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WHAT DO MAORIS IN NEW ZEALAND WANT FROM EDUCATION ?

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In the Journal this year I hope to bring you considered statements by leading educationists from among ethnic groups in various parts of the world. In this issue, we present Mr Turoa Royal's considerations on Maori aspirations for the education of their children. Ed.

INTRODUCTION

This article is the first of four. The articles are a response to four questions, namely:-

- a) What do Maoris in New Zealand want from education?
- b) To what extent has education met Maori aspirations?
- c) What factors lead to lack of success of Maori pupils?
- d) What are the most significant changes which are considered necessary in order for education to fulfil its promises to the Maori people?

Responses to intimately related questions will, of course, be inextricably intertwined to the extent that it would be wise to read all the responses to gain greater insight into the educational context in which the Maori people find themselves.

The articles are written in response to a request by Professor Betty Watts, of the University of Queensland, Brisbane. She has made a similar request to leading educationalists dealing with Aboriginal education. The aim of the exercises is to allow administrators and teachers in both countries to consider the two perspectives in relation to their own minority group in their own school. Such reflections gather more weight when considered in the context of the important relationship between school and society and the need to reflect the society in which the school is embedded. Such insights should assist the administrator to design a school system that meets the aspirations

of the parents and their children - the clients of the school. They have a right, along with school authorities, to determine within national guidelines the type of education their children should receive. One can argue further for such a right on the basis that parental support can be encouraged by such moves.

The response to each question is by necessity a summary. As such, it falls short of completeness and suffers the danger of ambiguity. It is in this context also that these articles are written.

This article is prefaced by a number of points. *Firstly*, it would be erroneous to suggest that there is one Maori point of view. However, it is possible to summarise the major perspectives of Maori educational aspirations. *Secondly*, there are two major research methods which are used to survey Maori viewpoints on the form of education they require, namely - a survey of literature, and expressions of the writer who, as a participant observer in the field of Maori education for the last seven years claims the right to make judgments on the basis of knowledge gained through first-hand experience. *Thirdly*, this article discusses viewpoints dealing with formal education systems. However, it is necessary to be mindful that much of the education received by all pupils emerges from more informal sources including the home, mass media, the community and the like. *Fourthly*, the accepted definition of Maori education refers to the education of Maori pupils and to the teaching of Maori language and culture to all pupils both Maori and Pakeha. *Fifthly*, the writer defines Maori as a person descended from a Maori no matter what the proportion of Maori blood. Pakeha is a New Zealand term referring to people of British or European ancestry.

The answer to the question is relatively simple as a statement. There is no doubt that the Maori wants the best of two worlds.

The report, *Maori Education*, prepared for the Working Party on Improving Learning and Teaching of the Educational Development Conference -(1) in 1974, reflected Maori opinion since seven out of ten members, including the chairman, were of Maori ancestry. The report stated:-

Full citizenship to the Maori is to stand with a foot in both camps. He must be allowed to develop both sides of his culture., Maori and Pakeha and not be compelled to develop one to the exclusion of the other. (2)

The same group argues its point of view on the basis that:-

The inclusion of Maori language and Maori culture within the educational framework is to the Maori explicit recognition of his cultural identity (3) and ... the fostering of aspects of Maoritanga within the school system ... will lead to ... the progression of a greater number of Maoris to positions of authority.(4)

Not only do they link biculturalism with self-fulfilment and cultural identity, but also point out a relationship between the fostering of Maoritanga and the progress of the Maori into positions of leadership and authority. They quote Ronald, who found in his study, that when compared with Maori pupils not learning Maori at school, those Maoris who were learning Maori language valued education more highly, more often reported themselves to leaders of their peer groups, were proud of their Maori descent, had a greater sense of achievement in relation to their school work and were rated more highly by their teachers on a scale of general academic progress. (5) The group also quote Fitzgerald, who found that Maori university graduates in his sample showed a high degree of overt, manifest subcultural participation on their part. He concludes that rather than being assimilated, as might be assumed because of the high degree of socialization that does take place at university, paradoxically they had become truly bicultural. (6) It is possible also to imagine that Maori graduates could reach positions of leadership and authority because they possessed necessary prerequisites in both the eyes of the Pakeha and the Maori. Winiata (7) points out, in his book on leadership in the Maori society, the dual framework in which they exercise their leadership moving from one cultural framework to another and overcoming through adaptation and compromise, the conflicts within two systems of values.

