A Regional Study of the
School Based Factors
Affecting Achievement
for Maori Girls in
Immersion, Bilingual and Mainstream
Classes, Units and Schools at
Primary Level in the Wellington Region

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Background to the Research
This study was designed to provide the data necessary for the development
of educational policy at two levels within the Ministry of Education. The
first was at the level of the overall objective for Maori education.  In
the Ministry's corporate plan for 1990/1991, the objective was described
thus:

    "to develop a coherent policy for Maori education that will provide an
overall direction for policy direction throughout the Ministry ".
(Ministry of Education, Corporate Plan, 1991/1992)

The second was at the level of a specific policy project highlighted as one of the Ministry's major policy projects in the 1991/1992 period, 'Barriers to Participation and Achievement for Girls and Women in Education and Training' (Ministry of Education, 1992).

Within the Policy Division of the Ministry of Education, the Girls and Women's Section identified 'Barriers to Participation and Achievement for females in Education and Training' as its major priority for 1991. Within that area, barriers to achievement for Maori females was identified as a major component of that work.

The development of these levels of policy is important and timely. Despite the central importance of Maori education in this country, the area has been plagued by poorly articulated policy for years, where indeed it existed. With the input of the Girls and Women section of the policy division, the development of a gender specific Maori education policy has become a new goal. Policy which positively plans for the educational needs and experiences of all Maori children, Maori girls and boys in their own right, is yet to appear. Though this seems somewhat incredulous in 1992, it remains true.

Take for example the Ten Point Plan for Maori Education, released in 1991 by the Ministry of Education and reproduced here.

1.   Establish principles and guidelines for incorporating bicultural perspectives in the administration, policy development and personnel practices of the Ministry of Education.

2.   Develop a targeting strategy within the Achievement Initiative to remove all barriers to learning and achievement for Maori students in both primary and secondary schools so that they have a strong foundation for later achievement.

3.   Develop policies which foster increased participation rates of Maori children in early childhood education programmes.

4.   Develop policies that will increase Maori participation rates in post-school training/retraining and education to increase their employment options.

5.   Encourage colleges of education and other tertiary training providers to increase the supply of Maori teachers and teachers with competence to teach in bilingual and Maori immersion programmes.

6.   Increase the supply of Maori language learning resource materials.

7.   Provide resources to support Maori language initiatives at early


childhood, primary, secondary and tertiary levels, specifically Te Kohanga

Reo, Kura Kaupapa Maori, Bilingual classes, kaiarahi reo, Te Atakura programme, bilingual teacher education and Whare Wananga.

8.   Provide resources (resources can encompass learning materials, teacher development contracts, syllabi, Maori Language Factor Funding, systems, policies, agreements, funding, advice and support) to support research into: teaching styles most appropriate for Maori learners; the needs of children graduating from Te Kohanga Reo; the effectiveness of taha Maori programmes in mainstream education; the impact of Kura Kaupapa Maori on the life chances of Maori children.

9.   Develop policies that promote home - school relationships and remove obstacles to Maori families becoming full partners in the educative process in order to improve the success and achievement of Maori students at all levels.

10.  Explore the implications of separate structures for Maori education in relation to mainstream education. (Ministry of Education, 1992: 1)

Not once in this statement does word the girl or boy appear. The whole policy is developed at the generic level of 'all children', as if no differences in the educational needs of Maori girls or boys exist, that gender specific educational policy is not necessary. The development of gender equitable Maori education policy at this time in our history, given our current understanding of gender equity, remains poised on the brink of possibilities, despite the barriers which undoubtedly remain. There is a real chance that we can make progress at a rate and in ways which previously have not been possible.

The study: School and Classroom Based Research

Responding to a requirement for further information for educational planning purposes, then, this research is a study of the school based factors affecting the achievement of Maori girls at the primary school level in the Wellington region. Given the wide range of programme types offered at this level in the mainstream, viz, monolingual, bilingual, and immersion classes, the research has included a representative selection. Initially the research was designed to identify the barriers to achievement for Maori girls in these learning situations. During the process of negotiating entry into the communities, however, we were made aware of the rapid changes that some schools had made in recent years and the real need to celebrate what was happening and working in these programme types. In short, the communities challenged us to broaden the focus of the research so that it was not an essentially negative exercise, identifying barriers only. Accordingly, the research focus was expanded so that we were not only concerned with identifying barriers, but also identifying and highlighting positive factors which affect,

perhaps promote, higher achievement levels. This project will address that need and it will contribute to the development of a coherent policy for Maori education, which is sensitive to gender differences between Maori girls and boys.

Given the paucity of research available in this area, this study aims to make a small, specific contribution to the contemporary analyses of Maori schooling by responding to the need for specific information about school based factors that affects the achievement of Maori girls.

Our research views achievement broadly, and follows the tenor of the discussion in He Huarahi (1980), the report of the National Advisory Committee on Maori Education (NACME), about 'what constitutes success' at school. The report notes that in our society great emphasis is placed on 'academic success', ignoring or undervaluing other types of success which, in a society such as ours, it asserts, should also be valued as measures of success. NACME identified that children could aim to achieve success in:

"...academic studies measured in terms of improvement on their previous performance, cultural activities, getting on with other  people, helping people to get on with one another, working with  others in a group, working as an individual, becoming more self  confident, developing creative talents in fields outside the range of  normal school subjects, sporting or outdoor physical activities, becoming bicultural  or multicultural." (NACME, 1980: 8-9).

Our understanding of 'achievement' is similarly comprehensive in nature including, but not being confined to, academic achievement.

Though also highly significant, factors outside the school which affect school achievement have not been included within the scope of this research. A range of factors located outside the school does have a major impact on the achievement of any group of children, including Maori girls, but such a broad focus could not have been attempted in a study of this size. Their impact on schooling in Aotearoa is explored in other recent major research projects such as the Access and Opportunity Project (1990), currently being undertaken by a research team at Massy University led by Drs Richard Harker and Roy Nash We encourage readers who have an interest in this area to consult the findings of this research project for detailed insights.

School based factors which affect student achievement include those which are found across sectors as well as those which are specific to some. At the secondary school level, for example, Lauder and Hughes have recently published findings of their major study of the outcomes of secondary schooling (Lauder and Hughes, 1990). Read together, research reports such as these provide a comprehensive profile of the wide range of factors, school, home and community based, which affect school achievement.

The Research Questions

The research questions for this study appear here as they did in the original proposal:

• What is the nature and frequency of teacher interactions with girl and boy students in the classroom?

• How are leadership and authority roles and privileges distributed in and out of the classroom?

• What is the balance of information about the achievements of women and men in the curriculum?

• How does the curriculum address the needs of Maori girls?

• What is the nature of the use of space and equipment by girls and boys?

• What formal/informal support provisions are there for girl students?

• What is the gender and ethnic composition of staff and B.O.T?

• What views are held by educators as to the role and opportunities available to Maori girls in the three programme types?


The Education of Maori women and girls:  What research?  Where?

