"You Maaris get everything"
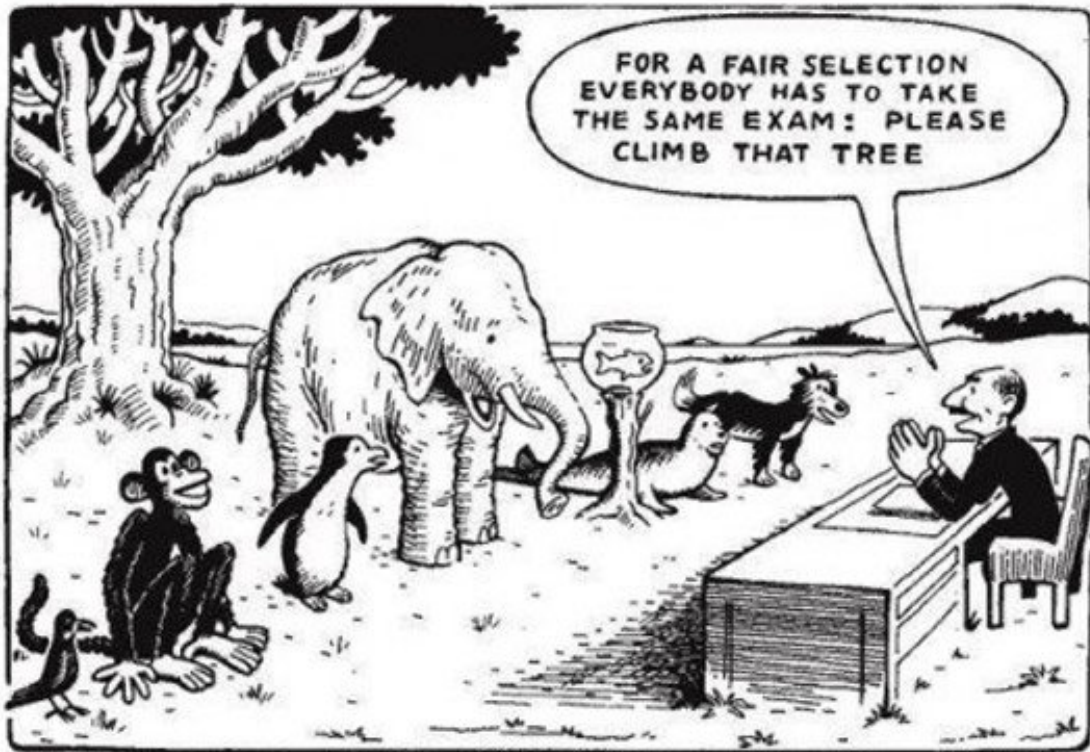## Trequity Measures at the University of Otago

A thesis submitted for the fulfilment of the requirements for a Master of Arts in Indigenous Development at the University of Otago, Dunedin

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He mihi aroha tēnei ki tōku Māmā me tōku Nanny. Ko rāua e whakapau kaha ana ki te tautoko i a au me āku mahi. Ahakoa kua haumūmū te reo o tōku Nanny ki te ao, kei te ora tonu koe i aku whakaaro. Ki a koe tōku Māmā, ko koe te poutokomanawa o tōku whare. E kore rawa tēnei puna aroha e mimiti.

Rozella Borell   Te Haumiri Borell

Abstract

'You Maaris get everything', 'it is easy for you to get a scholarship because you are Māori', 'you will get into Medicine easier because you are Māori' and 'Māori get special treatment' are all phrases that are commonly heard within a competitive university environment such as the University of Otago. These phrases are associated with Māori-targeted support services, Māori-targeted scholarships and Māori-targeted admission schemes. The New Zealand media also promotes terminology such as preferential entry and special measures that perpetuate the negative stigma surrounding privilege. This thesis was undertaken to find out what can be done, at the University in particular, to eliminate this negative stigma. I used a *whakapapa* (genealogy, history) methodology to explain the purpose of Trequity Measures – the term I have developed – in relation to the importance the Treaty of Waitangi and highlighting educational inequities for Māori. Staff and students that were involved with, and recipients of Trequity Measures, were interviewed enabling them to share an important voice that had been hidden within the literature. Their experiences are the key to eliminating the negative stigma attached to Trequity Measures of the University.

Prologue: the *whakapapa* of this thesis topic

Above is my *pepeha* (acknowledgement of identity), and on my mother's side I come from Tauranga, in the Bay of Plenty. So how did a young woman from Tauranga Moana come to study a Master of Arts in Indigenous Development at the University of Otago? Well, a lot of things happened in order for me to be sitting here typing this thesis. The following is the *whakapapa* of this topic. It is also how I have come to position myself within this thesis as both participant and researcher.

In my Honours dissertation I first approached a similar topic and this thesis is an extension of that (Wharerau, 2013). This topic came about because of experiences I have had since the last year of high school. When everybody in my year group was preparing for university, I recall many of my Pākehā (European New Zealand) classmates insisting on things that at the time absolutely confused me. These included comments surrounding the notion that just because I was Māori; I would get a Māori scholarship: I would get into any university that I wanted to go to 'because it is easier if you are Māori'. At the time, I had no real understanding of what it was that they were talking about, and had no response to their arguments.

Just a short time after that conversation I applied for an *On Campus Experience*, OCE, at the University of Otago. When I received the phone call from the Māori Liaison Officer at the time, Tia Greenstreet, I was absolutely in awe. A group of 17

Māori Year 13 students from all around New Zealand were afforded an all-expenses paid trip to visit the University and see what it could offer us and what we could offer them. Of course we all fell in love with the University as soon as we saw how grown-up the Central Library was, how big the rooms were at Hayward College, how flash Arana College was, and how much each Department that we visited seemed to really want us to study with them.

With my heart set on coming down to Otago the following year (2010), all of the OCE recipients were encouraged to apply for the Māori and Pacific Island Entrance Scholarship (MPIES). The scholarship was $10,000 and could go towards either your Halls of Residence or your course fees. Being awarded the MPIES was the only way I was able to afford to study at the University because it payed for my accommodation.

In my first year of study at the University, I lived at one of the many Halls of Residence's, Hayward College. While I was studying a Bachelor of Arts in Psychology and Indigenous Development, many of my friends in the Hall were studying Health Sciences First-Year (HSFY). This is the required course to get in to any of the Professional Health Sciences (Medicine, Pharmacy, Physio, Dentistry, and so on). I distinctively remember having a conversation with one of my friends who wanted to go into Second-Year Medicine. Amongst one of the most confusing and heated conversations I have ever had, he exclaimed, "if you were in Health Sci [Health Sciences First-Year], and you applied for Med [Medicine], you would get in on a lower grade than me, even if I got all A+'s and even then I'm unsure if I would get in…it's so unfair, just because you're Māori; I wish I was Māori". By this time, I

knew how idiotic he sounded but I could not piece the words together to respond because I was still uncertain that I knew that what he was saying was not true.

Over the course of my five years – this is my sixth – at the University, I have regularly come across this attitude. Whether it has been in conversations with classmates, friends (non-Māori, and Māori), on Facebook or around election times, this attitude is common within the University of Otago, if not all New Zealand universities. It is surrounded by discourse such as: "you Maaris get everything", "you get into Med easier", "you do not have to try as hard as us", "you get scholarships easier just because you are Māori" and "I wish I was Māori just so I could get that special treatment". At this point in this thesis, this is all anecdotal. However, one of the aims of this thesis is to shed some light on these negative perceptions and attitudes and have a response when challenged with it.

Acknowledgements

They say your Honours year is hard, and I say, "no way Jose, your Masters year is way harder". I say year but I actually mean 13 months because there was no way I was going to submit this thesis on its original submission date, 24th February 2015. In saying all that, there are plenty of people I need to acknowledge for having my back along this very intense, soul-searching journey.

The first words of extreme gratitude have to go to the participants of this research, the most important aspects of this thesis. Your experiences and feelings have shaped this thesis into something I am, and you all should be, very proud of. I am aware how sensitive this topic is and so I thank you all for how honest and open you have been. I know you all have read some of this thesis (the parts where I've used your quotes #famous), but I hope one day you take the time to read a little bit more to see why I chose you all to be interviewed. Ngā mihi mahana ki a koutou katoa!

To my supervisors, Lyn and Paerau, I know that it's part of your job to supervise students but I just want to take the time to thank the both of you for looking after me. Paerau, I've never told you this, but MAOR204 remains the only class in the history my university career, that I attended all of the lectures. Your class sparked my interest in finding out for myself how important the Treaty is for our people. I hope I did that justice in my thesis. Lynny girl, this is our second year now and even though you decided to take a month off work two months before my thesis was due (LOL) to write your own book, I still know that I'm the favourite out of all of your students. On a serious note though, you probably aren't aware of how much you've taught me, but the list is honestly endless. To have written this thesis under your guidance and

for you to be able to share your wisdom with me is something that I will cherish for the rest of my life. P.S. Bring me back something cool from London ☺

A round of applause has to go to my flatmates and all of our overstayers lol. Tys, Emma, Mari and Chels, I miss you guys and we should have a paati soon, in Thailand, or wherever. Deinda and Leana, there were times when I would think, "man, go home and mess up your own house" lol but at the end of the day I do appreciate all of the lovely words of kindness you all shared with me. Also, to all my Ngāti Scarfies, being a part of a family so tight has definitely contributed to the person I am, this research, and the loyalty I feel towards you all. He mihi nunui ki a koutou ōku hoa, tōku whānau ki Ōtepoti.

To my flatmates this year, KP (my 36 year old gym buddy ☺), David and Kalyne, (and Pou and Kahu), even though I was supposed to be gone by now I know you all are secretly happy that I will be staying a few more months. Thank you for being considerate when I've had deadlines and have wanted to be anti-social in my room or on the couch lol. I promise I'll cook and clean more when this beast is out of my life. So here's to more monthly challenges, even more whānau dinners, and a lot more lazy Sunday's in the lounge. KP, I know you don't like it when I say, but to me, you are super woman. I mean anyone who can calculate percentages in their head instantaneously (that's why you're a doctor), deadlift a hunnit and still gets asked for ID is superwoman in my opinion. Also to Gianna and Suz for being voices of reason when I've had mini breakdowns that I laugh about now but as you both have been where I'm at now, I'm grateful to have had you both there to talk to, to let me know that I actually do know something ☺ #edwardsaid I do.

Today I rang my mum, and I asked her who she thought I should dedicate my thesis to, just to see what she would say. Of course she said her but I honestly don't think there are any words I can write that explain how thankful I am to my entire family. You guys keep me grounded, you get on my nerves, but at the end of the day we'll always be there for each other and I know that's all that counts. I love you all; Mum, Linds and Murty. He aroha mutunga kore ki a koutou mō tō koutou aroha, manaaki hoki xoxo

The last person I would like to thank is the one person that I also should apologise to because he's the one that I have taken all of my thesis frustrations out on. It probably doesn't help that he's up the other end of the country but oh well. Tairua, you know how much I appreciate how patient, supportive and loving you have been. I don't know how I would've coped without knowing that you have my back too. In the short time that we have known each other, you have taught me how to trust, how to smile, how to apologise, how to love and how to back myself because there's no such thing as luck. I love you and I can't wait to see you after I submit!

Abbreviations[1]

ADM	Associate Dean Māori
EA	Executive Assistant in the Faculty of Law
EEO	Equal Employment Opportunities
ESR	Institute of Environmental Science and Research
HSFY	First year Health Sciences
MAE	Māori alternative entry in Law
MC	Māori Centre (Te Huka Mātauraka)
MHWDU	Māori Health Workforce Development Unit
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MPIES	Māori and Pacific Island Entrance Scholarship
MSC	Māori sub-category in Health Sciences
MSF	Māori Strategic Framework
NTRCC	Ngāi Tahu Research and Consultation Committee
OCE	On Campus Experience
OMD	Office of Māori Development
OUSA	The University of Otago's Student Association
RHAS	Rakaipaaka Health and Ancestry Study
TEC	Tertiary Education Commission
TEI	Tertiary Education Institution
ToWC	Treaty of Waitangi Committee

Figures

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[1] A glossary of Māori terms that have been used is available at the end of the thesis on page 146.

[2] Figure 1 is available at:
file:///Users/marcellewharerau/Documents/MASTERS/Sources/Equity/equality

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Introduction

Thesis statement

There are multiple aims for this thesis. The first is concerned with the invention of the term 'Trequity' – a combination of two words – 'Treaty' and 'equity'. Trequity Measures are Measures in place to assist Māori in reaching a more equitable standpoint within New Zealand society as being derived from a positive discrimination agenda and the Treaty of Waitangi. By using *whakapapa*, or a genealogical methodology, this thesis illustrates how two subjects – the Treaty of Waitangi and Māori in Tertiary Education – are important when discussing why Trequity Measures exist, why they are necessary, and why people tend to have a negative perception of them as being unfair and privileging towards Māori.

The second aim is to explore this idea of Māori 'privilege' and how it funnels down into the University of Otago's discourse. This idea is also concerned with how the media perpetuates the perception that Māori are privileged, as well as showing how the use of incorrect terminology when referring to Trequity Measures is detrimental to the formation of an informed perception of, and attitude towards, Trequity Measures.

The third aim is to showcase an important voice: the staff and students of the University and their experiences with being involved with or recipients of certain Trequity Measures at the University. Overall I aim to address the negative stigma that is hypothesised to be attached to many of the Trequity Measures offered by the University – such as Māori-targeted support services, Māori-targeted scholarships and Māori alternative entry processes – and to inform those who are eligible for these Trequity Measures of the importance of knowing the *whakapapa* of such Measures.

Trequity Measures – Treaty + equity = Trequity

The Treaty of Waitangi is the founding document of New Zealand. It is an agreement between the British Crown and Māori and was signed in 1840. It contained a preamble and three written articles. The New Zealand Government is now the advocate for the Crown and therefore is in a partnership with Māori in order to successfully govern the country. Although it is not the intent of this thesis to give an extensive overview into the background of the signing of the Treaty and what that then means and has meant, it is important to know the *whakapapa* of the Treaty – how it came about, what this partnership means for Māori and non-Māori and what obligations both parties have from agreeing to this relationship.[3] Within the context of this thesis, Article Three is essential for understanding the idea of equity and how the Treaty guarantees that Māori are assisted in achieving equity in all facets of New Zealand society. Certain Measures have been put in place within New Zealand Government policies in order to assist in achieving a more equitable standpoint for individuals within minority, disadvantaged and underrepresented groups in all parts of New Zealand society. For the purpose of this thesis, those Measures are called Equity Measures.

