

## **CHAPTER EIGHT - MAORI PARTICIPATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION – STRATEGIES FOR FUTURE SUCCESS**

Why do universities continue to perpetuate policies and practices that have historically produced abysmal results for First Nations students, when we have ample research and documentary evidence to indicate the availability of more appropriate and effective alternatives?...what are some of the obstacles that must be overcome if universities are to improve the levels of participation and completion of First Nations students? (Kirkness & Barnhardt 1991:2).

### **Introduction**

The constant trickle of information supplied by governments and their departments does little to alleviate the reality for Maori communities and for Maori participation in higher education. The continued emphasis on the dismal state of Maori achievement within the education system, and how Maori fail, rather than succeed is a constant feature of the dominant culture's control of media, political and social discourses. In addition, Te Puni Kokiri has identified that educational attainment for Maori affects their opportunities in "employment and income, with flow-on effects in housing, criminal justice and health" (2000:15). Therefore, it would seem that emphasis on education for Maori would support more positive outcomes for Maori throughout their lives.

A cursory analysis would suggest that the two organisations examined in this thesis were supportive in their policies and initiatives in ensuring effective, successful Maori participation in higher education. The University of Waikato and the Tainui Maori Trust Board have been vocal in their efforts to encourage more Maori to attend university. However, when analysed more critically, this support is inadequate.

### The University of Waikato

A closer examination, both of the University's history and through the examination of the three policy documents developed for and by the University, has revealed that the University has clung to its traditional base of western knowledge, where alternative knowledges, or "other" ways of knowing are subordinated and are not recognised. This is characteristic of the power imbalances which exist in higher education institutions, and is indicative of what Scheurich & Young (1997) term epistemological racism (discussed in Chapter Three of this thesis). Another of the documents examined for the thesis, an external review of the University of Waikato conducted in 1997, reaffirms this approach, finding that apparent examples of goodwill had "not always been translated into structures that give the best support to Maori staff and ensure an environment that is always congenial for Maori students" (New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit 1997:9).

Despite the introduction of programmes like Te Timatanga Hou, it would seem that the University of Waikato has been in danger of falling into the trap described by Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991:2), whereby policies that are not effective for Maori participation in higher education are still being perpetuated. In short, the establishment of such programmes and initiatives like Te Timatanga Hou, the Certificate of Maori Studies, Te Roopu Manukura, and the School of Maori and Pacific Development have battled against the dominant constructs of what counts as knowledge, and what counts as advancement. Effectively, the University of Waikato has continued to play the dominant role in this power construct, asserting its authority in terms of deciding what is best for Maori, rather than seeking collaborative ways in which Maori advancement may be achieved, or in assisting Maori to determine their own paths to tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) in a higher education setting. Such insistence on maintaining power, control and dominance over what constitutes higher education has been further reinforced with the University's insistent attempt in 1999/2000 at merging the School of Maori and Pacific Development with the School of Education, despite opposition from Maori, within and external to the University community.

The role an institution plays in enhancing and advancing minority and indigenous academic success is critical because, as Wright (1987:17) described in Chapter Two of the thesis, an “unsupportive campus environment contributes to a student’s lowered satisfaction with college and can result in a premature exit from campus without a degree.” The experiences of the graduates in this study, however, uncovered a scenario that was not always welcoming to them as Maori. Universities have been slow to seek and incorporate the alternatives described by Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991:1), such as developing an institution that “*respects*” the students “for who they are, that is *relevant* to their view of the world, that offers *reciprocity* in their relationships with others, and that helps them exercise *responsibility* over their own lives.” This is due to the insistence by such institutions to maintain the status quo of superiority and dominance, which has characterised the approach of the University of Waikato since its inception. Repeated calls for the University to stamp itself as the Maori university have been resisted internally and only pockets within the University campus have attempted to create the Maori ethos and to incorporate Maori values and ways of knowing, as suggested by Kingsbury (1984, 1993). As a result, rather than an institution that has sought to address Maori issues in a progressive, collaborative and meaningful way, the thesis has found instead that the University of Waikato has not managed, to break away from its dominant, colonial past – a past that excluded Maori from higher education through processes of assimilation and subordination.

#### The Tainui Maori Trust Board

However, the University of Waikato has not been alone in missing opportunities to advance Maori academic achievement and success. The examination of the Tainui Maori Trust Board has shown a history of placing education high amongst its strategic priorities, although implementation of initiatives developed have confused attainment of and access to higher education with attainment based on western benchmarks and, particularly with the postgraduate scholarships developed post-1995, larger amounts of money being available to lesser numbers of tribal members. This leads one to question the success of the Board’s strategy, and adds weight to critics of the Board’s significant investment in higher education. In short, it would appear that the Board has yet to successfully combine

western elements of success (such as academic criteria) with tribal notions (such as maintenance of cultural identity, whakapapa and concept of belonging). The Board might take note of Durie's (2001:6) warning about benchmarking Maori success against non-Maori. Indeed, what is the Board aiming for more: for its tribal members to be as good as Pakeha, or for its tribal members to follow its own framework for success, based on tribal philosophies and knowledge?

This thesis has shown that the Board appears to have leaned more towards western constructs of success, particularly since 1995, but at the expense of tribal philosophies of inclusiveness and unity. The Board may well argue against this point, especially as the focus of scholarships in recent years has emphasised tribal development and how tribal members may facilitate in that process, and that is a valid point. However, the experiences of the graduates and the policies of the Board, particularly in relation to the tightening of criteria in relation to 'who' is or 'how' one can become Tainui seems to have contradicted and outweighed these key tribal philosophies, and in some cases negated any contribution that can be made to tribal development. In short, it appears that academic performance (measured in western forms and against western standards) and strict notions of belonging have become more important to the Board than the actual policy of providing assistance and encouragement to tribal members wanting to pursue higher education. Furthermore, it appears that in order to justify the significant amounts of spending on higher education, the Board has turned to the very (western) benchmarks that Durie (2001) describes.

In effect, the Board has struggled to break away from dominant power constructs in its desire for Maori and tribal advancement. The Board sought to change this dominance by establishing its own governance and management structure (Te Kauhanganui and the Waikato Raupatu Trustee Company) after the settlement in 1995. However, while the structures have changed, the Board appears to have been influenced by dominant attitudes pertaining to success, which has meant that development and progress for better tribal participation in higher education has not particularly reflected tribal philosophies and objectives. These influences in the higher education arena have influenced how scholarships have been awarded,

and have ensured that such scholarships are based around western definitions of success, instead of tribal definitions. The challenge for the Board lies in the ways it can change its approaches to ensure a more integrative approach, which combines the best of both worlds for its tribal members.

### The Tainui graduates

The successes of the graduates I interviewed have been due to their own tenacity and determination to 'make it' or to achieve success in the western colonial derivative that is the modern university. These graduates exhibited traits indicative of other minority and indigenous students in that they retained strong ties with the tribe as well as maintaining their sense of identity as a Tainui person. Significantly, these graduates' experiences were also similar to those of students generally, regardless of race, ethnic or social background.

On the surface it appeared that these were a group of successful school graduates, who had parental and family support, who identified strongly and maintained close connections with their tribe and who persevered with their university experience and graduated with few problems. Furthermore, these graduates could not really explain why they were successful when some of their cohort was not.