The awareness and understanding of the different needs and experiences of girls and boys in education, which the women's movement has worked long and hard to create in the wider community, is yet to have a widespread impact in the Maori community. This despite the fact that as long ago as 1879 Sir Apirana Ngata, in a paper he presented at the Te Aute College Student's Association Conference entitled 'The Education of Maori girls', wrote

"The education of Maori girls has not been neglected. But  it is safe to say it has not kept pace with the training of the boys."  (Ngata, 1897)

Through consultation with Maori women in education, as well from a thorough reading of the literature, it became evident that there was very little research available, virtually no empirical research, which specifically focused on the education of Maori girls and women. A critical need for an accurate and comprehensive research base in this area existed. Indeed, so significant was this issue that the Women's Advisory Committee on Education, in their submission to the Royal Commission on Social Policy, felt moved to state that in itself this dearth of research constituted

"...a measure of the absence of educational equity..." (Women's
Advisory Committee on Education, 1987: 22).

Research into the actual educational experiences of Maori women will
help to ensure that the development of a policy framework for Maori
education does not begin from the kinds of erroneous assumptions that have
plagued the development of educational policy in other areas for decades:
namely, that the educational experiences of any girls and boys are the
same. Just as this can no longer be assumed for the wider population,
neither can it be assumed for the Maori population.

Recent research into mainstream schooling in New Zealand shows that females
are disadvantaged in numerous ways from participating fully in the
education system (Newton, 1988; Alton-Lee et al, 1991; Bird, 1991;
Middleton, 1991; Wylie, 1990). Research has also shown that Maori children
experience barriers to their participation, specific to them as Maori
children (Simon, 1984; Kerin, 1986; St George, 1986; Alton-Lee, 1987;

Cazden, 1988; Hirsh, 1990). Further, Alison Jones' research into the
schooling experiences of Pacific Island girls provides specific details
about a group of girls who face barriers to their schooling which are
specific to them as Pacific Island females within an all girls school
(Jones, 1990).

Research has also established that some groups simultaneously experience
overlapping features of discrimination, gender, ethnicity and class.
Detailed classroom and school based research, however, is now needed to
enable researchers and policy makers to understand in detail how this
happens and what it means in specific terms for Maori girls.

One of the first tasks in this research is the need to establish what the
educational experiences of Maori girls actually are. Spolsky (1987) and
Hirsh (1990) both stress the need for more precise data as a basis for
planning in education. It is critical that this data is gender specific,
providing information about Maori females and Maori males, if we are to
work effectively. At this juncture in our educational history it is a
highly appropriate priority area for the Ministry of Education to be
concerned about. This was strongly endorsed by the communities and schools
we worked in.

Educational outputs

Recent studies have shown that the educational experience in New Zealand is
not a homogeneous one. A number of differences in educational outputs
occur: inter group differences, e.g. between ethnic groups, Maori and Non
Maori and across ethnic groups, by gender, e.g. between Maori and non Maori
women; and intra group differences, e.g. between Maori male and female;
A sampling of these differences, cited from published, research based
literature follows. Inter group differences, for example between Maori and

Pakeha, exist on a range of educational indices in New Zealand from attendance rates at pre-school centres through school certificate pass rates to participation rates in post compulsory schooling and training (Nga Kairangahau, 1991). Intra group differences between male and female from the same ethnic group, for example between Pakeha men and women and between Maori men and women, have also been identified. Patterns which show these differences have been found in the following areas:  the percentage of school leavers with less than three years secondary school education; school certificate grades awarded over all subjects; sixth form certificate grades awarded over all subjects; median income in dollars (ibid). Differences also exist between Maori boys and girls: e.g. in subject choice at school certificate level and in the ten most preferred occupations in rank order in the fifth, sixth and seventh form years (Irving, 1990). Differences across ethnic group membership, between women, for example between Pakeha and Maori women, are found in figures for the lowest and highest attainment leaving secondary school, in the percentages enrolled at university and teachers college, and in unemployment rates (O'Neill, 1990).

The experience of formal schooling then, is, at the very least, mixed in this country. Within this mixed experience, patterns are  discernible which show that some groups do better than others. Demographic and statistical evidence suggests that hierarchies of schooling experiences exist, that Maori girls and boys constitute the lowest levels of these hierarchies, and that there are differences between Maori boys and girls.

Bilingual and immersion programmes

Amidst continuing concerns about most aspects of Maori education positive signs on the educational horizon do exist. One such sign is the evidence to date which indicates that there is enthusiastic participation in bilingual and immersion programmes which is steadily growing. Te Kohanga Reo is still growing as a movement, ten years on from the opening of the first kohanga in 1982. In 1991 623 kohanga were operational (Ministry of Education, 1992). Enrolment statistics show that in 1989 some 45% of Maori pre-schoolers attended Kohanga Reo as compared with 32% in kindergartens, 11%

in playcentres and 12% in other early childhood programmes. Importantly, this growing number of pre school Maori children attending a kohanga is not drawing children away from other programmes, 'significantly, the number of Maori children attending early childhood institutions other than kohanga reo has not dropped markedly'  (Nga Kairangahau, 1991: 3).

Kura Kaupapa Maori are similarly growing in number. By April, 1991 nine were fully functional with official status and state funding, whilst others were in the developmental stages, some already seeking official status. Further, a number of official bilingual schools and programmes have sought official recognition for a change in status to immersion programmes and or to kura kaupapa Maori. Ruatoki, the first official bilingual school, so designated in 1977, is the first due for approval to change its official

status to a Kura Kaupapa Maori. This was approved in 1992.

Immersion and bilingual education programmes have also continually grown at both the primary and secondary school levels in recent years. By 1990 171 bilingual schools and schools containing bilingual units were operational at the primary school level (op cit: 36). The numbers of students in bilingual classes in primary schools increased from 1, 428 in 1987 to 6, 697 in 1990. Of these 91% were Maori (op cit: 7). In 1990 almost 40% of children in these programmes were kohanga reo graduates (op cit: 36). At secondary school level, between 1971 and 1989, a four fold increase in the number of Maori students taking Maori has occurred. In 1971 17% of all Maori at secondary school were taking Maori, by 1989 this had increased to over a third (op cit: 38).

What these participation rates indicate, at one level, is that where being Maori and being educated go together, Maori people are being increasingly drawn to these programmes. A long term feature of the schooling experience of Maori, where choices often equated with being schooled or being Maori, is slowly being transformed.

Although some school based research on Kura Kaupapa Maori and bilingual education in New Zealand has recently been completed, it has primarily been concerned with a range of issues which focus on Maori education at the general level (Smith, 1988; Ka'ai, 1990; Ohia and Maloney, 1990; Reedy, 1990; Jacques, 1991). Despite this research activity few studies have been gender inclusive providing specific data about the education of Maori females in these settings.

