., 1994; 8)
minorities and the working class parents are thus said to be frustrated (Moore and Davenport; 1990).

Therefore, the issue of who really chooses is an interesting and equally important question when considering the characteristics of a diverse Polynesian population. In respect to this project we must discover who holds the power of choice, and in effect, the power to determine ones' destiny. This question holds two sides – on one hand are the parents and students, and on the other hand is the schools and ultimately the government.

This project looks at the general statistics on how choice was affected throughout the 1990s in New Zealand and how the Pacific Islands secondary student population responded. These will be compared to what occurred in the Christchurch example. The issues that are addressed in the questionnaire (see appendix) include:

- What effects Pacific Islanders choice of school?
- How has Tomorrow’s Schools affected each sample school?
- What affects Schools’ choices of students?
- Who chooses – the schools or the parents?

2.2.2 The Composition of School Intakes

Since Dewey (1916), there has been a view shared by social democrats until recently that schools have a signal role to play in creating the foundations for democracy. This fostered the belief that by bringing together children of various backgrounds, cultural and lifestyle tolerance would be encouraged. A strong body of evidence suggests that:

“...the better socially balanced school intakes are, the better overall students in the school system will achieve. Therefore, according to these critics, polarisation would erode the education foundation of democracy and reduce educational achievement overall.” (Lauder et al., 1994; 417-431)

Proponents of marketisation are divided on response. Neo-liberals tend to ignore both issues since they consider consumer choice within a market context to be the true realm of market freedom in contrast to representative democracy that is viewed cynically as a vehicle for vested interests. They are also uninterested by the claims relating to social balance of school intakes and educational achievement. They point to controversial arguments of Chubb and Moe (1990) that argue that it is the nature of school organisation rather than intake that determines school educational outcomes. Other theory to support choice and competition not derived from neo-liberalist perspectives argue that:

“As a matter of fact, school intakes were already segregated in a defacto way because school zones or catchment areas are largely determined by socio-geographic areas in which schools are located. Since the socio-geography of urban areas, in particular is already divided on class and ethnic lines, there are few well balanced schools. Indeed, they go on to predict that giving parents choice will create better balance schools because parents will not be trapped in their choice of school by the social
class nature of the area in which they live." (Coons and Sugarman; 1978; 260-262 cited in Lauder et al., 1994)

By identifying the class segmentation they hope that competition will raise the quality and performance of all schools in the area. Also that choice between schools in other areas will break down ethnic segregation simply on the grounds that once freed from the 'iron cage' of zoning parents will be able to escape the ghetto schools.

Coleman further notes that ethnic balance should not be overstated as a problem, he comments:

"Recognition that all-black schools are not inherently inferior has important implications. Perhaps the most significant is the realisation that the ethnically and culturally pluralistic society of the United States has room for schools of all sorts. What is essential...is that if a child is in an all-black school it is because he (sic) wants to be there and his parents want him to be there, not because it is the only school he has a reasonable chance to attend."(Colman 1990; 216 cited in Lauder et al., 1994)

This argument is supported in respect to Kura Kaupapa Maori schools in New Zealand (Smith, 1990). However, Coleman with others see the advantages of marketisation in producing a wider variety of schooling. For example, Benton has argued that:

“One of the problems with the present closed educational market is that is it is essentially totalitarian in nature absorbing, and where possible, destroying, alternative structures... A more open market may allow more opportunity for diversity, and in that way benefit Maori families."(Benton 1987; 71)

However, Lauder (et al., 1994; 11) claimed that whilst the abandonment of bureaucratic education may be welcome, it is debatable whether the market alternative will deliver the results anticipated (by commentators like Coleman and Benton) for ethnic groups who have traditionally been systematically disadvantaged in education. This context raises the issue with respect to the impact of marketisation on schools in working class areas that merits consideration. This concerns possible added destabilising effects of choice and competition on schools with already high turnover rates8. It must be noted that the nature of this project is limited on commenting on this particular issue and can only examine this question at a superficial level.

The issues needing to be addressed here in this project in respect to the Pacific Islands population in New Zealand are:

- How much influence does social balance actually have?
- What is the ethnic composition of secondary schools nationally and more importantly in the sample area?
- What is the difference between high socio-economic (SES) schools and lower ones?
- Do the promises of educational diversification hold anything for Pacific Islands students?

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8 The Smithfield Reports showed that there are two ways in which to approach this. Firstly, to measure the degree of turnover or instability in student populations. Secondly, we can then ask to what extent choice creates added instability and especially whether it triggers a spiral of decline in predominantly working class schools as middle class parents opt out. Source: Lauder (et al., 1994; 11)
2.2.3 The Stability of School Population

Many schools in working class areas, particularly those with high long-term unemployment, perform less well than predicted given the prior achievement of the students entering them. Under-performance statistics in the past have neglected the variable of student turnover that has more to do with the impact of poverty on family life rather than the school itself\(^9\). The Smithfield project found it difficult to distinguish possible causes of turnover and found:

"...in general terms, it can be argued that if working class schools have high turnovers, as we would hypothesise, then the introduction of market competition is likely to exacerbate problems that high turnovers present, especially where schools enter a spiral of decline." (Lauder et al., 1994; 12)

High turnover in schools can be considered a major problem for schools in low income and/or high unemployment areas because firstly, changing schools impact on student progress because new relationships, rules and rituals have to be negotiated. Secondly, these rules and relationships formed at schools may constitute the most stable structures in their lives, in other words schools can be a form of sanctuary. Thirdly, a high turnover of students is extremely disruptive to teachers programmes. Also in schools where students have little kind of cultural capital which promotes formal educational achievement, the teacher as role model and motivator assumes additional significance. High Turnover in the past has not been considered in evaluating performance of schools.

Issues investigated in this project include;

- Are schools in Christchurch influenced by high turnover since the initiation of Tomorrows’ Schools policies?
- What are the trends specific to the sample schools?
- Is there a relationship between high and low SES schools?

It is acknowledge by the researcher that due to data constraints, an indepth analysis of turnover can not be sustained, therefore, data on student movement will be used to identify population fluctuation trends only.

2.2.4 Pacific Islands Achievement

The changes in Tomorrows’ Schools were theoretically supposed to increase consumer choice in an over all effort to improve the New Zealand education system. Pacific Islands student achievement being at the lower end of the achievement scale provides an interesting indication of the effects of government policy. Issues needing to be addressed here include;

- How has marketisation affected Pacific Island achievement at secondary level nationally and in the sample schools?

\(^9\) There are several reasons why poverty may be highly geographically mobile - the search for work, cheaper housing or educational opportunities, family stress and/or breakdown are all possible explanations for such mobility. Coleman (1990) also comments that if the life of the community breaks down and diminishes the social capital of a community – then there is little incentive to remain in that area.
What are the differences between high and low SES schools?
Are there differences between Island-Born and New Zealand Born?
What have the Pacific Islands students achieved through early 1990s with the solidification of government policy in the last decade?

2.2.5 The Value of the ‘Pacific Islander’ in the New Zealand Education System

This section is an exploration into the world of the New Zealand born Pacific Islands student. This will be discussed at length in Chapter Seven in the section labelled ‘O lo‘u Afa’ or ‘My Storm’. Pacific Island writers are sceptical at the moves by government through the 1980s and early 1990s. This section was included to find out what the Pacific Islands cultures mean to the system, to Pacific Islands parents and students. The major issues this project seeks to answer are:

- Does the system value Pacific Islands culture?
- Do the sample schools value Pacific Islands culture?
- How do Pacific Islands parents and students view Pacific Islands culture?
- How can the situation be improved for Pacific Islands students in the New Zealand education system?

2.3 The Methodology

This section will firstly introduce the instruments of research chosen for this research, and why they were chosen. Secondly, the selection of participants will be investigated, implications of the research area, the sample schools that were chosen and information on the four groups that were selected to extract the data from. Finally, the research process including some methodological considerations, the pilot study and the problems that were encountered will be discussed.

2.4 The Instruments of Research

To answer the questions raised in this study, both qualitative and quantitative methods of data extraction were needed. Therefore, two instruments of research were used. Firstly, a questionnaire was constructed for both gathering and generating information from the students and their parents. The questionnaire is composed of both open-verbal and closed, list, category, ranking and quantity questions. The questionnaire seemed the most appropriate method for this sample as it provided a good way of collecting certain types of information from a large group quickly and relatively cheaply.

The second instrument used to gather and generate quantitative data from the school administrators and ex-students was the interview. Recorded interviews were chosen because it enabled the researcher to probe the responses given, and investigate motives and feelings that the questionnaire may not pick up
on. Interviews also ensured discussion remained focused on the issues, while still being flexible enough to allow interaction between the interviewer and the participant.

2.5 The Selection of Participants

The source of the participants came directly from the sample schools selected by the researcher. The city of Christchurch was chosen primarily because there has been little research done on Pacific Islands secondary students in this area. As illustrated earlier, most research on Pacific Islands education has come out of either Wellington or Auckland, both areas containing sizeable Pacific Islands populations. This research was designed to complement comparative studies done in other centres in the hopes of further developing improvement in Pacific Islands research. Christchurch is the third largest city in New Zealand and contains a small Pacific Islands population of around 4% of the total Pacific Islands population in New Zealand. The sample area is also the closest to the researcher and also being from the area enabled the researcher to use 'connections' which would have otherwise not been available in another city. Within this project four groups of participants were needed to extract the relevant information. These were:

(a) The Students
(b) The Parents
(c) The Schools
(d) The Former Students

Table I
SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS FOR SCHOOLS
State Not Integrated Schools in Christchurch

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>SES 1997</th>
<th>SES 1998</th>
<th>Funding (estimated) 1998</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aranui</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burnside</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linwood</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>979</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hornby</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mairehau</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillmorton</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cashmere</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papanui</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riccarton</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>764</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three secondary schools were chosen primarily on the basis of creating an equal spread of decile scale schools for this research (see Table I). Only co-educational public schools were considered for this research mainly for reasons of compatibility to other earlier studies. The schools selected were Aranui

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10 For example, body language the tone of voice, facial expression, hesitation etc, allows the interview to reveal information that a written response would conceal.
11 It is noted that all participation within the project was voluntary and the anonymity was guaranteed for all the questionnaires and interviews.
12 The schools left out in the study are all private schools, public single sex schools and religious schools.
High School, Papanui High School and Riccarton High School. The location of these schools in Christchurch are illustrated in the map listed as Appendix 13.

The researcher contacted all schools with favourable responses from all principals. However, Burnside High School (the first preference for the highest decile school) provided very little support when initially approached by the researcher. Therefore, Riccarton was selected as the next best option. Data collected concerning the results of Pacific Islands students within the sample schools were gained from NZQA statistics. General data on Pacific Islands background were gained from Statistics New Zealand. The MOE provided most of the general data on schooling statistics within New Zealand.

Along with myself, other Pacific Islands speakers were invited to speak to the students in the sample schools. These speakers were acquaintances of the researcher and spoke on their experiences within the tertiary sector. The purpose of presenting the other speakers was to get inspirational tertiary level students back into the schools to encourage Pacific Islands secondary school students to break down the ‘barriers’ that were stopping them from achieving.

2.5.1 Aranui High School

Aranui High was opened in 1960 primarily to serve the sprawling Christchurch suburbs that were rapidly filling with the adolescent baby boomers. In Aranui, the adolescents’ parents were employed in rubber, construction, transport, food, clothing and textile industries (Brett, 1994). Today, Aranui draws students from one of the lowest SES areas in Christchurch and has itself a decile rating of 3. This also means that it shares the lowest SES rating with neighbouring school Linwood (see Table 1). Contributory schools surrounding Aranui have decile ratings as low as one14. Aranui’s ethnic mix closely mirrors the ethnic breakdown for the entire country. The schools population in 1997 was 1006 with a Pacific Islands student population of 6.7%. Thus Aranui contains one of the largest Pacific Islands student populations in the entire Christchurch region.

2.5.2 Papanui High School

Papanui is one of four new New Zealand schools designated by the MOE to be a lighthouse school for the introduction of new technology in the curriculum. Papanui High School in 1997 had a student population of 1099 with a Polynesian population of 2.7%. Papanui has a decile rating of 6 and serves a varied SES community composing of areas of state housing and areas of extremely wealth.

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13 Human ethics committee approval were given for all questionnaires in this study (see Appendix 7).
14 The Aranui informant put it into perspective by arguing that the school fee of $40 is paid by approximately 57% of people bringing the school a total income from fees being as low as 13,000. However, if the fee at Boys High is $100 and 100% paid the fee, the income from the fee alone can be $120,000. He believes the MOE decile grant barely manages the difference.
2.5.3 Riccarton High School

Riccarton High School has the highest decile rating in the sample with a rating of 8. Riccarton predictably contains the smallest amount of Pacific Islands students with less than 1%. However, Riccarton does retain the most diverse ethnic population numbering thirty-six different ethnicities. Riccarton High School is a highly sought after smaller school and is renowned for its partnership with private enterprise providing extra funding.

Being located in the West of Christchurch means that the school is located in and around high SES suburbs. Thus, it also competes with a lot of the highest and most prestigious schools in Christchurch, these include Burnside, Villa Maria, Middleton Grange, St Margarets, Christchurch Girls and Boys High.

2.6 The Students Sample

The ethnic criteria for Pacific Islands students were that they had to have at least one-eighth Pacific Island blood in their ethnic makeup. Information from the students was gained using the questionnaire provided as Appendix 2. The questionnaires were constructed to obtain information on:

- The size of the family
- Whether students were New Zealand-born or born in the islands.
- Former schools (both intermediate and secondary)
- Choice of secondary school and influence of the student in making that choice
- Specific ethnic background
- Fluency in Pacific language and the importance of culture to the student
- Pacific Islands cultural relevance
- Views of the school values
- Views on ways to improve achievement
- Future aspirations

At all three schools, large meetings were organised through the principals. Two or three speakers (including myself) spoke to the students about the study and more importantly the importance of education. Particularly how students needed to work hard in schools to overcome rather than to succumb to the barriers in the education system. Responses were interesting and will be elaborated in the Chapter Six and Seven. Students were then handed the questionnaires and given 20-25 minutes to complete and hand back the questionnaires. This was then accompanied by an open question time that occurred both during and after the handing out of the questionnaire.

The relatively small numbers of Pacific Islands students at each school gave the opportunity for the researcher to question entire Pacific Islands student populations. At each meeting around 90% of Pacific Islands students in each sample school attended.
2.7 The Parents Sample

The parents of these students had a separate questionnaire, which was constructed to draw out information on the background of the students and what factors influenced their choice of school. Specifically this research was focused on finding:

- The effect of marketisation (if any) on their choice of secondary school?
- Variables that were important in their decision?
- Aspirations for their children?
- Involvement with the school?
- Socio-economic background, income and highest qualification?
- The importance of culture?

The questionnaire for the parents was distributed after students had completed their own questionnaire. Students were given 5 days to allow their parents to fill in the form and return the questionnaires to school. However, this process became extremely problematic and will be expanded upon in a later section. The Pacific Islands parents questionnaire is enclosed as Appendix 3 and its amended Samoan version is listed as Appendix 4.

2.8 The Sample Schools

In order to get the relevant data from the schools, Principals (or vice principals subject to their availability) were interviewed. This was complemented by secondary information from government sources. Information sought after here included:

- The impacts of dezonning on the school
- Original zoning patterns
- Enrolment schemes
- Clientele and changes over the last decade
- The advantages and disadvantages of being in a market situation
- The impacts of Tomorrow's Schools' on Pacific Islands achievement
- Comparisons to Maori students
- Problems with Pacific Islands achievement
- Relationships with Pacific Islands families
- The importance of Pacific Island culture

The three interviews took place in the principals' office with duration of around 35 to 45 minutes. The manuscript of the questions asked is provided as Appendix 5.

2.9 The Former Students

The group of former-students was included later in the study to provide information on how the process of marketisation had affected students that went through the period in which political change took place. Issues that were investigated here shadowed issues given in the students' questionnaire. However this sample gave a new dynamic to the study; a retrospective view. New questions asked included:

- Had their perception of culture changed since leaving school and why
What was the degree of awareness of Tomorrow’s Schools’ policy and whether they were affected

Nine interviews were conducted with former-students from each school. Four interviewees came from Aranui, three from Papanui, and two from Riccarton. An equal split between gender and tertiary training background was sought. All former student interviewees had to come from the schools in the sample from the time Tomorrow’s Schools’ was introduced in 1989-1991. Interviews took place where the interviewee felt comfortable whether at home or at the interviewers premises. The manuscript of the questions used in the interview is given as Appendix 6.

An equal split between non tertiary students and tertiary students was maintained however the researcher does note that all former students except for one were born in New Zealand, and that the majority of former students in the sample were Samoan (7 out of 9). This will give the data produced a distinctly New Zealand born Samoan flavour. It is also stressed that it may be dangerous to make generalisations from this data to the entire nation, although it may be a fair representation of what has happened in Christchurch schools.

From Aranui our first interviewee will be called Tasi. Tasi is female and attended Aranui High from 1988 to 1993. She is New Zealand born Samoan and is the eldest of four siblings all aged now around their early 20s. After Tasi finished school she attended the University of Canterbury and completed a Bachelor of Arts majoring in Education in 1998 and is currently completing a teaching diploma. Tasi’s parents are Samoan born and are employed, one in transport, the other as a process worker.

Lua is also female and attended Aranui High from 1990 to 1993. She currently is employed at MacDonalds and lives in Wainoni with her mother, a single parent and a sickness beneficiary. Lua is an only child and although was born in New Zealand, spent 5 years in Samoa.

Tolu is male and attended Aranui from 1992 to 1997 and is now studying at Canterbury University in his Third year of a Commerce degree. He is the eldest son of a family of 3 boys, a mother who is a nurse, and his father who works in a factory. Tolu was born in New Zealand and is Samoan.

Fa is also male and attended Aranui from 1989 to 1992. Fa was born in New Zealand and currently is employed in an assembly plant. His mother and father are both working in low sector employment and he has one brother and sister. Fa also has two children and is Samoan.

Lima is female and is currently completing a double degree is Law and English at the University of Canterbury. She is the eldest in her Tongan family with one parent (a social worker) and five younger siblings. Lima attended Riccarton High for only one year, 1994 after spending her previous schooling in Oamaru. Lima was born in New Zealand.
Ono is female and is the younger sister of Lima. At the time of the interview Ono was unemployed and looking for a suitable training course. Ono attended Riccarton from 1994 to 1996. Ono was also born in New Zealand.

Fitu is male and is currently completing his Honours in Sociology at the University of Canterbury. Fitu attended Papanui High School from 1989 to 1993 and took two years off after school to work. His family consists of 2 parents and 3 other siblings, he is a New Zealand born Samoan. Fitu’s mother is a currently a hospital cook and his father is in the transport industry.

Valu is currently employed in a bakery. He attended Papanui High School from 1989 to 1993 and came from a two-parent family with four other siblings. His mother worked in a kitchen, and his father was a metal sheet cutter, he was born in New Zealand, is Samoan and has one son.

Iva is male and was born in Samoa. He is currently working in a kitchen. He attended Papanui High School from 1988 to 1992.

2.10 The Research Process

This section firstly hopes to highlight some methodological considerations that were taken into account in the completion of this study. Secondly, in order to test the effectiveness of the questionnaire, a pilot study for the student and parent questionnaires was given at Aranui High School. Following the criteria given in the previous section, the questionnaires that were administered brought about interesting results.

2.10.1 Methodological Considerations

Pasikale (1996) points out that there are important theoretical considerations to be taken into account when investigating Pacific Islands people. Firstly, research on Pacific Islands people has not always been beneficial to those being researched. In some cases, the lack of sensitivity and/or lack of awareness of Pacific Islands culture by researchers have resulted in incorrect and often negative interpretations and analyses. For example in the past researchers such as Margaret Mead and artists such as Gaugin, have made lasting negative stereotypical assumptions about Pacific Islands women which have survived even today at the dawn of the 21st century.

A more recent example as illustrated by Pasikale (1996; 22) can be found in Alison Jones' (1991) study of Polynesian girls at secondary schools. Jones tended to portray their experiences as negative, at least in terms of appropriate school behaviour. Jones interpreted the silence of Polynesian learners as the loss of opportunities to 'talk their knowledge into
place'. This analysis was based on the Western notion that verbal articulation of knowledge is desirable and appropriate in a learning environment. However, in a Polynesian context, silence is a valid response in such an environment.\textsuperscript{15}

Pasikale points out that when considering research on Pacific Islands people, the author must be committed to research with Pacific Islands people that will contribute to advancing the knowledge on issues affecting their development. Pasikale brings several methodological considerations she argues must be addressed, these include issues of ownership, epistemology, and relationships.

2.10.1.1 Issues of Authenticity and Ownership

One contentious question that has arisen particularly amongst the new breed of Pacific Islands academics is who really owns Pacific Island knowledge? A literature review on Pacific Islands education in the past has indicated that most literature on Pacific Islands people has been written by non-Pacific Islands people. It is important to note that the view of the 'outsider' is very important, however the 'insider' view is now being uncovered and adds new dimension to the literature already recorded about Pacific Islands and marginalised indigenous peoples around the world. The 1990s have seen an increase in Pacific Islands literature written by Pacific peoples and this thesis hopes to add to this trend\textsuperscript{16}.

Pasikale adds that issues concerning ownership are not only concerned with the rights to the research data, but also the right to determine the issues to be researched. As far as possible, the research question should originate from and reflect the issues pertinent to the research group and the researcher. This is in the hopes of providing a study in which a symbiotic relationship between the researcher and those being researched can be nurtured and developed.

The conflict raging within the debate over the protection of intellectual and cultural property rights of the indigenous peoples' of the world (in terms of definition) is at the forefront of much discussion at the moment. The imposition of a Western system that commodifies everything on to a cultures who do not, remains an important sphere in terms of the definition and development of indigenous peoples' heritage.

\textsuperscript{15} The meaning of silence depends on the nature of the learning activity and on the relationship of the learner with the teacher and the other members of the group. In Pacific Islands culture silence can be used to communicate discontentment, respect, or lack of interest or understanding. Therefore the interpretation of lost opportunities from Jones' perspective did not necessarily apply to the Polynesian girls. In her later work Jones (1992) revisited her analysis and isolated her position in defining and influencing the study. For a deeper analysis on Pacific Islands student's behaviour see the Pacific Island Students Academic Achievement Collective's book called 'Coconuts begin with C'.
2.10.2 Epistemological Issues

Epistemological issues raise questions of “what” knowledge and “whose” knowledge will be included, considered, and/or rejected in the design, analysis and writing of the research. Pacific Islands knowledge and ways of knowing have had little currency in mainstream society least of all in academic spheres where the research and the creation of facts have been considered the prerogative of a few writings. Pasikale believes that Pacific Islands research includes the deconstruction of language and the reconstruction of meaning to better reflect what Pacific Islands peoples think and know about their world and experiences.

This study hopes to help reclaim and restore the value of Pacific Islands culture in both the minds of Pacific Islands people particularly in the New Zealand education system.

2.10.3 Relationships

Pasikale believes that the relationship between the researcher and the persons being researched should be negotiated to reflect the interests of both parties, and the power relations should be acknowledged where they exist. Pasikale states that:

"Pacific Islands research involves an academic context, a community context, a public context, and a personal context. The academic context is concerned with contributing to the body of knowledge on Pacific Islands people in New Zealand. The community context is about the collaboration and participation of Pacific Islands people in research. The public context is about making social change through the information made available by the research, and the personal context is about the role of the "self" in the study. The "insider" researcher-voice cannot be ignored because of misplaced beliefs in "objectivity" and "truths"."(1996)

I aim to attempt to fulfil all these issues in the process of completing this project.

2.11 Problems

There were several problems identified in this project that the researcher had to overcome or learn from whilst doing this project.

The initial project problem centred on the selection of sample schools. Burnside was contacted but was not keen on participating in this particular study. The sample of schools chosen excluded single sex, religious and other schools so that a comparative study could be conducted. Therefore, this left out

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18 Jones (1992: 18) supports this latter argument claiming that "I" is central, and that our accounts of the world can only be constructions made up from the language, meanings and ideas historically available to us, the "I". The old distant voice of the objective observer/writer is seen as fiction, and as a mechanism of power which ensures the domination of certain accounts.
other important schools that may produce interesting results. This included both Christchurch Girls and Boys High Schools and Catholic Cathedral College. The latter contains a high proportion of Polynesian students with a low decile rating that has declined over the past decade.

In the pilot survey, the student and parent questionnaires were given to the students to take home and fill in. However, this proved problematic when returning them. Only around 50% of the questionnaires were returned. Excuses ranged from 'I forgot' to 'I'll bring it next week'. Therefore, this problem was remedied in the next meeting when students completed the forms and returned them before the meeting was finished. It also allowed a time where questions about the contents of the questionnaire could be asked and problems of interpretation could be dealt with. The pilot study also gave the researcher a chance to work out the 'kinks' in the questionnaire itself for example, the ambiguity of some questions meant that amendments could be made to the wording of some questions.

The lack of literature on this specific topic made the selection of the most appropriate method difficult. Being a New Zealand born Samoan, I had not anticipated how difficult the language barrier in the questionnaire for the Pacific Islands parents was going to be. It is acknowledged that the inability of the researcher to speak Samoan fluently imposed limitations on this section of data. Questionnaires to this particular group seemed to be answered by a subsection of the entire group, which basically consisted of those with a good command of English. This, it can be argued creates bias within the sample. Those parents who were not proficient in English did not return the questionnaires. Therefore, this point must be taken into reference when reading through this data.

Because the majority of the sample was Samoan, a translated Samoan version of the questionnaire was produced. However, the translated questionnaire in itself proved problematic. Questions were raised by translators as to the insensitivity of some of the questions that were raised in the English version of the questionnaire. In particular to income, employment status and educational background. Here the researcher was faced with a dilemma of whether it was more important to gain the information needed to provide a background to Pacific Islands parents (even if it was stressed that the information was to be kept anonymous). Or whether it was more important not to offend Pacific Islands parents by omitting culturally sensitive questions. The end result was that particular questions on income and educational background were phased out however, information on job status was not. Information pertaining to income was provided through other sources such as Statistics New Zealand. The Samoan version of the parents questionnaire is enclosed as Appendix 4.

The parental return rates during the study were lower than expected even with the new translation changes. Therefore, to remedy this situation, a general sample of Pacific Islands parents was taken instead of the comparative study that the researcher originally hoped for.

Other questions arose during the study as to whether it would be appropriate to gather information on the teachers' view of the situation of Pacific Islands students. It is acknowledged that this information
would no doubt be valuable however, because of time restraints in this project, interviews with this group although interesting were not feasible. Thus this issue is open to future study.

Questions on what would be an appropriate sample also arose in the formulation of the methodology. The resulting data showed that although the study is a ‘Pacific Islands’ study in name, in essence, the majority of the students and parents who answered the questionnaire were Samoan. This point is to be emphasised when analysing the data in this project.

Another question brought up here was whether the scaling system in the questionnaires themselves was appropriate. The fact that only 1, 3 and 5 were given definitions meant that numbers 2 and 4 were undefined and left to the person answering the question to decide (see questionnaires in the appendix). Also it is noted that some of the definitions themselves may seem ambiguous for example the oral language measurement of ‘basic conversations’ is left up to the informant to decide in effect giving the power of definition to the informant.

Lastly, being a product of the era that is investigated sometimes made it hard to remain a ‘neutral’ party. The researcher’s personal involvement with the study made it difficult at times to distance himself from the data. As part of the community being investigated, it is not possible to remain a ‘neutral’ party or even appearing neutral to the participants. Unforeseen unrelated problems also put a stress on the researcher’s ability to keep to deadlines. These mainly included close family deaths that were followed with time consuming events, typical of large Polynesian celebrations.

2.12 Summary

Chapter Two brings forth the issues and questions that are to be investigated in this project. These were an enquiry into the dynamics of choice, the change in school composition, student population movement, Pacific Islands student achievement, and the value of Pacific Islands culture in the New Zealand education system and the consequences of this valuation. Chapter Two also lay down the methodological framework in which this project takes place. This included an introduction into the instruments of research used, the procedure in which these would be administered, selection of the schools and the participants, and finally a look into the various problems that were come across in the formulation of this project. Chapter Three will provide the theoretical platform in which this project is situated.
CHAPTER THREE

THEORY AND CONCEPTUALISATION

The aim of this chapter is to demystify the political rhetoric that seems to evade the comprehension of the people that are truly adversely affected by government reform, which in this case are those of Pacific Islands descent.

This section of the project will provide a look at the theoretical framework in which this study must acknowledge before the commencement of any work. This will look at the role of education and the state and the relationship between education and both economics and the family. These factors are crucial in the explanation of why there is an imbalance within the education system today. From here we will review the changes of the government theology to a neo-liberal stance that opened the door for the introduction of the market-led policies into education. From here we move to an examination of the theoretical relationship between education and culture.

3.1 The Role of Education in New Zealand

In order to understand the theory underlying this topic, an investigation into the change in government thinking must be explored. The influence of the ‘New Right’ was instrumental in the policies of the New Zealand government in the mid-1980s and early 1990s. This section will establish a theoretical framework to explain this transition in political thought and thus expose the underlying truths to the problems of education, which permeate throughout this period and continue today.