By comparison, Trequity Measures take into consideration the significance of Māori as being one half of the Treaty partnership: therefore the Government has an obligation to ensure that they are assisted in achieving equity. As of now though, this is not the case. Māori as a group, remain negatively represented in health statistics, the unemployed population, incarceration figures, utilising social services such as Work and Income, and are underrepresented in tertiary education (particularly

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[3] Please see Orange (2011), Sorrenson (2014), Mulholland and Tawhai (2010) and (Kawharu, 1989) and Appendix A, B and C for more of the *whakapapa* of the Treaty of Waitangi.

universities). Therefore, within the context of this thesis, Trequity Measures are Measures that support the active implementation of things Māori at the University of Otago and that assist and encourage Māori student admission, participation, retention, and success.

Chapter outline

There is an underlying motive within the layout or *whakapapa* of this thesis: that the utilisation of the word, Trequity, has a place not only within this thesis, but also within New Zealand. The second chapter will then demonstrate the *whakapapa* of Trequity by taking into consideration the importance of the Treaty of Waitangi and Māori education disparities.

Chapter One establishes the foundation and methodology that was undertaken to inform this entire thesis: *whakapapa*. By going back through the *whakapapa* of Trequity Measures I will explain why and how people form negative attitudes towards these Measures – such as the idea that Māori are privileged. Participant profiles are then given so that the reader is familiar with the most important voice within this thesis – staff and students of the University of Otago. Major Trequity Measures that both the staff and student participants were, and are involved with, are also explained to demonstrate that knowing the *whakapapa* and processes of Trequity Measures is important for gaining an informed understanding of them.

Chapter Two is separated into two parts to demonstrate the *whakapapa* of the invented term: Trequity. The first part will establish the basis for which the Treaty of Waitangi and mostly Article Three, has to be taken into consideration when

discussing measures that are in place to assist in ensuring that Māori are at a more equitable place in New Zealand society. Part Two will explore the *whakapapa* of Trequity Measures in Tertiary Education. The main aim for the integration of these two separate subjects is to show that having a sound knowledge of both is integral to the formation of the *whakapapa* of Trequity Measures.

Chapter Three addresses another *whakapapa*, which is the idea of Māori privilege – what it is, where it exists, why its existence is contradictory and how it is perpetuated. It also describes different terminology in the area of positive discrimination associated with Trequity Measures. Although it is vital to have an understanding of the *whakapapa* of positive discrimination – that which stems from the notions of equality and more appropriately equity – the interchangeable and incorrect use of many of these terms contributes to how people perceive and form often negative attitudes towards Trequity Measures.

Chapter Four – *The University of Otago: a case study* – is an analysis of the University in relation to the Trequity Measures currently in place. It outlines the University's history, raising awareness to the structural changes that have been implemented and the Reports that initiated the changes. The case of Trequity Measures at the University is a unique one; suffice to say that it was the least progressive in terms of Māori engagement out of all New Zealand universities. This Chapter takes the reader through the *whakapapa* of Trequity Measures at the University in order to see how and why these Trequity Measures have become a part of University policies that sets the platform for the following chapter.

Chapter Five discusses staff and student perceptions of, and attitudes towards, Trequity Measures in place at the University of Otago. The chapter is divided into three sections: Māori-targeted support systems, Māori-targeted scholarships and Māori-targeted admissions schemes. It also highlights that more needs to be done to educate students on the *whakapapa* of these Trequity Measures: why they are in place and what they are in place to achieve in order to have a response to the attitude: "You Maaris get everything".

Conclusion – In order to ensure that Trequity Measures are positive and necessary steps to assist Māori in reaching an equitable standpoint within the University, the *whakapapa* of all Trequity Measures must be readily available, easily accessible and open for discussion. The thesis will conclude with some suggestions for further research as well as recommendations that the University may take into consideration in order to assist in Trequity Measures being more positively perceived at least within the scope of the University of Otago.

Chapter One
Whakapapa

"If you know these things (the history, the whakapapa) it grounds you. Knowing the whakapapa provides the framework for making decisions about the rights and wrongs of a thing. It can tell you whether it is natural or unnatural, appropriate or inappropriate" (Roberts & Fairbrother, 2004, p. 15).

Chapter One establishes the foundation and methodology that was undertaken to research this thesis. By going back through the *whakapapa* of Trequity Measures, it becomes easier to understand why and how people form negative perceptions of and attitudes towards them. Firstly however, it is important to understand what *whakapapa* is and how it is useful as a research methodology. The methods for this research are also explained through a *whakapapa* process. Participant profiles are then introduced to reinforce the value of their voices from the beginning to the end of this thesis.

Knowing the *whakapapa*

Whakapapa has previously been defined as genealogy – but it is so much more than that. The reason that a *whakapapa* methodology has been used is because of how it incorporates many different relationships and lineages into the story that is being told. It connects each of these different layers, allowing them to interrelate with each other, where they can be built on and understood at different levels. Therefore the history of Trequity Measures to be explored in this research will be utilising *whakapapa* as an indigenous research methodology. The many variants of the definition of what *whakapapa* is will be explored, and a demonstration of how *whakapapa* can be used as a valid methodology will be identified.

What is whakapapa?

In order to fully understand the Māori concept of *whakapapa*, one must first have an understanding of *te ao* Māori (the Māori world) and the Māori worldview. The Māori worldview is cyclic and holistic. This means that everything in both the physical and spiritual realms is known to be connected to and originates from an original, often spiritual source (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004, p. 13). Māori people governed and still do govern their lives according to certain *tikanga* (customs) that were established through creation narratives. Core principles that underpin *tikanga* include *tapu* (set apart), *noa* (ordinary), *mana* (authority) and *whakapapa*. *Whakapapa* is then the overarching aspect of *te ao* Māori. It connects everything and reinforces the notion that everything originates from something.

Māori and non-Māori researchers have explored the intricacies of *whakapapa* to gain a better understanding of the multifaceted, often-tacit concept. In regards to that of human *whakapapa*, that is *whakapapa* pertaining to the genealogy of a person's family and history, Mead (1983, p. 339) suggests that *whakapapa* is an art form, much like that of *waiata* (songs), *karanga* (welcoming call) and *whaikōrero* (formal oratory). In this case he is referring to *whakapapa*, or rather the privilege of truly understanding how to utilise and understand *whakapapa*, as one that is highly respected in *te ao* Māori. Salmond (1995, p. 41) describes *whakapapa* as being "relational logic" – understanding things in relation to connected ideas – and the value in organising ideas or things using "genealogical thinking" (Salmond, 1995, pp. 25, 41). Greg Dening (1999, p. 175) in his review of Salmond's *Between Two Worlds*, supports her definition of *whakapapa* as "a type of knowing that collapsed everything into an all-embracing metaphor that renewed itself over and over again". So rather

than *whakapapa* being linear and exclusive, as genealogy is often described as being, *whakapapa* refers more to things explained and understood as if everything was laid out in front of you in some sort of connected web. This view is shared by Mere Roberts as she says,

> Whakapapa…is not of itself 'knowledge', but a repository of information about the world. Names provide additional information, and when organised (classified) into lineages vertically and horizontally, the narrative(s) then add 'flesh' (knowledge) to the 'bones' of the skeletal framework. Knowledge and whakapapa are interdependent parts of a whole (Roberts, 2013, p. 107).

Carter refrains from defining *whakapapa* in English because then the complexity of it would be diluted. She describes it as something that is uniquely underpinned by and personifies relationships that work in many different, not always linear, directions.

> …whakapapa is about relationships and is practised through the way we carry out relationships. Everything that has some kind of relationship with something else can have that relationship explained by whakapapa. Whakapapa occurs in different layers...The connections are expressed through different lists of names that layer from generation to generation and can move from layer to layer crossways, downwards and upwards, depending on the purpose. Whakapapa orders different layers of knowledge, which is accessed through the stories that explain the lists of names (Carter, 2003, p. 12).

Whakapapa then is, but not restricted to, the way in which one explains their own heritage, identity and family relationships. It is the organisation of information to better understand the origins and processes of a certain event or entity. *Whakapapa* is non-lineal in the sense that it is inclusive rather than exclusive of connected and relevant information. It exists as a way of explaining material that may not be able to be explained any other way except through the connecting of relationships or ideas that give meaning for it to exist.

Whakapapa as a methodology

Mere Roberts, as a member of the research team for *Te Hau Mihi Ata: Mātauranga Māori, Science and Biotechnology*[4], has produced several papers on *mātauranga* (knowledge) Māori (Roberts, 2012, 2013; Roberts & Fairbrother, 2004) and more specifically, the utilisation of *whakapapa* as an effective methodology. Roberts and Fairbrother (2004) have said that several *iwi* (tribe) use *whakapapa* as a tool to test the acceptability or not of a genetically modified organism[5] in the likes of food production and agriculture. One Ngāi Tahu source talks about how he used the 'whakapapa test' as a 'risk management tool' to ensure that nothing dangerous was being let into the *rohe* (area) (Roberts & Fairbrother, 2004, p. 15).

> *"If you know these things (the history, the whakapapa) it grounds you. Knowing the whakapapa provides the framework for making decisions about the rights and wrongs of a thing. It can tell you whether it is natural or unnatural, appropriate or inappropriate"* (Roberts & Fairbrother, 2004, p. 15).

Even nowadays with modern technology getting more innovative and complicated to make life easier, *whakapapa* can still be employed to discover whether something is in fact useful and safe from a scientific perspective.

More recently, a few Māori academics have utilised *whakapapa* as a research methodology, revealing the depth and subjectiveness it adds to their research. Joseph Te Rito's doctoral thesis (Te Rito, 2007a), and subsequent journal articles (Te Rito, 2007b, 2007c), used a lineal *whakapapa* methodology to document the temporal

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[4] Te Hau Mihi Ata: Mātauranga Māori, Science & Biotechnology is a Government funded research project exploring ways to link *mātauranga* (knowledge) Māori and Western science and technology. Māori scientists and experts of *mātauranga* Māori have been creating new knowledge that can be used for wealth creation as well as delivering social, cultural and environmental benefits.

[5] A genetically modified organism is any organism whose genetic material has been altered using genetic engineering techniques. Genetically modified organisms are the source of genetically modified foods and are also widely used in scientific research and to produce goods other than food.

progression, or in their case digression, of his *hapū* (sub-tribe) Ngāti Hinemanu. This was done so that he could demonstrate how Ngāti Hinemanu had become an ostracised community as a direct result of colonisation. Te Rito traced back over 400 years, documenting how the *hapū* used to successfully operate, through to the many land confiscations and alienations enacted by the Crown that changed the organisational structure. He then links this directly to the loss of Māori identity, the *hapū* being severely marginalised and in the lowest socio-economic grouping in New Zealand society.

James Graham's doctoral thesis (Graham, 2009b) examined the *whakapapa* of Te Aute College, arguing that the College's contribution to Māori advancement was a result of their unique characteristics. In his thesis, as well as consequent journal articles, the author exclaims that *whakapapa* can be used as a legitimate research methodology when researching Māori and indigenous communities (Graham, 2005, 2009a).

> As a research framework, a whakapapa research methodology exercises tikanga Māori to guide the research, explicating the inseparable links between the supernatural, land and humanity. The concept of whakapapa is consequently the all-inclusive interweaving mechanism that provides legitimate foundation from which Māori research can be conducted and validated today (Graham, 2009a, pp. 2-3).

Hudson, Ahuriri-Driscoll, Lea, and Lea (2007) are researchers that are part of the Institute of Environmental Science and Research (ESR). They proposed using *whakapapa* as a methodology to understand patterns of genetic and disease variation within the Rakaipaaka community in the Hawkes Bay – the Rakaipaaka Health and

Ancestry Study (RHAS)[6] (Hudson et al., 2007, pp. 44-45). The study acknowledges that although the media often stigmatises Māori health disparities as 'their fault', it "rather [derives] from differences in culture, diet, socioeconomic status, access to health care, education, environmental exposures, and other factors" (Hudson et al., 2007, pp. 47-48).

All of these examples demonstrate that *whakapapa*, as a research methodology, has been utilised in many aspects of research – education, science, politics, and technology – when the research has been connected with Māori communities. It has been commended on its inclusiveness and ability to facilitate a more holistic approach to explaining the bigger picture. The examples of *whakapapa* as a methodology have indicated that the concepts of interrelated relationships, events and processes will make *whakapapa* a useful tool for understanding Trequity Measures at the University of Otago.

Whakapapa and Trequity Measures

This research aims to take the anecdotal evidence of the idea of Māori privilege at the University of Otago and utilising *whakapapa* methodology, will track its progressions as an idea that has led to attitudes like: Māori students get scholarships just because they have *whakapapa* Māori and Maori will get into Medicine or Law with a C+ while non-Māori students have to get an A average. By knowing the *whakapapa* of Trequity Measures, I will be able to shed some light on firstly why Trequity Measures

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[6]The RHAS is a large-scale, long-term epidemio- logical project, which aims to identify the serious diseases that affect the community, understand the heritability of these diseases through the use of whakapapa, and identify the genetic and environmental factors that influence these diseases.

exist and are justified. Secondly, why there tends to be a negative perception harboured towards them both at the University, and within New Zealand society.

Methods

This thesis is based on a combination of written literature and oral interviews. The participants within this thesis comprise of two distinct groups: staff and students of the University of Otago. Six staff members from the University were interviewed prior to interviews with students. This was done so that the staff could inform the research on the *whakapapa* of particular Trequity Measures that they were, and are, involved with. It was only then that the students could be interviewed and share their own experiences. Eleven student participants were interviewed.

Ethics approval

Category B Ethical Approval was sought and granted for this research in April 2014[7]. A thorough review of University of Otago documents outlining the processes and implementation of Trequity Measures was undertaken. It soon became apparent that University documents, supposedly out of caution, do not disclose detailed information in relation to some aspects of Trequity Measures. This includes how particular Trequity Measures came to be, when and why they were implemented, and other details that make up their *whakapapa*. The staff members involved with Trequity Measures would be able to fill in some of the gaps that were not published in University documents. It would then add more legitimacy to their statements if the reader could see the University position held by the staff participants, and from which position they were speaking.

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[7] Please see Appendix F, G and H for the Information Sheet and the Consent Forms for all Participants.

Therefore, the Manager of the Ethics Committee was approached and asked how we would go about naming the positions of the interviewed staff members. The Manager responded that it was acceptable to identify the University positions held by the staff members if they agreed to that. Two separate consent forms were then drawn up and accepted for staff and student participants. Essentially, the staff consent forms acknowledged that they understood that their job title would be used to identify relevant information that they shared.

Information sheets and consent forms were given to all of the staff and student participants. They were also given the option to sign and give back the consent form after their interview, or to wait and see where and how their comments were incorporated in to the thesis. Two staff members signed and gave back their consent forms after their interviews as well as two of the student participants. All participants were sent extracts of where and how their comments had been incorporated into the finished thesis, to which they replied with comments and recommendations for changes. After they were satisfied with how their opinions read in the thesis, they signed their consent forms in either meetings or returned them via email or mail if they were out of Dunedin. These precautionary measures were taken because of the sensitivity of some of the information that was disclosed during the interviews.