Historical Background: The Maori Education System, The New Zealand Education System

Contemporary analyses of education in Aotearoa commonly take as their starting point the formal schooling system that developed after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, in 1840, ignoring, rendering invisible and dismissing out of hand the complex, vibrant Maori education system which served Maori very well prior to the arrival of tauiwi and colonisation, and which exists, in modified form, to this very day. In the Maori tradition education was, to modify a phrase by leading Maori educationist Wally Penitito, 'by Maori, for Maori, about being Maori and in Maori' (1988). Maori development was its vision, its educational processes and its measurable outputs. It is in this education system that the most exciting and successful developments in Maori education today are based. It is from this education system that the most exciting and innovative contemporary educational programmes, including schooling options, stem. It is also in this education system, perhaps not surprisingly, that 'tino rangatiratanga' for Maori has always been, and still is, guaranteed.

Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi guarantees to Maori tino

rangatiratanga over their treasures, The Tainui Education Strategy Second Report 1992 - 1997 (1991) argues that 'those treasures included the education of their children'. When this guarantee is considered alongside that stipulated in Article III, that Maori were guaranteed 'the rights of all citizens of New Zealand, including the right to equitable educational opportunities'. Maori rights to education in both the Maori and subsequent western tradition, were guaranteed by the Treaty. Rather than being able to access two education systems equally well, it seems that Maori have experienced education unevenly, with varying degrees of success.

What is commonly referred to 'the New Zealand Education System', based on the western tradition, is substantially a post 1840 paradigm, in which education for Maori was an entirely different enterprise than that which preceded the arrival of tauiwi: very different goals, processes and, understandably, different outcomes, some not even worth measuring! At the heart of the assertion that we have two education systems lies a major philosophical debate over what counts as education. We are in danger of losing sight of what counts as education, broadly defined, and becoming obsessed with schooling. Far too many people reduce 'education' to schooling, without even taking pause. Apart from the impact of this on the education community, such a limited view has far more serious implications for Maori education. Whereas research shows that mainstream schooling serves Maori poorly, research shows that Maori schooling serves Maori very well; whereas education has been unable to successfully validate matauranga Maori, leaving it marginalised and in a precarious state; Maori education, is alive and well, in some sectors of the Maori community, and thriving!

There is a Maori educational system which predates the New Zealand education system. As a feature of colonisation, the Maori educational tradition has been written out of what counts as education in this country. But, decolonisation, or anti racist education, on its own is not enough to

bring about the kind of educational change necessary for Maori. As important as any programmes of decolonisation or anti racist education are it is the reaffirmation and reconstruction of matauranga Maori that is providing many of the answers to long standing concerns in Maori education today. The most successful examples of Maori education in the last decade, for example the Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori movements, have been based in the Maori educational tradition.

Maori education, broadly defined, is happening mainly outside of schools: as it always has. In time, Maori education is bound to have more of an impact on Maori in mainstream schooling than it is currently having.

Te kakano i ruia mai i a Rangiatea,
kua kore e ngaro.
The seed planted in Rangiatea will never be lost.

How then would we describe matauranga Maori, the Maori education system.

How would we develop a model to represent it. What follows, and is presented diagramatically over the page, is an introductory attempt to explore some of the critical areas which would be part of such a model. It is tentative in its exploration, and should be read as an emerging model in draft form about which debate and discussion is invited.

This stands in direct contrast to the figure headed 'The New Zealand Education System', set out below, and recently produced by the Ministry of Education (1992)

The two 'education systems' are almost unrecognisable to each other, and yet Maori girls and women move between the two, with varying degrees of exposure, immersion and success. Any studies of the education and schooling of Maori girls and women, then, such as this, needs to be cognisant of these parallel education systems, their points of contact, similarity, tension, conflict and difference.

Source: Irwin, Kathie (1992) 'Is there anyone out there with a bag of cricket balls?'. Paper presented to the NZEI/PPTA Colloquim on Education, Beeby Celebrations, Wellington, June 20th, 1992.

Source: Ministry of Education (1992) New Zealand Education at a Glance. Demographic and Statistical Analysis Section, Research and Statistics Division, Wellington.

Source: Irwin, Kathie (1992) 'Is there anyone out there with a bag of cricket balls?'. Paper presented to the NZEI/PPTA Colloquim on Education, Beeby Celebrations, Wellington, June 20th, 1992.

Given what we know about the full breadth and depth of 'education' in this country, neither figure 1 nor figure 2 captures the right kind of mix that

is 'the education system of New Zealand' rather than say the Maori education system or the mainstream schooling system in the post colonial New Zealand society of today. The mix could be visualised in an exploratory using the very powerful Pacific image of a net, capturing the many dimensions and strands that make up the diversity of the education system in this country, inclusive of the schooling system.

Research Design

A significant feature of the design of this research is that kaupapa Maori forms the epistemological base of the research project. The question of what counts as 'education' is viewed through Maori and Western paradigms so that the dominance of Western education, which has been such an overwhelming characteristic of educational research in this country, has been made problematic from the outset. Throughout the research the development of all the normal features of research design and the research process, viz, negotiating entry to the field, designing and confirming the research questions, methods of data collection and analysis, the research timetable, the readership for which the final report is to be prepared, have been informed by kaupapa Maori. It was in keeping with this philosophical position that the final details of research design were completed in consultation with the communities that we worked in so that they had a real chance to influence the actual research design.

Throughout the project we have documented the research process developed so that it could become a legitimate part of the final report, able to be critically analysed by the research and Maori communities. This is an important feature of projects of this nature because there is so much uncertainty in the community about what actually constitutes Maori research as opposed to other kinds of research. Further, there is still much scepticism in the Maori community about research, the need for it and its power to generate long term change once completed.

The project directors went into this research firmly committed to the notion that through research such as this, contracted by Government departments, the research community should be aiming to contribute to the development of positive attitudes towards research by creating positive research environments for Maori to be part of. To this end the Project Directors worked from an assumption that culturally sensitive research, such as this, necessitated that Maori women researcher/s were employed who had:

● a perspective informed by a kaupapa Maori;
● credibility with their community;
● an understanding of how gender overlaps with issues of ethnicity and class;
● an awareness of the importance of accountability for the outcome of the research;
● successful educational research experience.

In short, we defined the qualifications of our research team in
comprehensive ways. The validation and affirmation of Maori credentials was
critical for us, though we accept that for others this is not always the
case in Maori research. Stokes (1985) for example, makes no case for Maori
researchers doing Maori research as we did in this study. Further, she
argues that there is no case to be made on this point.

Often in research the process is hidden from the study, largely
undocumented, though it undoubtedly significantly affects the outcome. This
is not to overlook the mandatory methods chapter in any research report.
But, methods chapters usually catalogue what went right in the research
process, leaving the reader with the impression that nothing went wrong,
that it was a straightforward process which went according to plan from
beginning to end. Experienced researchers know that research is seldom a
straightforward process, despite planning and organisation, yet they seldom
document the whole story. The pitfalls and errors usually remain buried in
the collective memory of the research team to be reminisced over at
research conferences or reunions! Whilst the fullness of the research
process stays hidden, it is in danger of being only partially understood by
those outside the research community, thus contributing to the continued
mystique which surrounds the research enterprise in communities such as the
Maori community.