New Zealand has long prided itself on its ‘fair’ education system. In 1887, the government introduced a universal, compulsory and secular primary education system. This notably reflected the egalitarian principles of early policy makers based on the historically important rights and claims of the individual. The first Labour government (led by Peter Fraser in 1935) extended the universality to the secondary school system. Fraser stated that:

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

This statement became the benchmark for contemporary education policy in New Zealand. However, by the 1990s the New Zealand education system went through its most turbulent administration changes in more than a century. These sweeping changes were an indication of the depth of the endemic crisis within the education system. However, in order to comprehend these changes, an investigation into the underlying influence of political and economic conditions must be undertaken.
3.1.1 Education and the Changing Role of State

The relationship between education and the changing role of the state in New Zealand must be understood in order to understand the education policy changes through the 1980s. The role of the State in New Zealand has gone through various changes over the last couple of decades. In the early New Zealand education system, the state was viewed as a caretaker in what educationalists call the Orthodox liberal view. Education was seen as vital for social mobility and the state took a neutral part in the protection of its members’ interests. The government’s responsibility was thus to provide fair and equitable distribution of social goods. Whether or not persons took advantage of the government’s policies was seen to be a matter of personal responsibility.

From the opposite pole, Marxist theologians define the state as a system of oppression and class domination. Here, the state becomes an instrument of the capitalist elite necessary for the maintenance of its control over the relations of production, thus, the classes beneath them (Carnoy, 1984). Codd (et al., 1990) argues that this need for control originates from the instability within the capitalist production process, giving occasional rise to crisis periods of over- or under-production. Thus, in order for the dominant classes to remain in power, they must extend its influence on the state. Hence, the primary role of the state becomes that of prevention and resolution of economic crises that are endemic to capitalist society. This view has been coined the Marxist traditional view.

Claus Offe (1984, 1985) offers the best explanation for the role of state within a capitalist society. Offe argued that the state has two simultaneous and contradictory roles within society. Firstly, the state role was to support the process of capital accumulation. Secondly, the state was to maintain its legitimacy through electoral support, enhance the value of labour (through education and training), and ameliorate the social costs of private accumulation (through a welfare system and environmental protection policies, etc). Codd argues the contradiction is that:

"In performing these roles, the institutions of the state are ‘independent’ of any direct or systematic control by the capitalist class, but these institutions tend to support capitalist interests mainly because they are dependent upon capital accumulation for their continued existence."


(18) It is important to note that neo-Marxists think that the orthodox economist view of the state is unable to sufficiently explain the complex functions of state institutions and the diverse effects of state policies in advanced capitalist societies. Nor can it explain adequately, in their view, the role of the state in relation to economic, political and social crises.

(19) Offe was a major contributor to the new wave of theory and was particularly influenced by the Frankfurt School, particularly Herbowans (1976) and to some extent Weber’s analysis of bureaucracy.

(20) For example by providing transport systems, business subsidies and so on.
In other words, the state while trying to balance popular support of citizens through the guaranteeing of the collective interests of the entire society, must submit to the powers of capitalist society which undermine its stance of equality.

3.1.2 The Crisis of the Welfare State and the Rise of the New Right

Educationalists have contended that education was poorly understood in New Zealand because it was explained to the public in terms that disconnected it from the political economy. Debate in the late 1980s focused on the more politicised aspects of the education system such as inequalities in achievement, the maintenance of standards and the allocation of resources.

By the late 1980s a fiscal crisis in New Zealand had deepened and the egalitarian rhetoric of wishful thinking liberalism became increasingly transparent. The illusion that schooling was politically neutral was beginning to be exposed. Government education reforms in the late 1980s coincided with increasing criticism. Critics argued that the government sent intrinsic subliminal messages in those reforms which:

"Fundamentally... represen[ed] a dual response to a popular democratic imperative for more community participation and a governmental imperative to enhance power in certain crucial areas of state management." (Codd et al 1990; 8)

Olsson and Morris-Matthews expands on this point and argued that the changes were a consequence of the undermining of the welfare state between 1984-1990. The dismantling process was similar to general trends in other advanced Western capitalist countries as global capitalism, facing a serious crisis of profitability, positioned for restructuring (1997: 12). The decline of profitability in New Zealand was blamed on the welfare state by a new breed of liberal economists together with increasing international pressure to reform to new current economic theory applied by institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

3.1.3 Neo Classical Economic Theory

The Fourth Labour government, the Treasury, and the State Services Commission were the central instigators of the strain of liberal thought coined 'neo-liberalism' (Codd, 1990a; 1990b; Marshall and Peters, 1990; Peters and Marshall, 1990; Peters, Marshall and Massey, 1994). The central defining quality of this liberalism was a 'revival' in the central tenets of

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21 Legitimisation is achieved through the democratic process of election and representation, and through the production of mass loyalty to the existing system of administrative and political power. A specific crisis of legitimation can be recognised when the system fails to provide the generalised level of support for state actions and, therefore, the government lacks the ability to implement its polices (Hebermas, 1976)

22 Both the World Bank and the IMF were created in 1944 at the Breton Woods Conference on post-war economic reconstruction and were largely controlled by the United States, Germany and Japan.

Classical liberalism represents a negative conception of state power in that the individual was taken as an object to be freed from the interventions of the state. The individual is characterised by having an autonomous human nature and can practise freedom. On the other hand, Neo liberalism represents a positive conception of the role of state in providing favourable market conditions. The state seeks to create an individual that is an enterprising and competitive entrepreneur. Olssen and Morris-Matthews claims that:

"In the shift from classical liberalism to neo-liberalism, then, there is a further element added for such a shift involves a change in subject position from 'homo economicus', who is naturally behaves out of self interest and is relatively detached from the state, to 'manipulatable man' who is created by the state and who is continually encouraged to be 'perpetually responsive'.” (1997: 22)

The state thus seeks to assure the conditions for perpetual human responsiveness and flexibility that are advanced most forcefully in modern 'new right' theories such as 'Human Capital Theory', 'Public Choice Theory', 'Monetarism', etc all variants of neo-classical liberal thought23. The popular belief that still exists within society is that education works to serve the common good, however, an indepth analysis of the relationship between Education and Economics reveals a different story. Chapter Four will provide a socio-historical analysis of political change in New Zealand throughout the last couple of decades.

3.2 The Relationship between Education and Economics – Inequality Explained

The economic system within a capitalist society affects the educational system in several ways. Primarily, modern production requires a high level of scientific and technical knowledge of the material world and its real properties and obviously that knowledge must be produced and transmitted to individuals so that they are able to perform necessary technical functions. This knowledge is now produced and transmitted largely by the education system. Modern production is managed and directed by an elite that must necessarily possess the appropriate social and cognitive skills. Those who manage the productive process and those who advise them must be informed by a world-view, a universalised consciousness, able to comprehend the complex inter-related systems of international finance and trade. Codd believes that:

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23 Olssen and Morris-Matthews (1997: 23) claims that all these theories share the same presuppositions:
- Economically self-interested subjects
- The economy is separate from the rest of society
- The uncoordinated self-interest of individuals correlates with the interests and harmony of the whole
- The individual is a rational optimiser and is the best judge of his or her own interests and needs
- A 'flexible', that is, deregulated, labour market provides the same opportunities for people to utilize their skills and therefore optimise their life goals.
"Although an essential element of this consciousness is formed within families, it is given its definitive form by the education system where it is selectively structured and embodied in particular individuals as symbolic capital." (et al 1990; 10)

3.3 The Relationship Between Education and the Role of the Family

Although it is capital that sets its limits and the state that directs the education system within those limits, the real driving force is provided by the reproduction strategies of class-located families. Upon European settlement, the economy in New Zealand (particularly the agricultural sector) was largely dependent upon capital accumulation within families. The mode of production based on family-owned capitalist enterprise from small farming to big business reproduced itself through the direct transmission of real capital. This capital, like land, could not be divided without being lost to the family therefore was treated as patrimony of which the first-born son had customary right. All branches of state service positions were allocated in a similar system of open nepotism. Corporate capitalism (and state service bureaucracies) have today replaced family enterprise as the dominant mode of production.

Bourdieu (1977) has shown that such cultures can be treated for analytical purposes as a form of capital. Just as there is financial capital, so there are cultural and social capitals, this is in the form of distinctive knowledge and social networks. Reproduction theory presents the school as the embodiment of the dominant culture which exists in the larger society, justified through his concepts of habitus and cultural capital. Bourdieu claimed that success of a student is dependent on the amount of 'cultural capital' a student has. Here we are asked to think of cultural capital in the same way we would think of economic capital.

Dominant economic institution are conceived to already favour those who already possess economic capital, similarly educational institutions cater for those who already possess cultural capital, with a benchmark set by the dominant group. Thus, the habitus of the dominant group (which in New Zealand's case is middle class European culture) constitutes the cultural capital within educational institutions. This cultural capital is reproduced based on the imperial assumption that it is deemed appropriate and recognised as the 'norm' for New Zealanders. (Harker, cited in Codd, Harker and Nash, 1990; 34).

Codd provides more understanding on the relationship by claiming that the central facet of capital is its convertibility. Financial capital is converted to social and capital through private education with little risk. Cultural and social capital is converted through the mediation of the school (and its influence) to the employment market. This in turn, means that:

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24 For example medicine and law effectively became family property in much the same way as apprenticeships through which skilled craftsmen learned their trades. Handed down from father to son -- occupations were treated as patrimony.

25 Habitus is the way a culture is encompassed within an individual. Ones culture is dependent upon the beliefs, values, behaviours and understandings inherited through the primary socialisation agent of the family.

26 Note; Cultural (or Symbolic) Capital represents 'a transformed or disguised form of physical or 'economic' capital'. (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977)
“The dominant classes of contemporary capitalism can ensure the reproduction of their status through the development of their cultural capital and by its reconversion to credentials, giving access to structural positions where financial capital is accumulated. In this reconversion process, the mediation of the school is all-important. Cultural capital acquired in the home is recognised accurately by the school as an indication of receptivity and confers a virtual right to its academically structured knowledge. Once duly certified as the possessor of this knowledge, an individual is identifiable by class habitus and scholastic habitus as one with both the capacity and right to assume a career in decision-making divisions of capital and state organisations. Thus, symbolic power has become actual power.” (et al., 1990; 12)

The key is that once it is recognised that competition for status reproduction by class-located (patrilineal) families is the motor of the education system, Codd argues much of what is problematic about structured educational inequality as it affects working-class non-dominant ethnic groups and women ceases to be mysterious. It explains why there are such small number of Maori students in universities, just as it explains why freezing workers are often sons of freezing workers and why lawyers are often the sons and, increasingly, the daughters of lawyers. Thus, higher education certification becomes 'virtual dowry', and class endogamy must ensure (as familial reproduction strategies in the past have used) that the status quo must be maintained.

This explains why social reproduction needs a cultural continuity between class-located families and the state controlled education system. The power embodied in cultural capital determines life chances far beyond the initial gaining of access to the labour market. Logically, families can only maintain generational dominance by the acquisition of access into high economic positions for their children. Thus, the maintenance of this cycle explains the inequalities that continue today. Therefore the school becomes a pivotal site for class cultural conflict (Codd et al., 1990; 13)27. In summary, Codd (et al.) believes that:

"The crisis of the school is endemic and apparently incapable of resolution. It has never been possible for governments to satisfy all sectors of society, but in the domain of education contemporary governments are experiencing increasing difficulty in satisfying any sector.” (1990; 14)

3.4 The Relationship Between Education and Culture

Another issue that is developed in this project is the value placed upon Pacific culture within the New Zealand education system. In order to understand the clashes between the Western education system and Pacific Island culture, we must understand the processes involved. This section will provide a definition of 'culture' and 'education' as a starting point.

Hele-Thaman (1995; 1) defines culture as:

"... the way of life of a discrete group of people. It includes language, a body of accumulated knowledge and understandings, skills, beliefs and values.”

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27 Studies such as Edwards (1982) confirm this by suggesting that throughout this century the proportion of higher educational places in the European democracies has generally been sufficient to provide places for 70% of the offspring of the professional and managerial classes. However, once this saturation level has been reached demand pressure seems to relax and the system function more or less in equilibrium until the proportion of professional workers in the economy rises.
Culture underpins, and is reflected in, the actions and attitudes of individual members of the group. Culture is the system of values and meanings with which individuals construct their realities. It also shapes the framework in which relationships with others will operate.

Pasikale (1996) cites Eckermann (1994; 2-3) who adds that:

"... a group's culture is relevant only to its own particular group, it helps to determine how people of that group perceive themselves, how they conceptualise or order their world... how they cope with the world...[also providing a group with]... proven mechanisms for dealing with other people and with material things of their world."

Education is deeply rooted in culture, it is where knowledge is learned, transmitted, created and collected. For Pacific Islands people in New Zealand, concepts of education have been influenced by traditional and non-traditional knowledge. The term 'education' is usually only used to refer to formal education but the wider meaning including informal learning must be implemented when considering Pacific Islands people (Pasikale 1996; 12). The relationship between culture and education is complex and although there is a general acceptance that culture and education are interdependent, the interpretations of how this related to the learning abilities and performance of individuals are varied. Anecdotal evidence suggests that Pacific Island learners are often negatively affected by the stereotypical assumptions made by teachers28.

3.5 Pedagogy of the Oppressed

Paulo Friere's Pedagogy of the Oppressed, which develops a new critical vein of conceptualising the role of education within a capitalist nation will also be used in the discussion chapter. Its relevance to issues such as oppression of the mind, dialogical participation, and notions of biophilic and necrophilic behaviour in this project could not be ignored. These issues will be expanded upon in Chapter Seven.

3.6 Summary

The purposes of Chapter Three are important in the grounding of this research. An explanation of the role of the state and its relationship with the education system is instrumental in the understanding of inequality within the education system and thus in society as a whole. This also constitutes the rapid popularisation of many 'New Right' polices including Tomorrow's Schools which came to the fore in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Chapter Three has thus exposed the intrinsic bias of the whole system through the state, and the invisible internal structures of class-located families. Along with this the relationship between education and culture is outlined and partly the introduction of Paulo Freire's

28 For example, students with Pacific Island accents are often assumed to have difficulties with the English language and in many cases, they are placed into remedial classes without other diagnoses. Spoonley (1982) documented the attitudes of employers to Pacific Island employees, but attitudes of teachers toward Pacific Island students have yet to be documented. This relationship will be further outlined in Chapter Five where a historical view of the impacts of Western education both within the Pacific and in New Zealand will be outlined.
works which will become important in the explanation of inequality. The next chapter will provide a socio-historical progression to the theory that has been outlined in this chapter.
CHAPTER FOUR

NEW ZEALAND EDUCATION REFORMS AND THE RISE OF THE NEW RIGHT

The purpose of Chapter Four is to apply a socio-historical dimension to the theory. This will outline the major policy documents that were instrumental in the transition to a market-led education system in New Zealand. The theoretical framework presented in Chapter Three claimed that the effects on the education system originate from the political sphere. Codd (et al.) further claims that the social crisis that occurred during the 1980s was rooted within the economic system. Chapter Three also revealed that in order to understand the politics of education was to recognise that the control of the forces of cultural production is as materially important to the social formation as control of the forces of economic production (1990; 14). This chapter will examine the important political changes and polices that led to the Tomorrow’s Schools policy in 1989 and the influence of the ‘New Right’.

4.1 The Currie Report 1962

The Currie Report was an influential document that reported on the general state of education in New Zealand. The report concluded that ‘egalitarian feelings still exert much of their former power towards uniformity, the avoidance of special privilege, and the equality of status and opportunity’ (Currie Report, 1962; 218). The report propounded the doctrine that increased state expenditure on education would provide greater opportunities for social mobility (which it thought meant greater social equality). This in turn, theoretically would produce a more highly educated workforce whose collective productive efforts would generate increased wealth to the greater economic satisfaction of all in which the spirit of the document declared:

"... equality and expediency appear therefore to point in the same direction.” (Department of Education, 1962)

Immediate academic challenge to this view came in comparative education where it became apparent by the mid-1960s that educational provision in the less developed countries functioned not as an agent of social equity but largely as a mechanism for the reproduction of the urban elite (Codd et al., 1990; 14). As for the contribution of education to economic development, Dore (1977) claims that if anything had been learned from a series of appallingly costly errors in various countries, it was that the relationship between educational ‘investment’ and economic return was much less than direct and linear. McCulloch (1990) identified that the report did little for marginalised groups and subsequently these problems would recur in successive governments.

Throughout the 1970s, liberal theses on education, social equity and economic growth were subjected to separate critical attacks from libertarian anarchists radical sociologists and neo-conservative thinkers
alike. Deschoolers such as Illich (1971) and social and cultural reproduction theorists (Bourdieu, 1974; Bowles and Gintis, 1976) dominated the academic debate and to some extent undermined the liberal belief in the power of schooling as an agent of social and economic transformation.

4.2 The Curriculum Review 1987

The Fourth Labour government from July 1984 adopted a combination of macro- and micro-economic policies aimed at reducing inflation, increasing productivity and stimulating employment growth. At this time New Zealand government was undergoing a severe crisis of legitimation\textsuperscript{29}. The Conservative National Government had come to be perceived by many as epitomising some of the worst authoritarian features of a welfare capitalist state in which highly centralised forms of public administration had become blatantly and intolerably undemocratic. By the mid-1970s there was increasing expression of public concern about deficiencies within the education system, combined with calls for greater community participation and parental involvement in education.

Labours' first term initiatives focused on the curriculum, honouring an election promise that it would 're-open' public debate on this issue. In November 1984 the committee to review the curriculum for Schools was set up. In the first phase of the review more than 21,500 responses were receive from individuals and groups, including students, parents, school committees, boards, teacher organisations, Maori and Pacific Islands groups, and community education organisations. The review outlined the need to cater for Maori educational needs, to counter racism and sexism through the curriculum and promote a more active partnership between the schools, families and the community.

A draft report was released in August 1986 and a further 10,000 responses were received. A report was released in April 1987 after nearly two years of consultation and extensive debate about the aims and purposes for education – The Curriculum Review was heralded as a major educational reform. This document presented a liberal-progressive view of education with a strong emphasis on school and community based planning of the curriculum within guidelines approved by the state. This was immediately lauded by the political 'left' while invoking strong criticism from the 'right' for its 'liberal and costly' proposals.

Olssen and Morris-Matthews (1997; 11) argue that document fell by the political 'wayside' because of a lack of impetus following the report of the Treasury commenting on government policy direction. The Treasury sent a highly critical response to the Minister of Finance in which they asserted that the Review had failed to tackle issues of management and consumer choice\textsuperscript{30}.

\textsuperscript{29} One of the main manifestations of a deepening legitimation crisis is that state institutions are unable to satisfy public expectations and they become obvious targets for blame and derision.
Less than two months after the Government received the Treasury Report (1987), and just before the 1987 general election, the Taskforce to Review Education Administration was announced. Its terms of reference set an agenda in which two concepts were to be central – devolution and efficiency. All matters relating to the curriculum or the nature of teaching and learning were excluded.

In August 1987 following general election, the minister (David Lange) assumed the education portfolio with a declaration that the reform of education was to be high on the Government’s agenda during its second term. Codd claims that it was noticeable that the minister made no commitment to implementation of the Curriculum Review although frequent mention was made of the anticipated Picot Report on the Review of Education Administration.

4.3 The Picot Report 1988

The Picot Report was released on May 10, 1988 and proposed some of the most radical restructuring of the education system for more than a century. Codd claims that:

"The public was ‘persuaded’ by a skilfully orchestrated media presentation that the major Picot proposals were both necessary and beneficial. An impossibly short period (6-7 weeks) was given for submissions and on August 7 the Minister released a white paper, Tomorrow’s Schools, and announced that it would be implemented by October 1, 1989." (Codd et al., 1990; 16)

Codd identifies many similarities between the text of the Picot Report and the of the Treasury briefs in 1984 and 1987. For example the Treasury document (1987; 42) states that the key element in redressing problems of equity and efficiency is:

"...empowering, through choice and through maximising information flows, to the family, parent or individual as the customer of educational sources."

The very same ideology was present in the Picot statement that indicated that:

"...we see the creation of more choice in the system as a way of ensuring greater efficiency and equity" (Department of Education, 1988:4)

The Picot Report (Department of Education, 1988) and the government’s response Tomorrow’s Schools (Department of Education, 1989) were the most important documents shaping the administration of the new education system in New Zealand history.\(^\text{31}\)

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\(^{31}\) It is acknowledged that Tomorrow’s Schools initially put a greater emphasis on equity; for example, the principles of deficit funding for disadvantaged groups, however such proposals fell by the wayside following the election of the National government in 1990. (Gispen and Morris-Mathews 1997: 18)
4.4  Tomorrow’s Schools 1989

Tomorrow’s Schools brought changes that saw new administrative systems in which schools were to be governed by small board of trustees elected by parents with responsibility for managing the school within the terms of a ‘charter’ thus, having the same force of an instrument of government. The MOE was charged with policymaking replacing the Department of Education and Education Boards. The Education Review Office (ERO) was now responsible for schools’ inspection, and the Parents Advocacy Council advised community groups on educational provision. Local community forums provided a place for community debate. The new structure increased the responsibilities of individual schools at the local community level, although this is questionable and has been challenged (see Gordon, 1992; Bates, 1990; Codd 1990a; 1990b; Smith, 1991; Kelsey, 1993).

Over all, the new regime meant the responsibilities of the local school boards were greatly strengthened however, so too was the power of the state. The state in effect, abandoned certain areas of control (mainly staffing and discretionary expenditure) and greatly enhanced power over others. The government was seen to relinquish ‘no win’ areas and to consolidate its control of vital areas where losing would threaten its ability to manage the system at all. (Codd et al., 1990; 17). This withdrawal was not just limited to the education system pointing to Maori Affairs, health, and local authority reorganisation. Codd (et al.) believes that strategic withdrawal:

“...[was] an attractive response to the general crisis of legitimation. The essential machinery of control is strengthened while new institutions take responsibility for the most contested frontal sites and buffer the central apparatus from whole areas of criticism. The rationale of lobbying is weakened and the potential of state institutions themselves to become internally contested arenas is reduced.” (1990; 17)

In essence Codd argues:

“The educational policies of the fourth Labour Government have incorporated radical individualism and liberal contractualism into simple doctrines of New Right market freedom and state minimalism.” (Codd et al 1990; 18-19)

One of the consequences of Tomorrow’s Schools was that it strengthened crucial state powers at the expense of teachers’ professional autonomy and elected school boards, which now were subject to dismissal. Capper (1989) and Munro (1989) pointed out that teacher’s union member’s unity and collective action would be threatened. The Parents Advocacy Council was noted for its lack of any significant power, and the community forums were seen as nothing more than ‘talking shops’. It was also noted that the new regime was more likely to generate a ‘safety first’ attitude in teachers, discouraging innovations in curriculum and pedagogy and the stiffening of conservative tendencies. Codd (et al.) argues that the real effect of Picot were materialised when examining social equality, to which he says:

“Marked differences in the level of resources available to schools, reflecting their differential ability to attract parental contributions, have always been evident and although equity funding has been provided it is unlikely that such differences will be reduced, still less eliminated. Indeed, unless the government was to undertake to provide all schools with the level of funds the richest are able to attract (an effective way to reduce their fund-raising capacity), there is no obvious way to avoid such inequalities.” (1990; 18)
4.5 The Rise of the ‘New Right’

The global influence of the ‘New Right’ shows that New Zealand was not alone in this new wave of thinking. Boston (1987 cited in Olssen and Morris-Matthews 1997: 16) noted the similarities Labour shared with the Thatcher government in Britain:

"...the desire to curtail the role of the state in the economy; the commitment to monetary and fiscal discipline; the emphasis on controlling inflation as the primary objective of macro-economic policy; the quest for efficiency, consistency and predictability; the shift in emphasis from demand management to supply-side measure; the reliance on market forces and the desire to make markets work better; and the regular endorsement of TINA (there is no alternative)" (Boston, 1987: 150).

In terms of education, Snook (1994: 37-38) argued that the market model entailed four major features. Firstly that the way to improve schools is to ensure that they are consumer driven. Secondly, that the user should pay, that private schools are better than state schools and should be encouraged and lastly that the schools system must be made accountable.

The New Zealand government justified the change to a market led political ideology by pointing to studies such as Julien Le Grand (1982; 1987) who claimed that in his empirical analysis in England, the welfare state was not redistributive across class lines. In fact, Le Grand discovered that most redistribution was actually intra-class and over the course of the individual’s lifetime (Peters and Marshall, 1988). Evidence of the influence of Le Grand and the like are found within the Treasury brief in 1984 that stated:

"A variety of studies in countries with welfare systems broadly similar to New Zealand’s have concluded that most public expenditure on social services is actually distributed in a manner that favours the middle and higher social(income or occupation) groups, despite its notational targeting at low groups." (New Zealand Treasury, 1984: 259 cited in Olssen and Morris-Matthews, 1997: 13)

The New Zealand Treasury used the theoretical concept of ‘capture’ to ground their critique of the welfare state. This concept is used both to account for the deficiencies of existing welfare policies in terms of egalitarian objectives and to advocate a shift to neo-liberal solutions based on the minimisation of the state and promotion individual choice. (Olssen and Morris-Matthews, 1997: 14). Bertram (1988 cited in Peters and Marshall, 1988) summaries the Treasury’s use of the three forms of capture which they claim to be central in criticisms of the welfare state. The first form is consumer capture that occurs when a group of users of state services secures preferential treatment against the interest of other users. Provider capture occurs in a situation where those who supply state services pursue their own interests at the expense of the interest of consumers. Finally administrative capture which refers to a situation where government departments not directly involved in the production of state-provided services act to advance their own interests at the expense of the quality of those services.

This critique grounded the justification for more market-led educational policies within New Zealand.

\[\text{Bertram (1988) argues that this concept of ‘capture’ presupposes the neo-liberal’s individualist assumptions about society; that it presupposes that the welfare state is a zero-sum game; and that it initiates a critique that discounts externalities, public goods and economies of scale. (cited in Olssen and Morris-Matthews 1997: 14)}\]
throughout the 1980s and 1990s. However, Olssen and Morris Matthews would later point out that the movement toward the market only led to new form of capture – business capture.

The government reforms of the 1990s followed a right wing advocacy of market power (parental ‘choice’). Lauders’ critique of ‘social engineering’ and the ‘over education’, the calls for ‘accountability’ and ‘efficiency’ proved impossible to resist, and it is these concerns and concepts of the right that now clearly dominate the discourse of contemporary educational politics.

4.6 Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to try to place a factual historical account of political change in New Zealand on top of the theoretical blueprint that has been introduced in earlier chapters. This clearly illustrates the influence of the ‘New Right’ in New Zealand educational politics and sets the scene for the next chapter of this project – the introduction of the subjects of the study, Pacific Islands people.
CHAPTER FIVE

POVERTY’S PARADISE?
THE PACIFIC ISLAND PEOPLE IN NEW ZEALAND

The term ‘Poverty’s Paradise?’ refers to the realities of Pacific Islands people within New Zealand who leave the ‘poverty’ in their island homes to become the labour force (or the lower class) of another country. The dilemma is well illustrated in the poetry of Petaia (1980):

Better Life

My educated brother leaves today
For overseas
He say, he goes
Look for a better life
Many jobs
Big pays
Small fa’alavelaves
He wants goods schools
For his children
He says he’ll die
Here at home
With less jobs
Little pays
No good schools
And plenty of fa’alavelaves
And
Soon as he settles
Down into nice big house
And many money
He’ll send for me
To come drive his
Second hand car.

Ruperake Petaia

This chapter provides a background of the group being surveyed - the Pacific Islands people in New Zealand. It will identify the Pacific Islands people in New Zealand, where they originated from, why they came, and the turmoil of economic change and a shift in the status of the Pacific people in New Zealand.

5.1 Who are the Pacific Islands People?

The term ‘Pacific Islands’ is a generalist term, and people of the Pacific identify strongly with their island of origin (Ministry of Education, 1998). The use of the term conceals and undermines the historical, social and cultural uniqueness of each Pacific society (Coxon et al., 1994). Tiatia (1998; 11) claims that the New Zealand education system does not overtly express a desire to distinguish these groups simply because there is too large a number to be equally catered for. The six main Pacific Island
ethnic groups are Samoan, Cook Island, Tongan, Niuean, Tokelau and Fijian. Pacific Islands people tend to be located in predominately urban areas and nearly two-thirds of the entire population in 1991, reside in the Auckland area. Figure One shows the break down of the Pacific Islands population in New Zealand.

**Figure One**

**Total Pacific Islands People by Ethnic Group**

1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Samoan</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook Islands</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongan</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niuean</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fijian</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokelauan</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Statistics New Zealand, Census of Population and Dwellings, 1996*

The Pacific Islands population has increased steadily over the last four decades, initially through migration but more recently through natural increase. In 1991, the Pacific Islands population was around 5% of New Zealand’s total population, an increase of 28% since 1981 (Department of Statistics, 1992). In 1996, a total of 6% of all New Zealanders identified with a Pacific Islands ethnic group. Statistics also reveal that at the current growth rate it is projected that by the year 2030, the proportion of Pacific Islands population will increase to 7% of the total New Zealand population. This makes the Pacific Islands population the third largest and fastest growing ethnic group in New Zealand.