Recruitment Method

Recruitment of staff participants was solely dependent on the position they held (and continue to hold) at the University. As per the requirements of a Master of Arts, in March 2014, a seminar for this research was delivered to interested staff and students at the University. From this seminar, many students and staff members expressed

interest in the topic and/or recommended staff members that would be useful to talk to in order to gain more insight into the *whakapapa* of particular Trequity Measures.

Two main Trequity Measures at the University that seem to cause the most controversy amongst the student population are the University Māori-targeted scholarships and entry admissions schemes into Law and Health Sciences Professional and restricted-entry courses. Consequently, the Manager of the Scholarships Office, the Associate Dean Māori of Health Sciences, and an Associate Professor from the Faculty of Law were approached because of their involvement and expertise with these particular Trequity Measures. All three of these participants were eager to be a part of this research. The Associate Professor from Law did not sit on the Admissions Board for Law, but suggested that we invite the Kaiāwhina Māori (Māori student supporter and current member) and the Executive Assistant for the Faculty of Law, as co-interviewee. The other two staff participants were the Manager of the Māori Centre and the Director of Māori Development. These two staff members had been interviewed for a previous research project (Wharerau, 2013) and so were familiar with the area of the thesis topic.

Eleven student participants were recruited through word of mouth and because they had been involved in Wharerau (2013). Initially, it was thought that in order to get a present understanding of perceptions of and attitudes towards Trequity Measures at the University, non-Māori students and/or staff needed to be interviewed. This idea was deemed unnecessary only because these perceptions and attitudes are already heavily documented in mass media and in published literature[8]. The viewpoint that is

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[8] Please see Abel (1997), Barnes et al. (2012); Borell, Gregory, McCreanor, Jensen, and Moewaka Barnes (2009); Gregory et al. (2011), Liu and Sibley (2006); Potter and Wetherell

scarce in the literature is that of Māori perceptions of and attitudes towards Trequity Measures. This case study then, is firstly concerned with staff perceptions of, and attitudes towards, Trequity Measures: the perceptions and attitudes from others that they have experienced because of their involvement with said Trequity Measures, and their thoughts on how negative perceptions of Trequity Measures at the University can be countered. Additionally, Māori student perceptions of, and attitudes towards, Trequity Measures were also explored to first demonstrate their own understanding of them – why they exist, whether they are necessary – and also to see if any existent negative or misinformed perceptions of certain Trequity Measures affected their personal decisions to utilise the Trequity Measures. For example, whether or not the existing perception that Māori students get into Law or Medicine 'easier' than non-Māori students affects Māori students' decisions of applying under the MSC (Māori sub-category in Health Sciences) or MAE (Māori alternative entry in Law).

At the seminar, one concerned student questioned if the research included Māori students who were ineligible for certain Trequity Measures. Due to this inquiry, she was approached to be a participant to gain more of an understanding as to why she was not eligible for certain Trequity Measures at the University even though she was Māori (Student 11). The only reason why she was not eligible for certain Trequity Measures, in particularly Māori-targeted scholarships was because her grades were not high enough to satisfy the criteria. This shows that just having *whakapapa* Māori does not automatically mean that you will receive a Māori-targeted scholarship. The other student participants included students who had received Māori-targeted

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(1987); Sibley and Liu (2004); Sibley, Robertson, and Kirkwood (2005); Sibley and Wilson (2007), for non-Māori/Pākehā perceptions of and attitudes towards Māori and Trequity Measures.

scholarships from the University, two students studying towards completing their Law degrees (LLB), a first-year Law student, a student each from Medicine and Dentistry, and two past students of Tū Kahika (Māori Health Sciences Bridging Course) and first-year Health Sciences (HSFY) students. These two students were introduced to me by another one of the student participants and were extremely enthusiastic about being interviewed. Student participants ranged in age from 20-26 years old and were all of Māori descent.

Interviews

Staff

All staff participants were initially contacted via email, informed of the purpose of this research and asked if they wanted to be interviewed. They all agreed without hesitation and meetings were set up accordingly. Interviews ranged over the months of August and September 2014 to fit in with their busy schedules. It was suggested that the meetings take place in the privacy of their own offices because this was the most convenient for them. The interview with the Manager of the Māori Centre occurred on two separate occasions. Interview times ranged between 40-90 minutes and all staff participants were sent copies of their interview transcripts. Individual interviews were conducted for four of the five interviews. The last interview with the Executive Assistant (EA) and Associate Professor from the Faculty of Law was conducted with the two of them offering insight into the *whakapapa* of the Māori alternative entry into Law, MAE. They were more than happy to discuss these matters with, and in front of each other, because of their close working relationship as the only two Kaiāwhina Māori within the Law Faculty.

At the beginning of all of the interviews, each participant was given more time to read over the Information Sheet and ask any further questions that they may have had. Once they had a clear understanding of what the interview would entail, it commenced. Each staff participant was asked open-ended questions that had been pre-written and related individually to the Trequity Measure(s) that they were involved with and the *whakapapa* of said Trequity Measure(s). These included what their roles were within the University, what involvement they have had and currently have with any Trequity Measures as part of these roles, what their own attitudes were towards those Trequity Measure(s), and what perceptions and attitudes they had experienced from being in the positions that they are within the University. As they began unravelling the *whakapapa* of certain Trequity Measures, other questions were asked for clarification, which added more depth to the interview.

Students

Prior to interviewing the student participants, I was personally acquainted with nine of the 11 students. Many of them expressed an interest at the seminar that was presented earlier in the year and two of the students I met just prior to interviewing them. Three students had been part of Wharerau (2013) and much that had been discussed during those interviews was relevant for this current topic. So there was already a *whakapapa* to the network of students that I had previously interviewed, told about the topic which ignited their interest, and hence gained their trust. On that note, I am also part of my research community because I have received three Māori-targeted scholarships from the University. This would have had an impact on the way many of the interviews eventuated, because it was rather like having a conversation as opposed

to an interrogation. This is how I think the students were able to be honest and open about their experiences.

Because all of these students were aged between 20-26 years old, the best form of communication for them was via Facebook[9]. However, prior to being re-contacted on Facebook, they were all contacted face-to-face and told of the research purpose and asked if they wanted to be a part of it. After they agreed, each participant was contacted in a private message on Facebook, much like that of an email, and given the Information Sheet so they were familiar with the topic. At this point they were given the opportunity to ask more questions and gather their thoughts before the actual interview.

Every student participant was different in the sense that many of them had been involved with or were recipients of more than one Trequity Measure. Therefore, individual interview questions were drawn up according to the Trequity Measure(s) that each student had been involved with or had received. In general, each of the participants were asked what Trequity Measure(s) they had received, if they knew the *whakapapa* about that particular Trequity Measure, how they felt about it – whether or not they believed they were necessary, what attitudes they had experienced from others about being recipients of certain Trequity Measures, and what they thought could be done to eliminate the perceived attached negative stigma at the University. Three participants were candidates for the MSC (Māori sub-category) in Health Sciences and MAE (Māori alternative entry) in Law, and therefore were asked questions in relation to their decision-making when it came to applying under these

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[9] Social Media website for networking, sharing and communicating.

Trequity Measures. Questions about what kind of attitudes they had experienced this year (2014) from being in those competitive courses (HSFY and First-Year Law) were also part of the interview. All participants were asked a minimum of 10 questions.

Ten interviews were conducted because two student participants wanted to be interviewed together. They were friends and had been studying together for two years so they had no issues with voicing their opinions in front of each other. Interviews ranged from between 30-90 minutes.

'Treaty Measures'

It should be noted here, that during earlier stages of researching this thesis, discussing the topic with students, friends, colleagues, lecturers, and with participants during interviews, the term that was referred to and used was 'Treaty Measures' instead of Trequity Measures. This was because said Measures had been referred to as 'Special Measures' by Callister (2007), and so naïvely they were previously referred to as 'Special Measures' in my BA (Hons) dissertation (Wharerau 2013). One of the examiners suggested that rather than referring to these as 'Special Measures', why not call them 'Treaty Measures' because they are measures in place to ensure that the Treaty of Waitangi is upheld and that Māori are afforded the means to pursue equity. Therefore, the invented word, Trequity, is being used throughout this thesis. Although the Measures being discussed do *whakapapa* back to the Treaty, what they are in place to do is to ensure equity for Māori.

Participant Profiles

The participant profiles were designed to preserve the anonymity of the participants. This by no way means that the participants of this thesis do not have the most important information to share, it is just a precaution to keep them safe. Of course, it is likely that the identities of some of the staff participants will be distinguishable, however, all staff members have signed consent forms showing that they are aware that their job titles will be identified. This is why it was important to give them the option to sight their comments within the finished thesis and to make sure that nothing was included that they did not want to be included. Of the staff participants that were interviewed only the Director of Māori Development was male. Of the student participants, only Students 6 and 7 were male. Following the tables, descriptions of the main Trequity Measures that all participants were involved with are given.

Staff Role	Trequity Measure(s)
Director of the Māori Development, Office of Māori Development	Office of Māori Development (OMD) Māori and Pacific Island Entrance Scholarship (MPIES) Committee Chair
Manager of the Māori Centre	Māori Centre, MPIES Committee member
Manager of the Scholarships Office	Scholarships Committee(s) overseer, MPIES Committee member
Associate Dean Māori (ADM) of the Division of Health Sciences	Māori sub-category (MSC) in Health Sciences Māori Health Workforce Development Unit (MHWDU) Tū Kahika (Health Sciences Bridging Scholarship Programme)
Associate Professor in Law	Departmental Kaiāwhina Māori (Māori student support)
Executive Assistant in Law	Māori alternative entry, MAE, into Law Departmental Kaiāwhina Māori Law Admissions Board member

Table 1: shows Staff Participant credentials and involvement in Trequity Measures

Student	Enrolment status	Trequity Measure(s)
1	Bachelor of Arts (Hons) – Māori Studies	MPIES recipient, Humanities Bridging Scholarship (HBS) recipient
2	Doctor of Philosophy – Māori Studies	Māori Masters scholarship recipient Māori Doctoral Scholarship recipient
3	BA – Politics and Indigenous Development	MPIES recipient
4	Graduated, LLB	MPIES recipient MAE candidate*
5	LLB, Bachelor of Arts – Māori Studies	MAE candidate *
6	First-Year Law (FYL), Bachelor of Laws (LLB)	MPIES recipient Māori alternative entry MAE candidate*
7	HSFY	Tū Kahika recipient MSC candidate*
8	HSFY	Tū Kahika recipient MPIES recipient MSC candidate*
9	Second-Year Bachelor of Medicine	MPIES recipient MSC in Health Sciences recipient
10	Graduated, Bachelor of Dental Surgery	MSC recipient
11	MIndS – Masters of Indigenous Studies	Ineligible for University Māori-targeted scholarships

Table 2: shows Student Participants, their enrolment status at the University, and their involvement in Trequity Measure(s)

* Refers to the fact that this participant applied for this Trequity Measure, but has/did not gain entry into the course via this avenue.

Office of Māori Development

The Office of Māori Development (OMD) grew out of Treaty of Waitangi Stocktake in 2005 (later referred to as the Kapa Report) as part of the 'leadership' goal within the Māori Strategic Framework (MSF) (University of Otago, 2010a). The OMD's main purpose is to "provide leadership to both academic and service divisions and to create opportunities for information sharing, clear communication and collaboration, enabling the MSF to move off the page and into the workplace" (University of Otago, 2010a)[10]. The Office is funded through the University's annual budget that is funded by the Government (Director of Māori Development, 2014). The OMD are also responsible for administering Equity Funding given to them by the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC).

> So basically it's a pool of funding to support the success of Māori, Pacific and Disabled students. So Equity Funding is determined each year by how many, so our funding for next year will be determined on how many, for Māori anyway, will be determined by how many Māori are here this year (Director of Māori Development, 2014).

The Director of Māori Development, who is also the Director of the OMD, sits right under the Vice Chancellor of the University. Another key role for OMD is to advise the Vice Chancellor's Office in terms of things Māori and Māori engagement at the University and to ensure that that relationship is strong and communicable (Director of Māori Development, 2014).

Māori Centre – Te Huka Mātauraka

The Māori Centre is an office within the University that offers academic, cultural and counselling support as well as advice with all areas of University life. They provide a

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[10] The MSF aims to situate 'things' Māori more comfortably within the University of Otago. It applies to all students and staff of the University and is an effort towards giving Māori language, culture, and thinking a degree of authority within the academic institution.

home away from home for all Māori students who need to feel like they are surrounded by *whānau* (family). The Manager of the Māori Centre stated:

> our Strategic Plan, is that we strive to recruit and retain our students by practising kaupapa Māori principles to ensure their success at Otago. That's the main one for us, if you're looking at the overall picture. Our mission statement is to support them to maintain their identity and well-being while achieving their academic potential, within the University and te ao Māori, to benefit them, their whānau, hapu, and iwi (Manager of the Māori Centre, 2014).

The Māori Centre not only offers support for Māori students enrolled at the University, but also to secondary school students who are thinking about making the move down to Dunedin. They continue to support Māori students right up until graduation and when they become alumni. The Centre's services include Ka rika rika-ā-Tāne (mentoring programme), tutorials (academic programme), liaison services, counselling support and many additional events that foster *whakawhanaungatanga* (coming together) all throughout the year. *Whakawhanaungatanga* underlies the Māori Centre's mission.

> One of the students was saying that it's really helped them to get to know students. I said to her, "the main focus of our tutorials are not only academic, but includes those important concepts of whakawhanaungatanga". It's so that you don't feel as though you're the only Māori student in your class. You'll see others that you're able to say Kia ora and all of that, that's an important focus of all our programmes, is to get the students to hook up and not be so lonely really (Manager of the Māori Centre, 2014).

A bi-product of having academic tutorials through the Māori Centre is that it gives students the opportunity to connect with other like-minded students.

Māori-targeted scholarships

The University awards Māori-targeted scholarships because they "recognise that strategically, that it is more likely to be more difficult for Māori students to make the step in to tertiary education, compared to non-Māori" (Manager of the Scholarships

Office, 2014). The purpose of these Māori-targeted scholarships is holistic in the sense that they are in place to increase the likeliness of retention at the University.

> If we haven't got a pathway, if you get to here and like, then it stops. You're either gonna go somewhere else or you're gonna do something else. So we have to make sure that the whole, that whole kind of pathway is available. From coming in as an undergrad, coming in on an entrance scholarship, right through on a PhD scholarship (Director of Māori Development, 2014).