Throughout this project we have endeavoured to keep the research process
visible and critically monitored. We were sure at the outset that if we
were successful such a process had the potential to: make a contribution to
the development of Maori research; develop a culturally safe research
environment; enhance the outcome of the project in terms of the content and
fate of the final report; the perception of the research in the Maori
community and the experiences of the researchers involved. Finally, beyond
the research process, we considered that this project could contribute to a
community based educational process as well.

The mandate for the research

Within the Policy Division of the Ministry a need was identified for
research to be contracted which provided data to directly support sections
of the Ministry's policy development. This research originated from a such
a need. Early in 1991 Lynne Carkeek and Helen Leahy, policy analysts in the
girls and women section, started developing the first draft of a research
proposal which by October of that year was contracted out as the study
reported here.

From the outset then, this research was commissioned from within the
Ministry. What was critical, however, for the Maori women who took up the
contract, was the need for this proposal to be endorsed by the wider
community as well. What is considered to be a good idea for research by
government agencies, and significant for their work, is not always so

viewed by the communities for whom such work is designed. In order for us to undertake this research with the full confidence that it would receive the support necessary to complete it, and to complete it to the highest standards of research and scholarship, we indicated to the Ministry that we needed to have a mandate from the people, as well as from MOE, before we could proceed. We needed to know that the schools and community endorsed the following assertions: namely,

1.    That this research was significant and timely;

2.    That they would support it and that this support would include full and free access to their schools and children for the research to be successfully completed;

3.    That the research questions developed and methodology proposed were appropriate.

A careful, critical approach to consultation in Maori communities in the research context, such as this, is supported by Smith (1991: 53) who writes of the notion of 'informed consent' and what this should mean.

"This process implies a sharing of knowledge and a form of negotiation between those who do research and those who are being researched".

Accordingly, the Director of the Research and Statistics Division agreed to fund the research through the consultation and negotiation stages in the knowledge that if the community did not give us a mandate equal to that from the Ministry, it would have ended at that stage. Further, the research questions and proposed data gathering procedures were tentative in nature in the original proposal, also requiring confirmation by the schools and communities. Any of the major negotiating parties was free to add new questions, to suggest alterations to either the questions or data gathering procedures, or both. Final confirmation of the research questions and methodology was made in full negotiation with the schools and communities. In fact no community changed the initial questions , though community input significantly changed the focus of the research, from what was perceived as a negative focus on barriers to a comprehensive focus which would enable us to identify positive factors affecting achievement as well as barriers to it.

The consultation and negotiation process

Through the consultation and negotiation process we met with: the whanau and staff of the schools involved; representatives of the Boards of Trustees; Maori representatives of the NZEI, the national primary school teachers union; the local Resource Teachers of Maori and Maori Advisers; and, an advisory Committee comprised of a group of representatives from around the country who are leading Maori and feminist researchers in

education  This process took some two months and involved a range of strategies designed to reach and meet with all the parties in culturally appropriate ways. We tried to reach all parties in a similar time frame so that no group felt that they had prior claims in the process ahead of any other. Though complicated, and not without its problems, the process developed was successful. We: tapped the kumara vine, wrote letters, phoned people, met at hui and small meetings, visited schools, family homes, offices, ran up a large toll bill.

In the end we approached ten schools: we were successful in seven, we did not gain access to three schools, for varying reasons. The informal, community based kumara vine beat us to one school with an immersion programme, the teacher concerned informed us that the school had withdrawn. Though we had made initial contact with the school before the kumara vine reached it, so that they had some knowledge about the research, we had not had a chance to engage in full negotiation with all parties at the school. One school, with a bilingual programme, had been positive at the end of December 1991 when consultation began, but had become embroiled in serious industrial disputes with some of its staff by February of 1992 such that we could not proceed with the study in this school. We withdrew the request. Finally, one mainstream school approached declined our invitation to take part because they had a higher percentage of Pacific Island children than Maori.

From this flurry of activity in our approaches to the schools and their communities came a positive response: yes, do the research; as you have planned it; the results need to contribute to the development of educational policy. For the project directors the mandate was clear and decisive, exactly what we needed to enter into this complex research programme.

The organisation of the research team

The organisation of the research team was based on a modification of the model of whanau. Small groups of Maori feminist researchers directing the project, undertaking its management and completing the field work. In total, the research team comprised ten Maori researchers who were all women, committed to the enhancement of mana wahine. The working conditions within the research team were different, resulting in each level of the whanau experiencing the research process in a different way.

The project directors: worked on all phases of the research; in full time


jobs, over and above their work on this project. The project directors had final responsibility for: research design and methodology; the consultation and negotiation process; the appointment of all staff; monitoring the data collection process; analysing the data and taking it back to each school and community for comment; and writing the final report.

The project manager's position was created to support the roles identified for the directors, undertaking administration, co-ordination with the researchers in the field, and the literature review. Three of the project managers: worked in phases one and two; chose to work part time; and were also doing part time study on masters degrees. The fourth: joined us mid way through phase two; worked with us to the end of July, mid way through phase three; was employed initially at 25 hours per week, then from May on a full-time basis.

The fieldworkers were appointed to work in the schools gathering the data as negotiated with the schools and communities. The fieldworkers worked on phase two only, all worked full time, and were based in schools. One fieldworker worked in three schools, two in two schools.

Proposed Timetable

In order to coincide with the Policy Work Programme, the project aimed to be completed in August, 1992. This would enable those involved in the Policy Project: Barriers to Achievement for girls and women in education, to use the research findings to be able to prioritise and determine a programme of action to provide a coherent context for specific policy initiatives. Our final presentation date was October 1992. By which time, however, the Girls and Women Section of the Policy Division of the Ministry of Education which instigated this research was under threat. Soon after the election of the current National Government moves to undermine the focus and programmes of the previous Labour government on equity issues, including the education of girls and women, have been systematically dismantled. The possible closure of the girls and women's unit is but another example. The positions, it seems, will not be lost. They will be spread throughout the Ministry to carry on the work of the Girls and Womens Unit, all four of them. This, somewhat ironically, on the eve of the centenary celebrations of women's suffrage in this country. Celebrations which the government is helping fund!!!

Research Timetable

Phase One
4.2.1     Stage One - August 1991
     Preparation of the research proposal

4.2.2     Stage Two - September/October 1991
     Developing Research Framework

4.2.3     Stage Three - November 1991
     Consultation

4.2.4     Stage Four - December 1991

Negotiation

Phase Two
4.2.5      Stage Five - January 1992
      Training Package

4.2.6      Stage Six - February/April 1992
      Data Collection

Phase Three
4.2.7      Stage Seven - May 1992
      Data Analysis and Preparation of Draft Report

4.2.8      Stage Eight - June 1992
      Community Feedback

4.2.9      Stage Nine - July 1992
      Preparation of Final Report - Presentation to the Community


Schools and Classes - Background Information

An Overview

Seven primary schools participated in this study. All of the schools were
primary schools : located in the Wellington region; administered by state
authorities; were co-educational; and catered for pupils from new entrant
level through to standard four level. Across this sample of schools, the
following programme types were observed.