It appears that these graduates succeeded despite the best (although at times unclear) intentions of the Tainui Maori Trust Board, and despite the rhetoric and limited support from the University of Waikato. These graduates could survive in a Pakeha world, having achieved western notions of success. More importantly for the graduates, it appears that they could also survive in a tribal sense, due to their strength of identity as Tainui, and to their commitment to the tribe and to the Kingitanga. The graduates have resisted against the western ideal that in order to achieve one must assimilate into the dominant culture, and they have challenged western notions of success that exclude "other" ways of knowing and being. The graduates have achieved a western education without compromising their cultural identity and integrity. To that extent, they are successful in that they have managed to "inhabit comfortably two different worlds" (hooks 1994:183), concurrent objectives of Maori educational achievement (Durie 2001).

It should be made clear that the graduates' voices represent only nine Tainui, Maori graduates. While their voices have been significant in the course of this research, their voices are merely murmurs in the clatter of the wider research context of minority and indigenous higher education participation and academic achievement. The graduates' voices, therefore, are not the definitive answer as to what makes Maori succeed, more so because they combine both western notions of success (in that they achieved their degree), as well as tribal notions of success (in that they maintained a strong identity as Tainui and as Kingitanga supporters) – notions to which most Maori are still excluded (particularly in the attainment of western standards of attainment, as described by Te Puni Kokiri 2000; Ministry of Education 1998b).

These findings are significant for as Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991) say, the role institutions play in the academic achievement of minority and indigenous students has yet to be resolved satisfactorily. Institutions must recognise and address the different needs of minority and indigenous students, and must work with them in developing strategies for successful change, rather than assuming they know what is best for the students. The establishment, in 2000, of a Pro Vice-Chancellor (Maori) at the University of Waikato, and a Treaty of Waitangi advisory committee are steps forward, although the success of these positions depends on the outcomes achieved for Maori students. Similarly, the Tainui Maori Trust Board, while acknowledging the importance of its tribal members who participate in higher education have yet to include their voices within the policy planning and review processes, voices which may add critical perspectives to the future development of education policy directions for the tribe. It must be acknowledged that New Zealand universities have experienced considerable change since the government reforms of the 1980s and 1990s. This has seen higher education move away from notions of public good to private, where benefits are increasingly being seen as individual rather than collective. Gould (1999), (as discussed in Chapter Two of the thesis), described the paradoxical nature these changes have had on New Zealand society, where the middle classes were willing to contribute in taxes to higher education if their offspring were the primary beneficiaries, but not if wider societal groups were able to have access. Access to higher education

has been aligned with empowerment for minority and indigenous peoples (Howe 1974; Kirkness & Barnhardt 1991). However, for Maori, changes in higher education policy have restricted opportunities for greater participation and thus restricted Maori ability to be empowered and to seek tino rangatiratanga (self-determination). In short, these changes in higher education policy (such as increased tuition costs and restrictions on access to financial support such as student allowances) reflect the insistence of the dominant culture in asserting and maintaining the status quo – at the expense of Maori and other minority cultures.

The Tainui Maori Trust Board has also seen major change in the 1990s. The signing of the settlement of Raupatu in 1995 signalled the end of grievance, and was seen by the Board as being a practical way in which to re-establish the tribe and work towards its future, with education touted as being the key priority, and the key policy. Structural constraints, where Board accountability (under the Maori Trust Boards Act 1955) was to the Crown and not the people, changed with the introduction of Te Kauhanganui – a tribal governance structure, developed for and agreed to by the tribe. This was the tribe's way of moving forward, of asserting its status as tangata whenua (indigenous peoples), and of reaffirming its position as equal partners with the Crown, as indicated in the Treaty of Waitangi. However, in spite of this structure and intent, policy within the Board, especially with regard to higher education has, if anything, increased its emphasis on the adoption of western values and notions of academic achievement. It appears that the Board has displayed what McLaren (1994:124) calls, "all the ideological trappings of the older, Western bourgeoisie." Financial assistance for students since 1995, especially in the higher degree programmes, has been assessed in terms of student ability and their contribution or accountability to tribal development. This clashes with the policy of ensuring all tribal members become educated, where past focus has been on providing financial assistance in order to remove barriers that constrain tribal member participation in higher education – in other words, where education should be for all. It appears that the more money the Board has spent on higher education, the more justification required by the student to warrant financial assistance from the Board. Furthermore, it appears that the Board has been caught between a desire to provide opportunities for all

tribal members to become educated, with a desire to award greater financial assistance for a select few who ‘fit’ within very narrow, selective criteria that are increasingly being based on academic ability. In short, the Board has yet to find its own comfortable space – one that embraces tribal customs and values, while still aspiring to the achievement of western degrees, and thus western notions of success.

Has the Board been successful in attracting more tribal members into higher education? The results are mixed. Certainly, the continued emphasis on higher education is cause for celebration. What must temper this celebration however, is whether the Board has been able to quantify this emphasis, and whether the flow-on effects that Te Puni Kokiri’s (2000) report refers to, have been evident for the Board and the tribal members it represents. Furthermore, it must be queried as to whether the Board has, in some of its education policies and particularly in relation to the scholarships, inadvertently duplicated what Durie (2001:12) has called the sectoral approach of the state, rather than maintaining a more holistic approach, as demonstrated in the Tainui Education Strategy.

#### Strategies for Maori success

How does one construct a framework for Maori success? For the Tainui Maori Trust Board in particular, this question must be viewed within the context of tribal development and how increased higher education participation contributes to tribal development. The Board must also consider its own frameworks for success, outlined in the Tainui Education Strategy (1986, 1991), to ensure that the goals and objectives are still relevant and add value for tribal members. For the University of Waikato, the question of constructing a Maori framework of success is more complex. Firstly, the University must examine its own structures and acknowledge the power/dominance position from which it has asserted authority since its establishment in 1964. Its desire to maintain this position, as a colonial derivative, has not aided Maori advancement, and the University still appears unwilling to change, despite the rhetoric. The University must re-examine the initiatives and structures it has developed over the years, particularly in relation to Maori and admit that it has not been fully cooperative in its approach to assisting

Maori advancement and Maori tino rangatiratanga. From this position, the University must then determine whether it is truly committed to a partnership with Maori.

The intention of this chapter is to provide avenues from which the Tainui Maori Trust Board and University of Waikato may proceed in terms of increasing Maori participation at university, and in terms of addressing Maori advancement and academic success. These avenues are based on Durie's (2001) framework for Maori advancement, but are also informed by aspects specific to the tribe and to tribal development and philosophy. These avenues are also informed by the experiences of other indigenous and minority peoples, especially their experiences in working with the dominant 'other.'

### **Towards a framework of Maori success in higher education**

If one tracks the progress of Maori educational achievement since the arrival of Pakeha to New Zealand (examined in Chapter One), government policy has directly impacted upon Maori efforts to maintain their cultural identity. Policies of assimilation and contempt for the Treaty and what it entailed for Maori, in terms of partnership and equal status with the Crown, characterised the European attitude toward Maori advancement. The pattern of history has shown that Maori advancement was not to be at the expense of Pakeha dominance and superiority. The last 20 years have seen increased Maori resistance to these dominant constructs, fighting against the entrenched position of the colonial education system. As a result of this resistance, Maori have gained increasingly powerful positions from which Maori aspirations for education can be, and have been, heard and addressed. From this position, Maori have been able to achieve small victories, where tino rangatiratanga has redefined the notion of Maori academic success – one that seeks to better reflect Maori needs and aspirations.