5.1.1 Where did they come from and why?

During the period after the World War Two, New Zealand experienced a time of great economic prosperity. A combination of boom conditions in the world economy and New Zealand domestic policies cultivated industrialisation and full employment causing a formidable labour shortage, particularly within the expanding urban secondary sector (Ongley, 1991). The shortage of unskilled labourers within New Zealand encouraged employers to look to the Pacific Islands to meet their employment needs. From the 1940s right up till the early 1980s, the New Zealand government actively encouraged migration from the islands through liberal immigration policies. Pacific Islanders saw this as an opportunity to create better lives for themselves their families and communities back home. The Pacific Island people were a
source for the cheap and convenient labour required for New Zealand's economic development (Mara, et al., 1994; 196).

The lure of a 'better' education system perceived as advanced and of higher quality also attracted Pacific Islands people to New Zealand. At the height of the migration most Pacific Island countries offered schooling only at primary school levels. In other countries in the Pacific secondary schooling only went as far as Fourth and Fifth form and local tertiary education was almost non-existent.

Although much was gained from the migration of Pacific peoples to New Zealand, it is also important to note what would later be a cost of migration, especially concerning the New Zealand born Pacific Islands generation. Pasikale explains that:

"The potential loss of island life-styles and other traditional ways seemed to be less significant than the potential economic benefits to be gained by living in New Zealand. While these early immigrants may not have been consciously aware of the trade-offs made in the transition from traditional to modern living, subsequent New Zealand-born generations have struggled to regain and maintain identities which reflect their traditional heritages and their modern environments." (1996; 5)

This issue of struggle will be investigated in the discussion section under 'O lо ‘u Afa'.

5.1.2 The Economic Crisis – The 'Dawn Raids' Era

Along with the crisis of the welfare state in the 1980s detailed in earlier chapters, the preceding economic downturn in New Zealand in the 1970s gradually reversed the position of Pacific Island people in terms of employment. The high numbers of Pacific Island immigrants in New Zealand were seemingly used as a scapegoat for the economic problems in this country. This period for the Pacific Islanders is characterised by 'dawn raids' of Pacific Island dwellings by the immigration department looking for 'overstayers'. Later analysis of the motives behind the raids revealed that the government unfairly targeted Pacific Islanders. Discriminatory television advertisements throughout the Muldoon era and inappropriate police behaviour revealed in documentaries and more recently being dramatised in plays by Pacific Island youth (for example 'Dawn Raids' by Pacific Underground). These display accounts which are frighteningly reminiscent of the propaganda and activities employed by German authorities in the Second World War. The Pacific Island people who were once welcomed in by the New Zealand government were being blamed for the country's economic woes. I believe that these events helped to stimulate the often negative stereotypes of Pacific Islanders in this country. Pasikale summarises the well in this quote:

"...stereotypical images of Pacific Islands people are perpetuated and reinforced by the media. Images popularised on television and radio and in newspapers include Pacific Islanders as overstayers, overeaters, stupid, lazy, violent, 'fobby' (fresh from the islands) and poor. Potentially positive images, but often border on patronising,
include Pacific Islanders as singers, dancers, happy and sporty (particularly involved in team sports, such as rugby and netball.” (1996; 16)

Today, the Pacific Island people dwell at the lower end of the socio-economic curve in New Zealand. Meleisea (1992) believes that between 1986 and 1991 the cost of economic restructuring in New Zealand was disproportionately borne on Pacific Island people due to two major factors:

1. The concentration in certain sectors of employment i.e. manufacturing, production and labouring (which involves large scale dismantling of industrial infrastructure)
2. A youthful population structure which decreased employment for young unskilled or the inexperienced.

The repercussions of changes to government policy on Pacific Island people in New Zealand are evidenced in the comments of Schoffel who claims that:

“The sharp decline in economic status of the Pacific Island community in recent years through unemployment and the reduction in social welfare benefits has had profoundly negative effects. Cultural dislocation is no longer offset by reasonably high incomes; welfare dependency has damaged their collective sense of self worth; and there has been an overall deterioration in their standard of living and in their physical and psychological strength.”(1994; 85)

This is compounded by the fact that Pacific Islands people have no legitimate claim to the land like the Maori. Therefore, advances made by the Maori usually meant that Pacific Islands people could also advance.

Today, unemployment rates are significantly higher for Pacific Island people and dependency on forms of government income has also increased. In 1991, just over half the Pacific Islands population (53%) received some sort of government income assistance and over half live in rented dwellings (Department of Statistics, 1992).

5.2. A Case Study of Indigenous Pacific Culture – the fa’aSamoa

In order to understand the way in which Pacific Islanders view the world, we will use fa’aSamoa as an example of indigenous Pacific culture. Although it has been acknowledged that it is dangerous to generalise one Pacific culture to include all the Pacific cultures, the Samoan culture holds core similarities to other indigenous cultures in the Pacific. It must be also noted that around 90% of the total student sample were Samoan and in terms of population, the Samoan people retain over half of the Pacific Islands group in New Zealand. Fa’aSamoa is also the most familiar culture to the researcher.

The fa’aSamoa (Samoan way of life) is an ordering of a society of the highest kind. It refers to the social, the economic, the historical and moral order for Samoan people. The bedrock of Samoan identity is a commitment to the fa’aSamoa which is a portrayal of a unique relationship with God (Anae 1995: 5). Samoans possess a common identity through the conscious and deliberate transmission of traditional values and hierarchical aspects of the social structure of their culture. Bound up with
social stratification or hierarchy are concepts which are of great significance to Samoans: status, prestige, honour, and the associated behaviours of fa‘aaloalo (respect) and usita‘i (obedience). Social honour is based upon ascribed social distinctions (age and sex) and codified rankings, while prestige (prescribed social distinctions) results from the evaluation of levels of achievement gained through effort and merit (Duncan, 1994: 21).

Fa‘aSamoa includes not only the unwritten traditions which are the core of the oral culture but also the social ethics and protocol of day to day activity, and the responsibilities and values which make Samoans unique. Fa‘aSamoa refers to the:

"... visible symbols such as the 'ava (kava) ceremony, speech-making, feasting, the exchange of gifts in the form of food and large amounts of both 'ie toga (fine mats) and money. It involves such things as births, marriages, deaths, visiting parties called malaga (that is either hosting a group or being in the group making a journey), and the dedication of church buildings; in fact, all ceremonial occasions are included (Duncan 1994: 21-22 cited Tiatia 1998)

Fa‘aSamoa in New Zealand is very much alive, yet has been diluted due to its assimilative and acculturated subjugation to the dominant culture of its host country. The church in New Zealand is the most feasible place by which fa‘aSamoa can be maintained, as it is a site reflective of the village culture in Samoa."

5.3 Western Education and Pacific Islands Culture

In this section we will put the theory given in Chapter Three into a socio-historical context. Firstly, we will examine the introduction of 'formal' education into the Pacific. And then look at the evolution of Pacific learning to the shores of Aotearoa. Through this section we will draw heavily on the critique of Pacific Islands scholars of the education system in New Zealand. This is in the hopes of providing the reader with a better perception of the situation surrounding Pacific Islanders problems in the education system.

5.3.1 Formal Education in the Pacific

Missionaries first introduced Pacific Islands people to formal education in the seventeenth century. Until then, indigenous education was largely informal. The use of native languages, local curricula and oral forms for instruction characterised pre-European education. Maintenance of hierarchical structures within the culture was reinforced by social and educational emphases on obedience, respect and knowing one's place within the family and community. Coxon (et al.) explains that for Pacific Islanders:

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34 Note: it is acknowledged that it is erroneous to assume that the introduction of formal education happened uniformly and simultaneously throughout the whole of the Pacific Islands.
“Learning was through observing, listening, memorising and practical application. Through this process the student acquired the knowledge and expertise of the teacher who was always an elder.” (1994: 184)

In contrast, the education of the missionaries involved the acquisition of literacy skills and the adoption of new concepts of spirituality and social order. Christianity and equality between men and women in God’s eyes were two new concepts learned from the missionaries. An example of the impact of Christianity can be seen in Samoa where the new religion revolutionised the Samoan culture. The Samoan political system quickly adapted to incorporate Christianity (Fa’atuliti, 1988; 5). Melesia supports this arguing the impact of Christianity in this way:

“Christianity, as propagated by the nonconformist missionaries transformed the nature of chiefly authority. The rapid acceptance of Christianity was probably due to competition amongst highest ranking chiefs for a new source of sacred power.”(1987; 13)\(^3\)

Christianity did much to catalyse literacy rates in the most of islands of Polynesia which today are close to 100%. However, some writers do not necessarily see the coming of missionaries and Western education as completely benevolent to the development of the people of the Pacific. Mara (et al., 1994) believes that:

“The emphasis of Christian education can be seen as acceptance of dogma... The missionaries’ objective was to replace heathen dogma with Christian dogma. Neither were concerned with the intellectual development of critical thinking. Both needed a believing society, not a thinking society.”\(^4\)

Throughout colonial rule, the general trend throughout the Pacific was an increase in the demand for higher education by the indigenous people, but these were usually denied or ignored by colonial administration. This is evidenced in the visits of Bird in 1920 and Cauley in 1923\(^5\) to Samoa who suggested in favour of the maintenance of low levels of Samoan education and agriculture. Both cautioned the New Zealand government on the adverse political effects of higher education that:

“... a Western educated Samoan elite might threaten New Zealand’s political authority.” (Barrington, 1968)

Utumapu (1992) suggests that this manipulation of the curriculum not only served to protect New Zealand political authority in Samoa but also was in accordance with implicitly racist ideology. Goldsmith (1993) gives a harsh conclusion on the ramifications of the colonial era on indigenous culture by saying that:

“...colonial powers sought to destroy the cultural patterns of traditional societies largely because many of their essential features prevented traditional people from subordination of social, ecological and spiritual imperatives to the short-term

\(^3\) I believe that it is dangerous to assume that Chiefs were motivated by competition and ultimately greed. I would argue that the primary motivation might in fact have been pure submission to a higher power.

\(^4\) I would argue that this statement is only partially correct. I feel this statement although true, negates the ability for Samoan and Pacific peoples to think critically relegating indigenous intelligence to the status of a pawn on a chessboard, or even a child as some contemporary scholars saw it. What needs to be distinguished here is the motivation of those with the ‘power’. The point here is that education was not bad however, the abuse or the manipulation of the power that education possessed was bad.

\(^5\) Bird was a retired Senior inspector of Native Schools and Cauley was at the time the Director of Education in New Zealand.
economic ends served by participation in the colonial economy. There is no better way of destroying a society than by undermining its education system."

Helu-Thaman observes an example of the conflict between Western schooling and Pacific Island culture in the comments of Rautiki on Rotuman culture:

"... school culture is significantly discontinuous with Rotuman culture. Schools promote individualistic, competitive, materialistic values compared to Rotuman emphasis on communal orientation and the discouragement of individualism and selfishness. There is also a discontinuity between school and community concerning the application of new knowledge. Western educators view the school as an agent of change, but parents and children expect the school to prepare their children for employment as well as good citizenship." (1995; 2-3)

Researchers in Tonga also claim that the process of Western education which entails questioning, critical thinking, and independent expression, all conflict with the cultural values of obedience, respect, and conformity (Kavapalu, 1991; 191). The importance here is that Western education ran in conflict with traditional indigenous knowledge which continued and intensified with migration to Western nations. Helu-Thaman explains that the introduction of schooling in the Pacific meant that students had to co-exist between the home culture and that of the school and formal education in which she argues conflict between the two was the norm rather than the exception (1996; 5)

World War Two triggered changes in the Pacific and decolonialisation became the new goal. This was a result of shift in the balance of world power combined nationalist movements not only in the Pacific (such as the Mau in Samoa), but in all developing countries around the world (Coxon et al, 1994; 194).

5.3.2 Pacific Island Learning and Teaching in New Zealand

The importance of education to Pacific Islanders in New Zealand is evidenced in this quote by Joane who claims that:

"Pacific Islanders have been quick to realise the importance of a good education. As an agent for cultural innovation, education has been the main stimulant for many of the changes in their homelands, now that they are in New Zealand, many Pacific Island parents have shown a great interest in education. As they see (education) as preparing their children for a better future." (1987; 249)

In New Zealand, the church provides many Pacific Island learners with their first learning experiences outside the home. Pasikale notes that:

"Children learn to memorise, read, sing, recite and speak publicly on biblical topics. The celebration of White Sunday (a children-centred service) provides an opportunity for children's learning to be demonstrated and their achievements to be acknowledged publicly. These early successes [or embarrassments] on the whole are not sustained in the formal education system. (1996; 12)
Helu-Thaman suggests that learning and teacher difficulties often stem from the discrepancy between the goals of the curriculum and the cultural goals of the social group to which the learner belongs.

Much of the emphasis in formal Western education and learning has been on the cognitive development of the individual intellect. Acquisition of knowledge demonstrated through the passing of exams is considered to be the most important achievement at school. Of less importance is the social development of the learners within their own cultural contexts. Helu-Thaman (1996) claims that indigenous theories of learning and teaching were concerned with the continuity of the learner, rather than Western theories of teaching and learning which were aimed at transforming, enlightening and preparing learners. The underlying assumption in the two approaches highlight an important distinction in the emphases each puts on learning and teaching.

"Western education sees learners as raw material to be processed for certain educational outputs. While the quality of the raw materials and the processes used have an effect on outputs, it is assumed that the educational goals (output) are equally desired and equally possible for all learners. If learners don’t achieve, it is assumed that the learners, not the system, are at fault. Educational emphases and priorities are given to the acquisition by the individual of certain kinds of knowledge and independence and technological mastery of the environment."(Pasikale 1996; 51)

Pasikale points out on the other hand, the assumption underlying indigenous notions of learning and teaching is one of nurturing. Learners are seen as developing products of their environment and the purpose of learning is to facilitate growth in ways that maintain harmony with the environment. Educational emphases and priorities are given to group achievements, processes and maintaining ties with the natural world. It is only recently that indigenous scholars have begun to challenge the validity of Western assumptions of learning and thinking.

Thaman (1974, 1987) proposed the idea that Pacific Islands people may conceptualise knowledge differently or even have different emphases on learning than Western people. The process of questioning and re-examining current educational practices should contribute to making other people more aware of Pacific Islands emphases in education and contribute to making learning more effective for Pacific Islands learners.

5.4 Summary

Chapter Five has provided a brief background of the Pacific Islands people in New Zealand. We then gave an example of Pacific culture – fa’aSamoa. From here we moved into an analysis of the introduction of Western education into the Pacific, and its transition to the New Zealand shores. Through this we are able to identify the differences between the Western and Pacific cultures which is
important in understanding why Pacific Islands students are failing in the New Zealand education system. Chapter Six will present the results of this project.
CHAPTER SIX

RESULTS OF RESEARCH

This chapter aims to present the results of the literature gathered from the government sources, from the students, ex-students, parents, and from the schools themselves. Firstly, the data collected from government statistics record national patterns of secondary student population movement, ethnic breakdown, the decile vs achievement relationship and the achievement rates for Pacific Islands students throughout the 1990s. This data will show the position of Pacific Islands students in the New Zealand education after a decade of Tomorrow’s Schools.

Next we move to a closer analysis of the Pacific Islands student population within our sample schools. Changes in population fluctuation, ethnic composition, and Pacific Island student achievement will be examined. Questions asked here are what differences (if any) can be established between a national and a local level? And what have the changes to zoning actually meant for the Pacific Islands students both in terms of population movement and achievement?

From here we move to an analysis of the students questionnaire for all three sample schools. What differences can be distinguished between these students? How do they view and value culture? What are their backgrounds? And what do they think can help them achieve better?

Following this section will be the information gained from Parents questionnaires. This data will be used to provide an overview of the thoughts and perceptions of the Pacific Islands parents in the sample. The next section will present the comments of a select group of students who attended the sample schools during and after the period of transition into Tomorrow’s Schools. The major query investigated here is how did (if at all) did the changes affect these students?

In the last section the view of the schools through the interviews of a prominent staff member from each sample school will be taken into account. What is their perspective on the situation? And how do they think they can help the students if at all?


The period from 1991 to 1998 has presented interesting consequences in the wake of market led government policy. This section of this chapter aims to present a picture of what these changes in policy have meant for students generally, but also specifically for Pacific Islands students in Christchurch. The proceeding data will clearly show alarming results for Pacific Islands students.
6.1.1 National Population Movement

In order to identify if a shift in student numbers was occurring in the period after the installation of Tomorrow's Schools policies, statistics were gathered from the MOE indicated below. The data revealed that from 1993 to 1997 the movement between different types of secondary schools changed quite dramatically. Table C shows that in this time period the national average student population increased for both private (12%) and integrated schools (7.84%) whilst state schooling over this period decreased slightly with a percentage roll change of -0.9.

### Table II
Percentage of Secondary Students from 1993-1997 by type of school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>2.73</td>
<td>2.87</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>86.01</td>
<td>85.72</td>
<td>85.23</td>
<td>85.0</td>
<td>84.87</td>
<td>-0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrated</td>
<td>11.42</td>
<td>11.64</td>
<td>12.03</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>12.26</td>
<td>7.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Ministry of Education Data Management General Reports*

6.1.2 National Composition of School Intakes

Data on ethnic groups indicated the size of the population that is being studied within the system. Figure Two presents the ethnic breakdown of students in New Zealand. The Pacific Island students currently hold 7.2% of the entire student population of New Zealand.

**Figure Two**

*Ethnicity of Students in New Zealand Schools 1998*

*Source: Ministry of Education Data Management General Reports 1998*

When considering the movement of Pacific Islands students in terms of schooling, Table III shows a clear movement from state to state integrated schools between 1989 to 1994. It also shows that in the same period, there was no relative increase in the Pacific Island population enrolling in independent schools. This was despite an overall relative increase in population within independent schools by all other ethnic groups.
Table III

Percentage of Enrolments in Different Types of School by Ethnicity, 1989 and 1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1989</th>
<th></th>
<th>1994</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>State</td>
<td>State</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Islands</td>
<td>84.5</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>82.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Ethnic Groups</td>
<td>88.2</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>87.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>88.0</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>87.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Education Trends Report Vol. 7 No. 3 September, Ministry of Education (1995)*

6.1.3 National Qualifications Attainment

This section will present the evidence on how well Pacific Islands students have fared with the changes brought by Tomorrow's Schools. We will first examine the relationship that exists between the decile rating of the school and passing rates of students within those schools. The inclusion of this data is important in determining whether Pacific Islands students fare better in high SES schools. Then we will examine Pacific Islands achievement in New Zealand from 1992 to 1998 in School Certificate, Sixth Form and University Entrance/Bursary examinations.

6.1.3.1 The Decile vs SES relationship

Statistics reveal that as that generally as the decile of the school increases. In 1997, school leavers from low socio-economic areas are far less likely to go on to tertiary education than from high socio-economic areas. In July 1997, 52 percent of school leavers from decile 10 schools went on to tertiary education, this is compared to 14 percent of school leavers from a decile one school. (Ministry of Education 1997)

Figure Three

Percentage of Attainment of New Zealand School Leavers by Decile Rating of School 1996

*Source: Ministry of Education, Data and Management General Reports, 1997*
Figure Three presents a statistical breakdown of school leavers' qualification attainment by school decile rating. This clearly reinforces the decile vs achievement relationship and demonstrates the advantages of being in a higher decile school.

6.1.3.2 Pacific Islands Achievement

In 1995, the Education Trends report (Ministry of Education, 1995) was quoted on the:

"... the performance of Pacific Islands students is considerably lower than that of other students."

The report revealed that only 33% of all Pacific Island students who sat School Certificate in 1994 obtained an A, B, or C, compared to 65% for other students. Only 16% of Pacific Island students were awarded grades 1-4 in Sixth Form Certificate compared to 40% of all other students. And only 48% of students with Pacific Island origin compared to 78% of other students passed Bursary. Figures Four, Five, and Six show the grade distribution for Pacific Islands students from 1992-1998 in School Certificate, Sixth Form and University Entrance/Bursary examinations.

Fifth form Certificate grades for Pacific Islands students from 1992-1998 displayed in Figure Four have shown that there has been a slight increase in grades A, B and C and that grades D and E have decreased correspondingly especially in 1998. However, this is only a slight increase and most disturbing statistics show that the majority of Pacific Islands students still fail this examination.

Figure Four

Percentage of Grade Distribution for Pacific Island Students Sitting School Certificate 1992-1998

Again the same sort of trends have been echoed in the Sixth form distribution of grades for Pacific Islands secondary students in the same period. Figure Five reveals that there have been only sight increases in grades 1-5 however the same alarming
statistic is recycled in Figure Four, that is that the majority of Pacific Islands students still gain grades from 6-9.

Figure Five
6.2 Pacific Islands Students in Sample Schools

In this section we will examine the population movement between the specific sample schools in Christchurch. Then we will examine the changes in composition of Pacific Islands, Maori, and Asian students in these schools from 1995-1998. Then we examine the Pacific Islands students' achievement in each of the individual school from the years 1992-1998

6.2.1 Population Movement at Sample Schools

Statistics from the MOE showed that in the period from 1991 to 1995 Aranui on average lost 11.9% of students, Papanui in the same time period stayed roughly stable, and Riccarton increased their roll by 1.8% (Ministry of Education, 1996). However, Figure Seven shows that in the period from 1996 to 1998 there has been an increase in numbers at Aranui, the same to a lesser extent at Papanui and only slightly at Riccarton.

Figure Seven

![Population Change in Sample Schools 1996-1998](image)

*Source: Ministry of Education – Data Management and Analysis Division 1999*

6.2.2 Ethnic Composition Fluctuation at Sample Schools

Information on the ethnic composition of the population changes is important to find out whether there are movement trends particular to certain ethnic groups. Table IV shows us that Aranui has the largest Pacific Islands student population of the group and in terms of numbers has decreased slightly although the school population on the whole has increased. This may well signal a movement away from this school by Pacific Islands students. Statistics on the Maori population shows that there is an increase in the numbers of Maori students attending this school. The proportion of Asian students was harder to comment upon but looks to remain relatively small and unstable.
Table IV
Total Population of Pacific Islands, Maori, and Asian ethnicity breakdown at Aranui High School from 1996-1998

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>No of PI students</th>
<th>% of PI students</th>
<th>No of Maori students</th>
<th>% of Maori students</th>
<th>No of Asian students</th>
<th>% of Asian students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>944</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>1006</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>1117</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Education – Data Management and Analysis Division 1999

Table V presenting statistics on Papanui High school revealed that between 1996-1998, the total population has also steadily increased. The proportion of Pacific Islands students has increased but levelled in 1997-1998. Maori student numbers are steadily increasing whilst Asian numbers are on the way down.

Table V
Total Population of Pacific Islands, Maori, and Asian ethnicity breakdown at Papanui High School from 1996-1998

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>No of PI students</th>
<th>% of PI students</th>
<th>No of Maori students</th>
<th>% of Maori students</th>
<th>No of Asian students</th>
<th>% of Asian students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>1005</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>1099</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>1101</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Education – Data Management and Analysis Division 1999

Table VI
Total Population of Pacific Islands, Maori, and Asian ethnicity breakdown at Riccarton High School from 1996-1998

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>No of PI students</th>
<th>% of PI students</th>
<th>No of Maori students</th>
<th>% of Maori students</th>
<th>No of Asian students</th>
<th>% of Asian students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>788</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>763</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>798</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Education – Data Management and Analysis Division 1999

Table VI revealing population statistics on Riccarton High school shows an unsteady increase in total population numbers. Pacific Islands numbers over the last 3 years have stayed relatively small but stable. The numbers of Maori students although increased in 1997, decreased by more in 1998. Asian student numbers have steadily increased in Riccarton.

Note: These statistics did not include the numbers of students in the bilingual/Maori Medium Education which evidently has also progressively increased over the same period.
6.2.3 Qualifications Attainment at Sample Schools

In order to provide comparative data to the National statistics, results for the sample schools in the three major examinations was sought. Overall, these statistics showed no real improvement and results remained consistently low.

Table VII shows that between 1993-1998 there has been no real improvement in School Certificate grades. There has also been a drop in the number of papers sat at Fifth form level from 1995 however, the year 1998 seemed to be the exception to the rule recording a 40.7% pass rate. Overall, the average pass rate percentage at School Certificate level at Aranui High School was 20.9%.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Papers Sat</th>
<th>Percentage of Papers Passed(^{\text{39}})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>40.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Ministry of Education – Data Management and Analysis Division 1999*

Figure Eight

![Graph showing School Certificate Awards given to Pacific Islands Students at Aranui High School 1992-1998.](image)

Figure Eight reveals the exact grade distribution of Fifth form grades to Pacific Islands students at Aranui High School between 1992 and 1998. This shows that grades at Aranui have been consistently low. The majority of students still fail this exam however, there was an increase in 1998.

\(^{39}\) A pass in the School Certificate Examination is defined here as a C grade or better.
Papanui at Fifth form level shows a slight improvement in passing grades in the years 1997-1998 however the numbers are too erratic to surmise a positive correlation (see Table VIII below). The average pass rate percentage per paper at Papanui for Pacific Islands students between 1992-1998 was 13.6%.

Table VIII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Papers Sat</th>
<th>Percentage of Papers Passed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>35.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Education – Data Management and Analysis Division 1999

Figure Nine

Figure Nine again shows the grade distribution of School Certificate awards given to Pacific Islands students at Papanui High School between 1992 and 1998. This reveals a very low pass rate with no A grades awarded.

Fifth form certificate participation rates at Riccarton High School were too low to warrant the formulation of a table. Riccarton students have improved their achievement rates in the last 3 years however, it is noted that the smaller numbers may distort the actual achievement in percentage.

Sixth Form Certificate grades at Aranui between 1992-1997 also showed very low passing rates. Table IX indicates that every year recorded a below 50% pass rate for Pacific Islands
students sitting these papers. Overall, the percentage pass rate for the Sixth Form Certificate examination at Aranui for Pacific Islands students was 14.1%.

Table IX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Papers Sat</th>
<th>Percentage of Papers Passed(^{41})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>42.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Ministry of Education – Data Management and Analysis Division 1999*

Achievement in this examination shows that at Aranui, with the exceptions of 1992 and 1995, students failed quite miserably each year (see Figure Ten).

**Figure Ten**

Although passing percentages in the Sixth Form Certificate examination at Papanui were higher, its smaller numbers may say more about students not participating than students passing (see Table X) This claim would need further analysis to be substantiated fully. Incidentally, Papanui Pacific Islands students recorded an average passing percentage of 40.3%. Papanui’s grade distribution graph followed the same trend as Aranui with the exception of 1993 (see Figure Eleven)\(^{42}\).

\(^{41}\) In the seven years recorded for Riccarton High School, there were only 20 papers sat. However the years that did record results indicated a 25% pass rate.

\(^{42}\) A passing grade in the Sixth Form Examination is defined here as a 5 or better.

\(^{43}\) Due to insufficient data, graphs could not be recorded for Riccarton Sixth form results and Papanui and Riccarton Seventh form results.
Table X

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Papers Sat</th>
<th>Percentage of Papers Passed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Education – Data Management and Analysis Division 1999

Figure Eleven
Sixth Form Grades Awarded to Pacific Islands Students at Papanui High School 1992-1998

Source: New Zealand Qualification Authority, Learner Information Department 1999

Riccarton High School statistics at the Sixth Form Certificate level for Pacific Islands students showed that only 4 papers have been sat in 1992, no other papers have been recorded after this. The small numbers of this grouping do not allow for reliable statistical comment, however it is noticeable that students were not going through to the latter stages of this examination in this school.

Bursary and Seventh Form Certificate results again show the same kind of trends with decreasing numbers of those participating. Table XI shows that although there was a decrease in the numbers of students participating in the exam at Aranui, the average percentage pass rate for the school had increased to 22.9%. Figure Twelve revealed there has been no real improvement in this exam at this school. Papanui revealed a decrease in the numbers of students sitting Bursary papers. However, the years that did record results were positive. Again numbers at Riccarton were too small to record but as Papanui, the year that students did participate, 1992, revealed an 81.3% pass rate from 16 papers.
Table XI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Papers Sat</th>
<th>Percentage of Papers Passed(^{44})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure Twelve

**University Bursaries Attainment for Pacific Islands Students at Aranui High School 1992-1994**

Source: New Zealand Qualification Authority, Learner Information Department 1999

Sadly, all the sample schools mirrored that national statistical data on Pacific Islands Achievement presented in section 6.1.3.2. Aranui High showed slight increases over 1992-1998 in grades but not enough to say it is a convincing improvement.

6.3 The Pacific Islands Students Perspective

In order to find the Pacific Islands students perspectives on the impacts of Tomorrow’s Schools on them a total of 70 student questionnaires were filled in and returned. Forty two questionnaires from Aranui\(^{46}\), 19 from Papanui, and 9 from Riccarton.

\(^{44}\) A passing grade at Bursary/Seventh Form Certificate level is defined here as a C or better.