(a)  Three immersion classes (two schools - one with two classes)
(b)  Two bilingual classes (two schools)
(c)  Three mainstream classes (three schools)

In order to maintain confidentiality each school was renamed by code, the
code being a selection of native trees.


Table 2.1 - Number of schools and classes included in the study

| Cluster | No. of Schools | No. of Classes | No. of Pupils* |
|---------|--------|--------|--------|
| Immersion | 2 | 3 | 578 |
| Bilingual | 2 | 2 | 362 |
| Mainstream | 3 | 3 | 553 |
| Total | 7 | 8 | 1493 |

* Pupil numbers are based on Ministry  of Education Statistics as at July
1992.

The section which follows is intended to provide background information on
the schools which participated in the study. Wherever possible a
description  is provided of: the school location, the range of buildings
and outdoor facilities and some characteristics of the local community.
Also included in the background information is a description of the size
and ethnic composition of the school roll, and the size, ethnic, gender and
class level composition, of the focus class.

As the description will show, every school, and indeed class, was unique in
terms of size, facilities and demographic composition. However, there were
some basic features and characteristics of the focus classes which were
specific to individual programme types (immersion, bilingual and
mainstream). Specifically, the ethnic composition of the class and the
organisational structure of the class varied across programme types. All
pupils in the three immersion classes were Maori. The two bilingual classes
comprised overwhelmingly of  Maori pupils. By comparison, the mainstream
classes catered for pupils from a range of ethnic backgrounds and in two of
the three classes, European children made up the majority of pupils.

In terms of the organisational structure of the class, all the immersion
and bilingual classes  were vertically grouped. That is, they catered for
children from a range of class levels - in the case of one class, from new
entrants through to standard four pupils. By comparison, the mainstream
classes were horizontally grouped and tended to cater for children from
one, or at the most two, class levels.

Introducing the schools - Totara

Totara was originally opened in 1879 and is located in an inner city suburb
in Wellington. It has 12 classrooms the majority of which are located in an
old two storey block. Outdoor space is limited. Two thirds of the outdoor
playing area is asphalt. In an effort to make the best use of limited
space, a range of facilities have been developed which include a covered
heated swimming pool, a small junior play area, a large architecturally
designed adventure playground and extensive tree planting and gardens. The
local community is made up of families from a diverse range of
nationalities, who come from a wide range of socio-economic backgrounds.
Many of the pupils who attend Totara school live outside the local area.
However, their parents choose to have them attend Totara for a number of
reasons. Their presence from other suburbs, other communities and other
experiences adds to the diversity of the school community. Totara had the
largest school roll in the study with 333 pupils. Its pupils were drawn
from an extremely diverse range of ethnic backgrounds. In total, children
in the school identified with at least 30 different ethnic groups. Maori
pupils outnumbered European pupils in Totara school. At the time of the
study, Maori pupils made up 29 percent of the total school roll compared to
European children who accounted for only 23 percent of all pupils.

Two immersion classes from Totara school were included in the study. The first class, had 15 pupils - ranging from new entrants to standard one. The second class, had 14 pupils who were either at the standard two or

three level. In both the classes all the pupils were Maori. The gender breakdown of the two classes is shown in Table 2.2

Table 2.2 -  Schools with immersion programmes:  Ethnicity and gender of pupils in focus classes

|  | Girls | Boys | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Totara |  |  |  |
| Room 7 |  |  |  |
| Maori | 9 | 6 | 15 |
| Room 8 |  |  |  |
| Maori | 4 | 10 | 14 |
| Kohekohe |  |  |  |
| Maori | 14 | 9 | 23 |

Kohekohe

Kohekohe was opened in 1958 and is located slightly north of Wellington city. It has three classroom blocks and ten classes in total. The physical environment of the school was described in the schools charter as "run down and unattractive despite efforts by parents to provide gardens and play equipment.  The buildings and grounds show long-term neglect and in the past vandalism has destroyed efforts by parents to improve the environment."

The outdoor facilities include: an uncovered swimming pool, a junior and a senior adventure playground and two netball courts. Maori families make up the majority  of families in the community surrounding Kohekohe, accounting for around 70 percent of all families. Families in the community are drawn from a wide range of socio-economic backgrounds although, a significant proportion of parents (54%) are either on benefits or are in lower socio-economic occupations groups. A significant number of children are cared for by a single parent. The population of the local community is transient with children often leaving and returning to Kohekohe more than once. At the time of the study Kohekohe had a total of 211 pupils. Almost half (48%) of the pupils were Maori. Twelve percent of pupils identified with Pacific Island ethnic groups and a further three percent with other ethnic groups. The remaining 36 percent of pupils were of European descent. In this school, the research was centred in one immersion class which catered for 23 Maori pupils. The class levels of pupils ranged from  new entrants through to J3 pupils. In  this class, 14 of the 23 pupils were girls.

Pukeatea

Pukeatea is located in an inner-city suburb and is the second smallest
school in the sample with 164 pupils. It is situated on a large site which
has a number of separate buildings including: three teaching blocks (two of
which are open plan) with a total of seven classrooms, a library, an
administration block, a solar heated pool and a hall. Pukeatea is located
in a low income area with a high proportion of rented housing. For a high
number of families a social welfare benefit is their main source of income.
Many parents in the area are shift workers or work irregular hours. A wide
range of cultural groups are represented in the local community. A number
of local residents are new to New Zealand  and for many of them, English is
a second language. A significant number of children who enrol in Pukeatea
stay for a short time and then move from the area. At the time of the study
Pukeatea had a roll of 164 pupils. Of these, 16 percent of the pupils were
Maori, 22 percent identified with Pacific Islands groups, 37 percent were
European and 25 percent identified with other ethnic groups. The
fieldworker in Pukeatea school was based in the bilingual class which
catered for 16 Maori children ranging from new entrants to standard three.
There were five Maori girls in the class. All of  the children had at some

stage attended kohanga reo.

Table 2.3 -  Schools with bilingual programmes:  Ethnicity and gender of
pupils in focus classes

|  | Girls | Boys | Total |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Pukeatea |  |  |  |
| Maori | 5 | 11 | 16 |
| Kauri |  |  |  |
| Maori | 10 | 14 | 24 |
| Other | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Total | 10 | 16 | 26 |

Kauri

Kauri is located in an outer-city suburb in Wellington and was opened in
1969. It is a relatively large primary school with three classroom blocks
(one with a library attached), a total of  10 classrooms, an administration

block, and an indoor swimming pool funded by the community. At the time of the study,  a kohanga reo was being built on the school site. Kauri  is also a base for a Resource Teacher Maori. The outdoor facilities include two netball courts, grass playing areas, jungle gyms and extensive trees and flower beds. The school community surrounding Kauri comprises a broad range of skills, professions and economic groups, including professionals, tradespeople and  business people. The school estimates that the majority of families in the community are drawn from predominantly middle-lower socio-economic backgrounds. At the time of the study, Kauri had 206 pupils. Maori children accounted for around 27 percent of all pupils and Pacific Islands children made up two percent of the total roll. In Kauri, the research was based in the bilingual class which catered for 26 pupils. The bilingual class was set up in 1990 as a language enrichment class. Due to enthusiasm, parental and community support, the class has developed into a bilingual class. Over the period of this study, the children in this class had two relieving teachers and a trainee teacher. Twenty four of the 26 pupils were Maori and two children were of  European descent. Of all the classes in the study, the class at Kauri had the widest range of class levels - from new entrants through to standard 4 pupils. All of the children in the class had attended kohanga reo.