The degree to which the above working party is adamant about the maintenance and recognition of Maoritanga can be gauged by their criticism of the Maori Education Foundation submissions to the Educational Development Conference, 1972, in which it was alleged that the Maori Education Foundation had based the progress of the Maori in terms of only raising the academic and vocational status of the Maori. (8) The working party had this to say about the Foundation's statement:-

However, a policy aimed solely at raising the academic and social status of the Maori people need not in itself answer to their needs and aspirations. Enhanced social status would be poor compensation for the loss of the spiritual and cultural heritage of the Maori people. Yet this is what such a policy reflecting only the values of the dominant Pakeha sector of our society could imply. (9)

The Report of the Committee on Communication Between Schools and Parents to the Minister of Education in 1973 based many of its recommendations on the assumption that schools will be better places for both parents and pupils if they recognise the cultural background of the pupils. Their recommendations on the teaching of Maori language and culture and the required changes in the nature of schools reflect this attitude. (10) Two of the four members of this committee were of Maori ancestry; another member is the Officer for Maori and Islands Education and the chairman is a secondary principal who is acknowledged as running a very successful school based on the concept of multiculturalism.

A number of Maori leaders make similar comments. That is, the school must recognise and make adjustments to cater for the culturally different background of the Maori child if he is to succeed. Such writers include Walker (11), Dewes (12) and Kawharu (13). Walker, a Maori writer and university lecturer, argues for the greater recognition of Maoritanga in schools not only on the basis of underachievement but also on the basis of identity. He writes :-

The ignoring of Maori identity is perhaps the most important single factor within the school situation that incapacitates the child's ability to relate himself to the school.... In the name of equal treatment and equality of opportunity the child is treated in the classroom as if he were a brown Pakeha. (14)

Dewes, another Maori and a university senior lecturer, is most critical of schools in their non-recognition of Maori language and argues that the linguistic imperialism practised by schools is at the basis of underachievement. (15)

Rangihau, a respected Maori elder and a Research Fellow in the Centre for Maori Studies and Research, Waikato University, in speaking to a secondary school principals' course on catering for the culturally different, in Christchurch, July 1974, makes a more dramatic stance on cultural identity by stating:-

I am a Maori; I want to be nothing else but a Maori;
I don't want to be a European but I can say this that
I am happy and can move about with some mobility within
the two worlds. (16)

He goes on to add that he, like many other people, has a lot to be thankful for to the European, and he cites an example that understanding the European people enables him to obtain a greater insight into Maoritanga. (17) Royal and Tapiata argue the recognition of Maori

language teaching on the basis of identity from whence confidence and self-respect derive, overcoming deep-seated Maori resentment of the non-recognition of Maori language, the shame effects of not being bilingual, the achievement of examination success for those fluent in Maori, the building of respect for education and schools in the eyes of the Maori people and the need for bilingualism for young Maori leadership as necessary "bridge builders" between the Maori and Pakeha community. They add:-

There is no doubt in the writers' minds that Maori language has given to Maori leaders of the past and the present a status, an identity, a self-respect and a confidence so necessary to launch successfully into this modern age. (18)

It seems then that biculturalism and bilingualism are prerequisites in the eyes of many Maori people to upward mobility.

It is not so surprising that in *Talkback* it was reported that:-

Many Maori (people) criticized the present system. Problems with English language, home circumstances, a confusion of identity, differing values, a feeling that the education system was 'racist' and 'European dominated' and a feeling that there is a lack of appreciation of Maori culture and values were among the contributing factors advanced by many to explain the present system. A frequent comment was that the system is geared to the Pakeha and not the Maori. (19)

Expressed as objectives, one can maintain that Maori viewpoints expressed above are calling for an improvement in English language, in home circumstances, a greater awareness and appreciation of Maori-tanga in the school system to overcome identity problems, the reduction of value conflicts and a share in the system that should give equal opportunity to all. The views expressed expose a rather over-optimistic view of the influence of the schools. While schools can assist in improving English language fluency, in reducing value conflicts, in assisting in development of a positive self-image, they can have little effect on attitudes held by the society at large, and far less influence, if any, on home circumstances. Nevertheless, despite the optimism, the origin of these expressions is of value for it does provide an insight, firstly, into how Maoris view the school system at present, and secondly, on what they think schools should do to alleviate what are perceived as problems in the education of their own children. Bicultural education is argued on the basis that it will lead to full citizenship. The argument is made on the basis that this

knowledge stimulates pride of race, self-respect and confidence. Because schools participate in societal changes and reflect the values held by the society, one advantage of the public discussions in education as summarised in *Talkback*, has been the opportunity given to the administrator to gauge the educational expectations of at least a larger public opinion than ever before.