Chapter Two identified Durie's (2001) framework as a model for future development in the advancement of Maori education. Using this model, the rest of

this chapter seeks to recommend changes in the ways both the Tainui Maori Trust Board and University of Waikato approach Maori participation in higher education. This chapter will examine the principles, pathways and capacity, as outlined in Durie's (2001:13) framework, in terms of how the Board and the University can make effective changes. These will be informed by the broad goals of Maori success, defined by Durie (2001:13) as being: to live as Maori; to participate as citizens of the world; and to have good health and a high standard of living. These goals will also be set against the tribal notions of success, underlined by the philosophies of the Kingitanga, and in particular, the two sayings of Potatau and Tawhiao, as described in Chapter Three.

#### Principles of success: Strategies for the Tainui Maori Trust Board

The Tainui Maori Trust Board has not been very consistent in its approach to implementing strategies for higher education. While excellence has always been aspired to, since the Board's establishment in 1946, western constructs, rather than Maori have determined this definition of excellence. Further, the Board has not effectively monitored its progress in relation to the education policies it has implemented and scholarships it has awarded over the years. It would make sense to track such progress (or lack of), having already produced the benchmarks, through the Tainui Report and the Tainui Education Strategy of the 1980s and early 1990s. As shown in Chapter One, the fact that there has been a decrease in the numbers of qualifications completed by Maori from 1996 to 1999 at the University of Waikato raises concern, particularly for the Board, given that nearly half of its scholarships awarded annually are to those enrolled at the University of Waikato.

Further to Durie's (2001) broad goals of Maori success, described above, are three key principles by which the goals of Maori success may be achieved. These principles being: best outcomes and zero tolerance of failure, integrated action, and indigeneity. In using these principles as a starting point for change, key issues for the Tainui Maori Trust Board begin to emerge.

The principle of best outcomes, as outlined by Durie (2001:6) refers to the need to focus “more on the product than on the packaging” and also ensuring that “the measures of progress actually quantify an outcome.” As stated earlier in this chapter and in Chapter One, the Board has little information about the students it assists financially in higher education, despite substantial investment in this area. This deficiency means that the Board has never been able to quantify to tribal members, let alone anyone else, the positive outcomes that participation in higher education has achieved – for the Board and for the tribe as a whole. In short, this means that the Board’s long-term plan for education for the tribe lacks any sufficient base from which to measure progress, according to tribal standards and aspirations. This, in turn, means that the Board is unable to develop further programmes for tribal development because there are little or no benchmarks to use to improve development.

The graduates have shown, through their experiences outlined in Chapters Six and Seven, that a principle of best outcomes for them was the ability to achieve *and* to be Maori/Tainui. These were benchmarks against which they felt comfortable, and against which they measured their own academic achievement. More importantly, these were the benchmarks that enabled them to survive the higher education experience culturally intact. As one graduate declared, they did not go to university to find their Tainuitanga – they already had it. Furthermore, the graduates did not accept failure as an option. Their attitudes to education were, in part, shaped and influenced by their parents’ experiences of educational failure. Similarly, the parents and families of the graduates, by providing positive support for the graduates, enabled the realisation of a zero tolerance of failure (as Durie labels it) and the pursuit and attainment of academic goals.

What the graduates have done is combined the best of both worlds, finding comfortable spaces of existence without compromising one or the other. In this way, the graduates have achieved tino rangatiratanga (self-determination), in that they have defined their own space, negotiated their presence, and resisted against dominant structures and settings that have traditionally sought to exclude and ostracise them. They have created new territories and new experiences in which

failure has not been tolerated. In short, the graduates have encapsulated the intentions of the Tainui Education Strategy, whereby “Kiingitanga has provided a focus” that has “allowed Tainui people to reinforce their own cultural integrity” and upon which the “foundation for the education of Tainui children and youth” is based (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:3).

#### Ways forward for the Tainui Maori Trust Board

In order for the Board to move forward, it must reflect back on the foundation documents it created for education. The relevance of the Tainui Education Strategy becomes very real, especially given the experiences of the graduates, and their affirmation of the need to maintain one’s cultural identity and integrity. While some of the objectives have been achieved (such as the Endowed College), it is important that the Board reflect on the mission statement and the goals it set for itself and the tribe back in 1991. Words such as “empower,” “assist,” “recognise,” “promote,” “support,” “encourage” and “strengthen” reflect the philosophy of the Kingitanga, and mirror the words of Potatau (kotahi te kohao o te ngira – there is but one eye of the needle – a saying that talks about collaborative relationships) and Tawhiao (maku ano e hanga toku nei whare – I will rebuild my house – a saying that talks about rebuilding, which, in this context refers to the tribal education base) in seeking progress and advancement for the tribe (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:4). In essence, the Board must return to its own tribal philosophies to guide and oversee its direction in relation to the educational advancement of the tribal members it represents. Rather than chasing western notions of academic achievement, the Board must revert to its own tribal notions of success, created by tribal ancestors over 100 years ago.

Once this has been achieved, the Board must then re-examine its approach to higher education, and in particular to university participation. The Board must be critical with itself and its approach, especially in acknowledging the role of tribal philosophies in this area. For example, is the Board willing to be guided by the words of Potatau and Tawhiao? What philosophy does the Board want to adopt in trying to encourage more academic success from tribal members? If, indeed, the Board is wishing to follow a more ‘western’ approach, then it must be honest in

its approach. The Board has leaned heavily towards western concepts, without realising that a weaving of the two – Tainui and western – can be achieved. This is what Potatau also referred to when he became the first Maori king. This is also a goal of kaupapa Maori.

Once the philosophical approach has been determined, the Board then needs to examine the issues surrounding its strategy for higher education. What are the fundamental issues for the Board in trying to get more of its tribal members into university education? The Board, in order for any real advancement to be made in education, must identify the issues concerning the tribe; relate this to tribal development and the individual and personal development of tribal members and attempt to develop policy that better reflects these tribal intentions. Furthermore, it must examine the role Tainui graduates have to tribal development and seek to include them in such an examination. There must be greater coordination in order to justify such significant investment of tribal monies.

#### Strategies for change: The University of Waikato

Campbell (1941) wrote that in order to understand New Zealand's education system, one had to understand the colonial constructs on which it was established. Specifically, Campbell (1941:2-3) described the "colonist's desire to hedge himself around a barrier of familiar social institutions...even when those institutions are ludicrously ill-adapted to their purpose in the new land." Chapter One examined the power structure from which institutions like the University of Waikato have asserted their dominant position, based on western traditions that have ignored and belittled "other" forms of knowledge. As a derivative of this colonial system, the University of Waikato has a number of challenges if it desires to seek effective and positive change for Maori. Firstly, as indicated earlier, it must acknowledge the dominant power position from which it has operated since its establishment in 1964. In essence, the University of Waikato chose to maintain a loftiness accorded to higher education institutions, in the western venerated tradition. Maher & Tetreault's (1997:325) notion of whiteness and how it shapes and dominates activities of the academy is useful to help explain this process:

[A] necessary part of perceiving how the assumption of Whiteness shapes the construction of classroom knowledge is understanding its centrality to the academy's practices of intellectual domination, namely, the *imposition of certain ways of constructing the world through the lenses of traditional disciplines* (emphasis added).