The main Māori-targeted scholarships at the University are the Māori and Pacific Island Entrance scholarship (MPIES), Division of Humanities Māori and Pacific Island Bridging Scholarship, the Māori Masters Scholarship, and the Māori Doctoral Scholarship. All of these scholarships require applicants to be of Māori descent and for the most part are awarded based on academic merit. Additional criteria such as cultural participation, community involvement and potential to succeed may also considered. All University-awarded scholarships, for non-Māori and Māori, are "operationally funded" from the University. This means that the money comes from Government funding and course fees (Manager of the Scholarships Office, 2014). It is the same money that pays lecturers to teach, the Vice Chancellor's salary, and the cleaning staff to keep the University tidy. There is not a pot of money dedicated solely for Māori students (Manager of the Scholarships Office, 2014).

The MPIES was established in 2005 and its first intake of students was in 2006 where approximately 25 Māori and/or Pacific Island students were awarded the scholarship (Wharerau, 2013, p. 15). The scholarship was founded "to celebrate academic excellence and cultural diversity…[and] to encourage the progression of Māori and Pacific Islands students into tertiary study" (University of Otago, n.d-d). Moreover, this was an attempt to increase the number of Māori and Pacific Island students at the University. This scholarship is worth $10,000 and can go towards either the cost of

accommodation for the first year of university or towards course fees. The overall standard of applicants has risen extensively over the past five or six years and so in 2014 the University awarded 60-70 MPIES (Manager of the Scholarships Office, 2014).

The Division of Humanities Māori and Pacific Island Bridging Scholarship is in place "to encourage graduating Māori and Pacific Island students to proceed to Honours, Postgraduate Diploma or equivalent degrees in Humanities" (University of Otago, n.d-b). The first intake of recipients was in 2008 and the Scholarship affords recipients $10,000 over the course of 10 months as well as paying for the recipient's course fees. It is the idea that the recipient will not have to worry about financing their year of postgraduate study and is able to concentrate on a robust postgraduate project. The amount of scholarships varies each year and has ranged from between 3-10 per year.

Much like that of the Bridging Scholarship, the University of Otago Māori Masters and Doctoral Scholarships are designed to encourage Māori participation and success during postgraduate study. They are $13,000, for Masters, and $25,000 (Doctoral) per year and the recipient's course fees are also paid as part of these scholarships. In 2013, Māori students made up 8% of the University's population but only 7% of all students enrolled at postgraduate level (including Postgraduate Diplomas and Honours) were Māori (University of Otago, 2013c). These scholarships are an attempt to rectify the inequities for Māori student participation at postgraduate level. As will be discussed more in Chapter Five, Māori-targeted scholarships are still inequitably distributed compared to that of non-targeted scholarships.

Māori sub-category (MSC) in Health Sciences

Health Sciences professional and restricted entry courses include Dentistry, Medical Laboratory Science, Medicine, Pharmacy, Physiotherapy, Dental Technology, Oral Health and Radiation Therapy (University of Otago, n.d-c). These courses are restricted because instead of them being open-entry, they take a limited amount of students per year depending on the profession. Each of these courses have different requirements for entry. For example, to be eligible for entry into Medicine, which allows only 266 places each year, any student, irrespective of their entry method, must gain no less than a B average and no less than a C in any of their HSFY papers (University of Otago, 2012b, p. 2). There are multiple avenues for students to apply into these by including a standard entry option, a Pacific origins sub-category, rural entry for those wanting to practise in rural areas, graduate entry for those that have already graduated with a degree, and as mental health professionals and allied health professionals. The MSC is just another option for students of Māori descent to apply to any of the Health Science programmes. The rationales for this entry sub-category are three-fold:

> The University of Otago is committed to initiatives that increase the number of indigenous Māori and indigenous Pacific Island graduates…The Division of Health Sciences is focused on ensuring that New Zealand's diverse health workforce needs are met, to honouring the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tirit o Waitangi and promoting academic equity for under-represented groups (University of Otago, n.d-a).

The MSC has existed for over 50 years, however under different names (for example at one point it was referred to as the 'Polynesian Preference scheme') and has evolved quite substantially since its inception (Health Workforce Advisory Committee, 2005, p. 127). Nowadays the MSC requires applicants to disclose their *whakapapa* Māori, their *iwi* affiliations, and submit a 300-word supporting statement stating their

commitment to and/or interest in Māori health (University of Otago, n.d-a). The Admissions Committees examine these individually.

> So what people are signing up for, if they sign up under the Māori sub-category, they're signing up to fulfilling their commitments…they also have to honestly turn around and say they're committed to supporting Māori Health in some way or other (Associate Dean Māori of the Division of Health Sciences, 2014).

The MSC is just one aspect of a policy within the Division of Health Sciences called *Mirror on Society*, incorporated into the Division's strategy, whereby their goal is to have their graduates look like New Zealand's diverse society (Associate Dean Māori of the Division of Health Sciences, 2014). The foundation element of this policy is the Māori Health Workforce Development Unit (MHWDU) – whose mission is to proactively grow the Māori health workforce in New Zealand.

> …our unit here is funded from the Ministry of Health. So they value future Māori Health Professionals enough to actually fund us to support Māori students into things. And the Division also provides funding and support. So what we try to do with the students right from the start, is to give them that information: Why we have a Māori sub-category, Why we want more Māori Health professionals (Associate Dean Māori of the Division of Health Sciences, 2014).

Their programmes include Tū Kahika – a Health Sciences Bridging programme for Māori students to prepare them for Health Science First Year (HSFY), Te Whakapuāwai – a support programme for all Māori students enrolled in HSFY, Tū Tauira Hauora – a support programme for students studying towards a Bachelor of Science to gain entry later into a professional programme, and scholarship advice and information (Division of Health Sciences, n.d). Thus, the holistic approach to Māori student success in the Division of Health Sciences is more than just the MSC option that everyone seems to talk about within the University environment. The entire programme underlines educational disparities, which are further outlined in Chapter

Two, but the Associate Dean Māori explains this in relation to the motives for these Trequity Measures at the University in particularly.

> What's underlying a lot of this, is the pathways of educational, relative educational disadvantage, which means that actually not everyone's had a level playing field in terms of education. And that we need to work on how we make up for that – both by supporting and fast-tracking people to reach their academic potential when their schools haven't necessarily allowed them to (Associate Dean Māori of the Division of Health Sciences, 2014).

Māori alternative entry, MAE, in Law

First-Year Law is an open entry course that is examined externally – this means that the only requirement to study this part of the LLB (Bachelor of Laws) is to gain University Entrance and the entire course is assessed during two end-of-year exams. Second-Year Law is restricted entry whereby the course only takes approximately 200 students every year. This is dependent on their First-year Law grade as well as whether or not they have received a B+ average in all of their other non-Law papers (Associate Professor of Law, 2014). Every student that wishes to apply to Second-Year Law must apply through the 'standard-entry' option. The students who gain the top 200 (approximately) marks in their external exams at the end of the year will be offered a place in Second-Year Law (Executive Assisant in Law, 2014). The other two types of alternative entry options include the Māori alternative entry, MAE, and Special Circumstances. The MAE has been an alternative option for students of Māori descent since 1995 out of legislative requirements in the Education Amendment Act 1990 "the University has commitments to Māori students" (Associate Professor of Law, 2014). Students who apply under the Special Circumstances entry option have to justify why they are doing so – so this could include any medical issues or going through a family tragedy that might affect the student's performance during exams. All alternative entry candidates are discussed

individually at the Law Admissions Board meetings towards the end of each academic year (Executive Assisant in Law, 2014).

Nowadays, depending on what the Law Admissions Board decides as the annual 'cut-off' mark, (for example if it was a 76 as well as a B+ average in all of their non-Law papers), each student who has applied through either of the two alternative entry options (MAE and Special Circumstances) will only be considered if their Law mark is within two or three marks of the decided Law grade. Therefore in the above example, only students with a 73 or above Law grade might be considered to get an offer into Second-Year Law. These places are offered additionally to the already top-200 places. This is why the course takes approximately 200 students each year.

Associate Dean Māori (ADM) & Kaiāwhina Māori

One of the staff participants is an Associate Dean Māori and the two Law staff participants are also Departmental Kaiāwhina Māori. ADM are responsible for normalising things Māori within the University and ensuring the implementation of the MSF. This includes providing and implementing strategies that strive to incorporate an active understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi and therefore the University's role in addressing obligations for Māori staff, students and the *mana whenua* (tribal sovereignty), Ngāi Tahu. At the University there are two types of Kaiāwhina: Divisional Kaiāwhina Māori (Māori Student Support Officer) and Departmental Kaiāwhina. Kaiāwhina Māori are Divisional Officers that support all Māori students within their Division. They provide academic and pastoral support, assistance with advocacy and scholarships, and liaise with the different Departments within the Division regarding things Māori. Departmental Kaiāwhina Māori offer

support and assistance to students at a departmental level – this means that they are able to engage with students more within their Departments on day-to-day matters. All three roles are in place to offer encouragement for Māori students to assist them in succeeding to the best of their abilities.

Conclusion

This chapter described the methodology and justification for the methodology that was and is being used to present this research. *Whakapapa* can be used as a mechanism for understanding the origins and therefore reasons for why things exist and how they interrelate and are weaved amongst numerous relationships. Interviews with staff and students of the University are the most important component of this research and that is why they were introduced in this chapter as a way of acknowledging their significance and allowing their voices to be heard early on. Relevant Trequity Measures were also defined and explained to permit the idea that their own *whakapapa* is important to understanding these processes within the University – as well as how this will contribute to the way in which people form their attitudes towards certain Trequity Measures. The next chapter will address the importance of the Treaty of Waitangi and Tertiary Education and their relevance to Trequity Measures at the University as well as in New Zealand.

Chapter Two
Treaty + equity = Trequity

'Let's work together,' said the shark to the kahawai. 'Great,' said the kahawai with a trusting smile. 'Fool,' thought the shark as it opened its mouth and swallowed the kahawai… 'That's partnership,' said the politician. 'That's integration,' said the bureaucrat. 'That's assimilation,' said the Māori (Reedy, 1991, p. 7).

This chapter is separated into two parts to demonstrate the *whakapapa* of the invented term: Trequity. Part One establishes the basis for which Article Three of the Treaty of Waitangi needs to be taken into consideration when discussing measures that are in place to assist in ensuring that Māori are at a more equitable place in New Zealand society.

Part Two explores the *whakapapa* of Trequity Measures in tertiary education. It uses the Wānanga Claim: WAI 718 as an example of why all TEIs (tertiary education institutions) have an obligation to provide Trequity Measures to assist Māori in achieving a more equitable standpoint in this facet of society. The main objective for integrating the discussion about the Treaty and Māori in the education system is to show that having a sound knowledge of both is integral to the formation of the *whakapapa* of Trequity Measures.

Part One: The Treaty of Waitangi

Historical overview

The Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840 between the British Crown and Māori and contained a preamble and three written articles. One version was written in English and one in Māori. Because of this, there have since been numerous discussions as to

what each version is said to mean[11]. The first article stated that the Queen of England had complete governorship over New Zealand (Hayward, 2004b, p. 157)[12]. Article Two guaranteed Māori the ability to exercise their own sovereignty over their lands, estates, fisheries, and treasures (Ross, 1972, p. 139). The third article stated that Māori were afforded the same rights and privileges bestowed upon British citizens (Biggs, 1989, p. 305). Māori were then of the understanding that if they surrendered their governorship to the Queen, they were still able to have full control of their lands, tribes, and people. Therefore by signing the Treaty, both parties had agreed to a partnership with each other. The New Zealand Government is now the advocate for the British Crown and so both Māori and the Government are therefore obligated to uphold the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi – the *whakapapa* of which will be explored in the following section.

Article Three is central to the core topic of this thesis because of the notion of equity. The Crown promised that,

> In return for their acknowledging the Government of the Queen, the Queen of England will protect all the natives of New Zealand, and will allow them the same rights as the people of England (Orange, 2011, p. 274).

This is important because the many social disparities that Māori have faced and are currently facing stem from a questionable equality for Māori rights and privileges to that of their Pākehā partners. This is depicted more specifically in the following sections as it becomes more apparent how modern concepts of the Treaty have come out of the Courts' and Tribunals' interpretations about the principles of the Treaty of

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[11] The intention of this thesis is not to provide an extensive history of the Treaty and its background. However, please see Orange (2011), Hayward (2004b), Ross (1972), Waitangi Tribunal (2010), Kawharu (1989) and Sorrenson (2014) for more information regarding the Treaty's formation, signing, and differences between the two texts.
[12] Copies of the Treaty of Waitangi have been inserted into the Appendix A, B and C.

Waitangi and the Governments responses to them. Rather than going over the extensive *whakapapa* of Treaty breaches, the *whakapapa* of the Treaty principles is discussed in the following section.

Modern relevance

The disparities that Māori face in today's society can be seen by the high percentage of Māori found in prison, compared to non-Māori (Walker, 2004, p. 93) and the fact that a high percentage of Māori inflicted with avoidable diseases in children and elderly coincide with high numbers of Māori living in sub-standard housing and poverty (Statistics New Zealand, 2012). Māori also feature disproportionately high compared to non-Māori in the unemployment statistics, and tend to exit education at lower levels on average compared to non-Māori (Harwood, 2006, p. 5)[13].

Fundamental principles that can be derived from the Treaty have proved strategically useful for Māori in their quest to be heard. Māori grievances in regards to the Crown not upholding the Treaty did remain unseen by the wider society until the 1970s when large protests from urban Māori grabbed the attention of the nation (Hayward, 2004, p. 161). Green (2002, p. 49) would go so far as to say that "Pākehā New Zealanders were facing something of an identity crisis" because they had been naïve to the injustices that Māori had been facing since the middle of the nineteenth century – an attitude that still continues today and will be discussed further in Chapter Three. Nevertheless, with events such as the 1975 Hīkoi (Māori Land March) and the land

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[13] For more information regarding the Māori perspective in regards to health, education, economic, and social disadvantages, see (Walker, 2004) (Durie, 2001), (Durie, 1998, 2005, 2011), (Keenan, 2012).

occupation at Bastion Point in 1977 then in the public eye, the Government had no choice but to address Māori concerns[14].

The Waitangi Tribunal

In 1975, the Government enacted the Treaty of Waitangi Act, which established the Waitangi Tribunal (the Tribunal)[15]. The Tribunal is "a permanent commission of inquiry empowered to receive claims on, report on and recommend alleged Crown breaches of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi post-1975" (Mulholland and Tawhai (2010, p. 1). As well as the Tribunal arising from the Treaty of Waitangi Act, it can also *whakapapa* back to the Commissions of Inquiry Act 1908 (Ruru, 2010, p. 128), couching itself within both Pākehā and Māori-driven legislation. Walker (2004, p. 254) speculates that the Government only agreed to the passing of the amended Act in 1985 because they were concerned that by not doing something about the Treaty grievances for Māori, they would lose Māori votes. This 1985 Amendment Act allowed the Tribunal to consider grievances dating back to 1840 (Hayward, 2004a, p. 29).