\(^{46}\) Members in the Aranui Academy were not included in the study.
6.3.1 The Students

Of the 42 students that filled in the questionnaire at Aranui, over half (57%) were female. Three out of four of the students in this sample were born in New Zealand. Most of those who were born in the Pacific Islands came from Samoa. The majority of them (80%) had lived in New Zealand for around 10 years. The majority of those born in the islands were also female, which helped explain why there was a strong female presence in the school culture group. All of the students in the survey were of Samoan heritage. Over 75% (31) considered themselves full Samoans, six were half European/Palagi, two were half Tokelauan, two Fijian/Tongan, and one was quarter Chinese/German/Palagi.

In order to find out if schools were composed with certain types of families, the size of each family was recorded. Over half of the students interviewed came from two-parent families (56%) with an average size of 4 children. Around one third of the students came from single-parent families (33%) with an average size of 3 children (see Figure Thirteen).⁴⁵

Figure Thirteen

Percentage of the Number of Parents per Family - Aranui High School

At Papanui, of the 19 who responded to the questionnaire, 7 were males and 12 were females. As in Aranui over 3 quarters were born in New Zealand and of those not born in the islands, 3 out of 4 had lived in New Zealand for over 10 years. The ethnic composition of the group contained a majority of Samoans (10) and 1 Tongan, and 8 half castes. (4 half Samoan/Palagi – 2 Cook/Palagi – 2 Tongan/Palagi). Three quarters of the students came from two-parent families with an average size of 4.6 children.

Out of the population of 14 Pacific Islands students at Riccarton, nine students were surveyed. Five males and four females, all of which were born in New Zealand. Almost half came from

⁴⁵ Note; there may be bias – some students were from the same family and the questionnaires being anonymous meant the researcher was unable to differentiate between siblings.
single parent families with an average size of 3.5. The average amount of children in two-parent families was 2.4. The ethnic breakdown of the students showed that 3 were Samoan, and the majority was half-castes – 1 Tongan/Samoan, 4 Samoan/Palagi, 1 Rarotongan/Palagi.

Overall, this sample of students showed that lower decile schools tended to have bigger families, and less 'half caste' students. Higher decile schools tended also to have more single parent families.

6.3.1.1 Choice of School

This question was included in the hope of finding out who makes the decision on what school the student wanted to attend, and whether a 'choice' existed. Students at Aranui showed that there was a split on who made the decision on which secondary school they would attend. Approximately, half believed that the parent made the decision, whilst another half believed they were totally responsible for making the decision. Almost 100% of these students answered Yes to Aranui being the school they wanted to attend. The one female who tried to get into Avonside, failed.

Only four students at Aranui did not come from the immediate schooling district. Two came from Samoa and the other 2 came from Auckland. Of those who did not enrol in Year 9 (form 3) two had moved from Auckland and one from Samoa all for familial reasons. One student moved into the district later, one came to Aranui for the new academy and another changed schools:

"... because there was so much Pakeha's and not many brown faces also the environment here was good."

The majority of students at Papanui (13 out of 19) claimed that their parents made the decision on what school they were to attend. When asked was this school the one they wanted to attend, 16 said Yes and 3 said No. Of those who said no the reasons given were that the school was not the first preference and that the schools bad reputation was a major deterrent.

It was interesting to note that 7 out of the 19 students at Papanui came from outside the contributory area. The reasons of those who changed schools varied from moving in from overseas, unspecified problems, and moving down to Christchurch to try a different situation. One changed from a religious school for friends, and that other schools were too strict, and had no social life, and felt could relate better to other students at Papanui. One student had been previously enrolled by parents into a private school but did not like the school.
At Riccarton only one student decided alone that this was the school they wanted to attend. Almost all had either their parents decide or shared in the decision making process. All students also indicated that this was the school that they wanted to attend primarily because of location and friends. All students lived within the zone.

The general trend that occurred was that as the school lowered in decile, the decision making power tended toward the student. Those in the middle decile school seemed the most able to exercise choice.

6.3.1.2 Is Pacific Islands culture relevant in New Zealand society?

The purpose of this question was to find out what the students felt about their own Pacific cultures. The majority of students at Aranui believed that Pacific culture was relevant and important to New Zealand society. The reasons given here by male respondents included primarily identity, equality, language and also pride. Their female counterparts added that the diversity of cultures, respect, and the importance of the maintenance of indigenous cultures (i.e. fa'aSamoa) were also important. However, the one student who did disagree commented that:

"Pacific cultures are irrelevant in New Zealand, because New Zealand is run by English laws which makes Pacific cultures a contradiction because the two cultures are completely different."

All respondents at Papanui believed that culture was relevant. Of those who responded, identity was the primary reason why they found it important. They found pride in the language and diversity of their cultures.

At Riccarton there was a clear distinction here between those who were half-castes and those who were full blooded Pacific Islanders. Half-castes generally said that was not relevant. Only one thought it was important. All of those who were full-blooded Pacific Islanders said culture was very important. Obvious trends which occurred in this section showed that as the decile of school decreased, the importance of culture increased.

6.3.1.3 What changes could be made to improve Pacific Islands student Achievement?

This question was asked to find out what students themselves felt about the barriers in their own achievement. Male respondents at Aranui tended to believe that teachers didn’t understand their background and needed to learn more about them. Issues of racism and inequality came back in the feedback of both males and females. Students

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46 Note also that two students misinterpreted the question (which maybe a design fault) looking at it from a social observation point of view – rather than a personal opinion of self.
unanimously believed that after school classes with Pacific Island tutors or teachers was a remedy for improving Pacific Islands student achievement. Language immersion classes was also mentioned, and improving the communication links between home and the school. One girl believed that teachers needed to ‘liven up’ the curriculum who said:

“Well, they could make the subject sound interesting and alive and have a lot of practical so that we can enjoy it and would feel the need to go to class every period…”

However, some students disagreed as one female said:

“I don’t think that schools can do anything to make it easier for Pacific Islands students to succeed academically. I think it’s up to the student and how well they want to achieve in school, with their goals ahead, it’s up to them in how much work they do. How they behave, and how much self control they have, it they have friends that ‘wander’ instead of being at school.”

Shadowing Aranui, Papanui responses revealed that there was more support for Pacific Islands educators in the system and an increase in Pacific Island culture in the curriculum. Again one student believed it was up to the student if he or she wanted to achieve. When asked what changes would aid the achievement of Pacific Islands students at Riccarton, the common response was the presence of a Pacific Islands culture group.

6.3.1.4 Aspirations after leaving school

The importance of this question aims to bring out the goals and the general self esteem of the group. Respondents at Aranui opted for jobs in tourism, teaching, nursing, and in law. The entertainment industry was also popular for both genders. It was interesting to note that 12 students said they did not know what they wanted to do after they left school. Aspirations from the students at Papanui varied very much from Teachers, social workers, and the police. One thing noted is that all jobs that were aspired to need tertiary education. Many of the students at Riccarton had dreams of becoming sports stars, entertainment stars, or high level employment such as medicine. Results in this section seemed to reveal that as the decile of school increased, the aspirations of the students increased.

6.3.1.5 How much did you think your school understood and valued Pacific culture?

This question provided a students’ view of how they felt their schools’ were tending to them. These were split into two different questions, how much the school understood Pacific culture, and how much the student thought the school valued Pacific culture.
Figure Fourteen presents the data received from Aranui on this question. This showed that students were split down the middle when answering the question on whether Aranui values Pacific culture. Figure Fifteen shows that the majority of students believed that Aranui valued the Pacific culture very much.

Figure Fourteen

How much do Aranui students think their school understood Pacific culture?

Figure Fifteen

How much do Aranui students think Aranui valued Pacific Island culture?

Figure Sixteen shows that at Papanui a slight majority of students believed that the schools understanding was rated between grade 3 and 2 (good and just below good). However, most students believed that Papanui did value Pacific culture (see Figure Seventeen)
Figure Sixteen

How much did Papanui students think their school understood Pacific Islands culture?

Figure Seventeen

How much did Papanui students think Papanui High School valued Pacific Islands culture?

Figure Eighteen revealed that students at Riccarton generally thought that their school did not understand Pacific Islands culture. Also they believed that Riccarton did not value Pacific Island culture either (see Figure Nineteen).
The trend that came out through this question is that the value that schools placed on Pacific Islands is dependent on the size of the population. However, interesting to note was that students considered that most schools valued Pacific Islands culture but had little understanding of it.

6.3.1.6 Pacific Language fluency (oral)/Understanding/and Importance of Pacific Islands culture for Sample Students.

This question was developed in the hopes of revealing the cultural character of the students in each sample school. Figure Twenty shows that Pacific language fluency for Aranui students was high with over 75% of students able to speak basic conversation or better. It was noted that females at Aranui generally had stronger oral skills than male students. Papanui students however tended to be less fluent than
Aranui students, Riccarton following the same suit with only 1 student claiming to be fluent.

**Figure Twenty**

Upon the question of how well students understood Pacific Languages, students from Aranui fared quite well with only 6 students who gave themselves a below basic level of understanding. Again at Aranui females tended to be stronger in this category than their male counterparts. Students at Papanui and Riccarton were basically split down the middle in numbers understanding their own Pacific Islands Languages. (see Figure Twenty One).

**Figure Twenty One**

The question of the importance of Pacific Islands culture to individual students is displayed in figure Twenty two. All Aranui students believed that this issue was important or very important. The same trend was followed in Papanui however,
Riccarton although the majority still found it important, the graph shows less of an intensity to say that Pacific Islands culture was important to them.

Figure Twenty Two

6.4 The Pacific Islands Parents Perspective

To provide a background for the views of Pacific Islands Parents, Twenty-seven questionnaires will be used to create an overview of Pacific Islands parents' thoughts and reasoning behind choosing the schools their children attend. The majority of returned questionnaires came from Aranui High (20) and then from Riccarton (5) and the least from Papanui (2) therefore this must be taken into account when examining this data. Three questionnaires were filled in inadequately therefore disregarded.

The sample varied in terms of employment from working in factories, unemployed and on benefits (40%, 30% respectively). A few parents were in the professional fields such as a lawyer, teacher, tax consultant and an engineer. Around half of those who had answered had some type of tertiary training however this varied from bar courses to Teachers diplomas.

6.4.1 School Choice?

Over half of the returned questionnaires indicated that they did look at other schools when choosing what schools they wanted their children to attend. Almost all of the schools that were mentioned were good state single sex schools such as Avonside Girls, Shirley Boys, or Christchurch Girls or religious schools such as Middleton Grange. Another interesting fact

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47 Return rates for this questionnaire meant a comparative study was not feasible despite amendments to the questionnaire leading to a Samoan version meant a slightly higher return rate but still over all remained relatively low. Therefore, a sample of Pacific Islands parents in Christchurch was created for the limited data that was received from Parents questionnaires.

48 Note; The final question on income was inadequately answered to deem it as a reliable source of information. Therefore other statistical information was gathered to remedy this problem.

49 Note; the researcher noted that most of the parents who returned the questionnaire data were parents who had good English and tended to have qualifications. Only 5 of the questionnaires returned were the ones translated into Samoan language. This may bias the overall view presented in this data.
was that all the translated Samoan questionnaires said that they did not ‘shop around’. Figure Eighteen shows that most parents gained information on schools by other siblings (45%), word of mouth and newspaper were also important (see Figure Twenty Three).

Figure Twenty Three
Of those who said other proximity to the school and information from the schools themselves was how they were informed.

6.4.2 Factors Influencing Choice

Figure Twenty Four

Figure Twenty Four shows that a safety and the school being at a close distance were the most important factors in deciding what school their child went to. Next closest was low fees closely followed by the offering of a Pacific language. A large Pacific Islands student population was not important. Of those who claimed other, academic achievement within the schools and communication between home and school were listed as very important. To a lesser extent, sporting achievement, fairness, curriculum offered and a friendly environment were also recorded by a few as very important.
6.4.3 Did your older children attend another high school?

Just under half of the parents replied Yes. The majority claimed movement between
neighbourhoods and cities as the major reason. However, some did not clearly define why
they moved which could be the fault of the question or the comprehension of the parents of
the question.

6.4.4 Aspirations for their children when they leave school?

The responses to this question were quite varied. Around half of the parents listed that
whatever the child wanted to do and was interested in, but most attached the words 'as long as
it is a good secure job earning good money'. One parent was noted saying:

"What we think about for the future of our child is to become either a teacher, doctor
or in theological college for Biblical ministry, but we never wanted anyone of them
to become involved in politics."

The major trend in most of the responses was the aspiration of parents for their children to
move into some form of tertiary training. Most parents maintained high hopes for their
children. Teaching, Medicine, and office jobs were mentioned a few times.

6.4.5 How much contact do you have with your child’s school?

Figure Twenty Five

Figure Twenty five shows that the majority of parents had some kind of contact with the
school. However, because of the questions’ inability to find out exactly how much contact
there has been, this can not be defined specifically.
6.4.6 Do you want to be more involved in your school?

Over half of the parents said they wanted to be more involved in their child’s school. The majority of them said they wanted to know how their child was doing and what went on within the school. One parent wanted to know what ‘crowd’ their child was interacting with. All except one said they did not have a problem in communicating with teachers – the one who said Yes listed lack of communication as the problem.

Note that most of those who said no gave reasons such as being too over committed to afford time to meeting the school. Interestingly, all the translated questionnaires listed a low contact rate and did not want to be more involved in the school. Thus, communication still seemed to be a major problem for parents who use English as their second language.

6.4.7 Do you believe cultures are relevant today in New Zealand?

The majority believed that they Pacific Islands culture is relevant today (around 80%). The reasons given included the need for a multicultural society and the importance of maintaining identity. Uniqueness was also mentioned as important to uphold and also the increasing population of Pacific Islands people in New Zealand making issues for Pacific Islands people important for New Zealand.

Of those who said No, the common reason of a separation of culture and education needed to be achieved. One parent said;

“ I know that with the involvement of it [culture] will be another burden for our children... I’m really concerned about most of the Palagi children always get the best and the most... I mean better chance of getting good jobs or chances to enter University.”

Another parent noted;

“Cultures can be taught at home or outside the school, with high school children [we should] try to keep up with home work and other stuff that is more important for their future than culture.”

Therefore, it is deduced that Pacific Islands parents did believe that culture was important, however, not in terms of choice. They also tended to think that culture was better off as an extra curricula activity rather than a school subject.

6.5 The Former Students Perspective

The group of former students were included later in the study to provide for information on how the process of marketisation had affected students that went through the period is which change took place. Issues that were investigated here shadowed issues given in the student’s questionnaire however this
sample gave a new dynamic to the study; a retrospective view. New questions asked included were firstly whether their perception of culture had changed since leaving school and why and secondly, how much awareness of Tomorrow’s Schools’ policy and if so whether they were affected?

Although twelve interviews were desired, only nine interviews were conducted due to reasons of unavailability of interviewees, 4 former students were chosen from Aranui, 3 from Papanui, and 2 from Riccarton. A sample of both students that went on to tertiary and those who did not (remembering that this was the majority) go on to tertiary study. All interviewees had to come from the schools in the sample from the time Tomorrow’s Schools’ was introduced in 1990. Interviews took place where the interviewee felt comfortable whether at home or at the interviewers premises. The manuscript of the questions used in the interview is given in Appendix 6. In the name of anonymity all interviewees have been given new names.

6.5.1 Issues of Choice

On the issues of choice and who holds the decision making power responses revealed that the majority of the subjects interviewed said that they decided (7 out of 9). This was an interesting statistic combined with the fact that students commented on how their parents had little understanding of the school and the system and as a consequence, left the decision making power in the hands of the students. For the other students who left the decision making solely or partly to their parents, money was a major factor contributing to which school they would eventually attend. The majority cited friendship links as the major reason why they attended a school.

The same ratio (7 to 2) also believed that their secondary school was the school they desired to attend. Of the two who did not, one was denied entrance into higher more prestigious school and the other was at school before zoning was lifted.

Table XII displays the 1 to 5 scale given to the questions on language fluency, comprehension, importance of culture, and their views on how much the school understood and valued Pacific Island culture. Table XII shows that of the students interviewed, the two Tongan students from Riccarton had the highest comprehension and fluency rates. Most students rated the importance of culture as either important or very important. Table XII also showed that students at Aranui believed that their school was sensitive to Pacific culture and understood it well. This decreased to an average importance given for Riccarton High School. Papanui scored the lowest in this category.
Table XII

Former Students Ratings on Issues of Pacific Language Fluency, Comprehension, Importance of Culture and their views on the Schools Comprehension and Value of Pacific Culture.50

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Language Fluency</th>
<th>Language Comprehension</th>
<th>Importance of Culture</th>
<th>Comprehension of Culture by School</th>
<th>Value of Culture by School</th>
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_Source: interviews given by the researcher from November 1998 to March 1999_

6.5.2 Were You Aware of Tomorrows Schools policies?

Six of the nine students said they were not aware of the changes in government policy therefore did not feel affected by the changes. Of the three who did, two claimed they were aware but were not affected. One student did recall that all she could remember was that the rich schools were getting the best students. One ex-student from Riccarton tried to apply to Villa Maria but was turned down because the intake was full and her grades were not good enough. She recalls that she encountered a difficult situation with a guidance counsellor at Riccarton who believed she was wasting school enrolment space if she was not studying to her potential.

6.5.3 Do You Believe Pacific Cultures are Relevant in New Zealand Today?

Only one student believed that Pacific Islands culture was not relevant in New Zealand today. She argued that this was not the Islands and that we needed to focus on being New Zealanders. The rest argued Yes, that it was mainly for issues of identity. One student noted that:

"Without Pacific culture people would be lost, it is important to hold culture for the next generation."

The size of the Pacific population in New Zealand and its contribution to the value of the society as a whole was also a common reason given.

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50 Rating System 1 – none or not important 3 – basic conversation or important 5 – fluent or very important
6.5.4 What do you think can be done by schools to make it easier for Pacific Islands students to achieve?

Most students believed that a definite increase in Pacific Islands teachers and tutors needed to occur. Homework study centres were encouraged and ‘brotherhood’ programmes as witnessed in other cities were suggested. In this particular programme, Pacific Islands university students were allocated primary and secondary school students to tutor and encourage them.

Tasi believes that better home and school communication is a must in order for Pacific Islands students to succeed academically. She also believes that the curriculum must change to be more sensitive to the students that go to secondary school for example, a more Pacific Islands inclusive curriculum, more social studies based on Pacific Islands issues. Also she believes that teachers have to be more culturally aware of the ‘do’s and don’ts’ exposing a more positive influence on the Pacific students.

6.5.5 Did your school fulfil your potential as a person?

All of the students except for one did not believe that the school impeded their ability to achieve. One Student noted that:

“What could they (the schools) do when a student only when for lunch, I just don’t think they understood us, and we weren’t interested.”

A lot of the students blamed themselves and their own lack of motivation to get through school. Lima from Riccarton supported this fact by claiming that there was no real problem with the schools and attributes students’ failure to the students themselves.

Tasi a tertiary student from Aranui believed that the school allowed her to be a more rounded individual. Tolu a tertiary student from the same school believed its music programme fostered his love for music that helped him achieve national recognition. Lima believes that only some teachers helped her to achieve her potential at Riccarton.

6.5.6 Has your perception of culture changed since you left school?

The majority of students here believed that their attitudes toward Pacific Islands culture had strengthen or remained strong since leaving their school. Some tertiary students believed that attending primarily ‘patagi’ institutions helped them to appreciate their own cultural background. One student said that she had a:

"... better appreciation of cultural ways understanding the way it works."

She believed the ‘freedom’ that came with being older released the pressure she felt when she was younger and allowed her to appreciate culture from ‘above’ it rather than ‘under’ it.
6.5.7 What was the relationship like between Home and School?

The majority of students had this factor in common; most had a complete discontinuity between home and school relationships. Only one student interviewed said that his parents had regular contact with the school. The relationship between home and school for Tasi was 'pretty detached'. She claims her parents had little or no knowledge of the school system, (They did not understand the difference between an 'A' stream classes and other classes) rarely attended parent teacher evenings and their contact with the school was usually purely through the school culture group.

6.5.8 Former Student Aspirations

All of the students had extremely high dreams of being professionals, lawyers, pilots, and doctors. However, those who did not move into tertiary institutions have not achieved what they wanted whilst only some of those who do attend university are still not what they wanted to be when they were younger.

6.6 The School Administrators Perspectives

The interviews with prominent staff members in each sample school present the perceptions and views of the schools when considering the impact of Tomorrow's Schools on them, and the impact of Tomorrow's Schools on Pacific Islands students within their respective schools. This section is divided into three parts, firstly the general impact of government policy change on their individual school, their perspective of the market, and lastly their views on the plight of Pacific Island students in their schools. As agreed with the informants, no names are cited.

6.6.1 The Effect of Tomorrow's Schools policy on the Sample Schools

The issues needing to be asked here was how each school was individually affected by the New Right reforms of the early 1990s. Secondly, the affect of de-zoning, the changing nature of the roll, and what they see in the future with the Tomorrow's Schools policy.

6.6.1.1 What do you think are the main ways that the Tomorrow's Schools' reforms have affected your college?

All schools believed that Tomorrow's Schools' policies increased the ability of schools to manage themselves at a local level. Boards of Trustees (BOT) were more sensitive to the needs of the students. Breaking the old Board of Governors system
and having the freedom of not having to refer to the MOE was important to all sample schools. The negative aspects expressed by the Riccarton interviewee was that the promised funding was not keeping up with the cost requirements.

6.6.1.2 What effect has the removal of zoning had?

De-zoning had very little affect on Riccarton High School. The Riccarton interviewee cited that they had always lost students to the single sex state schools such as Girls and Boys High schools and co-ed schools such as Burnside. The abolition of zoning enabled Riccarton to put an enrolment scheme that was roughly based on proximity to the school. The real affect of Tomorrows schools for Riccarton was an intensification in competition. Along with the schools mentioned above, Middleton Grange and Villa Maria are other popular schools within the same area. In 1998, in Riccarton High school, there were 307 applications for 105 places in the year 9 intake. Riccarton also had a noticeable increase in numbers of Asian students attending the school however, this was due to the influx of immigrant peoples mainly from Asia into the surrounding areas\textsuperscript{31}.

Papanui High School revealed that roll fluctuation was the major affect of Tomorrows’ Schools in their school. At Papanui, the impact was dramatic and immediate where from 1989-1992 to roll fell to as low as 700. Papanui was denied and enrolment scheme because the MOE believed it was still had room for more students and at the moment maintain an open door policy.

Aranui High was initially very disadvantaged. The Aranui Interviewee believes that the schools unjustified ‘bad reputation’ meant that it also lost students to other schools. The interviewee said:

"Those schools which were popular and had a lot of mana in the community (in Christchurch it was single sex schools but in other areas it was co-ed) had a boost in these school applicants therefore [they] could select out people they wanted. Some schools selected fairly through a balloting system (Avonside Girls) other schools (namely Christchurch Boys and Girls High) selected all the top sportsman and top academics."

He also believes that Aranui is a good school and argues that people look at the exam rates and think that the students are failing, therefore, the teachers are bad. The Aranui interviewee also relates to the spiral effect given in the theory, believing that the effects of de zoning and then depopulation translated into low community morale in already low SES areas.

\textsuperscript{31} In 1990 only 2\% of Riccarton’s ethnic population was regarded as international (mainly Malaysian or Taiwanese) by 1998 this had risen to 20\% of the total student population.
Today, Aranui has no enrolment scheme, but is working towards one. An initial period of decline in student numbers has been offset by the new academy system, a diversification in courses, and intensification in marketing strategies. This has resulted in the restoration of students numbers, renewed confidence in community ‘mana’, and the maintenance of teacher numbers.

Aranui currently has decile rating of 3 and serves one of the poorest schools in Christchurch. Contributory schools have ratings as low as one, and the interviewee believes that their decile rating needs to be lower. He cites that extra funding they need from the MOE to offset the poverty of the students that the schools caters for-visible.\footnote{The Aranui interviewee puts it into perspective by outlining that only 57% of students at Aranui can afford to pay the $40 fee thus providing an income as low as $13,000. In contrast, at a school like Christchurch Boys High, 100% of students would be able to pay the $100 fee which provides $120,000 in revenue.}
The interviewee also believes that the decile funding grant barely manages the difference in school fee income. He also argues that Aranui has been unfairly targeted by the ERO for not matching up to decile 3 examination rankings taken from the national average. In sum, the interviewee argues that Aranui is doing very well as a decile 2 school getting decile 3 money and rankings-visible.

The Riccarton interviewee realises that parents perceptions of schools are often inaccurate and quotes an historian by suggesting that:

"...the most important thing is what people believe... not what the truth is."

He concurs with Aranui and argues that school performance can not be measured by examination results alone.

"From that we don’t know what school is performing better... it could be that the highest performing school is Aranui High school, because of the value it adds to its students."

The Riccarton interviewee adds that once these negative images develop it tends to become self-perpetuating and points to the hierarchy to do with parents and social mobility.

6.6.1.3 Has the nature of the roll changed?

For most schools it was identified that the lack of employment opportunities, and the raising of the school leaving age (from 15 to 16) has meant students are staying at school longer. For Aranui unemployment problems formed complications because most of the students left school and went straight into jobs and these jobs were the very jobs that were disappearing. Aranui thus needed to make courses that were more attractive and useful to those types of students.

\footnote{Note; The Riccarton interviewee cynically agrees with the Aranui informant’s claim arguing that his school went up from a 7 to an 8 and believes this was a more a political manoeuvre rather than a real increase in the SES of students.}
6.6.1.4 Tomorrows Schools in the Future?

The Papanui interviewee believes that there is a East vs West pattern occurring in the secondary education system in Christchurch. She argues that it was the schools in the West who were able to get the enrolment schemes and thus are able to select the students they want, and that this pattern looks to intensify. Riccarton believed that the Asian population would continue to explode with increasing interest in the areas close to the school.

6.6.2 The Market

"I'm not a fan of Market economy, Roger Kerr Business roundtable approach to life... I think it just creates winners and losers, and it's damn hard when you're at the bottom to actually pull yourself off the bottom at times."[^54]

The issues needed to be discussed in this section of the study are the affect of the market competition within the school, and a look at the Aranui academies programme and its implications.

6.6.2.1 The advantages and disadvantages of schools in the new, more competitive environment

The Riccarton interviewee identified the two separate tiers that education policy has created:

"... it's fine for some schools but it's not so good for others. It concerns me that some schools don't have what you might call good kids that could act as role models."

The Aranui interviewee claims that schools have to move into the twenty first century regarding the old text book rote learning methods as prehistoric. He believes teachers need to be more proactive in the classroom. MacDonald claims that the students at Aranui do not all come with the same agenda to learn due to familial problems:

"... sometimes school is the best part of their day."

International students for all schools have become an important source of income. All sample school either had a director of international students, or were involved in marketing overseas. The Aranui informant says this of Aranui:

"We're probably one of the most aggressive marketers in Christchurch if not in New Zealand, we have to be! We have to tell the people out there that we're every bit as good as anyone else."

[^54]: Riccarton interview 22.10.98
In order to combat its legacy of negative stereotypes, Aranui has launched innovative schemes such as the academy. It has also published a prospectus with a CD, held school concerts in all contributory schools and increased communication with the new students with more senior student involvement. Aranui is currently advertising in education fairs in Asia and has attracted students from South America.

6.6.2.2 The Aranui Sports Academy

The Aranui Academy has been used by the school as a successful marketing tool in its bid to draw new students. The programme administered by Harry Westrupp has resulted in tremendous gains for both the school and for the community. Westrupp identified that some students were more keen on sport then on school and wanted to harness that interest to motivate the students. Although the academy is primarily geared towards sports, it also contains other studies such as communication English, contract law and biology and is now expanding to include other areas such as computing etc. In its first year, 32 students enrolled, not one student pulled out.

"The idea was to change the attitude of the students from being unsuccessful to being successful, and it worked it was fantastic. And it changed the attitude, it wasn't to win the Canterbury or New Zealand rugby championship... it was to change the attitude from being failures to being successful be achieving goals they set themselves."

The idea of a team is an important concept in the Aranui Academy, student learn to rely, support, and respect each other. Ethnically in 1998 the Academy held 55% Maori, 43% Pacific Islands, and 2% Pakeha. And holds the:

"Best attendance record of any class in the school"

The academy has boosted student numbers at the school by producing National Secondary Schools championship winning teams (Rugby League 1997, Basketball 1998). Academy students also have the option of sitting Bursary subjects enabling the maintenance of a full range of senior courses. The academy now has captured the hearts of its local community and enjoys good support from local businesses (for example the QEII sports facility). Enrolments for the Academy in 1999 increased twofold from 1998 figures.

6.6.3 Pacific Islands Students

The importance of the issue of how school administrators see the problems of Pacific Islands students is vital information for gaining an understanding the problems of Pacific Islands students underachievement. Here we look at the role of Tomorrow's Schools on Pacific Islands student education within their particular school. Also we look at the relationship
between home and school and whether the Maori students are achieving any better and what implications they may have on the delivery of Pacific Islands education.