In essence, this imposition reinforces the existence of epistemological racism (Scheurich & Young 1997), which sees knowledge only from the lived and social experiences and histories of the dominant white culture and perpetuates the power imbalances between the dominant white culture and 'other' cultures. As a result of these attempts to assert intellectual domination, universities become oblivious to what Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991:2) describe as "the existence of de facto forms of institutionalised discrimination," which means that they have been "unable to recognise the threat that some of their accustomed practices pose to their own existence." This threat has seen Maori assert their tino rangatiratanga, through the establishment of Whare Wananga, based on philosophies of Maori culture and language, on a national level, and through the establishment of the Endowed College by the Tainui Maori Trust Board, at a more local level.

#### The role of Maori academics

Smith's (1997a:203) discussion about Maori working in academic institutions describes their experiences as a "spatial battleground," where Maori struggles are placed around issues of theoretical, pedagogical and structural space, which relate to "culture, history and power, about transforming, struggling against, making sense of the institutions within which we work." Furthermore, Smith (1997a:204) has found that "making space within institutional settings is a necessary part of Maori academic work."

The role of Maori academics within higher education settings is about negotiating space within the hierarchical structure of western academia, a structure that is based on cultural norms and values that exclude other ways of knowing and seeing the world. Further, many Maori academics are also often involved in research within their own tribal communities, and feel a sense of obligation to support Maori students enrolled at the institution, as well as ensure they contribute

to institutional activities, even if only to add a Maori presence. The workload of Maori staff was acknowledged by the Academic Audit report (1997) as being stressful, due to the multiplicity of functions Maori staff are expected to fulfil. Further, the report challenged the University to take more responsibility for ensuring that the resolution of Maori issues were not left for Maori staff and Maori departments.

If the University of Waikato is serious about implementing real and effective change for Maori, then it must acknowledge its apathy and indifference thus far in seeking real change based on the experiences of Maori students and staff at university. For example, when issues of Maori concern arise, institutional management must take ownership, rather than delegating (or perhaps in the university's opinion – empowering) or sidelining the issue to Maori and Maori staff. For Maori staff in particular, the dilemmas of fulfilling the expectations of the normal rigours of academic life, as well as fulfilling the expectations of the students and the communities they represent can weigh so heavily that they become ineffectual. It should not be for Maori academics alone to highlight the struggle, do the work, and be the super people that many of them are expected to be in an institutional environment. As Mirza (1995:152) states, the challenge for minority academics is to be “critical and selective about our involvement:”

It is an irony that antiracism can stop people in many ways from going forward and being productive; and productivity is important, because in Higher Education productivity is the yardstick for success. Finishing courses, publishing books – that is how success is measured. As black lecturers, we have to be critical and selective about our involvement in equal opportunities and antiracism. For while these are often the only forums that our white colleagues give us; our only legitimate institutional ‘space’; for while we are encouraged to sit in tribunals, take colleagues to task, and sit on committees and expend all our emotional and personal energies, our (white) colleagues get on with publishing and promotion and climbing up the ladder.

In effect Mirza argues that minority academics must fight strategically in order to make effective change. When these fights are located within the institutions in which they work, these strategies become more focused towards survival, rather

than change. In essence, these fights are against traditional dominant western beliefs, which have been entrenched in higher education since its inception in New Zealand. In short, Maori staff attempt to fight against philosophical beliefs of institutions that are more interested in maintaining their own dominance rather than looking towards the types of integrative measures that Durie (2001) advocates.

### **Strategies for integrative, collaborative development**

In order to move forward and achieve positive change in terms of Maori participation in higher education, and in terms of Maori advancement, there must at some stage be some integration between Maori and non-Maori efforts, as Durie (2001:7) states:

Lives in New Zealand are too closely intertwined to pretend that action in one sphere does not have repercussions in another. Unless there is some platform for integrated action, then development will be piecemeal and progress will be uneven.

Durie (2001:7) suggests that integration may be achieved once recognition occurs of the intertwining effect and crossovers that exist in the New Zealand education system. This thesis has followed a kaupapa Maori philosophy, which, as discussed in Chapter Three, weaves in and amongst different traditions, between western and indigenous frameworks. This sense of integration has also been encapsulated in Potatau Te Wherowhero's (the first Maori king) saying: kotahi te kohao o te ngira, as discussed in Chapter Three.

From this perspective, the Tainui Maori Trust Board has attempted to achieve some form of integration, through the support of tribal members in accessing university education. Furthermore, it has sought to combine what it has seen as positive elements of higher education with the practical needs of Maori students in its development and establishment of the Tainui Endowed College. This initiative, in particular, has recognised the need for Maori to be able to work across sectors

in order to move forward on tribal development, as identified by Durie (2001:7) and the Tainui Education Strategy (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:38). Unfortunately, this has been overshadowed by its emphasis on Pakeha constructs of achievement and Pakeha measurements of success.

The graduates have shown how they have managed to create spaces for themselves, whereby their cultural identity as Maori and as Tainui has remained intact during their pursuit of a western education. The graduates provide positive examples for Maori and for other Tainui of how integration, in their participation at university, has not been at the expense of their culture and values. However, is this the experience of most Maori? Indeed, the statistics for Maori completions discussed earlier indicate otherwise. The rise in Maori enrolments at Whare Wananga as opposed to university suggests that many Maori perhaps find it difficult to create spaces for themselves in a university environment that has been so traditionally hostile to them. Indeed, the question could be, why should Maori have to find spaces and strategies in order to survive their university experience? Why should Maori want integration if the dominant 'other' has been unwilling and inflexible in providing the means to achieve this?

The role of Te Roopu Manukura, the Maori advisory body to the University Council, appears to have been an appropriate vehicle from which integration could have been achieved. Te Roopu Manukura could have been, and could well be used as an advocate for both Maori staff and the Maori students enrolled at the University of Waikato. Instead, the function of Te Roopu Manukura appears to have been largely ceremonial, seemingly lost and inaccessible to the key groups that have direct impact on tribal development. The New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit (1997:9) were led to believe that the role of Te Roopu Manukura was to represent Maori "concerns, comments and desires from every iwi" at the University Council. As discussed in Chapter Four, however, the reality was somewhat different, as Te Roopu Manukura was besieged with problems of size, problems in terms of its clarity of structure and purpose, and a lack of understanding about the actualities of student life and university life in general. As a result, Te Roopu Manukura has been largely ineffective in its ability to

represent the two key groups within the University structure, and thus securing positive change for Maori within such a structure.

What the University of Waikato can do to work towards more positive change in this area is to give more acknowledgement of the role a body like Te Roopu Manukura can play. However, such acknowledgement must not be purely rhetorical. Specifically, the unique structure of Te Roopu Manukura enables it to be representative of Maori and tribal concerns within a university environment. Thus, in order for such a unique body to work, the University must first give it respect as Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991:8) explain:

increasing the university's domain to include and respect First Nations cultural values and tradition is a formidable task, but it must be done if universities are to be more "user friendly" for First Nations students.

The experience of the Squamish Nation of British Columbia and the local community college (Capilano College) mirrors that of the Maori experience at the University of Waikato. In particular, Wright (1998:6) acknowledged that previous relationships between the Squamish Nation and Capilano College "had not achieved partnership status" where Capilano had attempted to create:

a positive learning environment without allowing the Squamish Nation to participate fully in the decision- and policy-making process. The college had not recognised the benefits from empowering the Squamish Nation and thus gaining from their insight and skill.

However, Capilano College has moved forward in creating a more responsive environment for First Nations students, which is something that the University of Waikato has still to address. What Capilano appears to have done that the University of Waikato has not is "accepted the principle that it is not what colleges can do for First Nations students, but what can happen when colleges join with First Nations students and leaders to effect success" (Wright 1998:6). Perhaps this is a significant starting point from which the University of Waikato may begin to effect meaningful change.