Treaty principles as opposed to the actual words and terms of the Treaty were regarded more appropriate for the Tribunal to consider grievances from Māori in regard to the Crown's breaches of the Treaty (Hayward, 2004a, p. 29). This process was seen as a more fitting way to interpret the Treaty because of the cultural and social implications that cannot be applied today as they were in 1840. Additionally, these principles explain the significance of the Māori version of the Treaty. Not only is the Māori version the only one of its kind (Sorrenson, 2014, p. 41), but it also

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[14] For more information of Māori assertions to self-determination, please see Harris (2004).
[15] See Appendix D for Section 6 of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975.

allows the Tribunal to consider for contextual interpretation of any claims regarding

Treaty grievances. This means that issues within claims can be interpreted fully and

with regard to the time that they concern and the extent of the breach.

In its first reports, the Tribunal made many references to the actual terms of the

Treaty such as '*kāwanatanga*'(government), '*mana*' (prestige), '*rangatiratanga*'

(sovereignty), '*taonga*' (treasures), and the subsequent interpretations of the terms

"before extending the discussion into Treaty principles" (J. Hayward, 2012). The

evolution of the Treaty principles was a relatively rapid one in the scope of things.

> …in 1986…the Labour Government's State-owned Enterprises (SOE)
> Act…allowed for the corporatisation of state assets. Under the Act,
> approximately ten million hectares of land would pass to SOEs. Maori in the
> Far North submitted to the Waitangi Tribunal that this action would prejudice
> their claims relating to SOE land, and the Tribunal agreed. The Government
> responded by inserting two sections in the Act to protect Maori interests.
> Section 9 stated that 'Nothing in this Act shall permit the Crown to act in a
> manner that is inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi', and
> section 27 protected existing claims to land. With these safeguards in place,
> the Government proceeded with the transfer of assets (Hayward, 2004a, p. 31).

With the Government having safe-guarded Māori interests, it set the precedent for

how influential the principles of the Treaty were to become. The landmark case *New

Zealand Maori Council v Attorney General*, or the 'Lands case' as it also became

known, gave meaning to the Treaty principles and their definitions under New

Zealand law (Hayward, 2004a, pp. 31-32). This was the first instance where the

Court of Appeal made judgements based on sections 9 and 27 of the State-owned

Enterprises Act and more importantly gave meaning to the principles of the Treaty of

Waitangi. The Court ruled that:

> The Treaty signified a partnership between Pakeha and Maori requiring each
> to act towards the other reasonable and with the utmost good faith. The
> relationship between the Treaty partners creates responsibilities analogous to
> fiduciary duties. The duty of the Crown is not merely passive but extends to
> active protection of Maori people in their use of their lands and waters to the

fullest extent practicable (*New Zealand Zealand Maori Council v Attorney-General* [1987] 1 NZLR 642, cited in Hayward, 2004, p. 32).

Following the 'Lands case', the Courts developed many Treaty principles with each having a *whakapapa* back to the 'Lands case'. The 'Lands case' refers to the fact that Māori and the Crown are in a relationship, they both have an obligation to 'act in good faith' towards each other, and that the Crown must exercise 'active protection' over Māori and their *taonga*. The Tribunal meanwhile continued to evolve these Treaty principles with the plethora of Māori grievances lodged with them in regards to the Crown's inability to uphold the principles of the Treaty[16].

One claim to the Tribunal that holds particular significance is the *Napier Hospital and Health Services Report* (2001). Not only is it an acknowledgement of the evolution of the principles of the Treaty, but it is also to a main component of this thesis. Although the Tribunal considers each claim on an individual basis, it is clear to see the *whakapapa* of the Treaty principles present. Each novel interpretation of an already established Treaty principle can be seen in more recent Tribunal reports (Hayward, 2004a, p. 32). The report identified multiple principles; some had been described elaborately in previous reports, and some had not. They were, "*the principle of active protection…the principle of partnership…the principle of equity*…[and] *the principle of options*" (Hayward, 2004a, p. 39). All of which, as Hayward (2004, p. 39) points out, were not exactly new principles, but rather extended on in this claim.

> In the context of healthcare, the [*Napier Hospital and Healthcare Report*] saw the principle of equity as emerging from Article 3 of the Treaty, which granted all Maori the status of British citizens, with implications for the state provision of social services and standards of healthcare for Maori. Finally, the principle

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[16] This highlights an interpretation of the Treaty principles. For alternative interpretations of the Treaty of Waitangi principles, see (Snedden, 2004) and (Round, 2013).

of options arose from the different paths the Treaty opened up for Maori. Article 2 guaranteed self-management of tribal resources according to Maori tikanga, while Article 3 gave Maori access to the society, technology and culture of settlers (Waitangi Tribunal, 2001, pp. 47-48).

The last Treaty principle highlighted in the *Napier Hospital and Healthcare Report* 2001, 'equity', acts as the basis for the justification of the MSC in Health Sciences as well as other Trequity Measures at the University of Otago.

Equality and Equity

Equality and equity are often used interchangeably. It is important to know how these two concepts are related to each other, but also how they are different. Equality constitutes treating people who are the same, the same, and people who are different, different. More specifically, in Article Three of the Treaty it infers that Māori are given the same rights and privileges that are afforded to Pākehā, which is also said to be the notion of equality. The Tribunal, however, speaks of equity as being derived from Article Three, rather than equality as is shown in the *Napier Hospital and Healthcare Report* (Waitangi Tribunal, 2001, pp. 47-48). This is where knowing the difference between the two becomes imperative.

Equality in itself implies such terms as 'sameness', 'fairness', 'justice', and 'homogeneity'. Sharp (1997, p. 195) exclaims that 'equality' is a very Pākehā ideology. Polyviou (1980, p. 7) offers more insight into Aristotle's interpretation of equality by stating that the principle of equality "does not demand identity of treatment, but allows and is compatible with many differentiations, provided however that these differentiations correspond with relevant differences". In other words, if people are already equal and not experiencing any discrimination then they can be treated alike.
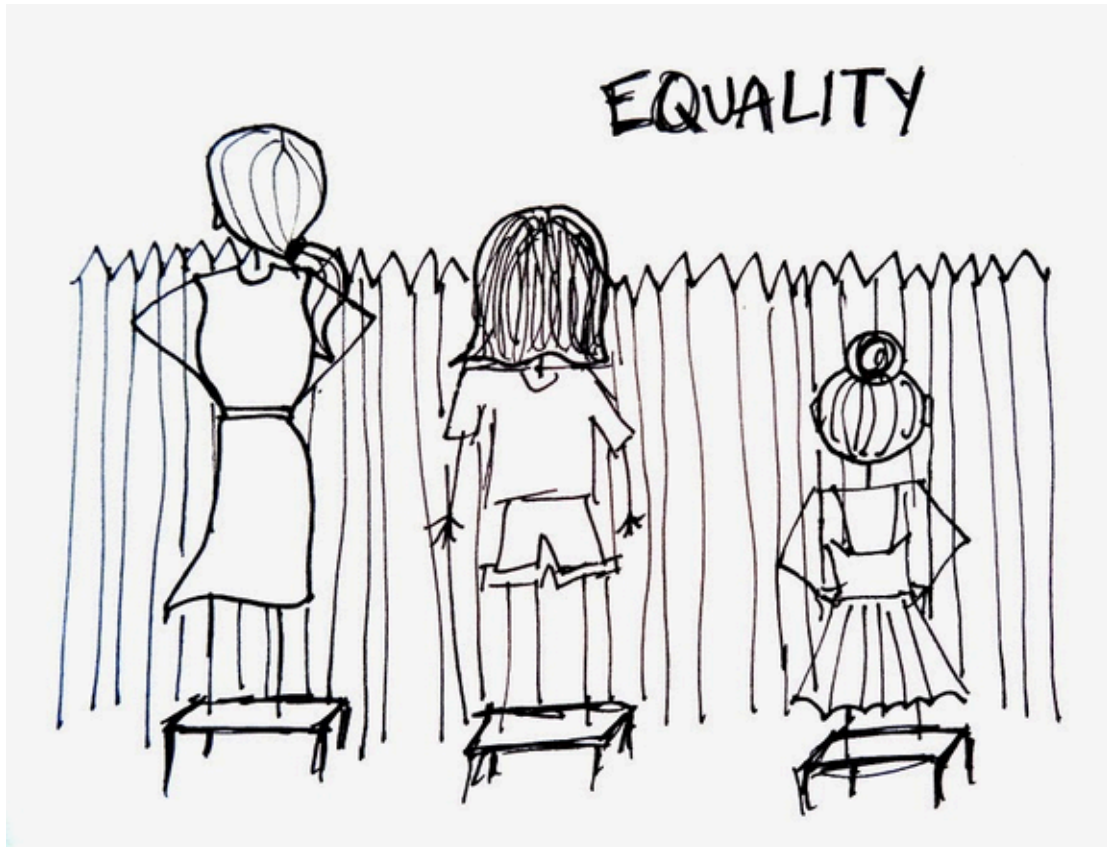
Figure 2: 'Equality' shows three different people standing on the same level boxes. This indicates an equal starting point. However, only two of the people can see over the fence. This therefore constitutes equality, but not equity[17]

But if they are not already as equal as could be desired, then society must come up with a solution to their inequality to put everyone back on the same level playing field. This is the whole idea surrounding Trequity Measures. They are Government's attempt to restore justice, level the playing field, and ensure that Māori are provided with the means to stand at a more equitable level. The Article the third provides for equality, but how that can be achieved is where the disparities lie. This is where equity then comes into play.

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[17] Source available at:
file:///Users/marcellewharerau/Documents/MASTERS/Sources/Equity/equality

Equity is not a common household term. However in New Zealand, around 1983, the idea of 'social equity' appeared in the public discourse and was published in a Planning Council booklet called *Issues in Equity* (Sharp, 1997, p. 195). Policy makers, administrators, and mainly non-parliamentary politicians began to parade the term around in the media (Sharp, 1997, p. 215). Multiple Government departments and ministries started including this term into their strategic plans to ensure Māori and other disadvantaged groups within New Zealand were given a fair go, as it was clear that obviously the past had not addressed these disparities well (Sharp, 1997, p. 181). They cited terminology such as 'injustice', 'unfairness', 'affirmative action', 'disadvantaged', 'access', 'autonomy', 'freedom' and 'tolerance', however no where in these policies or documents did it actually say what equity was (Sharp, 1997, pp. 181, 216-217). It was not until after all of the confusion that the Planning Council exclaimed:

> 'Equity is not the same as equality'. 'Equity' but not 'equality' was a 'justifiable' aim. 'It is necessary to make a distinction between equity and equality; they are associated but different. An over-emphasis on equality would ignore essential differences between people. Equity is therefore a more justifiable, and a more feasible, goal for society' (Sharp, 1997, p. 218).

In summary, equity, as opposed to equality, takes in to consideration difference amongst individuals or groups. It ascertains that because they are different, they need to be treated differently in a positive way so that they are able to reach an equal starting point, outcome or reward. This is because their potential is usually disabled by their difference and the context that usually prefers one group to the other. Sharp (1997, p. 218) further simplifies these ideas as " 'Equity' – a projected good future distribution of things".
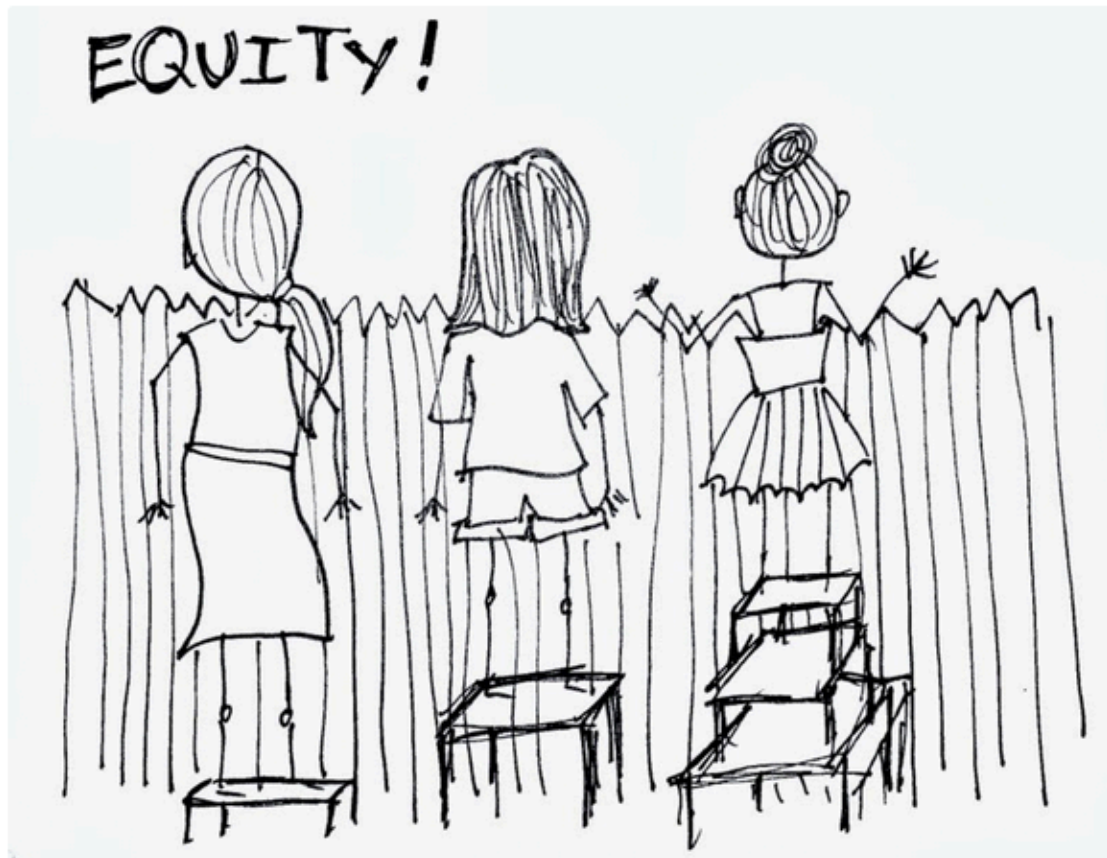
Figure 3: 'Equity', shows three people on different levelled boxes enabling all of them to be able to see over the fence. This constitutes equity because each person has access to what they need to become equal with each other[18].

Furthermore, Sharp (1997, p. 152) identifies Ranginui Walker as having addressed the idea of equity in his 1987 article in the *Listener* compelling that Māori demand for equity. This would entail, as Sharp elaborates in two parts, that Māori required assistance in helping them to "overcome their relative deprivation"… "in health and housing, in education for fulfilment of employment" whilst also attempting to "retain, regain and expand their independence of Pākehā control of their lives", and also requested "a fairer distribution of goods from the state" (Sharp (1997, p. 181).