McDonald, in her studies of Maori preschool mothers, found that Maori mothers running preschool play centres welcomed Pakeha children even though the presence of Pakeha women, particularly in substantial numbers, posed difficulties, for it threatened self-determination and self-direction. Be that as it may, McDonald quotes the Maori feeling towards Pakeha children in the following way:-

More than that they'll mix with Pakehas. I like them to be Maori and Pakeha. (20)

In other words, Maori mothers wanted their children to participate in the Maori and Pakeha society. Hence they saw, rightly or wrongly, Pakeha children as agents of socialisation.

The documentation of current Maori views is important, for it enables the administrator to assess the role and expectation of the school as he perceives it in relation to the perceptions of its function held by the Maori people. It is clear that at the moment there are discrepancies.

The origins of the present Maori views can be traced back partly to the beginning of the century. During this period there emerged what is known as the Young Maori Party - a non-political group whose objective was to raise the standard of living of the Maori and to give direction and national leadership at a time when it was sorely needed - that is, at a time when culture contact tended to have serious dysfunctional effects on the social, economic, political and religious life of the Maori. Buck, Pomare, Carroll and Ngata are probably the best known members of the Party. These young, university-educated Maori men, steeped in Maoritanga, according to Winiata :-

... stood in two worlds, they represented the Maori to the European, while at the same time speaking to the Maori. (21)

They stood then, as mediators. Ngata seems to be the most visionary regarding the cultural integrity of the Maori. He maintained that the best Maori citizen was loyal to his culture and to his people. He stated to the Te Aute Students' Association at the turn of the century :-

Let us not be false to our people, whatever education may do to us, let it not put us out of touch with them, else our training will be a pitiful and lamentable failure. (22)

Fitzgerald, in his research on the young modern Maori graduate in the late 1960s found that they held similar sentiments. (23) Ngata's stance on cultural integrity is also illuminated when he questions the intellectual prophets of the day who equated socio-economic integration with cultural assimilation. To Professor Beaglehole, Ngata once replied:-

The culture of the Pakeha is not so good that we have to copy it in every detail... perhaps it is a good thing that there are so many differences. (24)

Perhaps the most currently revered, understandable and most quoted proverb in Maori circles which Ngata left in an autograph book of a little girl was the following:-

E tipu, e rea, mo nga ra o tou ao; Ko to ringa ki nga rakau a te Pakeha hei ara mo te tinana, Ko to ngakau ki nga taonga a o tipuna Maori hei tikitiki mo to mahuna, a, ko to wairua ki to Atua, nana nei nga mea katoa.

Liberal translation states:-

Grow up O tender child in the days of your world,
Your hands to the arts of the Pakeha for your wellbeing,
Your heart to the treasures of your ancestors,
As a plume for your head.
Your soul given unto God, the Author of all things. (25)

It is not so surprising that the secondary school located in his tribal area bears appropriately not only his name but also uses the proverb as its motto.

These Maori views of the form of education are not exhaustive. There are many other Maori groups including the New Zealand Maori Council, the Maori Women's Welfare League, Te Huinga Rangatahi, Nga Tamatoa and the New Zealand Maori University Graduates Association also make their stances on similar grounds.

There is no doubt in the writer's mind that the Maori aspires to a bicultural and bilingual state of being. It is not what is

included in schools but what is left out that concerns the Maori. The Maori is saying -

Let me grow to what I perceive as my full stature.
Let me be a Maori because I cannot be anybody else.
My full stature is found in two worlds. The Pakeha world gives me an understanding of the Pakeha. I also want an understanding of myself. My confusion in understanding the Pakeha world arises from my confusion in understanding myself."

For monolingual and monocultural people, who are in the majority, it is difficult to understand this reasoning because they build a world that is satisfying to them. The reward system in life for the Pakeha is in the Pakeha world. The reward system for the Maori is in both worlds. The cumulating effect is that with an inadequate education process he is getting less than acceptable rewards in both. He knows he is deprived of both. Deprived status reduces freedom and provides motives for violence and a permit for its release according to Ritchie. (26) Ritchie points poignantly to the popular song "Freedom's just another word for nothing left to lose". So long as Maori youth feels that even their freedom is prison, prison is no punishment. A frequent reminder of these points ought to have a salutary effect on education administration. This is not to suggest that education is a panacea for all social ills. But it is to suggest that schools do play an important part in alleviating such problems. It is not education that Maori people are concerned with, but the form which it has taken in the past and to some degree is taking at present.