6.6.3.1 Since the Implementation of Tomorrow’s Schools' has the education of Pacific Islands students improved?

The Aranui informant pointed to the lack of funding for ESOL programmes which catered for the students who came from families where English was not the first language. He believes that there are not enough resources given to ‘bridge the gap’. Thus, it is clear that in Aranui based on results, the answer was that improvement had not occurred since the introduction of Tomorrow’s Schools. The informant from Papanui agreed and says that New Zealand hasn’t been good at valuing first language and supporting it. She recalls the Pacific Islands and Maori teachers that have been lured away to Teachers College and other institutions. She believes that the demand is there, however, the supply is not. The Papanui informant gives her reasons in this quote:

“I have a very strong view that whatever education programmes your offering in the school, they need to be done in partnership with the families... unless the families feel comfortable with the school, with the teachers, with the learning, what you end up with ... is the situation... where parents send them off to school where it is the schools job to teach and give a good education and the less they knew about it the better. That’s still the view of a lot of Pacific Islands families in particular that they feel uncomfortable and I think that’s our fault not there’s and they therefore say you do it, we trust you... that’s not working...”

The Riccarton informant was not sure when this question was asked due to the small population of Pacific Islands students at his school.

6.6.3.2 The Relationship Between Home and School

The Aranui informant theorises the problems of Pacific Islands students by identifying a clash in culture. He personally believes that the family and the church influence most Pacific Island students when they are young. They arrive at school and see the freedom that Maori and Pakeha students have (for example with curfew times) and Pacific Islands students try to emulate that freedom at which point causes friction. He comments:

“I feel that Samoan students are not particularly honest about their progress at school and they con their parents. Trouble at school is never brought home to the parents themselves.”

He says that teachers are aware of the harsh penalties inflicted on Pacific Islands students upon news of a bad report, thus concludes by saying:

“We need to get closer and have more communication with parent groups”
Aranui believes active participation in the school culture group has provided an excellent avenue for communication between the two groups. The Aranui informant actively supports the Samoan cultural group by organising parental forums, and trips for the students to other schools in the country. He says it:

"Gives them a focus and gives me an avenue for communication with parents."

The Aranui interviewee says that the response to funding for the students from the Pacific Islands community has been phenomenal. The school sponsors meetings and everyone gets a say in what will happen. This support is so exceptional in fact that the informant points out that proportionately the parent-student ratio turn out for Pacific Island meetings is better than that of the PTA meetings at the school. MacDonald expressed a desire for parents to come to discuss the problems of the students rather than just to organise funding for events.

"They don't know that they're not getting maximum value from their students, cause they don't know what the students are getting up to in the school. They don't turn up to parent evenings very often... but maybe that's because of the language thing. What I'd like to find is a way or a forum of getting as many as possible together to have a meeting with the school administration and perhaps a BOT person... to find out what [they] want for [their] students, are we providing it, if not how can we do it?"

Riccarton was not very active with parents due to the small numbers of Pacific Islands students at the school. The Papanui informant goes on to talk about Pacific Islands students parents view of their role in their child's education:

"The parents probably see their role as support in a discipline kind of way, but I don't think that's their appropriate role... I think... many of them have a view of discipline... that is against the law basically and a lot of it involves some sort of physical punishment and that's a family decision."

She believes that things needed to be different at school noting the consequences of a lack of understanding and communication between the home and school. She says:

"... you end up with the kids being turned off by their families and then turned off by what we put them through at school by talking to their parents."

The Papanui informant believes a benevolent symbiotic relationship between the families and the schools needs to be developed. However, She is also somewhat pessimistic about the availability of resources. She claims that in order to provide the kind of programmes and assistance for the young people, then you have to have the resources to provide the programmes and role models. She says that:

"With the best will in the world, there is a huge lack of resource people and we can get some really stunning role models through sport that are available to our young people but in the Christchurch situation we need more than that, we need people with training and expertise and we have actively been looking for staff members with a Pacific Islands background... we're just not getting applicants."
The Riccarton interviewee identifies that Pacific Islands students are well endowed when it comes to ability. He brings in an example of students from Kiribati who are:

"... very quite and very reserved and probably don't grab opportunities in lots of ways they need a little bit of support."

The interviewees commented on the potential of Pacific Islands students seen in a quote from the Papanui informant:

"... my feeling is our Pacific Islands kids are tending to drop out in a way that is very discouraging... the young people here are really very sharp, really smart but somehow or rather they're getting turned off with what is going on in schools.

She argues that there needs to be a more positive focus on cultural uniqueness to instil pride in the students. In sum, The Papanui interviewee believes that her school is willing, but basically, very ignorant. She adds:

"There is some level in which I need somebody to sit down with me and say you've got 30-40 PI students.... These are some of the things you can do... From my point of view I'm willing, but I don't have the contacts or the resources and every time I try something happens but I think it's a hugely under-resourced area."

The Papanui interviewee argues that there is a need to reach the Pacific Islands community however, she points out that this group is very shy and easily intimidated by the school. She believes that parents are eager to support their child's education however feel uncomfortable in the school environment. The closing down of the Ministry of Pacific Islands Affairs office in Christchurch she argues further strained the already weak link between the schools and the community.

6.6.3.3 Maori Education

The Aranui informant argues that Maori students at Aranui are achieving better mainly due to the Maori immersion classes (the bilingual unit) they have running in the school. He believes that a student being taught in the medium of their own Maori language and culture has been to their advantage. He goes on to argue that the teachers are more culturally sensitive to their own specific styles of learning. Students also recognise the authority of the teachers better because they come from the same culture and yield to the aspects on respect which feature in dealing with Maori culture. The discipline instilled by this connection has stemmed the flow of unruly behaviour from the Maori students and can now concentrate on learning. Here the Aranui informant pondered the feasibility of launching a Samoan class of the same nature and although the wheels for injecting Samoan language into the Fifth form curriculum has been set in motion, the practicality and resources so far inhibit this vision.
In Papanui the situation is not so bright with the informant claiming that there is no real difference academically between her Maori and Samoan students, and claims that.

"They may turn up in body, but the heart is not there."

She claims that there is a waste of a wealth of potential in the Maori and Pacific Islands students. In Riccarton, the informant believes that it is basically the same in his school however, there are some outstanding students. He talks of the importance of the family and the home in giving the students motivation for education referring to Alan Duff's 'Books in Homes' schemes. He comments:

"There is no doubt that a kid is advantaged when you have parents who have ambitions for them, who see education as a way of getting on, who have the resources and facilities to support them in such life..."

The Riccarton informant argues that failure has little to do with race and says:

"That's rubbish... poor white kids, or European kids who come from disadvantaged backgrounds... very rarely perform well. It's much harder to get them to perform because they just don't have the advantages. [Children with advantages]... have two parents with degrees, parents who are in education, who value education, they're used to having a model of parents coming home and having a meal and then working... they get a huge advantage from it... But if Maori or Pacific Island students, if they're parents are in that sort of situation, then their kids do really well."

He argues in other words that it's not so much an ethnic problem but rather a social problem. The Riccarton informant goes on to argue that crime rates are as high in a low SES area of whites as in a low SES area of Maori and Polynesian. Finally he makes the definitive comment that:

"Pacific Islands parents don't love their kids any less"

These issues will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

6.7 Summary

The importance of Chapter Six cannot be underestimated. This chapter presents the bulk of the results from the literature search and the empirical research that was carried out for this project. The first section of this chapter examined the position of Pacific Islands students within the New Zealand education system. This was done by looking at statistics on a decade of student movement, compositional data, and Pacific Islands student achievement at both the macro and micro level in New Zealand. Next we moved into a deeper analysis of the Pacific Islands perspective of Tomorrow's Schools, the perspectives of their parents, and lastly, the perspective of the principals and school administrators of the schools the students attend. The next chapter will discuss the findings of this chapter with the theory and the questions that were presented earlier in this project.
CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION

"Tapasa o Folauga I Aso Afa" – "Compass of sailing in Storm"

The discussion chapter will now attempt to meld the questions presented in the theory section with the results in Chapter Six. The theme of this chapter is illustrated in the old Samoan proverb given above and will provide the motif and a basis for the structure of this chapter. The first section of this chapter is called ‘O lo’u Tulaga’ or ‘My Position’ within the education system concerning the four issues that are presented in Chapter Two. These are the impacts of the market on choice, student population movement, changes in school composition, and Pacific Islands student achievement. This hopes to uncover the critical question of how the Pacific Islands student has fared at New Zealand secondary schools in the decade that has seen the Tomorrow’s Schools policy mature.

The second section of this chapter is called ‘O lo’u Afa’ or ‘My Storm’. This will outline the other issues that have arisen before and during the formulation of this project. The personalisation of the term ‘My Storm’ refers to the specific problems facing the New Zealand born Pacific Islands student (of which the researcher is a member) within the New Zealand education system. This will look at the issues of the clash of the Western and Polynesian systems, the value of Pacific Islands culture within the Western system, the problems of identity, intergenerational conflict, and the struggle with low self-esteem for Pacific Island students.

The final section is named ‘O lo’u Tapasa’ or ‘My Compass’. This section hopes to provide the reader with some answers and/or possible directions that have arisen in this study. This will begin with a retrospective look at the impacts of the market on Pacific Islands students combining literature given in this project with other critics. From here we will move into the possible directions for the market system and the researcher’s own verdict. The rest of this section will be looking at answers to the questions asked in the previous section. These will include ways in which both the system and the Pacific Islands consumer must change in order for positive results are to occur.

7.1 ‘O Lo’u Tulaga’ – ‘My Position’

The underlying question of this research is; What has Tomorrow’s Schools meant for us as Pacific Islands people? This section hopes to outline the position of Pacific Islands people within the education system in respect to the four issues that are outlined; choice, student movement, school composition and Pacific Islands achievement.
7.1.1 Choice – who has the power?

"In general terms our study has found that the trends predicted by critics of marketisation are confirmed." (Lauder et al 1994; 57)

The low position of the Pacific Islands people in both the education system and the society in general, meant that any government changes to issues affecting low socio-economic groups (and in this case on educational choice) will have tremendous ramifications especially if the changes are negative⁵⁵. The issue of ‘choice’ is thus vital to Pacific Islands people for I would argue that to increase choice is to increase one’s hold over one’s destiny. The government’s scheme promised an increase in the ‘choice’ of school for parents through the abolition of zoning. However, consistent with the findings of the Smithfield report that reached the conclusion in the quote above, this study found that there has been no real increase in ‘choice’ for Pacific Islands people in the secondary education system.

On the issue of choice, this study found that half of the sample of parents ‘shopped around’ before they settled on what school their child would attend⁵⁶. It was important to note that those parents who returned the Samoan translated questionnaires did not ‘shop around’. Also important was the fact that in the student sample, the power of choice increasingly fell into the hands of the students themselves. This shift in the power of choice to students seemed to increase as the decile of the school got lower, and it also seemed to be dependent on the knowledge of the parent. For example parents with higher qualifications were more aware that they could exercise choice. The interviews with the former students revealed that their parents either did not understand the change in zoning polices or did not exercise choice. For one student, money was the barrier to attending another school whilst another was denied entrance to a private school.

Pacific Island-born parents still seem to display problems with communicating with schools. Interviews with the former students showed that there was little attention paid to school policies or events as one former student recalled that he knew his parents would not understand school notices and said:

"They (the notices) came home in the bag and that’s where they stayed."

Miscommunication between the Pacific Islands students’ homes and schools continues to be a major problem in all schools. The interviews with the school representatives indicated that in general, schools were too under-resourced to deal effectively with this problem. Also, it became clearer that the urgency in dealing with this problem depended on the size on the Pacific Islands student population within each school. In Aranui, the culture group did provide a forum for the school to meet with the parents but the focus was not primarily on the education of their children but on the maintenance of their culture and identity.

⁵⁵ Meleisea (1992) has already given us a prime example in which the economic downturn of the government in New Zealand was disproportionately borne on Pacific Islands people (see 5.1.3).
Former students who attended the sample schools during the transition period between educational policy in New Zealand believed they were not really affected by the changes. The increasing numbers of parents who can effectively communicate in English has helped alleviate the communication gap between some homes, however the overall underachievement of Pacific Islands students within the sample schools calls for much needed attention and intervention in this area. This point will be discussed later in this chapter.

Of the students who chose what school they wanted to attend, this study found that Aranui and Riccarton students generally did not exercise choice. In other words, they did not wish to attend schools outside of their area. Of the students who did try to attend other schools, the majority came from Papanui. The general pattern seen here concerning 'choice' is that a majority of Pacific Islands students did not exercise choice when it came to choosing their school. Those who did attempt to exercise choice (4 students out of 70) were either denied entry into higher decile schools or discouraged by fiscal constraints. Location and friends seemed to be the most important factors to the students themselves in determining what school the student wanted to attend.

The Pacific Islands parents sample showed that the influence of Pacific Islands culture within a particular school was not an important factor in choosing the school (see Figure Nineteen). Other studies have shown that in terms of factors in choice, parents are more concerned with the security of their child rather than the product (or the school) itself (Bastow, 1992) and that nearness to school was also important in choice of school (Adler and Raab, 1988; Coldron and Boulton, 1991). The sample of Pacific Islands parents in this study revealed the same sorts of trends.

Fowler (1993) found that the largest factor influencing choice of schools (45%) was association and impression of the school from family or other recommendations. Fowler noted that:

"These impressions often had little significant relation to the actual resources, curricula, results or quality of teaching within the school." (cited in Ainsworth et al, 1994; 23)

This study revealed the same trend occurring in its sample. Information from the students or their siblings had an important influence on the choice of school by the parents. This is confirmed in Figure Twenty Three in which 67% of information to Pacific Islands parents on schools came from family recommendations or word of mouth.

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56 It must be again noted that the sample dynamics of the Pacific Islands parents presented in Chapter Two.

57 Interestingly, Papanui contained the most out-of-zone students (information gathered from the students school of origin). Two students in this school changed from other schools because they preferred a state school. One student even went so far as to comment on being more comfortable with more ‘brown’ faces around.

58 Note: Fowler indicated that specific reasons for choosing a school could not be given; impressions were not of a concrete nature.
With this, Fowler argues that parents may not choose schools on the basis of the quality, but simply on hearsay. Thus, parental choice may contribute to the closure of schools that do not deserve to be closed. Fowler also found that although the phenomenon of ‘shopping around’ increased amongst parents, the suggestion that marketing strategies were a factor was discounted. Fowler revealed that from the parents’ perspective, the school had been chosen long before an event such as an open night and although the event was important for the gathering of information, it was not a crucial deciding factor. Parents valued the reputation of schools more. To further exacerbate this situation Fowler also points out that schools have little control over the factors which dominate the degradation or improvement of their reputation. Wilms and Echols (1990) confirmed the view of the critics of marketisation of education. Echols’ study, which examined parental choice in Scotland, found that the largest single effect on choice was not individual but structural. In other words, the largest factor in choice was not in the hands of the consumer, but instead the power lies in the structure, or with the schools. This exposes the superficiality and limitations of marketisation when applied to the education system.

The interviews with the schools’ representatives found that Aranui and Papanui which had open enrolment policies, were obliged to take in all students (except in extreme circumstances). Riccarton High School has an enrolment policy that allows it to select the students they prefer. Aranui and Papanui were now ‘going global’ with aggressive marketing tactics including a CD promoting the school, and a board game in the open day information packs for Aranui. Both schools were making a conscious effort to increase the number of overseas students through education fairs throughout Asia and South America. Riccarton did not have to market as aggressively as the lower SES schools in the sample. This occurrence is natural as Gordon (1993) notes that schools with increasing rolls tended not to engage in obvious marketing as rolls are maintained and increased largely by reputation (whether deserved or not) and also word of mouth. Therefore the dilemma here, as Ainsworth (et al.) points out is that

"Schools with falling rolls which spend more money on marketing to attract students may largely be wasting their money and yet it is one of the only ways they have to influence parent choices." (1994; 23)

In summation this study confirms the findings of the critics of marketisation who find that the majority of working class parents either did not have choice, or did not choose to send their children to higher working class schools (Lauder et al, 1994). The contradictions that have

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59 Bastow (1992) concluded that 59% of the discriminatory power of the parents couldn’t be changed. Often parents only considered a school if it is near to home, whether it is co-educational or single-sex, or whether it has religious connections. A further 20% is connected to social status variables, leaving a mere 21% available for schools to use in order to try to influence parents’ decision. Bastow uses the analogy of selling soap powder to illustrate the rationality of parent choice in education; it is not the quality or effectiveness of the powder to the consumer that may sell a product well, but the peripheral aspects such as the packaging, and the degree of concentration.

60 This study also indicated that choice for Pacific Islands parents and students is limited from all schools but particularly from the lower SES schools. Three of the four students who tried to exercise choice went to Papanui. Only one student of around forty in Aranui attempted to exercise choice. All Riccarton students came from areas close to the school and did not exercise choice.
been exposed by numerous researchers are strongly against Treasury claims that parental choice would be a means of solving the problems of efficiency or equity by:

“...empowering through choice and through maximising information flows, the family, parent or individual as the customer of educational resources.” (Treasury, 1987; 42)

In fact, the situation has been made worse as the Smithfield Report found that in essence:

“...the polarisation predicted in the exercise of choice has exacerbated the polarisation that would be predicted simply of the basis of residential segregation.” (Lauder et al., 1994; 57)

The Smithfield Report noted that the abolition of zoning simply increased the power of choice to the upper quartiles of each social class, rather than breaking the so-called ‘iron cage’ proponents of the market believed. The conclusions of Smithfield argued that upper classes were aided by the construction of formal rules of the market that effectively allowed high SES schools to ‘select’ their students. Lauder (et al.) commented that:

“In essence, this insulates high SES schools from competition and raises the question of whether they are selecting 'able' out of zone students.” (1994; 57)

Robert Lane (1993) pointed out that the consumer cannot be expected to have perfect foresight or make rational decisions based on perfect knowledge or understanding of the situation as market theory implies. Lane believes that this applies to all choices made in relation to education or any other social arena.

Ainsworth (et al.) makes the claim that:

“It is equally evident that not all parents have choice. Particularly in the poorest schools, it is the residual or aspiring middle class children who leave, increasing the low socio-economic make-up (and the ethnic composition) of those that remain.” (1994; 1)

Thus, this study concurs with the finding of Jonathon (1997) who claims that market freedom or ‘choice’ is 'illusory' for the vast majority of people. Due to the zero-sum context within which choices are structured, the market cannot provide freedom of equal value at all. In fact, the ‘freedom’ of the few is promised on the ‘non-freedom’ of the many.

The power of ‘choice’ for the Pacific Islands people is confirmed in the findings of the Lauder (et al.) who claims that:

“The conclusion is plain: school choice is primarily dependent on the socio-economic background of students with relatively better off families regardless of ethnicity, sending their children out of local schools.” (1994; 35 emphasis added)

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61 McCullough's 1990 study in Auckland found that higher classes did exercise choice regardless of zoning and in fact used zoning as an exclusionary tool to insulate their schools from working class students.

62 Lane argues that it is highly implausible that all people can be represented as economic agents who can be relied on to make choices that are in all cases rational; that they are infinitely clear-headed about how to go about realising their goals and obtaining their desires; that they are capable of foreseeing all of the consequences of their actions; that they can discover which is the best strategy to service their chosen ends; or that each can experience the necessary feedback to keep their expectations in balance with the objective possibilities.
The problem is that the low position of Pacific Islands people within the economy puts them at an immediate disadvantage which gives higher SES groups a 'head-start'. The illusion of equality referred to by Jonathan (1997) gives rise to the theory of class reproduction that is mentioned in Chapter Three and therefore presents a picture of hopelessness for Pacific Islands people. The problems presented here will be addressed in the second section of the chapter.

7.1.2 Marketisation and Student Population Shift

As illustrated in Chapter Five, statistics have shown the Pacific Islands population to be one of the most dynamic ethnic groups in terms of size within the country. The questions that arose in Chapter Two on population shift were concerned with whether national trends in population movement (especially for Pacific Islands students) were the same in Christchurch. The particular question on the difference between high and low SES schools is clearly revealed here.

At a national level, Table II showed that between 1993 and 1997, a decrease in the number of students attending state schools occurred. Correspondingly, these caused increases in both the private and integrated school populations in New Zealand.

In the sample schools in Christchurch, the impacts of Tomorrow's Schools on Aranui and Papanui were severe and immediate. Both schools recorded dramatic decreases in student population, resulting in a move into a phase of aggressive marketing for their respective schools which are now enjoying rising rolls. However, the gain of students in their schools ultimately means the losing of students from another school. Riccarton High experienced no such inconvenience recording an increase in student enrolments. The introduction of an enrolment policy at Riccarton thus 'insulated' this school from the negative effects of competition.

Therefore, it is clear that there has been a shift toward private and integrated schools, however a closer look at the dynamics of this shift reveals an interesting pattern.

7.1.3 Marketisation and the Composition of School Intakes

"By the time the students reach high school, where choice of school is a more critical decision, our study shows that the class and race distinctions are even more pronounced." (Ainsworth et al., 1994; 28)
Despite data that showed that the highest results in academic achievement are reported in classes of balanced social mixes (Lauder 1991), data on composition of school intakes reveals an alarming picture for Pacific Islands students at both the national and sample level.

The Smithfield Report showed that Pacific Islands and Maori students opted out of their local school more than other ethnic groups. However, Lauder (et al., 1994) claims that it would be incorrect to infer that Maori and Pacific Islands students benefited the most from the changes. Instead, Lauder points out that the schools which were depopulated during the initial years of policy change were in fact decreased more markedly by SES status (1994; 33).

The statistics provided in this project revealed that at a national level, Pacific Islands students were grossly misrepresented in private or independent schools. This is despite a major influx of students of ‘other’ ethnicities into these schools (see Table III). Statistics clearly paint a demoralising picture concerning the composition of school intakes. Pacific Islands students are almost half as likely as other students to be enrolled at an integrated school. This trend has remained stable since data was first collected in 1989 (Ministry of Education, 1998). Guevara (1997) confirms this in her study of Year 9 intakes in 1997.

This study concurs with the findings of Smithfield and others who claim that those Pacific Islands students who did move after dezoning had occurred, were those who were most ‘able’ economically and socially in the eyes of the schools. It must also be stressed that the group of students who did move are a minority.

Ethnic population changes within each sample school displayed interesting results. In the last 3 years, Aranui High School’s Pacific Islands population has decreased slightly. Papanui High School has retained a relatively stable Pacific Islands population whilst Riccarton High School’s Pacific Islands population has remained small and is relatively stable (see Table IV, V, and VI). Could this signify a movement into middle decile schools by Pacific Islands students? If this assumption is made and achievement has not improved, the question that arises is whether going to a ‘better’ school makes a difference. On the one hand one may argue that Pacific Islands students attending a higher decile school may benefit from the higher or ‘better’ students around them. On the other hand one may argue from the poor results of Pacific Islands students in general, that attending higher SES schools does not make a difference.

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63 Guevara (1997) pointed out that higher decile schools are characterized by higher proportions of European/Pakeha and Asian students and lower proportions of Maori and Pacific Islands students.

64 Ainsworth’s study unsurprisingly revealed, that poor schools with decreasing rolls are in areas with a high density of public housing and households with low socio-economic status, while schools with above average socio-economic population and increasing rolls are in wealthy, well established areas. These wealthy schools are unlikely to have more than 20% Maori, Pacific Islanders and Asians in their populations, except where the Asian students pay full fees. Ainsworth, V (et al 1994; 28)
Statistics on the Maori and Asian populations at these schools also revealed interesting trends. Maori numbers increased at both Aranui and Papanui, but decreased at Riccarton. Asian students increased at Riccarton over the last three years. The Asian population at Papanui decreased despite this group’s importance to the school finances.

When asked on the future of Tomorrow’s Schools a principal in the study believed that unless a change in government policy occurs an East versus West pattern in inequality in Christchurch was set to intensify. Ainsworth too argued that Tomorrow’s Schools policies are creating a distinction between the schools in which equal opportunity in schools is threatened by the prioritisation of fiscal matters above the deliverance of a quality education. Ainsworth (et al.) noted:

“Thus the outcome expected by policy makers that competition would pressure poor schools to improve has not come about because improvement requires additional resources. This is particularly true of schools in impoverished areas. As hunger, poor clothing, infections such as scabies and familial problems are increasingly brought into the arena of the school. Many are hard pressed to cope, let alone improve their ‘market share’.” (1994; 33)

Our sample schools over the last 3 years have reinforced the findings of decile versus achievement graphs (see Figure Three). Sample schools revealed that although all schools showed increases in student population, only Papanui (decile 6) recorded any real increase in Pacific Islands students. Therefore, a drift towards middle decile schools may be occurring in schools in Christchurch.

It was also found that the ‘success of schools was closely related to the SES status of the school’s communities. Apart from the demographic decline in some areas an obvious shift of student population from schools in lower SES areas was detected after zoning was abolished. Ainsworth discovered that in Christchurch schools a definite ‘middle class flight’ was occurring and that in some cases, ‘white flight’ as well.

Brown and Lauder (1991) and Echols (et al. 1990) showed that school achievement was closely linked with social status and wealth. Ainsworth (et al.) argued that parents chose to take their children out of low SES area schools because;

“... children in the higher socio-economic areas have more advantages and have fewer limitations than their less well-off counterparts, high attainment is usually connected with social position.” (1994; 21)

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65 This rise in Asian population at Riccarton can be attributed to a change in demographics in the area and an increase in overseas fee paying students.

66 Ainsworth found a clear middle class drift in Christchurch was occurring in 1994.

- Of the 29 schools with population in the lowest socio-economic status group have experienced declining rolls of more than 10% over the preceding five years. Only 3 of the 29 have experienced growth of more than 10%
- Of the 32 schools with rolls declining by more than 10%, only one lists their population as predominantly of a middle-high SES
- All 4 schools in the highest SES group have experienced increases in the rolls during the same period.66
The AIMHI report\(^{67}\) also explains the movement of students from low SES schools to high SES schools in the comments of a teacher who claims:

"The theory is that if you go to a rich school that somehow the wealth will rub off. We are a poor brown school and some parents want their kids as close to a fat-cat white school as they can get them. It is more that than any educational decision. We get about 20 to 40 coming back after trying out other schools. This includes the kids the other schools can’t cope with and throw back…" (Hawk et al, 1996; 95)

Hawk (et al.) claims that schools at the low end of the SES scale were disadvantaged quoting this as the primary effect of zoning in the schools in her study:

“When they eliminated zoning, all the kids that could…the good kids…shipped out. We have become a ghetto school and our kids are beginning to identify themselves more and more with the ghetto culture…” (Teacher) (1996; 96)

One principal in the Ainsworth study believed that the drift away from low SES schools was more SES related than the phenomenon of ‘white flight’. It was claimed that the tendency for Maori and Pacific Islanders to be over represented in the low-income bracket meant that the two inevitably went hand in hand\(^{68}\). The Riccarton interviewee in this study also argued along these lines believing that the achievement of a student was not so much dependent on ethnicity of a student, but rather the socio-economic status of that student. In terms of ‘choice’ this finding was supported in the Smithfield Report. However, to completely accept this is to dismiss the importance of culture in the development of a student. This point will be expanded upon later in this chapter.

In summation, this section has revealed both a shift in SES but more notably a concentration of Pacific Islands students within low SES schools. This study shows that this ethnic and SES polarisation looks set to increase if policies are not introduced to arrest this trend. Although government policy expresses a desire to improve the opportunities of all peoples, studies indicate that if inequalities continue, the supposed ‘equality of opportunity’ for all students will be seriously threatened.

7.1.4 Pacific Islands Achievement

“The low levels of formal qualifications among Pacific Islands people is reflective of the high numbers in the solely primary-educated island-born population and the high academic failure rates of the New Zealand-born and –educated population.” (Pasikale 1996; 8)

\(^{67}\) Although the AIMHI project targeted the extreme case studies, the reality of the situation for students in low SES schools is that these students effectively do not have a choice. If the schools decide that individual students are ‘undesirable’, it is the schools who have the choice and who exercise it. These ‘successful’ students are usually those who are the most academically able, who have no record of behavioural problems or were exceptional in an area such as sport or music. Thus, the government’s policy of choice does not apply to students or families in the lowest deciles schools (Hawk et al 1996)

\(^{68}\) Ainsworth’s study showed that only one in 14 schools with over a 20% decline in roll population had 10% or less Polynesian and Asian students. It was also noted that none of the schools in this category had either a middle-high or high SES population. Source; Ainsworth, (et al 1994; 28)
The results of Pacific Islands students in the New Zealand education system from 1991-1998 confirm the findings of the Education Trends report released in 1994. There still has been no real improvement in Pacific Islands achievement throughout this decade at a national level (see Figures Four, Five and Six). This is despite the promises of Tomorrow's Schools' promoters who believed that the abolition of zoning would create a specialist market for ethnic minorities. Statistics presenting student achievement showed that Pacific Islands students were generally failing every exam given by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA). Therefore, considering the statistics, Tomorrows School's has failed Pacific Islands students.

Another major question that arose concerning Pacific Islands achievement was the issue of whether attending a higher decile school made a difference. Riccarton High School (a decile 8 school) showed that their Pacific Islands students only achieved slightly better results than the other sample schools at 5th Form level, and sat only a few papers at the 6th and 7th form levels.