Korimako

Korimako is located on the outskirts of an inner-city suburb in Wellington. Korimako was the smallest of all the sample schools with only four classrooms (two of which were in a prefabricated building). Other school buildings at Korimako included: a library, an office, the staffroom and a prefabricated building which was used as the assembly hall. At  Korimako the school grounds are spacious and include the following outdoor facilities: a sealed entrance, a car park, a netball court, a small open unheated swimming pool, an adventure playground and a large playing field. The pupils in Korimako are drawn from some established communities as well as some new sub-divisions. A range of socio-economic groups are represented in the local community. Results from a survey conducted by the school in 1989, showed that around one quarter of the local community were non-European and that Maori made up around half of this group. At the time of the survey, around 70 percent of parents in the community were in paid employment. Korimako had the smallest school roll with 77 pupils, 26 percent of whom were Maori and four percent of whom identified with Pacific Islands groups. The focus class in Korimako had 12 pupils - 8 girls and 4 boys. Of these, three of the pupils were new entrants and nine were at J1 level. There were 4 Maori pupils in the class.


Mahoe

Mahoe was opened in 1950. It is a large primary school which is located in an outer-city suburb in Wellington. It has 16 classrooms and its current facilities include a well stocked library, a satellite classroom, an art

room, a reading recovery room, a large staff room, a dental clinic,
administration offices and school hall. Mahoe has a playcentre situated on
site. The outdoor  facilities at Mahoe include large playing fields, three
netball courts, an outdoor pool an adventure playground and a sealed quad.
Mahoe is located in an average-lower socio-economic housing area. Families
in the community are mobile and move frequently, which has tended to upset
the educational patterns of some pupils. The school has estimated that
almost one quarter of its pupils live in single-parent homes. At the time
of the study, Mahoe had 334 pupils. Almost one-quarter (23%) of the pupils
were Maori, half (50%) were European and 27 percent of children identified
with "other" ethnic groups. At Mahoe the research was based in a class

which operated a mainstream programme. There were 24 pupils in the class
all of whom were at J2 class level. Almost half of the class (11 out of 24)
were Maori. There were five Maori girls in the class and five girls from
other ethnic groups.

Table 2.4 -  Schools with mainstream programmes:  Ethnicity and gender of
pupils in focus classes

| | Girls | Boys | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Korimako** | | | |
| Maori | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| European | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| Total Class Roll | 8 | 4 | 12 |
| | | | |
| **Mahoe** | | | |
| Maori | 5 | 6 | 11 |
| Pacific Island | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| European | 3 | 7 | 10 |
| Other | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Total Class Roll | 10 | 14 | 24 |
| | | | |
| **Harakeke** | | | |
| Maori | 5 | 8 | 13 |
| European | 3 | 3 | 6 |
| Other | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Total Class Roll | 9 | 11 | 20 |

Harakeke

Harakeke is located in an outer city suburb in Wellington. Harakeke was
opened in 1955 to cater for families who had moved into the area as a
result of a new Housing Corporation development. School buildings at
Harakeke include: two large classroom blocks which contain 12 classrooms,
administration offices, a dental clinic and a school hall. A kohanga reo is

located on site at Harakeke. Harakeke also has a language enrichment class
in operation. The outdoor facilities at Harakeke include an outdoor
swimming pool, a playing field suitable for summer and winter games, two
netball courts and a junior and a senior playground. A programme for
landscape redevelopment which will is currently underway which is intended
to enhance the school greatly. Harakeke is located in a low socio-economic
housing area in which the majority of the families are Maori. In line with
the composition of the community, almost 80 percent of the pupils in
Harakeke are Maori. Of the seven schools included in the study, Harakeke
had the highest proportion of Maori pupils. At the time of the study 8 in
10 (80%) of pupils at Harakeke were Maori.  A further six percent of
children identified with Pacific Islands groups, and thirteen percent of
children came from European and other ethnic groups. In Harakeke, the
fieldworker was based in a class which followed a mainstream programme. At
the time of the study, the class had 20  J1 and J2 pupils. Almost two
thirds of the pupils in the class were Maori. There were five Maori girls
in the class.

Results:  Question 1

What is the gender and ethnic composition of staff and Board of Trustees?

Introduction

This section begins with an analysis of the gender and ethnic composition
of teaching and non-teaching staff  in each of the programme clusters. Here
emphasis is given to identifying:

(a)  The level of representation of: Maori, women and Maori women amongst


staff.
(b)  The positions held by Maori, women and Maori women.

The analysis is presented at two levels. The first compares the profile of
staff in this sample, with a national profile of teachers taken from the
results of a recent survey by the Ministry of Education of the Education
Workforce (1992). This comparison, highlights some important similarities
and differences between the characteristics of schools in this particular
sample and the "average" New Zealand primary school. The second level of
analysis compares the gender and ethnic composition of staff across the
three programme clusters.

The section which follows examines the level of representation of Maori
pupils in each of the programme types. This then provides a basis to assess
how well Maori staff are represented, relative to the proportion of Maori
pupils in  each of the programme types.

The final section of this chapter examines the gender and ethnic
composition of members on the Boards of trustees. Again emphasis is given

to identifying firstly, the level of representation of: Maori, women and
Maori women and secondly, the positions held by Maori, women and Maori
women.

Procedure

The ethnic profile of pupils in the different programme types is based on
school enrolment records as at 31 July, 1992 which are collected by the
Ministry of Education. The data on staff and Board of Trustees was
collected by fieldworkers who asked staff to provide a  range of
information about their gender, ethnicity, and the position they held. The
methodology used to classify data, and issues which arose during
classification are set out in the methodology chapter.

Gender and ethnic composition of Staff

In total, the fieldworkers identified a total of 129 staff in the seven
schools included in the study.   Of these staff, 85 were employed in
teaching positions and 44 were employed  in a non-teaching capacity.   The
number of teachers varied across programme types ranging from 23 teachers
in the bilingual cluster to 33 teachers in the mainstream cluster (Table
5.1).