Similar to the University of Waikato, Capilano also established an advisory committee made up of First Nations representatives. However, the difference between the indigenous committees at the two institutions, and perhaps one area in which the University of Waikato may instigate change, was that the First Nations advisory committee at Capilano was maintained to “implement the college First Nations policy statement and respond to First Nations initiatives” (Wright 1998:2). What Capilano College has effected is the integration of First Nations beliefs into its philosophies for higher education. For the University of Waikato, such integration is a necessary step in implementing positive change for Maori, determined by Maori.

Other attempts by the University of Waikato to develop Maori programmes and initiatives (such as the School of Maori and Pacific Development) appear to have been lengthy, drawn out processes rather than proactive, integrative stances. Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991) outline a number of strategies in which institutions can be more effective for indigenous and minority peoples. These strategies seek respect of cultural identity and integrity; are relevant to indigenous and minority perspectives and experiences; endorse and promote reciprocal relationships between minority and dominant peoples; accept responsibility for the participation of minority students in higher education; and seek to empower minority participation in higher education. Until the University of Waikato seeks to develop programmes and initiatives which integrate these types of strategies, it cannot claim to uphold the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, nor can it truly claim it is effectively assisting Maori in their desire for tino rangatiranga.

Integration, or the principle of integrated action, according to Durie (2001:7), refers to a need for “greater co-operation between institutions” and “some consistency and a shared sense of direction” across a range of policies and programmes. Durie (2001:7) succinctly states that “messages about the value of education will not be well received where deculturation, loss of identity, and indifference prevail.” In the higher education arena, particularly in university education, as this thesis has shown, deculturation, identity loss and indifference are all experiences suffered by Maori. In order to move towards a model of

integration, such as that described by Durie, the University of Waikato must look beyond its traditional base and develop a more collaborative approach with Maori to ensure that Maori needs and aspirations can be met by the institution. Using the experience of the Squamish Nation, cited earlier, it would appear beneficial if the University of Waikato 'joined' with the Maori community, utilising structures already in place such as Te Roopu Manukura, to ensure that the institution's vision is one that is shared equally between the University and Maori. Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991:13) suggest that both groups exercise leadership and responsibility, whereby:

reconstruction and transformation of university culture to better serve First Nations people is really no more than a matter of shifting to a policy, posture and practice of actually working with First Nations people, attending to the four R's of respect, relevance, reciprocity and responsibility.

In this way, both groups can take responsibility for improving Maori student participation at university, and more importantly, can work together to provide opportunities for success. This was what the Squamish experience, as identified by Wright (1998:6), found:

to change and improve the opportunity for success, the college accepted the principle that it is not what colleges can do for First Nations students, but what can happen when colleges join with First Nations students and leaders to effect success.

These words provide valuable starting points from which both the Tainui Maori Trust Board and the University of Waikato can begin to make changes. However, both the Board and the University must ensure that this progress is collaborative, is empowering for both groups, and in particular for the Maori students who will benefit, and is accountable to the communities involved. More importantly, however, is the need for both groups to move beyond the rhetoric and move towards positive, proactive action.

### **Identity as a strategy for success**

The principle of indigeneity refers to Maori assertion of their tangata whenua status (Durie 2001:7). For the graduates, this principle is expanded further to include their assertion of “Tainuitanga” and of their role as kaitiaki of the Kingitanga. This thesis highlighted the strength the graduates had in asserting these principles of indigeneity. The strength of identity the graduates displayed is an important and notable achievement, in that it has become increasingly difficult to sustain such an identity following the effects of colonisation, and more recently, urbanisation.

The role of identity has played an important part in the lives of the graduates. As mentioned, their identity rests on being Tainui, and on what “being Tainui” means. From their perspective, being Tainui provided an intrinsic link to the Kingitanga. This link is what has distinguished them from other people, and what has helped, in some respects to define their roles within Tainui tribal society. The graduates’ notions of Kingitanga include notions of unity, notions of pride, and notions of humbleness and a sense of duty (in that Tainui are the guardians of the Kingitanga). In essence, the links to Kingitanga have reinforced links to the tribe. In this way, the graduates have maintained affiliation with their iwi, links which have been reinforced by their historical experience of confiscation and ostracism.

Bartolome & Macedo (1997:223) argue that the “fragmentation of ethnic and racial realities is part of the social organisation of knowledge.” Placed within the context of discourses on power relationships (White and other), if one looks at some of the current issues on identification it raises concerns as to the impact of such fragmentation. Government bodies are not interested in examining the intricate differences between tribal groups and then insist on viewing Maori as a homogenous group, despite their acknowledging that Maori social structure is tribal in nature. In short, government policy that continues to deny Maori tribal identities effectively reinforces the dominant viewpoint of mainstream society and asserts that identity can only be defined and practiced in certain ways. Bartolome & Macedo’s (1997) argument on the fragmentation of identities is part of the

dominant viewpoint, and not how Maori tribes, like Tainui, construct their social and cultural organisation. However, the difficulty that the graduates had with the Board's change in policy of identification post-1995 underscores the issue of fragmentation with the Board's insistence of, or adherence to, an organisational structure that is essentially non-Maori. In short, the Board has adopted non-Maori identification processes, which have been seen by the graduates as alienating and against the tribal philosophies of unity espoused by the Kingitanga. Giroux's (1997:292) discussion on Whiteness, recognises the type of position that these tribes occupy "as an ideology...exposing its privileged readings of history...and broader institutional power and its politically myopic forms of cultural criticism." The point being that as an indigenous and a minority people within New Zealand, the marginalisation of Maori, by Maori through this process of identification, would imply that Maori are adopting the very characteristics of the 'Whiteness' that Giroux talks about, which Maori have fought against. It would seem that Maori are falling into the seductive trap that Mirza (1995:150) believes characterises the patriarchal discourse of racism.

Practically, though, how does this type of discussion affect Maori organisations like the Tainui Maori Trust Board in their treatment of identification and belonging? Quite simply, it could be argued that emphasis on identification can lead to a muddying of the waters in relation to other policies or programmes and initiatives that are supposedly in place to support and enhance the lives of their communities. Specifically for an organisation like the Tainui Maori Trust Board, such fragmentation in identification appears in direct conflict with the tribal philosophies it espouses, and in direct conflict to the pride and association of the graduates interviewed for this thesis.

Essentially, the graduates displayed resilience and pride in their affiliation with the Tainui tribe and especially with the Kingitanga. In their opinion, the graduates' identities were strong enough to resist challenges they faced during their time at university. I concluded that their strength of identity was not only a strategy for surviving the university experience, but it was also a strategy that enabled them to achieve success.

### **Success: Final comments**

The literature states that there are cultural differences in perceptions of achievement. Milner (1972:19) categorises achievement in three ways: motivation: “Do people have a strong desire to do well?”; performance: “Do people in fact perform well?,” which is influenced by things such as tools and availability of resources, and the social reward system: “are people differentially rewarded for differential performance?” The motivational issue for Maori has been explored in New Zealand briefly, over 20 years ago. The performance factor for Maori in the New Zealand education system is acknowledged as being a real problem, and research has suggested many solutions, including access to and availability of resources. The social reward system, I believe actually impacts upon the types of responses one is able to give. Differential reward for differential performance is all-dependent on who defines such rewards and performances in the first place. In the New Zealand context, and indeed in most western countries such definitions are more likely to be made by those in dominant positions, thus leaving indigenous and minority aspirations out in the cold. Again, it points back to the core problem of finding agreed common definitions between and across cultures and cultural constructs and applications.