Although this number is small and seemingly insignificant, what needs to be asked is, does being a student in the higher SES school really make a difference? One could argue from the results of the data collected from the NZQA, that those students who attend higher SES schools do not achieve better. This study showed that Aranui out performed Papanui in the Fifth form certificate examination with an average pass rate of 29.9% compared to 13.6% at Papanui. The researcher pondered whether being a Pacific Islands student in a high SES school may place one at the bottom of the school ladder whereas they may be at the top in a lower SES school. Therefore the movement to a higher SES school may not only fail to guarantee the student a better education, but also strip one of important cultural 'habitus'. This question opens up an avenue for further research.

The interviews with the school principals in this study recognised that the Tomorrow's Schools were failing to cater for the Pacific Islands students at their schools. Both informants from Aranui and Papanui believed that the government was not providing them enough resources to 'bridge the gap' to improve Pacific Islands student achievement. One strong positive that came out of these interviews was that all of the principals recognised the 'downside' of Tomorrows School's policy and were willing to help remedy the problem. However, the interviewee from Papanui pointed out that if any programme was to work, it had to be done in relationship with the parents.

The students' perspectives on what the school could do to help them achieve raised interesting issues. On one hand, the majority believed that the school had to change and had to implement

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49 Riccarton did not record any significant numbers in 6th, and 7th Form exams. The question that arose here was where did the Pacific Islands students go? This question unfortunately could not be answered with the data in this study.
new forms of teaching styles, homework programmes, or teachers that could relate to them better (in other words an increase in Pacific Islands teachers). On the other hand, a minority of students believed that it was up to the student and not the school to help them achieve. Ex-students also argued the same sorts of factors needed to change in schools. One ex-student recommended a 'brotherhood' programme that he witnessed in Auckland where tertiary students came into the schools and were allocated a group of students to help and tutor. One recommended that the school curriculum needed to be more inclusive with Pacific Islands culture, including programmes to educate teachers on cultural sensitivity.

Aranui's Maori bilingual unit improved the results of their Maori students. The Informant at Aranui pondered whether the same could be done for the Samoan students at his school however resources again become a major concern. Papanui and Riccarton revealed that there was no real difference in achievement between Maori and Pacific Islands students.

The Aranui Academy provided an interesting case study where students from all over the city (and sometimes from other cities) come to a comprehensive, challenging and impressive sports programme. To the sceptic, one may see the academy as just another programme to retain students and discourage their learning by focusing on sports, or as an aggressive marketing tool giving an advantage over other schools. However, although the critical perspective can be countered by the unprecedented success of its teams at national level, the importance of the intrinsic value it gives to its students can not be measured easily. The restoration of pride in the students' ability to achieve goals as its primary focus utilises the students' natural ability as a 'bridge' to achieving self-confidence and the habit of winning and success. As a tool that conquers the 'barriers' to the mind, the academy programme is a shining example of ingenuity, innovation and initiative. These barriers will be further discussed in the final section.

The statistics on Pacific Islands students in secondary schools are sadly replicated in the statistics on Pacific Islands students within the tertiary sector. In 1994, 23 percent of Pacific Islands students who went on to tertiary education attended a TOPs course\textsuperscript{30}. In the same year, only 3 percent of the total number of tertiary students enrolled in Universities, Polytechnics or Colleges of Education were of Pacific Island's ethnicity\textsuperscript{31}. Pacific Islands students were also less likely to go on to post-graduate study than students of any other ethnicity\textsuperscript{32} (Ministry of Education, 1998; 35).

In summary, based on achievement, Tomorrow's Schools has been a failure for the Pacific Islands students. Although slight improvement in achievement has occurred over the last

\textsuperscript{30} Training Opportunities Programme (TOPS) was designed to increase their economic participation in New Zealand society.

\textsuperscript{31} Note: This group is also characterised by a high drop out rate, and the highest take-up of student loans of any ethnicity in New Zealand.

\textsuperscript{32} In 1997, statistics recorded only one doctorate awarded to a Pacific Islander in New Zealand. Ministry of Education (1998; 35)
couple a years, and despite moves by the MOE to implement new trouble-shooting programmes, the future for Pacific Islands students within the New Zealand education system remains clouded.

7.2 'O Lo'u Afa' – 'My Storm'

The second section of this chapter will look at issues that are pertinent particularly to the New Zealand-born Pacific Islander. This section is written in the hopes of providing some insight into the problems that Pacific Islands students face within a ‘foreign’ education system, and look at how the intricate balance must be found in order for students to 'succeed'.

This will begin by looking at the strain of existing within two different systems, and the value the majority culture gives to minority cultures such as those of the Pacific. Then we will look at issues of intergenerational conflict between the New Zealand-born student and his/her Pacific Island-born parent. Thirdly, we will venture into the consequential problems of identity, the struggle of self-definition. Lastly, there is an investigation into the struggle with one's own self image. This is 'My Storm'.

7.2.1 The Clash of Two Systems

It is still a common claim that inherent in the current policies and practices are issues of equal opportunity through which the aspirations for social equality can be met. (Pasikale 1998; 2; Coxon, et al., 1994; 25). However, in reality Tomorrow’s Schools has not delivered especially to the low SES schools in which the majority of Pacific Islands students are mainly located. Helu-Thaman points out that although educational practices are underpinned by a liberal ideology, addressing the needs of special groups like Pacific Islanders in the past has been more about economic development than social development. She comments that:

"Contemporary education, from primary to tertiary, continues to be mainly concerned with training islanders for a career in the urban industrial sector and the cash economy. It is not concerned with cultural development." (1995; 3)

Eckermann (1994; 11-14) has claimed that research based on comparatives between the characteristics of mainstream and non-mainstream students have contributed to the ‘deficit approach’ to education. The proponents of the deficit approach to education assert that cultural differences in values and practices disadvantage persons from minority ethnic groups, which in turn inhibit their educational achievement. Eckermann claims that strategies for eliminating the disadvantages are essentially about assimilation into mainstream culture.

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37 Eckermann (1994) believes that in these studies 'successful' characteristics (as defined by the mainstream culture are highlighted and incorporated into remedial and intervention programmes. These programmes have included parenting skills and child-rearing skills based on middle-class values and concepts of family life.
Although the deficit approach today has lost some of its popularity within education circles, Pasikale (1998) claims that negative attitudes and stereotypical assumptions about minority ethnic groups are still embedded in social and educational policies and consequently, in teacher expectations and attitudes. Lloyd (1995) and Jones (1991) provided evidence that showed that although most teachers are trained to deal with disadvantaged students, most still retain negative conceptions about marginalised groups. Dunlop shows us that Jones' study:

"...introduced us to a group of teachers who could be recognised in any school; and she has shown that, despite Teacher's College units on self-concept and school achievement, questioning techniques, and self-fulfilling prophecies, teachers' behaviours are governed by their perceptions, as are pupils' responses. Jones' analysis of teacher behaviour is a valuable one." (1991; 49)

Foliaki (1994) outlines the relationship between Pacific Islands student failure and the construction of the school curriculum. She claims that:

“One of the difficulties in addressing this issue today is that teachers and educators do not accept that they make a major contribution to student failure. I don't mean that the individual teachers are incompetent, but that teaching pedagogy/methodology and the curriculum are inappropriate in that much that is taught does not relate to the everyday reality of Pacific Island children.” (Foliaki, 1994; 106 cited in Tiatia 1998; 36)

Pasikale notes that the impact of the deficit approach on ‘disadvantaged’ learners is mostly negative. For example, such learners tend to have low self-esteem and blame themselves for their failures in the school system. Utumapu’s (1992) study critiquing deficit theory proved that failure of Pacific Islands students could not be attributed to either a lack of desire or commitment by parents nor from a perceived lack of cultural capital. Utumapu points out that her study indicated that the desire from Pacific Islands students and their families highlighted the failure of the education system to meet the needs of those who desired education.

Ioane (1995; 19) states that New Zealand schools are locked into the cycle of social and cultural reproduction of the dominant culture based on the imperialistic presumption that Palagi-defined cultural capital is the most warranted for all of New Zealand’s peoples. This confirms the pattern of cultural reproduction that was introduced in Chapter Three.

7.2.2 The Value of Pacific Islands Culture in the Education System

"A student's Samoan, Tongan or Niuean knowledge is considered irrelevant to school knowledge, and is undermined by way of implying that no other value system, other than that of the Palagi, is considered important." (Tiatia 1998; 11)

The Pacific Islands culture embodies traditional principles that run contrary to the Western majority culture. This begs the question of; what place does Pacific Culture have in a Western education system?
The New Zealand education system aims to encourage critical thinking and individualism, two concepts that are foreign to Pacific Islands cultures. Foliaki (1994) argued that this is a crucial factor in why Pacific students are not doing so well in school. Tiati (1998) believes that the Western system does not recognise the distinct background and habitus of the Pacific Island student, who in comparison to their Palagi compatriots, do not have a solid grounding in the dominant values of society. Thus, as Tiati sadly concludes, Pacific Islanders bring ethnic values that are considered insignificant and inappropriate.

In general, most students and former students believed Pacific cultures are relevant within New Zealand citing identity and pride as the primary reason. However, at Riccarton there was an interesting split between those who were 'full blooded' and those who were half-castes. The majority of those who were half-castes placed less importance on Pacific Islands culture in New Zealand society. With the increasing mixing of races, the identity crisis seemed to intensify upon defining the importance of culture. If the majority culture regards minority cultures irrelevant, the future of Pacific Islands culture in New Zealand is under threat. However, this point needs further investigation to be reliably commented upon.

The majority of Pacific Islands parents (80%) in the sample believed that Pacific Islands culture was relevant in New Zealand. The importance of diversity and the uniqueness of Pacific cultures were given as the major reasons. The 20% that did not find Pacific culture relevant believed a separation between the school and the culture needed to be created. For these parents, the home provided a more appropriate environment for the maintenance of culture.

The students' perception of how much their schools understood and valued Pacific Islands culture was dependent on the size of the population within each respective school. Aranui students were split on how much the school understood culture but the majority believed that the school valued Pacific Islands culture highly (see Figure Fifteen). Of the students at Papanui, a slight majority gave the school a rating of for understanding of Pacific culture between 2-3 (just below good or good). A larger majority believed that Papanui did value Pacific culture (see Figures Sixteen and Seventeen). This trend predictably continued at Riccarton with a smaller population and therefore less understanding and less value being placed on Pacific Islands culture (see Figures Eighteen and Nineteen).

The perceptions of culture by former students revealed that most either maintained their fervour for their Pacific culture or recalled an increase in the importance of maintaining their roots when they left school. The school became the major focal point for their cultural maintenance that was lost when they left. Thus, another point of importance here is that

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74 In this analysis, the responses from the student questionnaire revealed a correlation between the decile of the school (and the size of the Pacific population within the school) with the intensity of the importance of culture within schools. As the decile got higher (or the Pacific population decreased) there was less importance placed on culture.
although this study has shown that a lack of understanding and value pervades in the sample, the fact is that the schools are still more culturally aware than other institutions and settings in society.

Therefore, in general, most Pacific Islands students in this sample valued their culture. Schools were also sympathetic. However, things within the system such as curriculum still conflict with Pacific Islands ideals. Tiata argues that what is taught in school and what is included in the curriculum defines what is important to know but, more importantly what not to know:

"[Thus, the]...definition of curriculum knowledge can therefore serve the interests of some groups but not others. Indeed Pacific Islands students have been discriminated against in this way. So while school may liberate some people, it may leave others in a subordinate position with their language, knowledge and culture classified as unimportant." (1998; 36)

The devaluation of Pacific Islands culture in schools takes away the power and identity of its students. The only option for Pacific Islanders it would seem in this case would be to assimilate. However, the consequences of this are great as Ioane explains:

"Experience has shown that those who have lost their native language, their mana, their sense of identity and their confidence to perform in their own culture, tend to face countless problems in other cultures." (1987: 250)

7.2.3 Class Versus Culture

During one of the interviews, an interesting point arose concerning class versus culture. Dunlop (1991) recognised that Jones (1991) although conducting an important study on the inequalities that exist in a male biased system, managed to screen out the importance of culture in an effort to combine class, culture and gender. Dunlop argues that by adopting a general 'class' analysis, Jones becomes committed to accepting the whole baggage that comes with class. Dunlop illustrates the difference between working class Europeans and Samoans in that:

"... the major point of difference may be that Samoans still believe in the system. 'Get to New Zealand, give your children a chance' is still the migrant ethos." (Dunlop, 1991; 49-50)

I believe that this interpretation by Dunlop can be applied to the comments supplied in the Riccarton interview. The Riccarton interviewee believed that social class rather than ethnicity was a more important factor in the failure of Pacific Islands students. I would argue that this sort of thinking both consciously and unconsciously de-prioritises, de-emphasises, and

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5 Dunlop argues that an example where class analysis fails in its application to Samoan people is that for Samoans, just being in the education system is a 'success', succeeding in the system is the 'icing on the cake'. Dunlop also presents several further questions on whether Samoan parents wanted their children to really succeed in the schooling system, and whether it is a priority for Samoans to move up into the middle classes? She uses the example of Samoan parents in Sydney pulling their children out of school into the workforce, maybe to provide money for the family or to provide money to help in the maintenance of the fa'aSamoa.
underestimates the 'disadvantages' that being in a minority culture poses. Although it is true
that there are similarities that all ethnic groups display within the working class, to disregard
the importance of culture as a 'barrier' to achievement is dangerous\textsuperscript{76}. By implying that
'culture' has little or no effect on the socialisation or achievement of a Pacific Islands child is
a mere recycling of mistakes and attitudes made by majority cultures about 'other' cultures in
the past\textsuperscript{77}.

What needs to be emphasised here is that in the past policy about Pacific Islands people have
been made by non-Pacific Islands people. I would argue that unless one is 'truly' immersed in
the culture of the 'other' can one understand the problems of those within that particular
culture. However, to say that the contribution of the 'outsider' is not important because all
contribute to an increased knowledge of one’s own culture. The point here is that it must be
stressed that there is no better information than that that can be gathered from the informant
him or herself. To disregard his or her contribution is to disregard knowledge in its purest
form or in other words, information from the proverbial 'horse’s mouth'. Although this has
changed with the advent of institutions like the Ministry of Pacific Islands Affairs, the
movement toward the 'New Right', promotes a liberal strain of market led policy and in its
extreme form runs contrary and at times is detrimental to Pacific Islands culture.

7.2.4 Intergenerational Conflict

"At this breaking point between two radically different and closely related groups,
both are inevitably very lonely, as we face each other knowing that they will never
experience what we have experienced, and that we can never experience what they
have experienced." (Mead, 1970:77-78 cited in Tiati, 1998; 108)

Mead suggests that the conflict between the Pacific Island born older generation and their
New Zealand born children begins with the different experiences that the two groups have.
This relationship can also be illustrated in the poetry of Petaia:

\begin{quote}
\textbf{Father and Son}

He comes home now  
His mind filled with  
The wisdom of the Papalagi.

Your son has done well at school  
And you are proud, and showed
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{76} Note that the use of the terms 'disadvantages' and 'barriers' in the majority culture may be seen as strengths in another culture. For example the giving of money in the Paci c Islands culture to the matai system is seen as a strength, whilst in European culture the saving of that money may be a strength. Therefore, the fact that determines whether they are negatives is dependent on who is the majority.

\textsuperscript{77} For example the old adage that the Islanders 'got lost fishing' and discovered the Pacific Islands (something this researcher was taught in school). That Pacific Islands women are naturally sexually promiscuous (debunked by Mead critics). And that indigenous theories such as communalism are backward (now Samoa is one of the only countries in the world without the problems of a welfare system).
But
Suddenly he speaks
And you don’t want to hear him
He dresses
And you don’t want to see him.

He tries to explain himself
But you say he’s just a
Trying-to-be-smart-little-cheek
Who’s had too much education.

I wonder where
In the darkness
You lost each other
Father and son?

(Ruperake Petaia 1970; 4)

This clash between the Western and Pacific cultures is also seen in the often negative comments of Pacific Islands students of the reciprocal aspects of their particular Pacific culture.

Tiatia (1998) explains the New Zealand born phenomena by citing Taule’ale’a’ausumai (1991) who draws on Pitt’s (1979) analysis of an emerging culture. Taule’ale’a’ausumai believes the culture that Pitt speaks of is not something that is brought from there (the Pacific) to here (New Zealand), rather, it is a mixture of the New Zealand borns’ parents transplanted way of life and of searching for and developing their own identity. The unique feature of this new culture is that with a New Zealand education, the New Zealand born generation has learnt to critique their own culture and its significance to them. It contains many familiar traditional aspects of the Samoan, Tongan or Niuean culture, yet is also incorporates the diversity and influences of the dominant Palagi way (Taule’ale’a’ausumai, 1991:16)

Pasikale explains that:

“Both groups have unique learning characteristics but operate in similar cultural contexts. The older learners preferring more passive learning experiences and the younger learners preferring more involved experiences. Both groups struggle with traditional Pacific Islands cultural expectations of behaviour and the expectations of teachers in the classroom. Differences in attitudes and behaviour between the two groups of learners is evident.” (Pasikale 1996:x)

This new generation of New Zealand born Pacific Island learners have faced and continue to face identity dilemmas of which further indepth research is needed. Tiatia (1998) explains this problem:

“On the one hand, we are Pacific Islanders toiling in a predominantly European society that does not seek to understand or fully acknowledge our cultural uniqueness. On the other hand, within our own societies, we are the silenced Western educated voice, ignored because we may be a threat to Pacific Island cultural traditions.” (Tiatia 1998;1)
Tiatia believes that the New Zealand born become alienated by both the dominant palagi culture and their indigenous culture. This group is especially important in this study representing the majority of the students in the research sample. The conflicting values system can be seen in Table XIII below.

Table XIII
CONFLICTING CULTURAL VALUES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SAMOAN/TONGAN/NUIEAN CULTURE</th>
<th>DOMINANT CULTURE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Communalism</td>
<td>Individualism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unquestioned obedience and respect for seniority</td>
<td>Critique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understand and speak the mother tongue</td>
<td>Speak the English Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church and extended family obligations first</td>
<td>Education/work first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa’aSamo/anga fakaTonga/fakaNuie</td>
<td>Fa’aPalagi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘You are a Palagi’</td>
<td>‘You are a Pacific Islander’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Don’t ask, just do it!’</td>
<td>‘Ask before you go ahead’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(From: Tiatia (1998:6))

Tiatia believes that the most important concerns for the New Zealand born primarily the language barrier between the groups, and secondly the demand upon the New Zealand born to fulfil family and church obligations and at the same time to ‘succeed’ in education.

Anae believes the inability of New Zealand borns to speak in their native tongue is due:

"... to the result of influences of Europeanisation and the belief that speaking the language of the dominant society will be a stepping stone to ‘making it’ academically in the eyes of their peers. (Anae 1995:8 cited in Tiatia 1998:8)

Tiatia argues that New Zealand borns still want to learn their own language, rather it is a lack of information at their disposal. Tiatia makes the interesting point that;

"A reflection of one’s ‘Samoanness, Tonganness or Nuieanness’ is also challenged in reference to the strict observance of respect and unquestioning obedience. Whilst these ‘gifted’ attributes can be regarded as conveying the beauty of Pacific Islands culture, concurrently it can be argued that it may be detrimental to the position of the New Zealand born youth within the Pacific Island society, more specifically within the church." (1998:9)

This attitude provides a vital focus of New Zealand born critique on Pacific culture today. Further research needs to be undertaken on this rapidly dynamic group to further development of Pacific Island learning in New Zealand. Pasikale argues that:

"This will involve a balancing act between keeping older traditions and skills alive, and developing new traditions and learning new skills. There is a need for educational interventions to support cultural continuity as well as to challenge boundaries.”

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98 It must be noted that I would argue that the two latter values Tiatia lists in Table XIII are not actually cultural values, I would contend that they are assumptions.
Prevalent in the writing of Tiatia (1998) is a general theme of intergenerational conflict that she believes New Zealand born Pacific Islands people face. Her writing has provoked much controversy within the Pacific Islands community.

I would argue that her study is valid and contributes much to the description of relations between Pacific Islands old and young people. However, Tiatia seems to misunderstand and emphasise the ‘flip side’ or the abuse within Pacific culture, which can be described as necrophilic (a term coined by Fromm, 1960). The point I believe she misses in her critical analysis of the relationship between the church and culture and its impacts on Pacific Islands young people, is that the principles contained in the relationship are biophilic. In other words she emphasises the abuse of the system rather than the intended use or theory of the system.

7.2.5 Identity – Who Am I?

“Perhaps then, the New Zealand Samoan [or Pacific Islander] is neither there nor here, perhaps the New Zealand born Samoan [or Pacific Islander] exists in a culture all of its own, one which incorporates many aspects of the fa’aSamoan, but also one which calculates and thinks as a Palagi. (Taulé‘ale‘ausumal 1990 cited in Tiatia, 1998; 32)

The dilemma that remains amongst most New Zealand born Pacific Islanders is the crisis of identity. On one hand they are not considered to be ‘full’ Samoan, Tongan, Cook Islander, Rarotongan, Fijian, Tokelauan because of their New Zealand born status and their possessing little ‘cultural know how’. On the other hand, at schools, they can be stereotyped as ‘freshies’ or ‘dummies’ attributed from deficit theorists who claim that pupils brought with them to school a complex array of ‘deficits’ caused by their cultural heritage. The Pacific Islands people are therefore different from the ‘norm’, that is, different from the dominant culture (Jones et al, 1995; 176). Pitt and Macpherson said of Samoans:

“Although some of these young people feel themselves to be Samoans and New Zealanders, most feel that they are both Samoans and New Zealanders, in different senses, contexts, and situations. New Zealand-Samoans may feel themselves to be Samoan in ancestry and culture and yet loyal New Zealand citizens or residents taking an active part in many aspects of New Zealand life.” (1974:19-20)

Tiatia (1998) believes that for Pacific Islanders within the New Zealand educational system, the process of acquiring cultural capital is one of assimilation, which may detrimentally mean the dilution of one’s own Pacific Island habitus, surmised as invalid in the maintenance

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79 Both the terms Necrophilic and Biophilic are explained later in the chapter.
80 It has been noted that although in the past it has been generally regarded that the relationship between the church and culture (especially in Samoa within the matai system) has been based on the exchange of power (see Meleisea 1992). The primary motivation behind both Pacific Islands culture and Christianity is love, I would contend that this might help explain why the two have co-existed so efficiently.
81 In Tiatia’s defence, I believe the study needed to be done in order to open the communications between Pacific Islands people of which in the past has been lacking especially in the church.
82 Assimilation is described as the process whereby a minority group is adapted or adapts itself to a majority society but in doing so the minority’s cultural identity is obliterated. (Coxon, Jenkins, Marshall, Massey, 1994; 273)
of the dominant culture. Macpherson (1991) states that within assimilation theories it is argued that the cultural belief and social practices of the dominant group are deemed as normative. As a consequence:

"... the cultural beliefs and social practices of subordinate groups may come to appear 'deviant' and are eventually devalued and then discarded. Assimilation then is a process which begins when an ethnic minority comes into contact with a larger, dominant ethnic group and continues until the former discards its language cultural beliefs and social institutions and adopts those of the dominant group." (Macpherson 1991)

In other words, the minority must become like the majority in order to succeed. ‘Success’ is determined by how well one ‘fits’ into ‘their’ system. Harker (in Codd et al 1990) and Macpherson (1991) shows us that by claiming one group’s characteristics as normative, one runs the danger of disregarding all minorities listing them as ‘alien’. I believe the mistake of assuming that there is only one right way, one perspective, or one truth that is relevant for the description and definition of the world and of what is deemed the ‘norm’ for all must change.

Tiatia promotes the use of acculturation rather than assimilation as the direction of the future. Acculturation involves the holding on to one’s culture but existing in two. Taule’ale’a’auaumai’s (1991) argues in favour of acculturation and argues that:

"...for the child to actually choose one of the two cultures for his/herself would mean choosing one above the other. Unless one is able to integrate both cultures, the dilemma one creates for oneself in actually making the choice, is that ‘to choose things Palagi, would deny things Samoan’, almost a literal denial of one’s biological identity." (cited in Tiatia 1998: 40)

I would argue that in the past, both school systems and sadly, Pacific Islanders themselves have actively de-prioritised the importance of the maintenance of Pacific culture for example through the discouragement of indigenous language. However, recent studies have discounted the theories of earlier influential critics. Spolsky (1988) argues that:

"The advice that some teachers give to immigrant (Pacific Islands) parents to speak the new language (English) with their children is tragically misguided." (cited in Hukin-Tuiletufuga, 1996)

Lloyd (1995) believes that even promoting the strengths of Pacific Islands people in the use of language may be an important key in unlocking the inequality that surrounds Pacific Islands students upon entering the system.

7.2.6 The Enemy Within

All principal interviewees recognised the immense potential in Pacific Islands children but saw that ability going to waste. However, during the questionnaire stage of this project, it

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83 Lloyd argues that acculturation has not been achieved in Samoa saying that the indications are that Samoan schooling has become increasingly Western, placing pressure on young people, who suffer from an internal contradiction between the individualistic values of education and the collectivist values of fa’aSamoan
was to the researcher's concern that there was a certain climate of 'hopelessness' surrounding the questions that Pacific Islands students asked. Questions like 'How can we go to university?' were asked frequent especially at the lower decile schools. Negative facial expressions of some of the students when talking about culture, combined with the statistical data on under achievement that seemed to back these allegations, provoked many deep philosophical questions in the researcher's own mind.\footnote{This study showed that Pacific Island parents generally had high expectations for their children. Students aspirations although varied all tended toward entry in to some form of tertiary training however, it must be noted that there were traces of a hint of a relationship between decile and aspiration of student. Where the higher the decile school the higher the aspiration of the students but this statement must be investigated further in order to be considered valid. Most former students had high aspirations upon leaving school however those who were not at University are now far from where they wanted to be. It was noted that at Aranui, the low numbers of males in the cultural performance group tended to raise questions on aspects of pride in their Pacific cultures. Considering that the immigration laws have tightened, the source for new migrants has lessened. This is seen in the increasing proportion of New Zealand born students in the school. This raised the question of how will an increasing proportion of New Zealand born Pacific Islands students at schools affect the importance of Pacific Islands culture? Will there be an increasing identity crisis amongst an increasing New Zealand born population and thus interest in culture? Or will the opposite occur where students will prioritise their culture lower promoting Western culture? Or is this problem only relevant to areas with smaller Pacific Islands populations? These points are issues that need to be further investigated in future studies.}

What hope is there for Pacific Islands students to go to university when the system is geared in favour of higher decile schools and against minorities? And even if students get through the achievement barriers and to a large extent social problems, then structural (such as enrolment schemes) and economic barriers come into play with increasing student debt plaguing many Pacific Islands tertiary students. These factors combined with the clash of identity present a demoralising picture for all Pacific Islands students in New Zealand, most of which is not even heard about, and sadly, much of which is not even perceived by the students themselves.

Paulo Friere (1970) presents an interesting analysis on the contradictions of the Western education system. He looks at the oppression of the poor and how the education system maintains an imbalance by unconsciously silencing the capacity for the poor to think critically and consequently maintaining the 'status quo' by keeping the disadvantaged 'submerged' through the 'banking' concept of education. Friere criticises the traditional authoritarian teacher-pupil model and promotes an open continuous shared investigation in which participation of 'all' people is encouraged regardless of social status, age or ethnicity. For Friere the only prerequisite to this right to his education is being human.

Friere makes a useful reference to the internalisation of oppression by those who are subject to the oppression. He notes that:

"Self-deprecation is another characteristic of the oppressed, which derives from their internalisation of the opinion the oppressors hold of them. So often do they hear that they are good for nothing, know nothing and are incapable of learning anything – that they are sick, lazy and unproductive – that in the end they become convinced of their own unfitness." (Friere 1970; 45)
It is the argument of this thesis that an internalisation of oppression can be applied not only to the Pacific Islands students in this study, but to all oppressed students. New Zealand born Pacific Islands students are harnessed with the responsibility of balancing between two cultures, maintain pressures from all sides of their world. The lack of acceptance from their ethnic origin, and a labelling of ‘other’ (both conscious and unconscious) in the country of their birth, places Pacific Islands students in a difficult position.

7.3 ‘O Lo‘u Tapasa’ – ‘My Compass’

The term ‘My Compass’ refers to the possible directions out of the storm we as educators, as learners, and as people must consider if any positive change is to occur. This final section will be split into two, firstly, this project will look at possible answers to the issues raised in the proceeding chapter. Secondly, we will look at the findings and the conclusions of this project ending with a brief summary.

This project discovered that two things must occur for there to be any positive change for Pacific Islands students with the New Zealand education system. Firstly, the Pacific people must be empowered both by the system and within themselves. Secondly, the system itself must be disempowered in certain places in order to make the system more equitable for ‘all’ people.

7.3.1 Empowering Our People

The importance of education to Pacific Islanders in New Zealand is evidenced in this quote by Ioane (1987; 249) who claims that:

“Pacific Islanders have been quick to realise the importance of a good education. As an agent for cultural innovation, education has been the main stimulant for many of the changes in their homelands, now that they are in New Zealand, many Pacific Island parents have shown a great interest in education. As they see (education) as preparing their children for a better future.”