Table 5.1 - Number of teaching and non-teaching staff across school
clusters

| Programme Type | Teaching | Non-teaching | Total Staff |
|---|---|---|---|
| Immersion | 29 | 13 | 42 |
| Bilingual | 23 | 10 | 33 |
| Mainstream | 33 | 21 | 54 |
| Total | 85 | 44 | 129 |

The total number of  non-teaching staff  ranged from ten in the bilingual
cluster to 21 in the mainstream cluster.  Half of the 44 non-teaching
staff,  were employed as teacher "aides" a classification which for the
purpose of this analysis includes: teachers aides, teacher assistants, aids
for pupils with special needs, and teacher trainees.  The remaining non-
teaching staff were employed in either clerical, caretaking or cleaning
positions.

Maori representation amongst staff

Of the 129 staff working in the seven schools included in the study, 23
identified as Maori representing 21 percent of all teaching staff. Two of
the mainstream schools had no Maori staff members. Of the Maori staff, 18
were in teaching positions (this includes kai awhina and kai arahi reo) and
five were in non-teaching positions. Table 5.2 shows that Maori staff in
this sample were twice as likely to hold teaching as non-teaching
positions. This is a significant divergence from national trends whereby
Maori staff are more highly represented among non-teaching than teaching
staff.

Table 5.2 - Number of Maori and Non-Maori staff in teaching and non-
teaching positions

| | Number of Staff in Sample: | | Percent of Maori: | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Maori | Total | Sample | Nationally* |
| Teaching | 18 | 85 | 21.2 | 5.7 |
| Non-Teaching | 5 | 44 | 11.4 | 9.1 |
| Total | 23 | 129 | 17.8 | 6.8 |

* Source: Education Workforce Census, Ministry of Education, 1992

When kai awhina and kai arahi reo are classified as "teachers", around one
in five (or 21%)  teaching staff in the sample schools were Maori. This
figure is three times that reported in the Education Workforce Census which
showed that only seven percent of all primary teachers were Maori (Ministry
of Education, 1992).

The analysis which follows is based on programme type. It reveals that the
high proportion of Maori teachers in the total sample (21%), reflects the
visibility of Maori teachers in the schools with immersion and bilingual
classes.

Figure 5.1 shows that the number of Maori teachers in schools with
immersion classes was six times the number of Maori teachers in schools
with mainstream classes. This is a significant difference given that the
total number of teachers in both these clusters in roughly comparable (29
teaching staff in immersion schools, compared to 33 teaching staff in
mainstream schools).

It is worth noting that although the number of Maori teachers in the
mainstream programmes appears low relative to immersion and bilingual
programmes, it is not low by national standards. In fact, it reflects
closely the level of Maori representation amongst staff in the "average New
Zealand primary school".

When kai awhina and kai arahi reo are excluded from the analysis, the

proportion of Maori teachers in the sample drops to 18 percent, a figure
which is still twice the national level. Figure 5.1b shows that without kai
awhina and kai arahi reo, Maori staff are still well represented in the
immersion cluster, although Maori representation in the bilingual cluster
is lessened.

Across the seven schools, four Maori teaching staff held positions of
authority (principal, deputy principal or senior teachers).

Table 5.3 - Positions held by Maori and European Teaching Staff

| Position | Maori | European |
|---|---|---|
| Principal | 1 | 6 |
| Deputy Principal | 3 | 6 |
| Senior Teacher | 1 | 2 |
| Teacher | 8 | 49 |
| Kai awhina | 3 | 0 |
| Kai arahi reo | 2 | 0 |
| Total | 18 | 63 |

Female representation amongst staff

Consistent with national trends, women made up the majority (around 80
percent) of teaching staff in each of  the schools under study. Figure 5.2
shows that  this trend was true across all programme types.

In contrast to national trends, women in the schools under study had a high
profile in teaching positions of  authority such as principals, deputy
principals and senior teaching positions than would be expected given the
Education Sector Workforce results. The Education Workforce Sector survey
showed that on average, women accounted for three out of every ten primary
school principals in New Zealand. In this study, women were principals in
five of the seven sample schools. One of these women was Maori. Women were
principals in both the bilingual, both the immersion and one of the
mainstream schools.

Women also accounted for the majority (79%) of non-teaching staff in the
schools under study. Whilst the total number of non-teaching staff varied
across programme types, gender specific patterns of employment were clear.
Teacher aiding and clerical roles were, without exception, fulfilled by
women (Table 5.4). Whereas, caretaking was clearly a male domain. Of the
seven caretaking positions, six were held by men. The one exception was in
a mainstream school where a women held the position of "groundsperson".

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NZARE Conference, Geelong, 1992
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for Research in Education

Table 5.4 - Number of women and men in non-teaching positions

| Position | Women | Men | Total |
|----------|-------|-----|-------|
| Teacher aides | 22 | 0 | 22 |
| Caretakers | 1 | 6 | 7 |
| Cleaners | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| Clerical | 8 | 0 | 8 |
| Total | 35 | 9 | 44 |

Representation of Maori women amongst staff

The Education Sector Census showed that Maori women were less likely than Maori men to hold positions of authority and were more likely to be in non-teaching than teaching positions. Neither of these trends held true in this sample of schools. Fourteen of the 18 Maori teaching staff in the sample were women. Four of these women held positions of authority - one was a principal, two were deputy principals and one was senior teacher.

Table 5.5 - Teaching positions held by Maori and European women and men

| | Maori | | European | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|
| Position | F | M | F | M |
| Principal | 1 | 0 | 4 | 2 |
| Deputy principal | 2 | 1 | 4 | 2 |
| Senior teacher | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Teacher | 6 | 2 | 43 | 6 |
| Kai awhina | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Kai arahi reo | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 14 | 4 | 53 | 10 |

Ethnic composition of the pupil population

The total number of pupils in each of the programmes types, ranged from 362 in the bilingual cluster to 639 in the mainstream cluster. The mainstream cluster had the largest number, and percentage of Maori pupils (Table 5.6).

Table 5.6 - Number of pupils in schools included in the study*

| Programme Type | All Pupils | Maori Pupils | Maori Pupils | No. of Schools |
|----------------|------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|
| | | No. | (%) | |

```
Immersion 578  222  38.4 2
Bilingual 362  75   20.7 2
Mainstream     553  266  48.1 3

National Total 420,064   87703     20.9 2535
```

* Pupil numbers are based on Ministry of Education Statistics as at July 1991.

On average,  Maori pupils made up 48 percent of all pupils in the mainstream cluster - a figure which is more than twice the national average of 21% (Figure 5.3). The reason for this is that one of the school had a very high Maori population (81%), inflating the level of Maori

representation for mainstream schools. The other two schools were far more representative of the "average" primary school with 22% and 24% Maori pupils.  In the bilingual cluster, the proportion of Maori pupils mirrored the national level at 21 percent. A much higher proportion (38%) of the pupils in the immersion cluster  were Maori which reflects the ethnic composition of the school communities.

How representative are the teaching staff of the pupil population?

Often the concept of "proportional representation",  is used to assess how well represented  Maori are in various organisations or sectors (see for example, Ministry of Education, 1992). In the context of this research, for proportional  representation to occur, the proportion of Maori teachers in a programme cluster should be roughly equal to the proportion of Maori pupils in that cluster.