It is necessary for the administrators in New Zealand to note the common agreement that the more formal social forces in New Zealand and New Zealand Pakeha educationalists have with Maori aspirations. Since there is common agreement, then policy-making and restructuring of school systems should follow to respond positively to the recommendations.

The Report of the Commission on Education 1962, stated a similar view. Although there were no Maori representatives on the Commission, a feature which is characteristic of educational planning committees nowadays (27), their statements illustrate the adherence to biculturalism. They state:-

Although there is no retreat from the belief that the Maori child must be equipped to take his place on terms of equality as a New Zealand citizen there is a belief now that in addition, the dignity and

pride of race which are his heritage must be safe-guarded to him. (28)

While the Commission correctly points out that schools cannot nor can ever be, the prime agency in conserving Maori cultural heritage, they recommend that:-

...such elements of his Maori background must be included in his schooling as will give him still the sense of belonging to a race of known and respected culture. (29)

Again, like the Maori Working Party, the Commission view the recognition of Maoritanga as a corollary to scholastic success when they continue the above statement by saying:-

The Maori pupil will then have a surer basis on which to build the scholastic achievement of which he has such a need. (30)

The Advisory Council on Educational Planning makes the point that in the past there has been too much emphasis on the Maori having to subordinate his cultural values to those of the European-oriented system.(31) Stated in another way, it means that the Maori has a right to his cultural values and the school system should recognize the co-ordinate role of Maoritanga for the Maori child.

The National Advisory Committee on Maori Education, a body made up of representatives from various educational bodies is charged with the responsibility of making recommendations to the Minister of Education. Chaired by the Assistant Director-General of Education in New Zealand, the Committee is structured in such a way that the majority on the Committee are Maori people. Since 1957 the Committee has been influential in providing the basis of Maori education policy in New Zealand. They make the point in their recommendations:-

1. Directing effort towards equipping Maori children to realize their full potential first of all within the school system and later as effective members of the community. The recommendations rest on the assumption that to achieve the goal of equal opportunity it is often necessary to take measures that are vastly unequal.
2. Ensuring that the Maori child's self-image is enhanced by his knowledge that cultural differences are understood, accepted and respected by all with whom he associates. The Committee emphasised the steps which should be taken

within the education system to ensure a growing understanding of Maori language and culture in schools.

3. The need for Pakeha people, particularly children and teachers to be made more aware of the cultural values that form an essential part of the Maori way of life in a changing society. (32)

It is on this basis that new policies have been devised for Maori children.

Not only has biculturalism and bilingualism been an area of expressed concern by the Maori and formal education groups but also by individual Pakeha educators. Smith (33), Johnson (34) and McGregor (35), three secondary school principals who have incorporated Maoritanga in their schools, argue that these practices recognise that Maori pupils contribute to the school by way of unique cultural offerings as much as the school can contribute to the pupil; that it helps in school/parent relationships; that the practices encourage retention of Maori pupils; that it gives status to "things" Maori with a consequent "lift" in self-respect and pride in race, and all are more than optimistic about success rates. It is also noticeable that the above are conscious of the need to provide successful education experiences which aid Maori pupils to be competent on Pakeha terms. Thus their philosophy for Maori pupils at least adheres to biculturalism, but all provide evidence in their writings that Maori culture is not the exclusive domain of Maori pupils, thus providing a degree of biculturalism for all who wish to study Maori culture particularly through the language.

Watson, Director of the New Zealand Council of Educational Research, in an address to a teachers' refresher course in 1968, suggests that the teaching service has tended not to recognise Maori pupils as Maoris nor to recognise the cultural heritage to which they belong. He states:-

Despite much profession of good will...it is still evident that the public schools of this country have not taken into account, in any positive sense, the resilience and continuing relevance of Maori values, styles of thought and feeling, social obligations and relationships. ...But if we now take seriously our responsibility...we are bound to recognise that... Maori culture and identity (have) a special value in the eyes of the Maori...we have nothing to lose and much to gain if it (Maori culture) endures forever

...the most serious handicaps now being faced by Maori pupils are our own limitations in perceiving the relevance of the cultural heritage they bring to our classroom. (36)

Watson argues, then, on the basis of relating school to the reality of the situation. He, (37) and Smith (38) warn teachers of the dangers of negative labelling of children such as "the culturally deprived" as it can lead to alibis for ineffective teaching. Smith states that his overseas study in 1972:-

...reinforced my belief that cultural difference only becomes cultural deprivation when culturally biased institutions, schools included, succeed in damaging the fabric of culture through prolonged and consistent attack. (39)

Schwimmer (40), Ritchie (41), Ausubel (42), Lovegrove (43), McCreary (44), Holst (45), and Ball (46) all refer to the difficulties faced by Maori children to span cultural discontinuities in the transition from one cultural context to another. In most cases, though not in all, the gap between the reality and expectations of the home and the school is so wide that Maori children find it difficult to bridge.