This was an important realisation for Māori and the retention of their identities. The importance of understanding the term equity is not just for the purpose of this thesis.

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[18] Source available at: http://pixgood.com/equality-vs-equity-cartoon.html

Although it is one of the fundamental focal points, it is also essential in relation to the understanding of how New Zealand, as a bicultural nation, works. Both the Waitangi Tribunal and the New Zealand Government have acknowledged the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi to New Zealand society. Equality as well as equity plays a pivotal role in the policies that govern the country.

Equity and 'special measures'

Paul Callister, a Wellington economist, in his book *Special Measures to Reduce Ethnic Disdvantage in New Zealand*, wrote about Trequity and Equity Measures as being "'special measures'" (Sharp, 1997, p. 181). However Callister explores these 'special measures' – which will only be referred to here to acknowledge Callister's work – by addressing topics that came about from efforts between the Institute of Policy Studies at Victoria University and the Human Rights Commission.

The then National Party leader, Don Brash, made a speech at Orewa in 2004 that sparked a considerable amount of public attention, with the core of his speech arguing that Māori were 'privileged'. Brash introduced, and to some extent, validated the idea that Māori receive special privileges from the Government:

> There can be no basis for special privileges for any race, no basis for government funding based on race, no basis for introducing Maori wards in local authority elections, and no obligation for local governments to consult Maori preference to other New Zealanders (Callister, 2007, p. 5).

In response to Brash's Orewa speech, the Government commissioned a review to ensure that ministerial policies and programmes were based on need not race (State Services Commision, 2005, p. 1, cited in Callister, 2007, p. 2). This became more commonly known as the Mallard Review. The Review was not set up to impulsively eradicate the ethnic-based policies, but rather to investigate what they were in place to

achieve, and to see if targeting ethnicity was assisting the progression of the policies.

It also "aimed to identify the intervention logic, (that is, to provide a credible theory

or evidence) as to how targeting by ethnicity helped address the need" (State Services

Commision, 2005, p. 1, cited in Callister, 2007, p. 2). The Mallard Review deemed

ethnic-based policies appropriate when:

- a need is clearly established and those in need are clearly identified;
- ethnicity helps to identify those in need better than other information does;
- people in need are not excluded from the services because of their ethnicity;
- the tailoring of programme's delivery to particular groups is likely to help reach those in need or increase the programme's effectiveness; and
- clear evidence exists of the programme's effectiveness (Mallard, 2005, cited in Callister, 2007, p. 91).

In the same year, the Human Rights Commission launched the *New Zealand Action*

Plan for Human Rights: Mana ki te Tangata, urging that there was a need to

disseminate public understanding of the "legitimacy of 'special measures' to achieve

equality under international and domestic law" (Brash, 2004). Subsequently in 2006,

the Institute of Policy Studies at Victoria University of Wellington and the Human

Rights Commission held a discussion of 'special measures' (Callister, 2007, p. 2).

Amongst the discussion were academics, policy makers, and key participants of the

Mallard Review. Many concerns were raised, including:

1. a lack of an agreed definition and common understanding of 'special measures';
2. uncertainty about whether 'equality' meant equality of opportunity or equality of outcomes;
3. the conflation of provisions tailored to meet the needs of a particular group with 'special measures;
4. confusion about 'special measures' and their relationship with the Treaty of Waitangi;
5. confusion about the distinction between 'special measures' and equal employment opportunities (EEO) measures; and
6. a lack of agreement about the evidential basis necessary to justify 'special measures' (Callister, 2007, p. 3).

These discussion questions were the subsequent basis of Callister's book. However

he pays little heed to most of the issues that were raised especially in relation to

Māori, and comes to conclusions similar to the ones stated in the Mallard Review.

Callister does not delve into why the Treaty of Waitangi should be considered in

relation to Māori and 'special measures', but instead identifies two key statutes: the

Human Rights Act 1993; and the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990, as a means of

defining and therefore justifying what he calls 'special measures'. The two differ in

the sense that the Human Rights Act 1993 is concerned with both the public and

private sectors (employment, education, public access). The New Zealand Bill of

Rights Act 1990 only concerns the public sector, "or more specifically the legislative,

executive and judicial branches of Government" (Callister, 2007, p. 3).

> Section 21 of the [Human Rights] Act [1993] sets out 13 prohibited grounds of discrimination. The specific grounds are sex; marital status; religious belief; ethical belief; colour; race; ethnic or national origin (including citizenship); disability; age; political opinion; employment status; family status (including pregnancy); and sexual orientation (Callister, 2007, p. 5).

> Section 19 of the Bill of Rights Act [1990] affirms that everyone has the right to freedom from discrimination on the grounds set out in section 21 of the Human Rights Act ... measures taken in good faith to advance people disadvantaged because of unlawful discrimination do not themselves constitute discrimination. The Bill of Rights Act also states that if a person belongs to an ethnic, a religious or a linguistic minority they must not be denied the right to enjoy the culture or practice the religion or use that language (Callister, 2007, p. 6).

'Special measures' are therefore defined and justified as being something afforded to

all members of disadvantaged, underrepresented, and minority groups within New

Zealand. However, the Treaty of Waitangi must be considered when it comes to

considering Equity Measures for Māori: Trequity Measures.

Part Two: Māori and Tertiary Education

This part of the chapter explores the *whakapapa* of Trequity Measures, using the WAI 718 Claim as a precedent for why Trequity Measures must be in place at all New Zealand TEIs. It refrains from going into detail about the education system as a whole because the most important aspect to take into consideration is the *whakapapa* and justification of Trequity Measures at the University of Otago.

Māori in Tertiary Education

It is evident that the New Zealand education has failed Māori[19]. However, what is important to the argument of this thesis is what has happened in order to address the aftermath of that failure. In the 1960's there were two reports that investigated Māori and education, among other things: The 1961 Hunn Report and the 1962 Currie Report. The Hunn Report found that the education system was failing Māori, and so recommended that certain aspects of *tikanga* be integrated in to the curricula – in a tokenistic fashion, to keep Māori 'happy' (Butterworth, 1973, p. 15). This report is significant because it acknowledged that there was in fact a 'Māori problem' when it came to education. However, it blamed Māori themselves for this problem, and their inability to adapt to the education system and the 'new' Pākehā-New Zealand way of life (Hokowhitu, 2004, p. 196). As with the Hunn Report, the Currie Report authorised by the Commission of Education, came to similar conclusions stating that the living conditions of Māori houses were insufficient for studying and that the Māori custom of children being raised by their grandparents was detrimental to their

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[19] It is not the intent of this thesis to provide an extensive history of the Māori education prior to and during colonisation. However, please see Naylor (2006), Firth (2012), Metge (1976), Best (1986) for more information in regards to Māori teaching pedagogies prior to Pākehā arrival. Simon (1998) also provides an excellent historical analysis of the education of Māori children as an instrument of assimilation and integration into New Zealand society.

integration into Pākehā society (The Commision of Education in New Zealand, 1962, pp. 415-418, cited in Hokowhitu, 2004, p. 196).

These kinds of attitudes shaped educational policies, as well as the wider school environments at the time concerning Māori and education. Māori-driven educational initiatives such as the Kohanga Reo Movement (Māori language nests), *kura kaupapa* (Māori language primary schools), *wharekura* (Māori language secondary schools), and *wānanga* (Māori-medium tertiary institutes) were all set up to address these disparities and reconnect Māori with their culture (Harris, 2004, p. 50). Civil Rights Movements in the United States and Apartheid rebellions in South Africa were influential events going on around the world at the same time. With the Government's recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1975 Act and the subsequent establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal, addressed in Part One, the Māori voice was finally starting to be heard, to some extent.

Wānanga

A Māori-medium alternative to mainstream tertiary education such as universities and polytechnics, are *wānanga*. There are three *wānanga* that were initially established – Te Wānanga o Aotearoa in 1983 (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2011, p. 7), Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiāranga in 1991, and Te Wānanga o Raukawa in 1975 (Te Wānanga o Raukawa, 2014) – all of which were later officially recognised by the Education Act 1989. However, in 1998, a claim was lodged with the Tribunal (WAI 718) arguing that all three *wānanga* had not received equitable capital establishment funding from the Government in comparison with other tertiary education institutes (TEIs) (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999, pp. 1-2). The Tribunal found that the Crown breached the principles of the Treaty and had failed to "actively protect Māori rights

in matters relating to tertiary education; in particular, by failing to provide wananga with capital establishment grants in a similar manner to mainstream TEIs" (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999, p. 54). The Tribunal also found that "after 1990, the Crown did provide capital injections to some TEIs but refused to do so for wananga, thereby prejudicing wananga (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999, p. 54). The Tribunal recommended that the Government compensate all three of the *wānanga* a lump sum to acknowledge their recognition of their status as per the Education Amendment Act 1989 and that they continue to fund the *wānanga* as they would any other TEI in New Zealand (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999, p. 54). After protests and marches at Parliament, by the year 2000, the Government agreed to start to fund *wānanga* capital funding available to all other mainstream TEIs (Edwards & Hewitson, 2008, p. 99). This particular claim is important because of the Treaty principles the Tribunal argued the Crown had breached. In the next section we shall return to the importance of this claim in conjunction with the Treaty principles and TEIs.

The *wānanga* were established because of the growing realisation that the New Zealand education system, secondary schooling in particular, had not worked and was not working for Māori students (Hook, 2007, pp. 2, 5).

> The need was apparent because dropout rates for Māori in mainstream institutions were very high. It was thought that perhaps Māori in a Māori setting might do better and indeed this has proven itself to be true time and time again (Hook, 2007, p. 5).

Hook (2007, p. 6) further states, "Māori under achievement [and underrepresentation] in the tertiary sector, as compared with their Pākehā peers, is built upon Māori underachievement in the secondary sector". One thing the three *wānanga* have in common is their ability to attract Māori to higher education. They do this by including a holistic and cyclical approach to learning that establishes Māori

pedagogies in a *mātauranga* Māori framework that addresses Māori educational disparities (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh, & Teddy, 2009, p. 2; Hook, 2007, p. 5).

In 2013, 27.7% of all Māori enrolled at a tertiary institution were enrolled in *wānanga*. One attraction of *wānanga* is that unlike mainstream universities, they tend to offer more pre-degree than degree-level courses (Ministry of Education, 2014)[20]. The courses that are offered through all of the *wānanga* do provide their students with a more than adequate platform in pre-degree learning and in a number of cases lead onto degree-level learning. Hook identifies a growing concern around students that succeed in a *wānanga* setting, but have no further pathways to pursue other than the mainstream way. Hook (2007, p.14) suggests future pathways for Māori education specifically in the tertiary sector including a National Māori University.

The above historical overview of *wānanga* was an attempt to show the *whakapapa* and evolution of education for Māori. Understanding why and how Māori have come to be within any part of the education sector is important because the reasons for Trequity Measures are aligned with past inequities of Māori within education and society, many of which are still evident today.

Tertiary provider	2006		2013	
Universities	15.7%	(13 400)	19.2%	(15 527)
Institutes of technology, polytechnics	37.5%	(32 089)	35%	(28 330)
Wānanga	29.5%	(25 200)	27.7%	(22 407)

Table 3: shows the distribution of Māori students enrolled in tertiary institutions (Ministry of Education, 2014).

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[20] These statistics have been calculated from the information given by the Ministry of Education. For more information of other ethnicity groups among the population, please see Ministry of Education (2014) and (Wilson et al., 2011, pp. 702-703).

With 27.7% of Māori enrolled in tertiary institutions in *wānanga*, and a further 35% in Institutes of Technology, and Polytechnics – just 19.2% of are enrolled in mainstream universities (Ministry of Education, 2014). The Government has policies in place to ensure that Māori pursue higher education that "enable[s] them to participate and achieve at all levels of the workforce" (Ministry of Education, 2014).

The Government's Treaty obligation

According to Section 181 (b) of the Education Act 1989, a Council must govern all TEIs, and that Council must "acknowledge the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi". In addition to this, also as part of the Education Act, the Minister for Education, Skills and Employment must issue a "tertiary education strategy that sets out the Government's long-term strategic direction for tertiary education…[that] addresses economic, social and environmental goals" (Tertiary Education Commission, 2014). Priority 3 of the Tertiary Education Strategy 2014-2019 is also dedicated to boosting achievement for Māori and Pacific Island students. It acknowledges that although Māori have made huge gains, there is still more that needs to be done.

> Māori participation rates are still below average at higher levels: 16% of Māori under 25 participate in study at level 4 and above, compared to 23% of the total population. Completion rates, while increasing, remain below the total population: 62% of Māori completed a qualification at level 4 or above within five years after beginning full-time study in 2007, compared to 74% of the total population (Tertiary Education Commission, 2014).

The policies set at Government level enable the Councils of each TEI to set their own strategies and policies at the managerial level that best fit each individual institution. The Education Act specifically sets out what criteria the Councils must adhere to and how they go about enacting such policies. Moreover, policies at universities that are in place to encourage Māori participation, retention and success, not only make for popular conversations but also can be summarised by the following points:

- Cooperating with Māori.
- Providing opportunities to assist, develop, and advance Māori.
- Developing a curriculum that acknowledges Māori perspectives.
- Preparing Māori to participate in NZ society socially, culturally and economically (Tertiary Education Commission, 2014).

D. Hayward (2012, p. 22) adds that it is no longer optional to respond to Māori, or even a question of good will. When it comes to tertiary education institutions and Māori, it's "closely linked to funding agreements".

TEIs and the Treaty principles

The Wānanga Treaty claim, WAI 718, is an important claim when discussing equity and TEIs. Not only is this claim the first that the Tribunal has dealt with concerning tertiary education, but in response to this claim the Government granted capital establishment funding to all three of the *wānanga* on the basis that the Crown had breached multiple Treaty principles (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999, p. 43). According to the Tribunal, the principles that were breached included partnership, good governance, *rangatiratanga*, *taonga* and *oritetanga*. Subsequently, the Government's rejection of capital funding for *wānanga* disallowed them to be able to exercise fully their *rangatiratanga*. Additionally *te reo* and *mātauranga* Māori are *taonga* and *wānanga* are places where these two *taonga* are able to flourish. These two things are imperative to the fundamental formation of a Māori identity. This means that the Government breached the principle of *oritetanga* because it would have disallowed this aspect of identity formation. Furthermore,

> [if] wananga close because of a lack of establishment funding, then the tertiary education options available to all New Zealanders will have been limited. If wananga fail through undercapitalisation, those who have chosen wananga will be forced to look elsewhere (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999, p. 52).