Considering the theory and the evidence presented in this project, can education be considered a key to success?

This project found what a lot of studies have already shown, a massive break-down in communication between the Pacific Islands home, and the school environment. The interviews with the schools showed that at Aranui, the principal questioned whether information to the home was getting relayed properly. The culture group provided an excellent forum for parents to attend and contribute to the group’s direction however, the Aranui informant wishes the

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86 Although a contentious issue, I would argue that the largely subconscious process that conditions the students (regardless of class) to maintain inequality, is the fault of the system rather than the individual students themselves. The silence of the ‘other’ (or the oppressed) persons perspective (in this case the voice of the Pacific Island student) must be ‘unsilenced’ if the ‘I’ (or the oppression) will ever be able to comprehend or take responsibility for its own actions.
parents would have the same kind of energy when faced with an educational agenda. The Papanui principal believes that her school needs to have a better relationship with the Pacific Islands parents if any real improvement is to happen. Although a Pacific Islands group had existed at Papanui, the lack of resources to facilitate the group has meant that the group has disappeared. Riccarton did not have much contact with Pacific Islands parents despite having a small population.

Figure Twenty showed that the majority of the parents' sample had some kind of contact with the schools. However, those responding in the Samoan version had very low contact rates. Foliaki summarises the problem here when referring to Tongan parents when she wrote:

"... I came across a problem which is perhaps specific to Tongans as the most recent migrants. Parents saw the importance of being involved, but they didn't have the language skills to take part. It was simply unrealistic to expect Tongan parents to turn up to board meetings. So it was actually a bit sad, because the parents wanted to be involved, but they often didn't have the skill to." (Foliaki, 1994:107)

Harker and Nash (1996) found that there is clear evidence pointing to a correlation between student performance and their home background. Raised achievement is believed to be dependent primarily on the schools' ability to be able to relate to the parents of at-risk students. The MOE argues that a 'whole school' strategy to reduce the risks of educational failure must necessarily include finding ways to improve parent participation, especially those who have been hardest to reach.

The MOE believes new measures need to be taken to improve the relations between the home and school especially in the case of Pacific Islands students. The MOE noted that:

"The challenge now is to extend opportunities for decision-making to more parents, especially where students are at risk of failure. Reaching these parents means developing additional networks, and using more innovative ways of communication."

The MOE argues that parents need to be sure that their son or daughter benefit from their own closer involvement with the school. The installation of small groups will make it easier for people to interact and share information.

The researcher agrees that two-way communication is a key in unlocking the home and school deadlock that exists in New Zealand schools today. In order to produce more successful students all links must be clear and benevolent.

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87 School legislation requires the consultation of parents every two years to identify student needs for health or education, performance hindering or matters affecting student relationships with teachers or with other students (section 77 of the Education Act 1989).

88 The Ministry of Education acknowledges that research involving hard-to-reach parents suggest schools need to have a specific dialogue and target small groups of parents at a time, preferably through people in their own networks. In summary the Ministry claims that in order to build effective relationships with all parents the schools can:
  ➢ Use community networks to maintain contact with hard to reach parents
  ➢ Contact early in the year – invite in small groups to discuss hopes and expectations
  ➢ Choose comfortable settings i.e. staffroom (refreshments)
  ➢ Suggest range of times to meet help with transport and childcare if possible
  ➢ Discuss how to keep in contact
  ➢ Be responsive to requests and information

The Ministry of Education now works together with the Ministry of Pacific Islands Affairs and also boasts a 'strengthening families strategy' that involves health education, welfare and other agencies.
However, it must be noted that just as much as the schools are responsible to improve relationships between themselves and Pacific Islands families, there must also be an effort by the home to improve the relationship between them and the school and with their children (see Diagram 1).

7.3.2 Dialogical Participation

Friere’s theory on dialogical participation is important if Pacific Islands people are going to move off the bottom of the social ‘scrap head’. Although this may seem a contradiction in itself for by moving up the SES scale in a capitalist society must result in someone moving down. I believe it is of vital importance to break the shackles of oppression on the minds of Pacific students in New Zealand. Friere presents a good point that I feel must be emphasised in order for any sort of change to occur, He says:

"They [the oppressed] will not gain this liberation by chance but through the praxis of their quest for it, through their recognition of the necessity to fight for it. And this fight, because of the purpose given it by the oppressed, will actually constitute an act of love opposing the lovelessness which lies at the heart of the oppressors’ violence..." (1970)

The importance of getting role models into the schools cannot be taken lightly. As the Polynesian population explodes, and the consequences of Tomorrow’s Schools polices draining the more ‘able’ Pacific Islands students to benefit their schools must be dealt with. Hau’ofa (1993) supports the increased development of highly trained Pacific Islands learners as specialist in various fields. Hau’ofa argues that this particular development is very significant because it allows specialist expertise to be combined with insider insights in which he believes a ‘non-islander’ does not attain. Tiatia (1998; 11) supports this argument by claiming that:

"... ‘Good’ teaching by Western standards, for example, may spark a dynamic response from students with a Western cultural background but fail to engage students from other cultures."

However, Pasikale notes that this is an area that still needs research and quotes that:

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89 An example of miscommunication concerning Samoan culture, is the rule that inhibit the answering back to parents or elders by children, which is forbidden in terms of respect. It must be noted that when the principle of respect is taken to an extreme (or abused), it suppresses the only link of communication between the parent and child. To further complicate the problem of in communication break down is the added pressure of language. In many cases concerning Pacific Islands born parents English is not the first language. This is compounded by the fact that of culture clash where their children are taught primarily Western principles often conflictive with their own.
"While there is evidence to suggest that access opportunity and participation do not necessarily equal success for Pacific Island learners, findings on the relationship between teacher/learner ethnicity and performance remains inconclusive." (1996)

In the Christchurch region, the installation of homework programmes for not only Pacific Islands but all marginalised students can be a way of investing tertiary students back into the schools from which they originated. Teachers College programmes to draw Pacific Islands graduates have increased in an effort to remedy the lack of Pacific Islands teachers in schools, however, I feel more needs to be done at all school levels to help more students attain the qualifications to get into tertiary institutions. This may involve more liaising with schools, increasing scholarships, and employing students to hold seminars in the schools.

The solution for improving the achievement of Pacific Islands people I believe is in part, getting teachers to involve 'all' children in some sort of dialogical discourse at the earliest stage possible. This would involve changing the perceptions of the teachers and encouraging and increasing the numbers of teachers of Pacific Islands descent.

Once 'all' students discover that that they say and 'know' is significant, the breaking down of barriers will commence. However, it must be noted that aspects of the system in New Zealand must change is order for this to occur.

7.3.3 Raising the Consciousness of 'Polynesia'

"The miscommunication between the school and Pacific Islands parents reinforces the notion that Palagi assume that there is only one way to speak English, their way, and they expect Pacific Islanders to speak that way too. The parties are 'talking past each other' (Metge and Kinloch, 1978)

Tiatia (1998) noted the unfamiliarity of Pacific Islands parents with the New Zealand education system. Tupuola (1993) argues that there is a need for the world of Western academia to acknowledge 'other' cultures' perceptions of scholarship and knowledge. This issue arose over the necessity for educationalists to minimise exploitation within cross-cultural research by designing and implementing theoretical and methodological frameworks culturally sensitive to other cultures' world views and communication styles\textsuperscript{90}.

Lloyd (1995) in her analysis provides such an example in the differences between Samoan and English languages\textsuperscript{91}. She identifies it in this way:

\textsuperscript{90} Tupuola in her Masters thesis critically analyses the work of Margaret Mead 'Coming of Age in Samoa'. She discovered that there were limitations in applying Western theories and methodologies to a non-Western culture such as fa'aSamo. Tupuola developed a methodology that was more culturally sensitive to the fa'aSamo principals of consensus and respect.

\textsuperscript{91} Noa (1999) gives an example in his study defending the political system within Samoa which in the past has been deemed by the West as undemocratic. He argues that in some ways the Samoan system is more democratic than the systems in the West, and that from a communal point of view, the system is fair.
"Samoan and Western cultures emphasise different functions of language. Samoans have developed a rich oral culture. They use many complex metaphors and delight in sound patterns. They prefer to express important matters indirectly, and vary their language according to a person's rank. Often, their main purpose in speaking is to express support or friendship. They possess skills in narrating, memorising, listening, and performance. [On the other hand] ... Western, and English-speaking cultures in particular, have developed language as a tool for increasing individual knowledge and for problem solving, with a strong emphasis on the written language and on functions and skills such as analysis, linear argument, synthesis, and discussing of ideas." (Lloyd 1995; 12)

These differences effectively prevent the conveyance of the 'true nature' of the Samoan people through a Western system that discourages that use of indigenous communication styles. Tupuola created a format that moved away from individualistic interviews and questionnaires to a group discussion. Tupuola claims that to be:

"Culturally sensitive to fa’aSamoa protocol and etiquette of fa’aaloalo (respect) and consensus, I understood how imperative it was for the researcher to consult all participants on the research topic, the initial methodological structure and the framework of the written text before, during and after this research. Did they understand the research topic? How did they feel about the methodology? Were there any issues they wished to raise?" (Tupuola, 1993; 182)

Tupuola believes that Pacific Islands people must prioritise their 'holistic' perception of knowledge and scholarship, oral communication style and protocol of consensus and respect. Tupuola believes that Samoan people's experiences need to be expressed and written within a context that complements the oral and dialogic nature of their communication style. In the past Pacific Islands people have been at a disadvantage because of literature, although writing about Pacific Islands people appears collated and written in a form that 'appeals only to a small, educated elite... firmly confined to the universities.' (Watt, 1985; 286 cited in Tupuola 1993). Tupuola goes on to claim that many theories and models have been used within social research to analyse Polynesian societies, most of which have been loaded with Western language and structures to describe the behaviour of Pacific Islands people (Ralston, 1988). She summarises the dilemma in this quote:

"Samoan people have been labelled variously from 'savages' to 'sexually permissive' to 'puritanical', all of which carry with them negative judgements of our lifestyles. When Samoans have been studied, some have not had the power to choose what is to be said, how it is to be expressed and how their words should be written because that control seems to be exercised by the 'all knowing author'." (1993; 183)

There needs to be some consciousness raising among the academic environment on the necessity for 'other' cultures to tell their story within appropriate structures. There also needs to be a recognition of the unique methodological frameworks that needs to be developed to suit every research situation. I believe Tupuola makes an important statement when coming against critical views in the academic circle:

"It is fair to say that some Western academics are quick to criticise innovative cultural research yet in some instances miss the point because they continue to perceive other cultures through Western thoughts, concepts and structures." (1993; 187)
Thus we must develop a system that is flexible enough to allow and value 'other' peoples cultures.

7.3.4 The Power of Polynesia?

As presented earlier in the theory, some proponents of the market system argued that the market was a natural expression of what they perceived to be the dominant and inherent characteristics of human beings; the pursuit of self interest. In other words, the logic behind this pursuit for equality is the notion of competition. The market system actively encourages an environment where there are winners and losers. Therefore, if schools are losing, pupils are losing and thus the market system. This as Lauder (et al., 1994: 58) claims is unacceptable.

It is obvious that the proponents of the market system make the tragically broad assumption that the market system is placed upon a level 'playing field', that the 'rules' are fair and most importantly, that the 'players' are equal. However, as illustrated in Chapter Three, the reproduction of class prohibits this occurrence.

I would argue that although the theory of the market is to create a balance, the 'actors' which participate in the market (if Coleman and Benton are correct) in practice do not strive toward this balance but rather toward self-pursuit. Ainsworth (et al.) summarises the contradiction in this quote:

"Reforms brought in by Tomorrow's Schools are seen as being in favour of the learner or consumer in the free market of education. However, a stand-off between provider and consumer is necessary for a free market and because of this stand-off, resources are being diverted in order to maintain or boost roll numbers to ensure the survival of the school."(1994: 2-3)

The façade is that the education system promotes equality but contradicts itself by not providing equity, or a means in which equality can be achieved. The argument of self-pursuit as a vehicle to achieve equality thus effectively collapses upon itself by maintaining a system of inequality.

I would argue that the strength (which in the West maybe perceived as weakness) of the Pacific Islands culture (and indeed of many other indigenous cultures) is the aspect of love, respect, and honour, especially fostered within the traditional familial unit. Friere notes that the importance of the relationship between dialogical action and love in this quote:

"Dialogue cannot exist... in the absence of a profound love... Because love is an act of courage, not of fear, love is a commitment to others... it must not serve as a pretext for manipulation..." (Friere 1970; 70-71)
Paulo Friere (1970) uses Fromm's definitions of biophilia and necrophily to explain the differences between the motivation of the oppressor and of the oppressed. Fromm (1966) describes it in this way:

"While life is characterized by growth in a structured, functional manner, the necrophilous person loves all that does not grow, all that is mechanical. The necrophilous person is driven by the desire to transform the organic into the inorganic, to approach life mechanically, as if all living persons were things... The necrophilous person can relate to an object... only if he possesses it; hence a threat to his possession is a threat to himself; if he loses his possession he loses contact with the world... He loves control, and in the act of controlling he kills life." (Fromm, 1966; 58)

I would argue that the push towards marketisation is a movement toward more necrophilic polices that actually take away from society rather than add to it. The mere intensification of the notion of competition as Lauder (et al., 1994) has claimed is that is creates winners and losers. It is the increasing disparity between the winners and losers that is the problem. This I would argue is unhealthy for society as a whole and is an unsustainable solution for the education system.

I believe that this is one of the strengths of the Pacific Islands people. Pacific Islands cultures such as the fa'aSamoa, fa'aAngaTonga, Taha Maori and fakaNiuie, all represent systems which are in some way primarily motivated by biophilic principals. This primary aspect must be dialogically communicated, respected, honoured, and fostered by Pacific Islands people. I believe this is a core aspect of all indigenous cultures; something that must be protected and maintained at all cost.

The difference I would argue is that, both consciously and unconsciously the Western mode of thought encourages the manifestation of necrophily into their system. Although necrophilic behaviour also exists in Polynesian culture, the difference is that biophilic principles are institutionalised within the culture and are actively encouraged. For example, Western thought encourages individualism and a 'go-for-yours' attitude, whilst Pacific Islands culture promotes communalism and a 'work for the family' ethic. I would argue that the solidification of necrophilic behaviour within the Western system is destructive and therefore must be neutralised. I believe that the promotion of biophilic behaviour by Pacific Islands culture is a value that the West must find again to rebuild the social fabric of society. The repercussions of developing a more efficient market system (unless the government remedies problems) are great for the marginalised people in New Zealand. Therefore, following this, the researcher argues that there must be a movement back toward biophilic principles or the collective interest in policy that encourages the sustainable maintenance of people's future rather than its destruction.

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92 However, it must be noted that although Pacific Island culture hypothetically espouses values that are motivated love, in praxis, at times events are hard to differentiate between biophilic and necrophilic behaviour. In other words, Pacific Islands people are still prone to act ways that are necrophilic. Therefore, I would argue that these definitions pay no respect to persons, in other words, they are emotions that are inherent human characteristics.
7.3.5. Oppression of the Mind

In response to the often negative comments of the students in the study, analysis on the problems of the barriers what are found within the mind. An important statement here is that this 'oppression' does not necessarily start from within the students themselves, but in reality from the institutions from which the student finds him or herself. The fact that the process of oppression is 'invisible' is concerning to the researcher backed by the researchers' own experiences93. Freire believes that the oppressive class uses myths in order to subjugate people to keep them passive through the use of media, propaganda, and slogans94 (Freire 1970; 120). I would agree with aspects of Friere's (1970) study that argue that the oppressed 'accept' oppression because they are unaware that it is occurring. I would contend that the physical oppression of people is iniquitous enough, however, the incarceration of one's mind and therefore one's spirit, is a greater iniquity than one can even comprehend.

I believe that there is a need to change the mindset of Pacific Islands students and their parents from one of negativity and hopelessness (a characteristic of Generation X)95 to one of positive reflection. I believe what a person believes is important in the actions he or she will take. The Bible even teaches us that what a person thinks in his heart, is what he is.

The significance of this pattern of thinking is important in the determination of a persons future. Freire presents the perspective of the oppressor that I would contend is relevant in this situation with this quote:

"The oppressors do not perceive their monopoly on having more as a privilege which dehumanizes others and themselves. They can not see that, in the egoistic pursuit of having as a possessing class, they suffocate in their own possessions and no longer are; they merely have. For them, having is an inalienable right, a right they acquired through their own 'effort' with their 'courage to take risks'. If others do not have more, it is because they are incompetent and lazy, and worst of all is their unjustifiable ingratitude towards the 'generous gestures' of the dominant class. Precisely because they are 'ungrateful' and 'envious', the oppressed are regarded as potential enemies who must be watched." (Freire 1970; 41)

With this Friere claims that change within the system is easier said than achieved:

"The solution is not to 'integrate' them into the structure of oppression, but to transform that structure so that they can become 'beings for themselves'. Such transformation, of course, would undermine the oppressors' purposes; hence their utilisation of the banking concept of education to avoid the threat of student conscientizacao." (Friere 1970; 55)

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93 As highlighted earlier, the extent to which Pacific Islands students were failing, and the contradictions that the education and society at large imposed on minority cultures was not perceived by the researcher until infiltrating the University (Sociology 101 class).
94 Freire gives examples such as that the oppressive order is a 'free society'; the myth that all persons are free to work where they wish, the myth that anyone can become an entrepreneur, that everyone has the universal right of education, myth of equality, or the myth of the industriousness of the oppressors and the laziness and dishonesty of the oppressed, and the myth of the natural inferiority of the latter and the superiority of the former.
95 This generation has been defined as the children of generation of baby-boomers. These children are characterised as the generation with no hope or future.
Pacific Islands people must once again regain the importance and value of their cultures. Epeli Hau'ofa provides an interesting example of how the Pacific people can loose the shackles of oppression that hold down the mind. Hauofa presents us with another way of looking at the theoretically hopeless situation that the Pacific Islands are faced with. As one social scientist noted, the Pacific Islands or:

"MIRAB societies... are ... pitiful microstates condemned forever to depend on migration, remittance, aid and bureaucracy, and not only any real economic productivity." (1993; 4)

This is to which Hau'ofa replies:

"Is this not what Neocolonialism is all about? To make people believe that they have no choice but to depend." (1993; 5)

Hau'ofa believes that the idea of smallness is relative and dependent on what is included and excluded in any calculation of size. Thus, Hau'ofa redefines space not just to include land and the limited resources of the land, but also its immense waters (EEZ, Exclusive Economic Zones). Also, and most importantly, the richness of the culture, art, myths and legends. This is an important revelation that must be further explored. In the past, the significance of the 'culture' of each island has been disregarded in the West However, today the importance of indigenous culture comes to the fore in much discussion. For example, the process of defining and commodifying what is Polynesian, Samoan, Tongan, etc, has become important but also problematic.66.

7.3.6 The Impact of Marketisation on Pacific Islands Students

This project has found that the increased presence of the market within the New Zealand secondary education system has had negative impacts on the Pacific students. From a theoretical standpoint, the prophetic criticisms of earlier critics of the introduction of market principles are now being confirmed. It is now clear that the market favours those with a background of professional and managerial descent. Therefore, the question that some critics ask is that if the market structure appears to favour the aspirations of those from professional backgrounds, what happens to the ethnic groups that have been systematically disempowered by the previous bureaucratic system of education?

Smithfield found that in practice, the results on arguments presented by proponents of the market (such as Cole and Benton67) who indicated that the market would deliver a more

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66 The negative impacts of the commodification of culture can be seen in the example of the degradation of Aboriginal art over the past decade by forgers in the market.
67 Researchers such as Coleman and Benton believed that the attraction to a market system was twofold; firstly to be released from the 'iron cage' of zoning, and secondly the promise of a diverse and pluralist education system to address the needs of minority groups. Lauder et al., 1994
equitable outcome academically for ethnic minorities, was mixed. This project (following the findings of Smithfield) revealed that working class parents either do not have the choice in practice, or do not choose to send their children to the elite middle class schools. Many in this group made choices within the segment of working class schools.

Lauder (et al.) states that the dilemma in the following terms:

"The fact is that a market system is supposed to work precisely because some schools will fail. The problem is that in allowing the schools to fail policy makers are open to allowing the students in the failing schools to fall also. The threat implied in the idea of allowing schools to fail may spur other schools to greater heights but if the possible cost of this policy is sacrificing the students in the failing schools then in our view the policy is unacceptable." (1994: 58)

Neo-liberals justify their policies by claiming to champion the rights of individual liberty against the excesses of the state in relation to central planning, regulation and social ownership as well as the inefficiency and lack of consideration for the rights of the consumer and the individual. Markets, they argue, have distinct advantages over state regulation. They claim that the laws of supply and demand operate as indicators of under- and over-supply as well as incentives for producers to produce high-quality, competitively priced goods for which there is an established demand. In this, it is said that the market encourages innovation and dynamism because the markets have to improve their products and efficiency as well as to discover new areas of demand in order to continue to function (Olssen and Morris-Matthews, 1997: 23-24). They argue that:

"Markets involve the distribution of purchasing power to consumers, who are able to choose between products and dictate through their purchasing behaviour to producers what they should produce. Neo-liberals therefore claim that markets overcome the inefficiency and unresponsiveness of central state planning as they decentralise power downwards to enterprises, schools and individual consumers, and in this way power is shifted from the state to individuals." (Olssen and Morris-Matthews, 1997: 24)

Criticisms of the market system are located in the studies of Martell (1993) who found that the market fosters competition at the expense of co-operation, and in fact a market orientation to social and economic policy establishes competition as a central structuring norm of a community. Relatedly, market policies under-emphasise the requirement of co-operation and co-ordination in society in order for groups and individuals to work together. Martell (1992) found that markets are cumulatively and inherently inequitable in relation to the distribution of resources in society. In relation to education, schools are also increasingly distinguishable in terms of resourcing and so it seems rich schools grow richer while poor schools grow poorer (Gordon, 1993).

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39 Smithfield also found that the critical view that argued that the introduction of the market to the New Zealand education system would create two classes, one consisting of an 'alert' and actively choosing white professional middle class and an 'inert' ethnically mixed working class was false.
Olssen and Morris-Matthews (1995) found that consumer demand cannot be seen as equivalent to social needs, and in relation to the latter the market is a poor guide. Markets fail to ensure employment or to ensure, or be centrally concerned with, equality in the distribution of resources.


"It [neo-liberalism] rejects majority rule because there is no 'general will' but only the pressure of interest groups; and it opposes the equal involvement of all since only negative freedoms are to be protected and those with property have much more to be protected."

Olssen and Morris-Matthews (1997) also argue that individuals will clearly differ in their ability to act rationally in their own self-interests; some will be more successful than others. If this is so, then the welfare state liberal believes that there is no reason to structure society exclusively in the interests of those that can succeed⁹⁹.

The Treasury ignored the criticisms concerning the interpretation of distribution data in the welfare state that became instrumental in policy formulation in the 1980s. O'Higgins (1985; 167 cited in Olssen and Morris-Matthews 1997: 15) argued that the critique presented by Le Grand (and others) was 'misleading and unnecessarily pessimistic'. O'Higgins argued that although the distribution was not in all cases effective, it was 'markedly more egalitarian than distribution through the market' and that the market was 'still the major determinant of inequality' (174). Furthermore, 'a substantial reduction in inequality therefore requires either a reduction in the role of the market or a reduction of irregularities within it' (174). I believe this point is vital in remedying the problems posed in the market led system.

Therefore it is the argument of this thesis that there needs to be a clear call for the disempowering of schools in terms of enrolment schemes. This must change from schools setting their own criteria to that of the ballot system. During the writing up stage of this project, the popular schools in Christchurch have moved back into a zoning system in the effort to alleviate demand on these schools, however, the fact that selection still remains in place regardless of zoning criteria continues to foster inequality.

In December 1998, an education amendment act reconstituted the implementation of zoning boundaries once again. However, these were not to be created by the schools themselves. Enrolment policies for each school now have to be made public however, the wording in the

⁹⁹ Olssen and Morris-Matthew (1997) notes that social democrats from John Stuart Mill to Lord Keynes have argued, there is every reason not to do so because, in the main, human beings are not self-sufficient and fiercely independent but are connected to other people and structures of social support in various relation of dependence and need (relations which will vary depending upon their age, gender, financial means, race or other factors at a specific time and place). If this is so, then the welfare liberals'
act still leaves room for definition. The definition of the terms ‘reasonably close’ although can be challenged by parents within the zone, is not legally binding. In other words, if you successfully stand against the school, the school although can be warned, still does not have to accept the student.

7.3.7 The Future - A Self-Regulating System?

Polyani (1969 cited in Olssen and Morris-Matthews, 1997: 26-27) points out that the state is the only agency that can correct the failings of the market and on purely pragmatic grounds is likely to be ‘drawn back’ in order to do so. In fact, in Polyani’s view, the rise of the interventionist state in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was to check the excesses and failures of the market in its unregulated form. Polyani argued that the increasing positive role of state was not promoted by political arguments for socialism but by more pragmatic considerations related to the weaknesses inherent in the market mechanism. In other words, Polyani argues that the changes from liberal to collectivist solutions happened without any consciousness of deep-seated ideological and political changes on the part of those engaged in the process in countries as diverse as Prussia under Bismarck, Victorian England and France of the Third Republic. Polyani points out that each passed through a period of economic liberalism characterised by free trade and laissez-faire, followed by a period of anti-liberal intervention. Intervention in the markets, was increasingly designed to influence the quality as well as the quantity of its provision because in fact the free market proved to be ‘a poor guide to the best means of satisfying the real wishes of consumers’ (Shonfield, 1965: 226-36).

Keynes (1926 cited in Rea and McLeod, 1969) believed that the rejection of market principles by many moderate liberals occurred earlier this century in an attempt to reform capitalism rather than abolish it. For Keynes, the real issue was to ascertain ‘what the state ought to take upon itself to direct by public wisdom, and what it ought to leave with as little interference as possible to individual exertion’ (Keynes 1926 cited in Rea and McLeod, 1969; 53 cited in Olssen and Morris-Matthews, 1997: 27).

Following this logic Polyani says that the state must inevitably regulate the market anyway. However, the problem is that there is no guarantee that the system will draw back the state, and another problem is what happens to the marginalised people in the meantime? What has happened to marginalised people in the past? Has the state effectively dealt with problems of the market before?

demand for a state which is not exclusively geared to the self-interests of individuals but is generally committed to an overall conception of the good in the interest of all individuals is more likely to be acceptable to the vast majority of its citizens.
7.4 Summary

As stated earlier in Chapter Three the problems of the education system today can be traced back to the change in political ideology through the 1980s and 1990s following the crisis of the welfare state. The ‘New Right’ theory that rose from the ashes of that criticism provided the basis for aggressive market-led policy formulation leading to the Tomorrow’s School document released in 1989. The Smithfield Report commissioned by the MOE pointed out four major issues in the debate over marketisation. The first issue was ‘choice’. This study found that the Tomorrow’ schools policy had failed to deliver to the Pacific Islands people, in fact other studies revealed that in terms of choice, the submergence of many had to pay for the freedom of few (Jonathan 1997).

The next issue dealt with in this project was the stability of school populations. National statistics revealed a drift toward higher SES schools after the abolishment of zoning. The Smithfield Report showed that Pacific Islands and Maori students utilised the new rules more than other ethnic groups. However, Smithfield also noted that to infer that these groups benefited the most from these changes was incorrect. This led directly into the next issue that examined the effect marketisation had on the composition to the school intakes. At a macro level, statistics revealed that an increased polarisation had occurred. Also that there over this period there had been an increase in the number of students in at private schools, however, the numbers of Pacific Islands students had not increased. In Christchurch, Ainsworth believed ‘white flight’ was occurring in some schools.

In terms of achievement, Tomorrow’s Schools has added very little value to Pacific Islands students. Pacific Islands students, although achieving slightly better in absolute terms than at the time of the introduction of Tomorrow’s Schools, in relative terms are still achieving lower than other ethnic groups.

The issues that were brought up by the researcher included discussion on the clash of Western and Pacific systems and the debate over class versus culture. It was concluded that a conscious effort to increase the value of Pacific Islands culture in the New Zealand system needed to occur. This section exposed the difficulties faced by a New Zealand born Pacific Islands student in the Western system of education.

The final section looked at the problems of the market system identified in other research and possible avenues of this policy in the future. This included a call to disarm the ability of schools to select students. This study concludes firstly, that Pacific Islands people need to be educated or empowered to make these decisions and secondly, that the power contained in the schools’ ability to select students needs to be dissipated by the state to maintain some sort of balance within the education system. Chapter Eight will provide a summary of the entire project and reveal its major findings.
CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS

The Impact of Marketisation on Pacific Islands Secondary Students; A Christchurch Experience

The final chapter of this project will focus on the findings and conclusions made in the previous chapter. This is in the hopes of answering the questions that were presented in earlier sections. This section will be ordered in much the same way as Chapter Seven. This will involve an investigation into the three sections called 'O lo'u Tulaga' – 'My Position', 'O lo'u Afa' – 'Our Storm' and lastly, 'O lo'u Tapasa' – 'My Compass'.