Milner (1972:12) stated that equality was a “derivative of achievement. Our commitment to achievement is primary, and our commitment to equality is in large measure a result of the former. Equality of opportunity is probably best understood as a mechanism for compromising and reconciling the contradictory aspects of equality and achievement.” Equality of opportunity implies fairness to all, although it is debatable as to whether equality can be deemed a derivative of achievement. The Tainui Maori Trust Board has grappled with this issue of achievement versus equality of opportunity in its education policies relating to scholarship for tribal members. Having not reached consensus on the issue has complicated the way in which the Board has approached the awarding of scholarships: by awarding both. Tierney’s (1997) discussion on the affirmative action policy in the United States has relevance here, as it could be stated that the Board has adopted an aggressive policy of affirmative action in getting tribal

members into higher education. Specifically, Tierney found three main elements of the affirmative action policy: compensation, correction and diversification. This approach acknowledged society's mistakes and sought to correct them and move forward. This has seen a similar approach adopted by the Board. Historically, as has been highlighted already, Waikato suffered as a result of the land confiscations of the 1860s. Through the benefits received from both the 1946 and 1995 settlements, the Board has attempted to correct this issue and to push the tribe forward in its development.

Campbell (1941:181) was of the opinion that the New Zealand education system was one of the most democratic in the world, where the issue of equality of opportunity was addressed in the "policy of easy access to post-primary and higher education." Butterworth & Butterworth (1998:24) found that the notion of equality of opportunity arose from the taxing system operated by the government in the early days of the education system, and from the fact that for "most of its first century, the New Zealand education system interpreted 'equality' very largely as 'uniformity of provision'."

Much has changed since Campbell's analysis, change that has come about largely due to the economy and to the increased influence of New Right theories, which promote user pays and individual gain (Butterworth & Butterworth 1998:26). The state and purpose of the education system has been queried through various tertiary reports, and the impact that the economy has had on how education has been structured noted (see Chapter One and Chapter Four for this discussion). The complex issues that institutions must now deal with include the issue of equality of opportunity without a reduction in the academic standards, creating a system that is more reflective of the community at large, and ensuring that access is not restricted only to those who have the financial means.

Butterworth & Butterworth (1998:24) state that the notion of equality of opportunity has changed through the increasing presence of Maori, Pacific Island and women in the education system, where it was claimed "equality was often an illusion, because 'the system' unthinkingly reflected male values and

requirements.” This reflection has been the all too common experience of Maori, indigenous and minority peoples in higher education, and little has changed in the tertiary education sector despite recognition of this as a problem back in the 1960s.

The University of Waikato has been in the unique position of having a proportionally large Maori student population. It has made some attempt at bringing in extra programmes, like Te Timatanga Hou, which attracted Maori who might not necessarily have been able to qualify for entrance into university. Two of the graduates interviewed for the thesis came to university by way of Te Timatanga Hou. Where would those graduates be now, if that programme had not been in existence? The recollections of these two graduates referred to an introduction to all that the University of Waikato had to offer, and from which they were able to choose. What have the experiences been of other Maori students who have come through Te Timatanga Hou? How can their experiences add to further develop and strengthen this programme – a programme that has been recognised nationally (see Davies & Nicholls 1993) in its ability to positively impact on Maori participation in higher education?

During the 1970s and 1980s, the Department of Maori demonstrated the popularity of the Certificate of Maori Studies programme it offered, which allowed Maori an opportunity to access higher education. Its success during that period was largely because the certificate programme was taken to the people. A suggestion for the University would be to determine whether such an approach has been considered for Te Timatanga Hou to be extended in this way, and to move into the tribal communities that are included within its catchment region. While finances would probably play a major factor in determining the viability of such a proposal, it might also be a good incentive for graduates of the University who have returned home to their communities, to be able to positively contribute to both the University community, and their own.

The University must work hard to re-establish its position as the centre of Maori higher learning, particularly with increased competition from the three Whare

Wananga, two of which are located within its catchment region. It will be interesting to see the effect of such Whare Wananga on future Maori enrolment figures for the University. If there is a marked decline at university, then it must be directed at the point of difference between what Whare Wananga offer to Maori as opposed to the University of Waikato, which at present is a Maori-centred approach to learning, that respects and integrates Maori cultural values, that legitimates Maori knowledge and that seeks tino rangatiratanga (self-determination).

#### Other Notions for Consideration

The complexities of achievement, equal opportunity and access in higher education cannot be isolated purely as organisational problems. This study has found that Maori, minority and indigenous peoples all view higher education as a double-edged sword. Families play a large part in pushing, cajoling and supporting their students through university, despite and because of their fear of what changes such an education might bring about; and this thesis has highlighted such examples. Ogbu & Simons (1998) state that such ambivalence can be characterised and expressed through a number of different identities. One, of which Dehyle's (1995) study on the Navajo is a good example, describes an "oppositional identity," which, because "identities were developed in response to discrimination and racism, these minorities are not anxious to give them up simply because their "oppressors require them to do so" (Ogbu & Simons 1998:178). Those who express the traits of oppositional identity fear that success is at the expense of maintaining one's cultural (minority) identity. The stories of Native American graduates are testament to this fear (Garrod & Larimore 1997). Moon (1993:105) suggests that the introduction of education to Maori by the European changed the traditional ways in which knowledge was transmitted:

Tohunga and Kaumatua were no longer the exclusive source of knowledge. Moreover, information which the missionaries brought with them was not only alternative, it was also attractive and empowering to the individual. As a consequence of this, some elements of Maori society began to tilt from a communal to an individual emphasis.

In essence, therefore, the role of education has undermined the preservation of cultural norms and traditions. The modern struggle seeks to maintain equilibrium between both.

Another area in which ambivalence is displayed, according to Ogbu & Simons' (1998) is the impact of community forces on identity. Specifically, Ogbu & Simons (1998:161) define community forces as being the "study of minority perceptions of and responses to schooling." They go on to state that, due to the largely assimilative and racist education many parents and community members have received, and subsequent difficulties in being employed, such experiences impact on the community, on the family, and on the individual, arriving at the ambivalence described. In practical terms, such ambivalence has resulted in "a strong negative peer group influence that more or less stigmatises academic success" (Ogbu & Simons 1998:179).

The graduates' experiences tended to negate such ambivalence, and instead sought to create a space in which survival became paramount. The implications of community, family and peer influence in the success and academic achievement of individuals cannot be discounted. For institutions grappling with the issue of minority academic success, Ogbu & Simons state the challenge lies in involving the "out-of-school forces" as influencing factors, whose ambivalence towards education would have to be changed in order to effect change.

### **Implications for Effective Policy Development**

Wilson's (1997) discussion on education versus society highlights a complex issue for government and for Maori regarding identification. Specifically, Wilson (1997:335) argues that "to base education on a specifically social or political ideology is peculiarly corrupting." Yet it is argued that education is intensely political, particularly for indigenous and minority peoples. The basis of Wilson's discussion concerns the meanings and justifications for education and its place within, and contribution to, society. Perhaps therein lies the problem. In the New

Zealand situation, there is an ever-increasing conflict between mainstream society and Maori over what education means within two very different cultural and societal contexts. Over time, the dominance of one cultural justification and meaning for education has been to the detriment of the other.