This claim is significant not only because it demonstrates the Government's accountability to things Māori, but because it sets a precedent for practising Treaty

obligations within other New Zealand Tertiary Education Institutions. The TEIs have a Treaty obligation to devise strategies that ensure Māori participation, success, and retention – as well as *te reo* Māori and *mātauranga* Māori – or Trequity Measures.

Māori participation in university

Out of the many TEIs recognised by the Education Act 1989: *wānanga*, Colleges of Education, Institutes of Technology, Polytechnics, and universities; Māori participation within universities is one of the most disproportionate.

Ethnic groups	2006		2013	
European	68.3%	(95 385)	70%	(104 452)
Māori	9.6%	(13 400)	10.4%	(15 527)
Pacific Island peoples	5.8%	(8 124)	6.9%	(10 275)
Asian	17.7%	(24 794)	18.3%	(27 216)
Other	6.5%	(9 098)	5.7%	(8 545)
Total	139 686		148 920	

Table 4: shows the distribution of students enrolled at university in 2013 in New Zealand (Ministry of Education, 2014).

For Māori, this is an increase from 2006 where 9.6% (13,400) of the total university population enrolled were Māori. However, overall enrolments within the total university population have decreased approximately 17% from 2006 to 2013 (445,696 to 369,565). This may be due to the change in legislation due to study allowances not offered to post-graduate students as of 2013. The current New Zealand population is summarised by the following table, and it is anticipated that by 2051 Māori will make up approximately 20% of the population (Ministry of Education, 2014).

Ethnic groups	New Zealand	Percentage
European	2 969 391	74%
Māori	598 602	14.9%
Pacific peoples	295 941	7.4%
Asian	471 708	11.8%
Other	229 434	4.5%
Total people stated	4 011 402	

Table 5: shows the 2013 New Zealand population (Ministry of Education, 2014).

This comparison is to emphasise how the ethnic-group participation in universities does not mirror the New Zealand population when it comes to Māori – as well as Pacific Island people. Pākehā are represented proportionately in relation to their population, while Asians tend to be overrepresented at university. For Māori to achieve equity in this section of the education sector, it means that approximately 15% of students enrolled at university in New Zealand must be Māori. At the moment this is not the case. Not only does this have direct consequences to Māori underrepresentation in universities, it also shows how universities are not contributing equitably to the New Zealand workforce. Strategies to assist this inequity are in place at all of New Zealand's eight universities – and they all implement these differently. A case study of how the University of Otago implements these Trequity Measures in accordance to the policies set at Government level is covered in Chapter Four. Furthermore, Māori participation and retention statistics at the University of Otago will be also be provided to compare to the overall tertiary participation statistics that have already been given. Now though, it is important to understand what kinds of current barriers there are for Māori if this inequity is still present at the university level and is apparent in some of the interview material presented in Chapter Five.

Māori pursuing university

It has been suggested that the secondary school system has failed Māori and that may be a reason why there continues to be inequities at tertiary level, and more specifically

in universities (Nakhid, 2006, p. 300). Māori are less likely than their Pākehā peers to go to university, and more likely to leave school without any qualifications (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Jones (1982, p. 162) suggested that someone's Māori and/or Pacific ethnic background was a barrier for attending university. That was in 1982, and so the following research addresses particular reasons why Māori are less likely to pursue university. Jefferies (1998) conducted a major study of Māori participation in tertiary education where the focus was getting more Māori into tertiary education. Nowadays, more research is being done to address retention rates for Māori in tertiary education (Te Tari Matauranga Māori, 2007, p. 364). Firstly, rather than discussing further why it is that Māori are less likely to attend university, Hayward's (2012) case study of Auckland University of Technology suggests strategies to attract Māori students to university. Subsequently, the barriers become the reverse of the attractors because they are not taken into consideration from a holistic viewpoint.

Academic preparedness was a factor within the above study. Students who were more academically prepared for what they intended to study at university, were more likely to feel as though university would suit them (D. Hayward, 2012, p. 110). Successful recruitment strategies for secondary school students proved essential for convincing students to come to university as well as the idea that 'one size does not fit all' also appealed to students – the idea that they were unique (D. Hayward, 2012, p. 113). It is suggested that Māori students, especially those within Māori-medium schools, respond better to the recruitment agents (university liaison officers) when *whānaungatanga* (togetherness) is fostered and likely to be prevalent within their university education (D. Hayward, 2012, p. 114). Bridging programmes tended to be attractive to students who had not completed the required prerequisites at secondary

school. These avenues of recruitment entice students because it adds to their sense of academic preparedness. Specific examples pertaining to Tū Kahika, a Health Sciences bridging programme at the University of Otago will be given later in this thesis. A final yet crucial attractor for Māori students to any university is financial assistance (D. Hayward, 2012, p. 115). Socio-economic statistics show that Māori incomes are disproportionately lower than non-Māori incomes, scholarships are a key strategy for recruiting Māori students into universities (D. Hayward, 2012, p. 52). For some Māori, a scholarship opportunity is often the deciding factor when it comes to choosing to attend university.

Another case study of Māori participation at the University of Canterbury by Phillips (2003) found that Māori student experiences' in their first year contributed heavily to whether or not they wanted to stay at university (Wilson et al., 2011, p. 2). Academic preparedness or lack thereof, as also mentioned earlier with Hayward (2012), was a contributing factor why students dropped out of university. Other factors included being the first member in their family to go to university, being enrolled part-time, family commitments, and failing papers. However, students said that their main reasons for dropping out, or wanting to drop out, were because of the university's "culture, curriculum and practices [being] monoculture, alienating, and non-welcoming (Wilson et al., 2011, p. 702). Māori students were more likely to successfully complete their degrees when they could actively practise their Māori identity and could seek out other Māori students with similar interests. Both George, Allan, Barratt, Thompson, and Tatana (2010, p. 9) and van der Meer, Scott, and Neha (2010, p. 11) support the above notions of the importance of sustaining a Māori identity for success within a university setting. Additionally, there must be places

within universities that encourage and allow Māori students to actively practise their *Māoritanga* (Māori identity).

Conclusion

Chapter Two was separated into two parts to demonstrate the *whakapapa* of the invented term: Trequity. The first part established the basis for which the Treaty of Waitangi especially Article Three, must be taken into consideration when discussing measures that are in place to assist in ensuring that Māori are at a more equitable place in New Zealand society. Part Two explored the *whakapapa* of Trequity Measures within tertiary education. The main aim for the integration of these two subjects is to show that having an informed knowledge of both is integral to the formation of the *whakapapa* of Trequity Measures. Part Two also emphasised that the Government is obligated to provide opportunities (Trequity Measures) for Māori to achieve equity. The next chapter will re-introduce the idea that Trequity Measures are a form of Māori privilege and how this is perpetuated by discourse primarily portrayed in the media.

Chapter Three
A stigma perpetuated: the invisible *whakapapa*

The weaker are always anxious for justice and equality. The strong pay no heed to either (Aristotle, 1995, p. 103 Bk III, Chapter 9).

This chapter is dedicated to discussing the idea of Māori privilege and how the media perpetuates this idea. This is because Trequity Measures are often seen as forms of Māori privilege. It also explores the origins of different terminology that have often been associated with Trequity Measures, and add to the perpetuation of the negative stigma because of the added confusion. None of these terms, or their *whakapapa,* take into consideration the uniqueness the partnership that Māori have with the Crown as per the Treaty of Waitangi. This further perpetuates the myths that revolve around them as to what they actually are, and what they are in place to achieve. People incorrectly perceive ideas and beliefs about Trequity Measures. The actual construction of an individual's perception of something – negative or otherwise – is not the purpose of this chapter. It is rather a means of demonstrating as to how people might become misinformed about the reasons and the purpose of Trequity Measures. This in turn, contributes heavily to how Trequity Measures are perceived in New Zealand and more specifically at the University of Otago.

"You Maaris get everything"

The attitude, 'you Maaris get everything' is one that is common throughout the New Zealand discourse (Abel, 1997; Borell et al., 2009; Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Though it is often not always explicitly spoken about in these exact words, it is nevertheless prevalent within society.

Perceptions of and attitudes towards Māori

The two concepts, 'perception' and 'attitudes' are often used interchangeably. This is because of how closely defined they are. For instance, Webster's dictionary defines an attitude as a mental position with regard to a fact or state; a feeling or emotion toward a fact or state; a position assumed for a specific purpose. Perception is "a mental image, concept; physical sensation interpreted in the light of experience; consciousness". As shown, there is little that is different between the two definitions. Additionally, perception according to Schiff is often used to mean how one perceives the environment around them – this is otherwise categorised as 'social perception' (1970, p. 1).

> Social perception is concerned with the impression one has of a social stimuli or set of stimuli, as that impression is modified by the perceiver's past experiences in general, his previous experience with that same or similar stimuli and the individual's state at the moment he is viewing the stimulus of interest (Schiff, 1970, pp. 1-2).

Perception is then rather an initial sub-conscious reaction to a physical object, an idea or an opinion. An attitude the physical manifestation of how one reacts to what they have perceived. Attitudes can then be defined as two-fold according to Vaughn and Hogg:

> A relatively enduring organisation of beliefs, feelings and behavioural tendencies towards socially significant objects, groups, events or symbols. [and] A general feeling or evaluation – positive or negative – about some person, object or issue (2010, p. 94).

Therefore, perceptions of a particular idea or opinion could be classed as information that has been perceived or received without a thorough understanding of said idea. Attitudes invoke beliefs about an object – positively, or negatively – and also a behavioural element, where you would act differently towards the proposed object. It is also suggested that attitudes are relatively permanent, not easily changed, generalizable and somewhat abstract. They are also limited to socially significant

events because they are "learned as an integral part of being socialised" (Vaughan & Hogg, 2010, p. 95).

A crucial part of attitudes is the way in which these attitudes are learned and has much to do with external influences and the external environment. Gorn and Goldberg (1974, p. 71) found that the mass media has a huge influence on people's attitudes and in particular their political attitudes. Moreover, the study found that children's attitudes tended to be based on their parent's attitudes towards an object or idea. In an American context, Kellstedt (2003, p. 130) also found that the media not only reflect public opinion – but actually helps to mould it. From a New Zealand perspective, perceptions of and attitudes towards Māori, whether perceived as positive or negative, can be seen in many parts of New Zealand society. Of course, an area that heavily documents a version of these attitudes is in fact the media, and more recently, social media. This section describes some of these past and present attitudes in New Zealand society and how these perceptions and attitudes funnel down to constructing perceptions of Trequity Measures within universities and more specifically, the University of Otago.

Biculturalism

Positive attitudes towards Māori and things Māori can be couched within the ability to accept the idea that New Zealand is a bicultural nation. Biculturalism is the idea that New Zealand was founded on the grounds that two equal groups, Māori and Pākehā (the Crown)[21], have equal authority over how the country is and should be governed

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[21] As was demonstrated in the first part of the previous chapter, the Treaty of Waitangi was signed between Māori and the British Crown in 1840. Since the advent of a Colonial and now New Zealand Government, the Government is the agent for the British Crown in all

as per this recognition in the Treaty of Waitangi (Sibley & Liu, 2004, p. 88). This idea acknowledges that Māori, although a minority culture, should have equal say in how New Zealand functions because of their recognised partnership with the Government.

There are two distinctive definitions of biculturalism; distributive or resource biculturalism, and symbolic biculturalism (Callister, 2011, p. 1; Sharp, 1997, p. 227). The two former terms describe the idea that the distribution of resources in New Zealand should be made between Māori and the Crown (Pākehā). Biculturalism also grew out of the terms monoculturalism and multiculturalism. Both terms are the polar opposite of each, however, the ways in which they arose around 40 years ago were due to an increasing change in the way New Zealander's were identifying with one another (Hill, 2009, p. 151). New Zealand-born Pākehā began to think of them as Pākehā, disengaging from their European ancestry and thus establishing a monocultural idea of identity (Mikaere, 2004, p. 4). Then, to acknowledge other different types of ethnic groups that called New Zealand home, multiculturalism started to become part of the discourse – the latter disputing that of biculturalism within the political and social sectors (Abel, 1997, p. 19). Multicultralism also disregards the notion that Māori are *tangata whenua* (indigenous people of New Zealand). It takes away from the partnership status that Māori have with the British Crown (the New Zealand Government) as per the signing of the Treaty. It makes Māori just another ethnic minority when in fact Māori have that partnership relationship which other ethnic minorities do not have. Therefore, multiculturalism would perpetuate a negative perception of Trequity Measures.

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things Treaty. When the Crown is referred to, this relates to the on-going Treaty relationship between Māori and the New Zealand Government.

At a Governmental level the Crown can be seen as fostering a positive attitude towards both symbolic biculturalism and resource biculturalism by acknowledging Māori and things Māori. This is highlighted by certain key events in the past 40 years – the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal, deeming *te reo* Māori an official language of New Zealand, establishing Te Taura Whiri (Māori Language Commission), Te Puni Kōkiri (Ministry of Māori Development), Māori radio, Māori Television, and so many more other Government-funded Māori initiatives that are in place to ensure that Māori culture is accessible, nurtured and retained.

At a societal level, or rather amongst education policy and attitudes toward education policy, Sibley and Liu (2004, p. 96) found that Pākehā students supported biculturalism in principle (symbolic biculturalism), in the form of ethnic-targeted scholarships and affirmative action policies, but only when it did not affect them. However, they did not support resource biculturalism because of the understanding that this would in turn mean that they were missing out on resources. This study remains one of few of its kind that have documented on Pākehā attitudes towards Equity and what I am referring to as Trequity Measures in the education sector. Conclusions were then drawn that in New Zealand, opposition to resource biculturalism is framed within egalitarian language (Sibley & Liu, 2004, p. 96). This research further suggests that affirmative action policies in higher education, mainly postgraduate study, generates resentment towards Māori, instead of sympathy (Sibley & Liu, 2004, p. 97).

However, Callister (2011, pp. 1, 11) challenges Sibley & Liu's (2004) findings suggesting that the way in which the researchers conceptually framed their research within the Treaty of Waitangi was flawed. He further suggests that because the research only asked the Pākehā students about certain postgraduate scholarships and affirmative action policies in universities, these were not enough to say that all Pākehā support symbolic biculturalism but not resource biculturalism. Callister notes that there needs to be more research dedicated towards Māori and Pākehā attitudes towards issues surrounding biculturalism and that the following questions would have gathered a better understanding of Pākehā student attitudes towards biculturalism:

- Do you think additional resources should be given to help overcome the educational disadvantage faced by many Māori and Pacific people? If so, how should this be achieved?
- Do you think support should be 'needs-based' or 'race-based' or perhaps some mix where race-based funding still has a needs-based component?
- Do you support school decile funding where those schools drawing on poorer communities get higher-per-student-funding? (Callister, 2011, p. 10).