Relative to the pupil population, Maori staff were well represented in the immersion and bilingual clusters.  Figure 5.4 shows that in the immersion schools, the proportion of Maori teachers (41%) not only matched the proportion of Maori children (38%), but slightly bettered it.  In bilingual schools, the proportion of Maori teachers was also comparable to the proportion of Maori children in the school with Maori accounting for 21 percent of all pupils and 19 percent of all teachers.

On a student population basis, Maori teachers were under-represented in mainstream schools where  proportionately, there were more than five times as many Maori children as teachers.  Maori made up 48 percent of all pupils in mainstream and only 7 percent of all staff.

Gender and ethnic composition of Board of Trustees

Maori representation on Boards of Trustees



Across the seven schools in the sample, there were a total of 57 Board of
Trustee members. Two of the seven schools (one bilingual and one
mainstream), had no Maori members on their Board of Trustees. Across the
remaining five schools, twelve Board of Trustee members identified as
Maori, representing 21 percent of all board members. This is a level of
Maori representation which is substantially higher than levels reported in
other surveys (Table 5.7).

Table 5.7 - Maori  representation on Boards of Trustees (as a percent of
all Board members)

| Survey^ | Maori |
|---|---|
| Garden (1989) | 12 |
| Wylie (1990) | 8 |
| Johnston (1991) | 3 |
| Wellington Sample | 21 |

     ^ An overview of the nature and findings of these surveys is presented
in the literature  review in the final report.

Figure 5.5 shows that Maori were most visible on Boards of Trustees in the
immersion cluster, where both of the schools had Maori members. Maori
representation in the bilingual and mainstream clusters was also high,
considering that one school in each cluster had no Maori members on their
Boards.

Female representation on Boards of Trustees
Each of the seven schools in the sample had women on their Boards of
Trustees. In four of the seven schools, women were the majority. Two of the
Boards had less than three women. All of the Boards had three or more men.
Overall,  51% of the Board members  in this sample were women - a level of
representation which is comparable to those reported in other surveys
(Table 5.8).

Table 5.8 - Female representation on Boards of Trustees (as a percent of
all Board members)#

| Survey | Females | Males | Non-Response |
|---|---|---|---|
| Garden (1989) | 45 | 55 | - |
| Wylie (1990) | 48 | 42 | 8 |

```
        Wellington Sample   51   49   -

        # Includes elected and co-opted members
```

Three of the seven schools (one bilingual and two mainstream) had no Maori women on their Boards. Maori women outnumbered Maori men on Boards of Trustees. In total, nine of the twelve Maori trustees (across the seven schools) were women. Whereas, European men outnumbered European women on Boards accounting for 23 out of 42 Board of Trustee members.

Female representation in positions of authority

In the sample schools, women were equally as likely as men to hold positions of responsibility on the Boards of Trustees. Across the seven Boards four women served as chairpersons and there women four women acting as treasurers. Five out of eight secretaries were women.

Table 5.9 - Positions held by women and men on Boards of Trustees

| Position | Women | Men | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chairperson | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| Secretary | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| Treasurer | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| Members | 16 | 19 | 35 |
| Total | 29 | 28 | 57 |

Maori women were less likely than European women to hold positions of responsibility on Boards of Trustees. Of the 19 European women on Boards of Trustees, three held chairpersons positions, four were secretaries and five were treasurers. There was only one school where Maori women held positions of responsibility. In this mainstream school, Maori women held the three key positions (chairperson, treasurer and secretary). In the other six schools, Maori women served as Board members (Table 5.11).

Table 5.10 - Positions held by women on Boards of Trustees

| Position | Maori | European | Pacific Islands |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chairperson | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| Secretary | 1 | 4 | 0 |
| Treasurer | 1 | 5 | 0 |
| Members | 6 | 7 | 0 |
| Total women | 9 | 19 | 10 |

Conclusion

Te Kupenga o te Matauranga - the New Zealand Education System

Research such as that presented here, which aims to study the education of children who move between the Maori and the New Zealand education systems, must at some level acknowledge and incorporate the parallel systems that exist because for Maori they touch in significant places. This is not necessarily the case for non Maori, able to move through one part of the education system unaware of and uninformed about the other.

This is not to suggest that this research could or should only draw from the Maori tradition, ignoring all that is part of its New Zealand counterpart. That would also provide an incomplete analysis given the impact that the New Zealand tradition has had. However, education has been plagued for decades with partial analyses, located in a post 1840 paradigm, which have created a huge mass of people who are unable, or unwilling, or both, to validate the complex educational history of this country, not just that which followed the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi . Weaving both educational traditions together into 'Te Kupenga o te Matauranga' is the challenge of Maori and bicultural education in this country. For it is in 'Te Kupenga o te Matauranga' that the girls in this study are 'educated'.

Research design and process

The original proposal suggested that a Maori feminist researcher should undertake the study. For various reasons, many of which relate to the logistics of such a suggestion, it was felt that this was not the most preferred option for research of this kind. Such researchers are rare, and the availability of those with the necessary qualifications, is highly problematic. More significant than this is the nature of the research proposal that would be developed if this option were preferred.

Instead, what was suggested was a model in which a whanau of Maori feminist researchers would direct the project, employing Maori women from each of the communities selected to undertake the research with and for their own whanau, hapu and iwi. Characteristics of this model would include careful consultation and negotiation with Maori communities involved at every stage of the research process and maximum empowerment through the research process. Though such processes are crucial in all Maori research, they are even more pivotal, and have needed to be more sensitively handled for this project, in particular, because it deals specifically with the education of Maori girls.

We needed to build in to the whole research design the greatest levels of participation, support and input from the community as a plan to bring them all into the kaupapa of this research. With such a design we aimed to develop a powerful research process which: was based in kaupapa Maori; aimed to empower and enskill a group of Maori women with research skills and feminist understandings; and which took research into a group of Maori communities and the schools that serve them, which was positive and useful.

Summary of the findings of question 1 - Staff

Five of the seven sample schools had Maori staff members. Around one in five  (or 21%) of all teaching staff in the schools under study were Maori. Maori staff in this sample were twice as likely to hold teaching as non-teaching positions. Maori staff were most visible in schools with immersion programmes, representing 41 percent of all teaching staff.  Maori staff were least visible in mainstream programmes representing six percent of all teachers. Both Maori and European women, in the schools under study, had a high profile in teaching positions of authority such as principals, deputy principals and senior teachers.

Boards of Trustees

Five of the seven sample schools had Maori members on their Boards of Trustees. Maori Board members were most visible in the immersion cluster. All of the schools had women members on their Boards of Trustees. Overall, women were well represented in positions of responsibility. However, whilst Maori women outnumbered Maori men on Boards of Trustees, they were less likely than European women to hold positions of responsibility.

The final report of this study draws together the analysis from all the research questions, a task too big for a paper of this kind, and offers suggestions, in the form of recommendations, about changes that data from this research support.

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