Wilson's assertion is correct in relation to the impact such social and political ideologies have on systems like education. Education is a pawn for both minority and dominant groups, based on the particular ideologies and philosophies held by those in positions of power. At the mainstream level, these ideologies shift according to which political party is in power. In New Zealand, the shift from Labour to National to Labour (in recent years) would leave those affected like a yo-yo in perpetual up/down motion, unsure of which direction education would follow at the next election. Similarly for Maori, it would seem that tribal philosophies towards education could be shaped and influenced by availability of money, prioritisation of strategic objectives and the like. The difference between the vision and actually getting there is the biggest challenge that both the government and Maori have yet to achieve. At times it could be argued that the education of Maori has less to do with actual advancement and more to do with political point scoring.

The contention here is that at best, Maori education policy has been piecemeal and fragmented. Therefore it has been unable to incorporate and affect the targeted population. At worst, it could be argued that this piecemeal and fragmented approach points to either an underlying policy of assimilation, or further highlights the use of policy relating to Maori as a political point scorer, as noted earlier. At a national level, the Ministry of Education has been moving towards assisting iwi (tribes) in developing education strategies as part of its overall Maori education strategy (1998b). While this is a positive move, such initiatives are countered by government persistence on developing policy that still view Maori as homogenous. These contrasting approaches therefore appear to work against each other, and thus, while giving the appearance of working for Maori and iwi (political point scoring), seem instead to be doing the opposite. The development of Maori-related policy at the University of Waikato has not been 'bad,' indeed,

there have been initiatives such as Paetawhiti that urged an incorporation of a Maori ethos and that sought to include Maori needs and aspirations. What has been missing from making such policies effective for Maori has been the lack of implementation. Further, as this thesis has found, policy developed by the Tainui Maori Trust Board has also not necessarily been 'bad' but has been characterised by inconsistencies, which in turn, have impacted on the effectiveness of the implementation.

Canen & Grant (1999:321) have identified the need for "recognition of cultural diversity in educational policies and practices...in the context of multicultural societies distorted by socio-economic and cultural exclusions and disparities." Specifically, Canen & Grant (1999:321) urge a shift in thinking to incorporate the "shift of cultural patterns" in order to "avoid a stagnant and deterministic view of cultural values as static, universal and essentialised." Education and education policy and practice should be used as a way of coming to a greater understanding about the unequal distributions of power and dominance, and as a way of challenging prejudices in these areas.

The difficulty in trying to attain the type of status Canen & Grant describe could simply be put down to lack of careful planning in how to implement policies. In particular, Dyer (1999:45) believes that policies can prove difficult to implement when there is "strong resistance to policy messages, and unexpected outcomes." In 2001, the Labour government provided a good example when it repositioned its Closing the Gaps policy in response to a public outcry against policies that appeared to benefit Maori only. The Closing the Gaps policy had originally sought to identify ways in which the 'gap' between Maori and non-Maori could be lessened, however, this was perceived by general society as being preferential treatment for Maori, and the policy was changed and repositioned to focus on poverty differences rather than what was perceived as cultural and racial differences. Dyer (1999:46) stresses the futility of policy development, given the lack of use of "cumulative and comparative knowledge of successful and less successful implementation experiences" when devising "new innovations."

However, how does one move beyond the blame, the finger pointing and the continual focus on the problem when developing policy for Maori education? According to Dyer (1999:47), one model of policy implementation recognises the contradictory sides that impact on the policy, and views the implementation process as a “process of mediation between competing interests.” It would seem such a simple process, yet one that still has not worked successfully. Johnstone (1987) has identified four key levels which influence and shape education policy-making. The four levels – normative, strategic, operational and administrative – reach across the spectrum and encompasses the broadest approach possible in policy development. However, the key reason why policy makers fail to develop good and effective policy, has been due to their inability to focus across the four levels, which as a result, “become isolated and progress is made difficult” (Johnstone 1987:90). In effect, Johnstone proposes that education policy development needs to be inclusive, citing the need for community participation as a key policy objective in policy development.

Canen & Grant (1999), Dyer (1999) and Johnstone (1987) have all identified the critical role of looking at the widest possible picture when developing and implementing policy. Particularly, they have all demonstrated how ineffective policy can be if simple steps, such as community participation, and broadening the theoretical and methodological framework beyond the dominant position, are not taken into account during the development of policy. The lack of evidence of this approach to policy development for Maori education would perhaps explain why Maori education initiatives have, by and large, failed. As Smith (1995) asserts, the problem has been in government policy-makers deflecting the critical issues towards narrow constructs of perceived Maori problems in their participation in the education system. Such deflection, according to Smith (1995:19), “relocates the problem of Maori underachievement away from implicating the state and its structures.” Similarly, the University of Waikato also appears to have maintained a dominant position during the development of policy initiatives, and have not used the simple steps, such as community participation, that Canen & Grant, Dyer and Johnstone advocate. As a result, Maori have become disconcerted by this approach, evident during the lack of consultation about the University’s name (as

highlighted in Chapter Four at the Kaumatua Hui held in 1990) and recently with the attempt to merge the School of Maori and Pacific Development with the School of Education.

So what are the solutions? Smith's (1995:20) statement that the issue of Maori education must be viewed in its complexity and entirety, particularly seeing the issue of poor Maori retention in education as being "symptomatic of a plethora of underlying problems which militate against Maori as they attempt to gain equality within the Pakeha dominant education system" is a good starting point. All sides within the debate must acknowledge the political situation in which education for Maori is positioned, and that competing ideologies must be worked through rather than against in order to achieve successful change for Maori. Given the number of political influences in the process (both Maori and non-Maori), this will not be easily achieved, or resolved in the near future. Johnstone's (1987) identification of four levels – normative, strategic, operational and administrative - which influence and shape policy making provide a basis for examination of how future policy-making processes may be better developed. Neither the University of Waikato nor the Tainui Maori Trust Board appeared to have encompassed the broadest spectrum (by incorporating these four levels) described by Johnstone. Instead, as the thesis has demonstrated, these two institutions have focused more on the normative and strategic levels of policy development, to the neglect of the operational and implementation aspects of the policies.

Johnstone's model is a possible base from which an explanation of why some of the more positive policies developed for the University of Waikato has not worked. The incorporation in 1991 of the Treaty of Waitangi in the University of Waikato illustrates this point. Walker (1991:12) posited that the inclusion of the Treaty in institutional charters reversed the "educational policy of exclusion" and was the "first clear signal of official commitment to the goal of racial equality through education." However, this study found that the inclusion of the Treaty was not an official commitment by the University to the goal of racial inequality, as suggested by Walker above, but rather as a step towards fulfilling government obligations initiated at that time. Further, Kingsbury's (1993) development of the

strategic plan, Paetawhiti, for the University was also unsuccessful because the University failed to shift its thinking beyond the dominant position, to incorporate 'other' worldviews, as Canen & Grant (1999) suggested. As a result of this dominant positioning, the University rejected the incorporation and inclusion of Maori and a Maori ethos, which underpinned Kingsbury's focus for Paetawhiti. In essence, the failure of the University to address Maori concerns and aspirations because of a fundamental disregard for Maori ways of knowing, has meant that, despite the appearance of Maori issues being addressed in the normative and strategic levels of policy development, this has not occurred in the operational and administrative levels of policy, as Johnstone's model suggests. Further, this has meant that the University has not been in a position from which to challenge the power imbalances created by its own inability to move outside of the dominant framework.