As stated at the beginning of the project, there are several broad aims of this research. Firstly, it was to make the reader aware of the inherent bias maintained in the current education system in New Zealand with particular reference to the rise and influence of the 'New Right'. Secondly, this project wanted to examine the impact of the market on Pacific Islands students concerning four issues. These were choice, student movement, the composition of this shift, and Pacific Islands achievement. From this were able to gauge the position of Pacific Islands students within the New Zealand education system. Lastly, it was to increase the readers awareness to some of the issues effecting Pacific Islands students achievement in the hopes that a deeper analysis of these process, will lead to more effective policy documents concerning not only Pacific Islands students, but the whole system.

The impacts of the implementation of the Tomorrows’ School’s policy on Pacific Islands students has revealed several serious deficiencies.

8.1 ‘O lo’u Tulaga’ – ‘My Position’

Where do Pacific Islands people stand within the education system after almost a decade of Tomorrow's Schools?

The first of several key issues that was dealt to was that of choice. Primarily, who holds it, the schools or the parents? The widely vaunted increase of choice for the consumer proved in fact to be a façade for a majority of students. The fact those popular high SES schools were allowed to set their own criteria from 1991, ensured that these schools would not have to compete in the competition for students. In fact, these schools were not effectively able to select what students they wanted. Smithfield found that 'choice' in fact was only available to a select group in society. As a result, low SES schools suffered and some even closed during the initial years of Tomorrow’s School’s

The matters arising from the abandoned Curriculum Review given in 1987 maybe the best place to start looking for a possible model for educational changes.
Coleman and Benton were correct in predicting that minority groups that have not fared well traditionally in education have not used choice given the opportunity. It was discovered that the predominantly brown working class either could not choose, or did not exercise choice. Pacific Islands people are primarily located in the working class and therefore are marginalised by government policy. I would argue this is an unacceptable statement. Enrolment schemes are not giving ‘all’ Pacific Islander people equal choice.

I believe enrolment schemes must change to a compulsory or at least a partial compulsory (for example having 50% balloted) ballot system and the Ministry must stringently police this. This would hopefully neutralise the choosing power of the schools. There must also be a teacher reassessment method model in place at secondary schools. The question which must be asked here is how well are our teachers relating to our children. Another interesting issue to do with choice was the fact that as the decile got lower, more students were placed with more responsibility for deciding what school they wanted to attend. Therefore, further strategies looking at students as a conduit of information for parents needs to be investigated. Again, it must be reiterated that the small size of the sample area and population needs to be taken into account when dealing with the findings of this project.

The next issue looked at student population shift with the decade of Tomorrow’s Schools and found that at a macro level, the abolition of zoning coincided with a immediate increase in population in certain types of schools, namely integrated and private schools. Our sample schools revealed that the same trend toward higher SES schools was occurring within the state co-ed secondary schools in Christchurch.

However, the next issue looking at the composition of this movement revealed alarming results especially considering Pacific Islands students. After a decade of Tomorrow’s Schools policies, Pacific Islands students are still grossly misrepresented in private and integrated schooling. At the sample level, again, the trend within the state co-ed secondary schools was the same. As the decile increased, the population of Pacific Islands students decreased. Not only that, but the situation within this sample over the last three years showed that this case the pattern was intensifying.

The final issue that was dealt with in this project was that of Pacific Islands achievement. Statistics reveal that over the last decade that Tomorrow’s Schools has been implemented, the under achievement of Pacific Islands students remains a constant. Although at absolute levels, slight increases can be seen in various years, results have relatively remained poor. The sample in this project revealed the same sorts of deficiencies in regards to achievement.

The question here is that is the fact that Pacific Islanders do not choose acceptable? I would argue just because Pacific Islanders do not choose does not make it acceptable. If Pacific Islanders are not given the freedom of choice, they are not given power over their destiny and future, this I would argue is oppression. The reproduction of the ‘elites’ comes into play here, is the sign that Pacific Islanders are not choosing a sign of ultimate oppression of the system? On the other hand, Dunlop does point out that she pointed out that Samoans might not choose to move into the middle class because they have different goals. This will be
Therefore, considering the negative outcomes of Pacific Islands students under the issues central to the debate over marketisation, Tomorrow's Schools has failed to cater for the problems of Pacific Islands students within the New Zealand education system. Therefore, the question that is asked is; what can be done? This is to which this researcher cannot answer but certain aspects can be commented upon.

8.2 'O lo'U Afa' – 'My Storm'

This section of the project brought up issues that contribute much importance when considering the value the New Zealand education system as (well as Pacific Islands people themselves) place on Pacific Islands culture. The first issue, the clash of two systems points out to the reader the difficulties of trying to coexist within two ambivalent cultures. This revealed that although a liberal theology underpins current government policy, Tomorrow's Schools has failed to deliver the equity promised by the government. This section also pointed out the influence that the deficit theory still has on many educators within the schooling system concerning Pacific Islands students and the cultural reproduction theory that is played out in the system.

The second issue examined the value the New Zealand education system places on Pacific Islands culture. This revealed that Pacific Islands culture is not recognised in the New Zealand education system (Tiatia, 1998). This section also revealed that the clash between two concepts such as individualism and collectivism contributes much to the failure of Pacific Islands students within the New Zealand education system.

The value each school in the sample placed on Pacific Islands culture obviously related to the size of population within each school. This increased with size, however, it was also revealed that the sample school's understood little about Pacific Islands culture and yet are willing to learn. This highlights the resourcing need that the MOE is seeking to remedy, partially through the encouragement of scholarships designed to increase recruitment of Pacific Islands (and Maori teachers). However, more resourcing needs to be done in this area.

Also commented upon was the debate over the exact relationship between class and culture in relation to contribution to student failure. This matter arose through an interview within the comments of a school administrator. He (maybe unconsciously) claimed to disregard the importance of the clash of culture in which minority cultures face. This I would argue is a mistake and needs to be made aware of in future studies.

The issue of intergenerational conflict aimed at making the reader aware of the clash that New Zealand born Pacific Islands students have not only in a 'foreign' education system but also within their own

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an interesting point for future research. However, in any case the fact remains that if the Pacific Islands people cannot participate in choice, then the equality does not exist in the New Zealand system.
homes. This contributes much to the disintegration of the relationship between the home and school and needs to be further acknowledged. The MOE are at the moment have developed solid gains in informing schools about how to deal with homes, however the home itself for the students is another battleground that needs to be addressed.

With this, the next section looks at the identity of the Pacific Islands student in New Zealand. The majority of students and parents in the sample believed that their Pacific Islands cultures are relevant within New Zealand society. However, the identity crisis continues for New Zealand born Pacific Islanders and seems to be intensifying with the growing number of Pacific Islands half-castes. In the past the notion of assimilation or the process of the minority being like the majority to succeed has been promoted by the majority. Taule'alae'auaumai (1991) and Tiatia (1998) believes that instead of promoting the idea of acculturation or existing within two cultures as superior model must be pursued. An illustration given here was the promotion of language where in the past, Pacific Islands language was discouraged, today, bi- and multi-lingualism is promoted.

The ‘Enemy within’ referred to the low self esteem of students particularly in low decile schools. The question here is if the entire system is unconsiously geared against certain types of students moving up in the system, what hope is there for these students? Paulo Friere (1970) presented a model, which helps quantify the occurrences in his analysis of the Pedagogy of the Oppressed. This concept which engenders the notion of self-depreciation he terms the internalisation of oppression.

8.3 ‘O Lo'u Tapasa’ – ‘My Compass’

The navigational skills required to sail out of a storm are dependent on the sailor’s skills and knowledge of the currents and patterns that affect his/her vessel. Unless the people in the storm are skilled and have enough knowledge about the world and storm they live in, they will not be able to survive, if so meekly. The potential of Pacific Islands students is immense, not being able to harness that potential boarders on criminal. However, as Chapter Three and the reproduction of class, along with Freire’s critique of the current system shows us that the affects of government policy and inequality are rooted deeper in the society then what is perceived by the public. Therefore, if the system inherently seeks to maintain the status quo, what can we do?

The over ridding problem facing Pacific Islands people is that the are powerless to affect the processes in which they find themselves. Therefore this project argues that the Pacific Islands people need to be empowered.

This empowerment beings with bridging the despairing communication gap between Pacific Islands homes and schools. This is by no means an easy task and as mentioned before has begun with the process of encouraging more Pacific Islands students into teaching. This may also involve seminars up-
skilling current teachers that espouse new methods of delivery, curriculum development, or learning to read behavioural skills. This may also be in the form of introducing homework programmes that reinvest tertiary students back into schools.

The next issue looked at raising the consciousness of ‘Polynesia’ within all levels of schooling. This looked at the theoretical framework presented in the work of Anne-Marie Tupuola. She reclaims the importance valuing the Polynesian approach to Polynesian research.

The response to the ‘Enemy Within’ is the section looking at the ‘Oppression of the Mind’. This involves a reclamation of the ‘mind’ of the oppressed (which is in this case Pacific Islands students). This includes the development of new innovative and creative ways of conceptualising ‘self’ not purely with in the limited confines of Western knowledge, but those of Pacific Islands knowledge. This is illustrated in the Eupeli Hau’ofa in which he includes not only the material wealth of a nation, but also its intangible wealth of culture, myths, and legends, things which essentially define the culture itself.

Relatedly, the ‘Power of Polynesia’ looked at the dangers of promoting a market system that leads to increased polarity between the rich and the poor. This looks at the principles of Pacific Islands culture in respect to the advantages of moving back toward a more collective approach in the education system. Here, Fromm’s (1960) work on the difference between biophilic and necrophilic behaviour is used to further illustrate the point. Therefore, it is of the researchers opinion that the movement away from the hard line Neoliberal social theory back toward a new collective, sustainable system is the proper direction the government must strive toward in order for the decrease in disparity of educational achievement. However, the nature of this change is not clearly defined.

Thus, taking all issues into account, ‘The impact of the marketisation on Pacific Islands students’ has primarily been negative. As Lauder (et al., 1994) points out, that the markets’ inability to function without an increasing polarisation makes the Tomorrow’s Schools polices unacceptable. The majority of Pacific Islands students are located in these low decile schools and therefore are dramatically effected as statistics have revealed. Thus, what is the sense of creating a system that further disadvantages the disadvantaged?

However, to ‘throw the baby out with the bath water’ is not a sustainable answer either. There are aspects of the Neoliberal approach that can still be maintained. For example the Boards of Trustees that gave greater autonomy to the schools is an important feature of the administrational changes of Neoliberalisation that has more or less worked.

Polyani (1969) believes that history prophesises that the unrestricted activities of free market policy will inevitably lead to increased government intervention into all sectors of the economy including education. However, this is not guaranteed and increasing disparity must be dealt with now rather than later.
Therefore what is the answer? Studies have indicated that there is no use in converting back to the zoning policies. As Smithfield noted what is worth keeping from the old bureaucratic system and what is not. In what areas has the market succeeded, and where has it failed? The Smithfield Report brought up several interesting points that needed to be dealt with in future research. These included how to de-mythologise school reputations? How do parents get the information they need to make an informed choice and how do schools disseminate this information? Is this even possible when parents have no direct experience of a school?

Lauder (et al., 1994) believes that under the present scheme parental choice will always be for the select few. Therefore, what will it take to convince the Government to rethink these unsuccessful and unfair policies? Lauder admits that the policy has to be re-thought and a middle way needed to be found between zoning and ‘choice’. It has been proved that neither bureaucratic nor market mechanisms have demonstrated that they can meet the aim of equality of opportunity and high educational standards. Thus, I would argue state intervention is a necessity in order for positive change to occur.

The second major question that arose within this project was a re-look at the value of the Pacific Islands culture in New Zealand. This project found that individual schools within the sample are willing to negotiate change however, the major barriers are structural. From the curriculum content, to the perception of teachers, and even the Pacific Islands people need to change if any positive gains are to be made. Thus, change within the entire system must be made.

In the end, Pacific Islands people must be empowered with the knowledge to sail out of the storm we face within the education system. One might argue if we as a people are capable enough to use the knowledge that is available to which I would argue yes! The Polynesian people were the first to conquer the Pacific Ocean and are perhaps the greatest navigators on the planet.101

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101 Idea borrowed from the Proceedings Report, National Symposium 1996; Pacific Island Learning; The Answers are within us. February
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Major Policy Documents Referred to;


APPENDIX ONE

Map of Sample Schools in Christchurch

Source: UBD Business Information Directory (62nd ed)
APPENDIX TWO

STUDENTS QUESTIONNAIRE

My name is Ati Mamoe and I am currently completing a Masters of Arts at the University of Canterbury in the Macmillan Brown Centre of Pacific Studies and the Education Department. I am a New Zealand born Samoan and am interested in the education of Pacific Island peoples. When I came to university, there were few Pacific Island students on campus. Today the situation is improving but my question remains why? I hope that this study will spread more light on the problems of Pacific Island education in New Zealand at the secondary level and hopefully encourage more students into tertiary education.

Please try and fill out all questions. Your answers are completely anonymous and your participation is very much appreciated. If you have any questions on this questionnaire please do not hesitate in calling me at the University of Canterbury 366-7001 at extn 7983

1. Are you male or female (please circle one)

2. What suburb do you live in?

3. What form are you? .......

4. Were you born in New Zealand?
   [ ] Yes        [ ] No
   If No where were you born and how long have you lived in New Zealand?

5. How many people are in your family? (please indicate the number of parents and children in the brackets)
   [ ] number of parents
   [ ] number of children

6. How many parents are living at home? .......

7. What primary and intermediate schools did you attend?
   Primary ...............................................................City............
   Intermediate .......................................................City............

8. Who made the decision on what secondary school you would attend?
   Parent  [ ]        Yourself     [ ]
   Guardian [ ]        Other        [ ]
   (please tick one or if 'other' please specify below)
9. On a scale of 1-5, How much say did you have?  
1---2---3---4---5  
Please circle one (1=none, 3=some, 5=I decided)  

10. Was this the school you wanted to attend?  
[ ] Yes  [ ] No  
If No, Why was the other school better? And why didn't you like this one?  

11. What year and at what form level did you enrol?  
Year 19...  Form ...  

12. If you did not enrol in Form 3, what other high school did you attend and why did you change?  

13. What is your specific ethnic background? (for example you maybe ¼ Samoan and ¼ Palagi and ¼ Tongan)  

14. How fluent are you in speaking your Pacific language?  
1---2---3---4---5  
Please circle one (1=none, 3=basic conversations, 5=very well)  

15. How well do you understand your Pacific Island language?  
1---2---3---4---5  
Please circle one (1=none, 3=basics, 5=very well)  

16. How important is Pacific Island culture* to you?  
1---2---3---4---5  
Please circle one (1=not important, 3=important, 5=very important)  

17. Do you believe Pacific cultures are relevant in New Zealand today?  
[ ] Yes  [ ] No  
Could you tell us why?  

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* Pacific Culture is defined as being the indigenous cultures of principally the Cooks, Fiji, Nuie, Samoa and Tonga but it is important to note these are the larger groups who have had long association with New Zealand.
18. How much understanding do you think your school has about Pacific Island culture?

1---2---3---4---5
Please circle one (1=none, 3=good, 5=very good)

19. How much do you feel your school values Pacific Island culture?

1---2---3---4---5
Please circle one (1=not at all, 3=average, 5=very highly)

20. What do you think could be done by schools to make it easier for Pacific Island students to succeed academically?

Thank you for your time and patience in filling out this form
APPENDIX THREE

PARENTS QUESTIONNAIRE – ENGLISH VERSION

Talofa Lava, my name is Ati Mamoe and I am currently completing a Masters of Arts at the University of Canterbury in the Macmilian Brown Centre of Pacific Studies. I am a New Zealand born Samoan and am interested in the education of Pacific Island peoples. When I came to university, there were few Pacific Island students on campus. Today the situation is improving but my question remains why? I hope that this study will spread more light on the problems of Pacific Island education in New Zealand at the secondary level and hopefully encourage more students into tertiary education.

Please try and fill out all questions. Your answers are completely anonymous and your participation is very much appreciated. If you have any questions on this questionnaire please do not hesitate in calling me at the University of Canterbury 366-7001 at extn 7983.

1. When you chose this high school for your child, did you think about other schools? If so which ones?
   • 
   •
   •
   •

2. How did you receive information about your child’s school?
   
   Newspaper [ ]  
   Word of mouth [ ]
   Older Children [ ]  
   Other (please indicate below) [ ]

3. On a scale of 1-5 how important were these things in your choice of school? (1 = not important, 3 = important, 5 very important)

   Close distance 1--2--3--4--5
   Safety 1--2--3--4--5
   Tradition 1--2--3--4--5
   Low fees 1--2--3--4--5
   A large number of Pacific Island students 1--2--3--4--5
   A Pacific Island culture group 1--2--3--4--5
   Pacific Island language offered at school 1--2--3--4--5
   High Academic standards of the school 1--2--3--4--5
   Sporting Achievements 1--2--3--4--5

   Can you think of any others? If so please fill the spaces below

   .................................................................
   1--2--3--4--5
   .................................................................
   1--2--3--4--5
   .................................................................
   1--2--3--4--5

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1 Note: Not all of the information from this survey was used in the final analysis for reasons given in the problems section in Chapter Two.
4. Did your older children attend a different high school?
   [ ] Yes [ ] No
   If Yes could you explain why you chose this high school for this child?
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................

5. What kind of job would you like your child to get when they leave school?
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................

6. On a scale of 1-5 how much contact do you have with the school?
   1---2---3---4---5
   (1=none, 3=Some, 5= A lot)

7. Do you want to be more involved with the school?
   Yes [ ] No [ ]
   Could you explain why?
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................

8. Do you have any problems with talking to teachers or staff?
   Yes [ ] No [ ]
   Could you explain why?
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................

9. Do you believe Pacific cultures* are relevant in New Zealand today?
   [ ] Yes [ ] No
   Could you tell us why?
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................

* Pacific Culture is defined as being the indigenous cultures of principally the Cooks, Fiji, Nuie, Samoa and Tonga but it is important to note these are the larger groups who have had long association with New Zealand.
10. What suburb do you live in?

11. How many parents are living at home? ........

12. What is your job?
Mother ..............................................
Father ..............................................
Guardian ..............................................

13. Have you ever studied at a University, Polytechnic, or College of Education
Yes [ ] No [ ]

14. How old were you when you left school? .................

15. What was the highest qualification gained?
................................................................................

16. Are you on a benefit?
Yes [ ] No [ ]

17. If you don’t mind what is your total family income?
[ ] 0 – 10,000  [ ] 10,001 – 20,000  [ ] 20,001 – 30,000
[ ] 30,001 – 40,000  [ ] 40,001 – 50,000  [ ] 50,001 – 60,000
[ ] 60,001 – 70,000  [ ] 70,001 and above

Thank you for your time and patience in filling out this form
APPENDIX FOUR

PARENTS QUESTIONNAIRE - SAMOAN VERSION

Taiala ma Fesili mo Matua

Talofa lavea, o lou igoa o Ati Mamoe, ma o au se tama fanau a Samoa i Niu Sila. O lo' o fa'amaeaina nei low fa'a'iloga tiker'o le ma i le nofoaga tutonu e aoaoaina ai upufai ma aganiu a le Pasefika (Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies) i le Univesite o Canterbury. O lo'o ou fia su'esu'eina ma ou fia malamalama i le a'oa'oina o tagata o le Pasefika. Ina ua fa'amauiaaina au a'oa'oga ma ulufale atu i aoga fa'aunivesite, sa ou matauina ai le to'attiti o tama fanau a le Pasefika o lo'o a'ao'oina ai i lena vaitaimi. I lenei vaitaimi ua atagia mai le maoae o le suiga, ua to'atele fanau a le Pasefika.

O le fesili ua tulai mai; Aisea/ O le a le mafaga? O le manatu autu mo lenei mataupu, o lea a faapea ona fa'alauteleina ai le malamalamaaga i fa'afitaui o lo'o feagai ma le a'oa'oina lea o tagata Pasefika i totonu o aoga maualunga i Niu Sila. O le fa'amemoega autu o le fia fa'amalosia lea o alo ma fanau a le Pasefika aua le ulufale atu i Univesite.

I le ava ma le fa'aaloalo lave e tatau ai ou te fa'alaatalata atu ai ia te outou matua pe a tusa ai ma o outou finagalo pe mafai ona outou taliaina i fesili ma fa'atumu avanoa o lo'o tautau o i lalo. O tali ma fa'aupuga uma o le a outou tusia i lalo o le a fa'apea one le fa'aioaina lea fa'alauitele. Fa'amemoego o le a outou utagia mai le faatalaula atu. Mo nisi fa'amatalaga po'o ni fesili foi, telefoni mai i le Numera 366 7001 extn 7983 Univesite o Canterbury.

1. Sa fa'apefeoa ona faia au fuafuaga i se aoga maualuga e ae iai lou alo? O a isi aoga sa e mafaufau iai? When you chose this high school for your child, did you think about other schools? If so which ones?
   - .................................................................
   - .................................................................
   - .................................................................
   - .................................................................

2. E fa'apefeoa ona e mauainia le talaga e uiga i le aoga a lou alo? How did you receive information about your child’s school?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>[ ]</th>
<th>Word of mouth</th>
<th>[ ]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Older Children</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Other (please indicate below)</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. I le fa'atulagaina 1-5 O lea le fa'asologa na alai ona mafua lau fa'ai'uga i se aoga e ave iai lou alo? (1-le taua, 3=taua, 5=taua tele) On a scale of 1-5 how important were these things in your choice of school? (1= not important, 3= important, 5 very important)

| Latalata (close distance) | 1---2---3---4---5 |
| Saogalemu (safety) | 1---2---3---4---5 |
| E tusa ai ma aiaiga (tradition) | 1---2---3---4---5 |
E maualoa/latiti totogi/pili (low fees) 1---2---3---4---5
E maualuga le numera o tamaiti Pasifika (large number of Pacific Island students) 1---2---3---4---5
E iai le fa’apotopotoga/asosi a tamaiti Pasifika (Pacific Island culture group) 1---2---3---4---5
E faaogaina ai gagana a le Pasifika (Pacific Island language offered at school) 1---2---3---4---5
E maoa’e le maualuga o le aoaoina o mataupu faaleaoaoga (High Academic standards of the school) 1---2---3---4---5
E maualuga tele mea tauta’aloga (Sporting Achievements) 1---2---3---4---5

A iai nisi mafaaga e le o taua e te silafai na f’apogai ai lau fa’aiuga ona fa’atumu lea o avanoa e pei ona fa’avanoina i lalo (Can you think of any others? If so please fill the spaces below) 1---2---3---4---5

4. O fea sa aoaoina ai lau fanau matutua? (Did your older children attend a different high school?)
   [ ] Ioe/Yes
   [ ] Leai/No
Afai e ese se aoga sa aoaoina ai, e mafai ona e aumaia se mafaaga. If Yes could you explain why you chose this high school for this child?

5. O lea se ituaiga galuega e te manao e faigaluega ai lou alo pe a uma ana aoga? What kind of job would you like your child to get when they leave school?

6. I le fa’atulagina 1-5 o lea le aofaiga o au fesootaiga ma le aoga? On a scale of 1-5 how much contact do you have with the school?

   1---2---3---4---5
   (1=aunao/no, 3=seasea/some, 5=taua tele/a lot)

7. E te mana’o e te auai i mea fai a le agoa? Do you want to be more involved with the school?
   [ ] Ioe/Yes
   [ ] Leai/No
Ioe pe Leai, faamatala le mafuaaga o lou taofi? Could you explain why?
8. E aia ni fa’atauli i mea tau i le gagana pe a talatalanoa ma le aiga faiaoga?  
   [ ] Ioe/Yes  
   [ ] Leai/No  
Ioe pe Leai, faamatala le mafuaaga o lou taofi? Could you explain why?

9. E te talitonu i le fa’atauina o aga ma tu a le Pasefika i totonu o Niu Sila i le vaitaimi nei? Do you believe Pacific cultures’ are relevant in New Zealand today?  
   [ ] Ioe/Yes  
   [ ] Leai/No  
Ioe pe Leai, faamatala le mafuaaga o lou taofi? Could you explain why?

10. O lea lau i galuega? What is your job?  
    Tina Mother  
    Tama Father  
    Tagata matutua o lo’o vaaia tamaiti Guardian

11. O fea se atunu sa e fanau ai? Were you born in the Pacific Islands and if so where?

12. O le a umi talu ona e alaala i Nui Sila? How long have you been in NZ? 
    Years...........

Fa’afetai tele lava mo le fa’aavanoina mai o iai taimi  
Thank you for your time and patience in filling out this form

* Pacific Culture is defined as being the indigenous cultures of principally the Cooks, Fiji, Nuie, Samoa and Tonga but it is important to note these are the larger groups who have had long association with New Zealand.
APPENDIX FIVE

SCHOOL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What do you think are the main ways that the Tomorrow's Schools' reforms have affected your college?

2. I'd like to talk a little about the removal of zoning from secondary schools. Can you explain to me the original arrangements for you college?

3. What effect has the removal of zoning had?

4. What is your present enrolment scheme?

5. Do you envisage any further change?

6. Tell me about the ‘clientele’ of the school, the students and families who attend?

7. Has or is the nature of the roll changing?

8. What do you regard as the advantages and disadvantages of the schools in the new, more competitive, environment?

9. Are you marketing the school?

10. What problems are there?

11. Do you co-operate with other schools?

12. How is the need to market the school affecting the day to day running of the school?

   Statistics reveal the Pacific Island population in New Zealand are the lowest achieving ethnic groups in secondary schools.

13. Since the implementation of Tomorrows Schools around 1990, has the education of PI students improved?

14. How are they compared to the Maori students?

15. What do you think are the major problems for PI students?

16. Do you think the encouragement of PI culture in the school will benefit PI students?

17. What is the relationship like between the schools and Home? How active are PI parents in the school

18. Do you think PI culture is relevant in New Zealand education?
APPENDIX SIX

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS WITH FORMER STUDENTS

1. Were you born in New Zealand?
   [ ] Yes     [ ] No
   If No where were you born and how long have you lived in New Zealand?

2. How many people are in your family? (please indicate the number of parents and children in the brackets)
   [ ] number of parents
   [ ] number of children

3. What primary and intermediate schools did you attend?
   Primary .............................................. City.............
   Intermediate ...................................... City.............

4. Who made the decision on what secondary school you would attend?
   Parent     [ ]     Yourself     [ ]
   Guardian   [ ]     Other       [ ]

5. On a scale of 1-5, How much say did you have?
   1---2---3---4---5
   Please circle one (1=none, 3=some, 5=I decided)

6. Was this the school you wanted to attend?
   [ ] Yes     [ ] No
   If No, Why was the other school better? And why didn’t you like this one?

7. What year and at what form level did you enrol?
   Year 19....   Form ....
   If you did not enrol in Form 3, what other high school did you attend and why did you change?

8. What is your specific ethnic background? (for example you maybe ½ Samoan and ¼ Palagi and ¼ Tongan)

9. How fluent are you in speaking your Pacific language?
   1---2---3---4---5
   Please circle one (1=none, 3=basic conversations, 5=very well)

10. How well do you understand your Pacific Island language?
    1---2---3---4---5
    Please circle one (1=none, 3=basics, 5=very well)
11. How important is Pacific Island culture* to you?

1—2—3—4—5

Please circle one (1=not important, 3=important, 5=very important)

12. Do you believe Pacific cultures are relevant in New Zealand today?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

Could you tell us why?

13. How much understanding did you think your school has about Pacific Island culture?

1—2—3—4—5

Please circle one (1=none, 3=good, 5=very good)

14. How much do you feel your school values Pacific Island culture?

1—2—3—4—5

Please circle one (1=not at all, 3=average, 5=very highly)

15. What do you think could be done by schools to make it easier for Pacific Island students to succeed academically?

16. Has your perception of culture changed from school? (according to the question on the importance of culture)

17. What did you want to be when you left school?

18. If not at a tertiary institution, what Job do you do?

19. Were they even aware of the changes in Tomorrows Schools policies?

20. In what ways do you think de-zoning affected you?

21. Do you think it affected your ability to achieve?

22. Do you think it had a negative or positive affect personally?

23. What was the relationship like between Home and School?

24. What did your parents do for a job?

25. Do you feel the school fulfilled your expectations or you reached your potential?

26. If comfortable – What is your income bracket?

[ ] 0 – 10,000 [ ] 10,001 – 20,000 [ ] 20,001 – 30,000
[ ] 30,001 – 40,000 [ ] 40,001 – 50,000 [ ] 50,001 – 60,000
[ ] 60,001 – 70,000 [ ] 70,001 and above

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APPENDIX SEVEN

HUMAN ETHICS LETTER OF APPROVAL

20 August 1998

Ati Mamoe
C/o Dr Small
Department of Pacific Studies
UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

Dear Ati

The Human Ethics Committee advises that your research proposal “The impact of marketisation on Pacific Island secondary education in Christchurch” has been considered and approved.

Yours sincerely

[Signature]

Isobel Phillips
Secretary