Thus, the objectives underpinning the recommendations by the social forces, both groups and individuals, is for schools to recognise and strengthen the bicultural reality of the Maori child. They base their arguments on the psychological, social and cultural needs of the Maori child. They see the educational needs of the Maori child in bicultural terms. The dimension missing in schools is not the Pakeha world but the Maori dimension. Since the recommendations are addressed to the education system and not to Maoridom, it is not too difficult to assume that the change envisaged has to be made by the education system. Education administrators have no mandate over the Maori people but they do over the education system and to a large degree schools are now being asked to conform more to the cultural realities of the Maori community and be partly responsible for cultural enlightenment and cultural transmission on Maori as well as Pakeha terms. The new evolving national policies enable schools to make this fundamental shift.

The table summarises some of the individuals and groups who have commented on and given reasons for their stances on bicultural education for Maori pupils.

SUMMARY OF REASONS FOR BICULTURAL EDUCATION FOR MAORI PUPILS

X	Accepted
	Not mentioned

Identity, Integrity (A Maori is a Maori and has every right to be one.)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Self Respect, Confidence, Pride of Race.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Leadership, mediators etc.		X	X				X	X									X				X		X	X
Maoritanga a strength not a weakness.		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X			X		X		X	X	X	X
Reduction of Discontinuities.	X				X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		
Rapport with the Maori Community	X	X			X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X		X	X		
Kawaharu (1970)																								
Maori Education Report EDC (1974)																								
Winiata (1967)																								
Dewes (1969)																								
Rangihau (1974)																								
Walker (1974)																								
Royal, Tapiata (1974)																								
Ngata (1900)																								
A.C.E.P. (1974)																								
EDC Working Party No. 2 (1974)																								
Parent-School Communities (1973)																								
Commission on Education (1962)																								
N.A.C.M.E. (1970)																								
Holst (1959)																								
Ball (1971)																								
McGreary (1966)																								
Ausubel (1970)																								
Watson (1968)																								
McDonald (1974)																								
Smith (1974)																								
Johnson (1974)																								
McGregor (1973)																								
Ronald (1971)																								
Fitzgerald (1969)																								

x	Accepted
	Not mentioned

- Note : 1. The selection of the reports is deliberate. The selection of individual writers is based on a sample of educators knowledgeable in this area of concern.
2. The underlying goals of all arguments are based on Maori self-fulfilment and all other things being equal, a better basis of educational success.
3. The reasons listed above are not necessarily complete. Other people may perceive other justifications.

SUMMARY

In surveying literature on Maori aspirations with respect to the form of education they desire it is almost with one accord that they make their viewpoints clear. There is no doubt about the type of education that they require.

It is with equal force that other formal groups and individual Pakeha educationalists take a similar stance.

In contrast to an assimilative policy characteristic of New Zealand's education policy for over 100 years with respect to Maori education, it now rests on the tenet that there is more than one legitimate way of being human, without paying the penalty of being different, or of second class citizenship.

Biculturalism and bilingualism are strongly recommended. The degree to which these objectives have been met by action in school and teachers' colleges is a question which will be pursued in another article.

One question which is peripheral to the main point of this argument is the degree to which social forces are recommending the need for Pakeha children to have access to Maori culture as part of their dual heritage as New Zealanders. This point raises the whole question of the degree to which Maori culture, native to New Zealand, is pertinent in the whole process of an evolving New Zealand culture for all New Zealanders. This question will also be commented on in the next article.

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report resulted from the working parties' reports and the recommendations from the public. It was estimated that 8000 submissions from 4000 study groups representing approximately 60,000 people were made. Cited in *Talkback, Report of Public Discussion EDC*, 1974. Government Printer, Wellington, New Zealand, 5.

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MAP OF TRIBAL AREAS OF AUSTRALIA

The Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies has available a map which represents graphically a synthesis of much of the earlier work of Dr. Tindale, and should be of interest to all people interested in the distribution of Aboriginal tribes and languages in Australia. Tribal names are represented in Geographic II spelling, a practical orthography which uses the ordinary letters of the alphabet, not phonetic symbols.

The map, (4 sheets each 83 x 99cm printed in two colours) price \$4.00, post free within Australia, is available from -

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P.O.Box 553,
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