Similarly, the Tainui Maori Trust Board has not incorporated the broad approach to policy development that Johnstone suggests. Particularly since 1995, there appears to have been a lack of careful planning by the Board across policies, which has adversely impacted education policy initiatives. For example, the issue of identity and belonging to the tribe, as discussed in this thesis, has been redefined as a result of the 1995 settlement of Raupatu. Consequently, tribal membership has been restricted, which has been identified by one graduate as having the possibility of impacting negatively on tribal members' decisions to participate in higher education. In turn, this restriction has contrasted with earlier policy decisions, particularly those contained within the Tainui Education Strategy documents (1986, 1991), which are underlined by philosophies of the Kingitanga that include unity and inclusiveness. Further, by moving away from these core Kingitanga philosophies it appears that the education policy process has not asserted its own notion of tino rangatiratanga (self-determination), but rather has become absorbed into the norms and values of the dominant, hegemonic culture.

In order to move beyond these inefficiencies, both the University of Waikato and the Tainui Maori Trust Board must look at how policy is developed, and more

importantly, approach policy development from a more comprehensive and inclusive position that acknowledges Maori ways of knowing that can be implemented in such a way that validates Maori experiences, and seeks to reverse the power imbalances that still exist in higher education. The University of Waikato must ensure that its hegemonic practices as a derivative of the dominant culture are acknowledged and set aside, and it must work alongside Maori, through collaborative partnerships, in developing policy that empowers Maori and realises Maori aspirations. Similarly, the Tainui Maori Trust Board must examine the extent to which its policies have been influenced by the hegemonic practices of the dominant culture, and the relationship of Kingitanga philosophies to policy initiatives. The Board must ensure that if the Kingitanga philosophies are to underpin policy developed, then these philosophies must be extended and incorporated into the implementation and operational policy phases as well.

In order to work together to improve the experiences of Maori who participate at university, both institutions could use Dyer's (1999) model of mediation as a way forward. To make Dyer's model relevant to this context, a Treaty based model, such as that developed by Bishop (1994b) is suggested. A Treaty based model, promotes partnership and a sense of collaboration and cooperation in terms of addressing problems of Maori success. This type of partnership empowers Maori, because it provides a platform on which both Maori and non-Maori are equal, which then validates both Maori and non-Maori ways of knowing, and allows for the development of policy and development that recognises and validates these positions. A Treaty based partnership also acknowledges the tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) of the partners, legitimating each other's experiences and providing a foundation from which more collaborative and responsive policy can be developed and implemented.

### **In Conclusion**

Nearly thirty years ago, Milner (1972:24) stated, "we have relied primarily on the educational sector to bring about the actualisation of equality of opportunity in all

sectors of our society,” where it was assumed that “if individuals had a chance to increase their level of education, they would necessarily improve their opportunities with respect to occupational status and income.” This statement captures the essence of the Tainui Maori Trust Board belief, and reflects Maori opinion towards higher education institutions like the University of Waikato. Get educated and you get more chances at a better job. Get a better job, and then you get more money and move up the rungs of society’s ladder.

The intention of the Board, through its investment in higher education, has been to remove what Howe (1974:45) labels the “economic disqualification” factor, thereby emphasising and reaffirming that the way forward through higher education improves their life opportunities as Milner has suggested above. However, Milner (1972:65) was also of the opinion that money did not necessarily breed motivation let alone excellence in education, stating, “grants tended to be awarded according to ability rather than need.” Milner felt that merely removing financial barriers would not reduce inequalities within society.

The Board has, especially since the settlement in 1995, invested heavily in higher education, in defiance of Milner’s caution. The question is: has the Board received value for money? Indeed, has the tribe received value for money? This cannot be answered until the Board has clarified its process, its policies and its intentions for implementation. However, I would suggest that a more detailed examination is undertaken of the amounts of money being spent on higher education, and the outputs received, through graduating tribal members. The challenge would also be to ensure that such a process would not be at the expense of cultural identification and the maintenance of a tribal identity and unity.

The graduates’ experiences drew typical pictures of the struggling student. Reliance on student allowances, student loans and the family for financial support from time to time characterised the graduates’ financial struggles while simultaneously trying to struggle with the rigours of academic life. Despite these difficulties, the graduates seemed to cope with little or no adverse financial pressure. Instead, their responses in regard to the types of support initiatives lean

more towards identifying things like mentoring and support programmes rather than larger financial grants.

This thesis examined the issue of mentoring and found that the graduates were more likely to have used mentoring in a voluntary capacity. Race did not appear to be a factor in the types of people who provided mentoring services, and the mentoring was based on a more informal relationship-building capacity. One graduate found support from an unlikely source: a senior Pakeha academic. What this shows, therefore, is that the Tainui Maori Trust Board may want to look more at alternative types of programmes, in addition to the financial support that they already provide. Similarly, the University of Waikato must look at how, as an institution, it promotes such mentoring relationships and support mechanisms by creating academics who demonstrate a genuine desire to assist Maori students, through culturally responsive and sensitive advice, as well as critical expertise and support.

Equally, the Tainui Maori Trust Board might also want to look at the types of support programmes they offer their tribal members who participate in higher education, and reassess whether more money in the form of grants is the most effective way of ensuring successful completion.

A related point is the issue of graduates as role models or as examples of success. Again drawing from the findings of the research, the graduates felt uncomfortable acknowledging their success, although they had no problem in being identified as role models if it encouraged others in a positive manner. The graduates point to the need in ensuring that their success is not in isolation, and that is something that I think the Tainui Maori Trust Board has yet to explore. The University of Waikato has increasingly used senior Maori students as 'buddies' to help mentor or support younger students coming through. The Board has tried this through the scholarship seminar series, although the effectiveness of this programme has yet to be evaluated. In order to change the 'out-of-school' forces, which Ogbu & Simons (1998) say characterises the ambivalence of minorities towards education, the positive association between highlighting examples of success (as indicated

from the graduates' examples) and the communities must be an effort that both the University and the Board should consider. The flow-on effects may not be visible immediately, but the most important aspect must be a desire by all concerned to be genuine in their attempts to ensure the effective participation of Maori in higher education.

## **Summary**

The original objective of this thesis was to identify positive examples of Maori participation in higher education. I assumed that the University of Waikato, which has had a proportionally large Maori student population, was an organisation sincere in its attempts to work towards this objective. I assumed also that the Tainui Maori Trust Board, with its long history of involvement in Maori education and its public declarations of support for higher education, was also an organisation sincere in its efforts to promote Maori participation in higher education.

What the thesis has found is that both organisations have demonstrated valid attempts toward addressing this objective. However, what the thesis also found was that much more research is required in order to determine how such programmes and initiatives can be strengthened to focus not just on participation in higher education, but completion as well. The recommendations, as a result of the findings of the thesis, point to a need for all organisations to become involved in this issue – from the government level, down to organisations like the University of Waikato and the Tainui Maori Trust Board. Equally, the experiences of Maori graduates whilst at university help to form a more complete picture of the effect of policies and programmes, and additional experiences must be included within the debate that is yet to be had on finding definitive answers to these complex issues.

Overall, the main hope arising from the thesis is to ensure that future research, future policy and programme development are not made in isolation from the

types of experiences identified in the thesis. Otherwise, the advancement of Maori, minority and indigenous in education and across the social spectrum will forever be about closing the gaps.