On one hand Callister makes some insightful suggestions, to get a better understanding of Pākehā attitudes as a whole towards biculturalism and therefore Trequity Measures. However, on the other hand this poses an important question very close to this thesis; what are Pākehā attitudes towards Trequity Measures? Sibley & Liu's (2004, p. 97) suggestion that Pākehā students have more of an indignant attitude towards Māori students that receive these resources of encouragement provides an opening for the next point, which is the overarching idea that Māori are 'privileged'.

The invisible *whakapapa*

Māori privilege

This perception that Māori are privileged did not just appear in New Zealand society after Brash's 2004 Orewa speech. That may have given the idea fruition, but it "is

deeply entrenched within the dominant discourses of social life" (Borell et al., 2009, p. 30). The discourse around biculturalism, developed around the 1970s. Māori progression over the past 20-30 years is seen to have been separate and privileged, because of the policies in place that support Māori development, and resources allocated to ensure Māori advancement and equity. The Waitangi Tribunal, the Māori seats in Parliament, Te Puni Kōkiri, sports teams, educational support schemes, and fishing rights are frequent examples of how the idea of Māori privilege is proclaimed and perpetuated (Borell et al., 2009, p. 31). Humpage (2006, p. 222) discusses this attitude developing from the lack of understanding in New Zealand of social inclusion and exclusion.

> As the goal of an inclusive society came to dominate over a competing Māori discourse, indigenous and Treaty rights were increasingly presented as special 'privileges' that contradicted an 'equal opportunity' approach. In this way, Māori went from being framed as socioeconomically and politically excluded (and thus in need of special policy attention) to being increasingly characterized as a group whose inclusion within a Treaty framework actively excludes non-Māori New Zealanders from their rights and privileges as citizens (Humpage, 2006, p. 222).

The above view supports the belief that the Government have positioned Māori to be in this predicament. This means that in an effort to treat all of New Zealand as one nation/one people, the Government has portrayed Māori as having special needs, because the same things are not required for non-Māori. However, Borell et al. (2009, p. 31) further explains,

> This view of Maori as privileged is, however, oppositional to the scientific data on social relativities within New Zealand society where Maori experience major disparities in health, wealth, education, access, and social standing.

The idea of Māori privilege is common within everyday conversation, submissions to public bodies, in political discourse, letters to editors, talkback radio, academic articles, published books, and research interview data (Borell et al. 2009, p. 30).

> Why should the white man give to the Maoris material goods (state housing, special education schemes etc) and in return be beaten up by them? We are

sick of hearing Maori this, Maori that, the world does not woe the Maori a living … The Maoris will not get the white man's respect be legislation. They must earn it ('Chapter Three: The Submissions', in Race Relations Conciliator, *Race Against Time* (1982), cited in Green, (2002, p. 39).

There can be no basis for special privileges for any race, no basis for Government funding based on race, no basis for introducing Maori wards in local authority elections, and no obligation for local Governments to consult Maori in preference to other New Zealanders (Brash, 2004).

The high use of welfare by those claiming Maori ancestry enables politicians to argue for increasing race-based affirmative action. This has the unintended consequence of de-emphasising, for Maori, the value of rising by merit, as everyone else does … A separate Maori department is anachronism, as are separate Maori seats, and separate local Government representation (Butler, 2013, p. 293).

Maori are legally privileged in New Zealand today, just as the Aristocracy were legally privileged in pre-revolutionary France … Race-based favouritism is doing Maori no real good. But even if it were, ACT would still oppose it. Because society should not be a racket, no matter who the beneficiaries are – be they men (who continue to enjoy legal privilege in many countries), the landed nobility or people of indigenous descent (Whyte, 2014).

The above quotes highlight some attitudes that non-Māori hold towards Māori and Trequity Measures. We can assume that these are attitudes as opposed to perceptions because of the physical manifestation of said issues. As Schiff (1970) explained, the open display of these beliefs within the discourses, demonstrates the difference between attitudes and perceptions. If the view that Māori are privileged is contradictory of their overall status within society, what actually is meant by the word, privilege? Additionally, what the above extracts communicate is that what the ACT politicians perceive to be privilege; is contradictory to what it actually is. Therefore, their attitudes towards these particular Trequity Measures are informed by their misperception of first privilege, and second, equity. Within the context of this thesis, the same kind of oppositional reality can be seen with Māori-targeted entrance scholarships at the University of Otago and Māori student statistics in Law.

The other thing though aye is that when it comes to the scholarships, it's easy for people to target or pick on the Māori ones. But actually, we give out $3

million nearly, worth of entrance scholarships. Academic excellence: 37, Leaders of Tomorrow: 201, Māori and Pacific Island: 80, Dux scholarships 100 of them, there's all these scholarships that we give out, all together we give out 470, so 400 of them are non-Māori ones or Pacific, but no one bleets and moans about those. And they go to, well for academic excellence, so if you're the brain in your school, you'll get this really good scholarship, or Dux scholarships. No one says, "oh you have to be a bloody Dux to get anything, no one says that", so it's just crap. Actually as a percentage of the number of scholarships it's 80 out of 470 (Director of Māori Development, 2014).

Year	Standard entry	Repeating FYL, Special circumstances, special exam	MAE	Total (Māori)	Total
2014	14	3	1	18	263
2013	12	8	3	23	267
2012	14	2	5	21	245

Table 6: shows the distribution of Māori student entry method into Law (Executive Assisant in Law, 2014).
FYL – First-year Law   MAE – Māori alternative entry

Over the past three years, more Māori students have gained entry into Second-Year Law through the standard entry route in comparison with the MAE. Again, this is contradictory to the attitude that Māori get special treatment because in this regard, a very minimal amount of students are actually utilising this pathway. Student experiences with the MAE will be shared later in Chapter Five, however, it is important to see that even within an institution such as the University, there still remains that perception that Māori students receive special treatment – the reality is though, that based on the definition of privilege explained in the following section, non-Māori are the ones that are in fact privileged.

Privilege

Certain groups within society have benefitted because of the advantages and entitlements that have been bestowed upon them by society (Black & Stone, 2005, p. 243). Often these privileges were granted based solely on birth-right and not on any

personal attributes, such as intelligence, capability or merit. Oddly enough, it became normal that people would associate their inclusion in this particular group with specific qualities that they possessed. Therefore, those who did not possess the same supposed qualities as the dominant group within society were said to have caused their own exclusion from that group. "This is often referred to as the "myth of meritocracy" whereby a culture communicates that the oppressed could earn society's privileges if they were just different [for example] more like the privileged group" (Black & Stone, 2005, p. 243). Furthermore, the authors suggest five main characteristics of what warrants privilege:

> First, privilege is a special advantage; it is neither common nor universal. Second, it is granted, not earned or brought into being by one's individual effort or talent. Third, privilege is a right or entitlement that is related to a preferred status or rank. Fourth, privilege is exercised for the benefit of the recipient and to the exclusion or detriment of others. Finally, a privileged status is often outside of the awareness of the person possessing it (Black & Stone, 2005, p. 244).

The final characteristic listed above draws an important conclusion – that it is because a person is part of the dominant culture; they are not cognizant of the fact their position in society, means they are automatically privileged. That is why the idea that Māori are privileged is in opposition to the overall health and wellbeing of Māori people as a collective (Borell et al. 2009, p. 31). This obliviousness has been referred to by McIntosh (1989) as an "invisible knapsack", as she acknowledges disadvantage between minority cultures in the United States. She confesses:

> …whites are taught to think of their lives as morally neutral, normative, and average, and also ideal, so that when we work to benefit others, this is seen as work which will allow "them" to be more like "us" (McIntosh, 1989).

Furthermore, she enlightens us on but a few of the things that members of the dominant culture, in her case White Americans, are privy to simply because of their ethnicity.

> I can if I wish arrange to be in the company of people of my race most of the time.
> I can turn on the television or open the front page of the paper and see people of my race widely represented.
> When I am told about our national heritage or about "civilization", I am shown that people of my color made it what it is.
> I can remain oblivious of the language and customs of persons of color who constitute the world's majority without feeling in my culture any penalty for such oblivion.
> I can take a job with an affirmative action employer without having co-workers on the job suspect that I got it because of race.
> I can choose blemish color or bandages in "flesh" color and have them more or less match my skin (McIntosh, 1989).

Bourdieu (1989) argues that these everyday experiences of the white experience make up the lifestyles of the dominant culture, therefore allowing for advantages that systematically foster the sense of inclusion and well being for the in-group members. This 'in-group member's' unawareness is habitually entrenched so far as to say that it affects an individual's conceptualization of themselves and their position in society. Tajfel's (1972) social identity theory pinpoints similar in-group, out-group construction (Tajfel, 2010, pp. 18-20). He suggested that the way in which people associated their inclusion within a group was important for framing one's attitude towards people who were not part of that in-group, and therefore part of the 'out-group'. Therefore, based on this logic, we divide people into 'us' and 'them' sometimes without even realising. The bias occurs when in-group members (the dominant group) seek to find negative aspects of an out-group, which in turn enhances their own self-image. In the context of the idea of Māori privilege, social identity theory manifests because firstly, it ignores that Māori as a collective require encouragement and/or assistance to progress to the equitable standpoint of their Pākehā partners. It also focuses more on what non-Māori are unable to receive because of lack of *whakapapa* Māori. This therefore enhances their own self-image as the 'victims' because of ineligibility that is associated with unfairness and 'reverse

discrimination'. The most important and difficult aspect to challenge is that this also conceals the reality that New Zealand actually favours the dominant Pākehā culture.

Freire (1996, p. 26) addresses this moral digression exclaiming, "Dehumanization, which marks not only those whose humanity has been stolen, but also (though in a different way) those who have stolen it, it is a *distortion* of the vocation of becoming more fully human". So rather than 'blaming the victim' which tends to be the dominant discourse when members are not part of the status quo, Freire suggests that the dominant culture unintentionally culminates an incomplete and untruthful depiction of their own status by oppressing those of the minority. This offers insight into the reasons why the idea of Māori privilege is so consistent within society. By contesting Trequity Measures on the basis that they are separatist and unfair is ultimately masking the underlying issues that have caused them to be required in the first place, which is to achieve equity.

Pākehā Privilege and the Media

New Zealand is not exempt from the constructions of privilege. The dominant culture within New Zealand is European New Zealander's or New Zealand Pākehā. This is because they make up the majority of the New Zealand population and Government structures have been designed to enforce hegemony benefitting the dominant culture.

Pākehā culture is often hidden by the fact that it is the status quo and is normalised within New Zealand society (Barnes et al., 2012, p. 197). Mass media discourse, such as the News, newspapers articles, and talk back radio, propagates the normalisation of Pākehā culture by internalising ideas such as, 'we are all New Zealanders', 'we are all

one people' and 'we are Kiwis' (Abel, 1997, p. 19). In the same sense that McIntosh (1989) acknowledged White Privilege, Pākehā culture is portrayed by the media from a Pākehā perspective, reinforcing Pākehā hegemony and implies Pākehā culture as universal (King, 2012, p. 37). This in turn renders it invisible to Pākehā people and therefore makes Pākehā dominance more difficult to challenge. Fundamentally, the media does this by using pronouns such as 'us', 'we' and 'our' to denote Pākehā and Māori are marked as 'you', 'yours', 'they', 'them' and 'their' (Barnes et al., 2012, p. 197). Ironically, the use of these pronouns when the media describes most issues concerning Māori is in contest to the idea that 'we are all New Zealanders' – which is generally why some people tend to be in opposition of Trequity Measures.

Within the media, Māori are portrayed as having privileges and benefits that are racist and unfair because they exclude others from being eligible for them because they do not have *whakapapa* Māori (Barnes et al., 2012, p. 201). This representation stems from the notion that contemporary citizens should not have to pay for the mistakes of the past no matter how unfair they were.

> The pattern is cued by phrases like special treatment, race-based, Treaty/grievance industry, 'the past is the past', and any system with allocations for Māori, including parliamentary seats, bureaucracy, sports teams, admission schemes, scholarships, fishing rights, and broadcasting arrangements (Barnes et al., 2012, p. 201).

The following headlines cited in Barnes et al. (2012, pp. 201-202) are but a few instances where the media has insinuated that Māori are privileged:

> 'Spirituality or special treatment?' (*New Zealand Herald* headline, 12 October 2004).
> 'Māori…will effectively be handed the equivalent sea space for 240 new marine farms – for nothing'. (*The Independent*, 25 August 2004).
> 'National's [Emission Trading Scheme] to include special treatment for Māori' (*TV3 News* headline, 16 November 2005).

The media however, refrains from acknowledging how Pākehā are in fact privileged and have been since colonisation (Kupu Taea, n.d). During the early stages of colonisation, Pākehā were able to buy or lease Māori land cheaply, they were and are allowed to learn and speak their own language in school, Pākehā settler votes were worth more after the introduction of the four Māori seats and they were also able to get Government loans and finance for land development. Pākehā privileges that occur nowadays include that they are able to utilise health, education, justice, and social services that stem from their own cultural values and New Zealand's main institutions and goals have Pākehā culture and values entrenched within them (Kupu Taea, n.d).

Just as the media frames Trequity Measures as special treatment and privileges, the same pattern can be seen by the way the media depicts the Treaty of Waitangi. Rather than the document that symbolises a partnership between two sovereign peoples, it is often portrayed as divisive, inhibiting progression, and having little relevance to the contemporary setting (Barnes et al., 2012, p. 211). The media uses phrases such as 'Treaty industry', 'grievance mode' and 'gravy train', especially when referring to Treaty claims. The use of any of these phrases in the media often leads people to assume incorrect conclusions about the Treaty without really having a solid understanding of its importance or relevance in today's society. This is part of the reason that Trequity Measures within this thesis are not referred to as Treaty Measures as was encouraged by an examiner of Wharerau (2013). This is an attempt to counter the already negative assumption that is attached to the term 'Treaty' purely because of how the media has framed it.

It is therefore both ironic and confusing that Māori are portrayed as being privileged since it is Pākehā New Zealander's that seem to benefit most from society's structure and main institutions. In reference to the context of this thesis, when asked what the mainstream equivalent of the Office of Māori Development at the University of Otago, the Director of Māori Development replied saying,

> There isn't one, [Pākehā] don't' need developing, not in this way if you know what I mean, it's their system; they own it, they run it, and they've run it for a hundred and something years (Director of Māori Development, 2014).

From an equity perspective, Pākehā New Zealander's are proportionately represented at the University, meaning almost 75% of the student population are Pākehā (University of Otago, 2013c). This constitutes equity because about 74% of the New Zealand population are Pākehā (Ministry of Education, 2014). It would appear then that there are no obvious barriers hindering Pākehā from attending the University simply because they make up the majority. Māori on the other hand, tend to be relatively underrepresented at in all mainstream universities – the University of Otago is no exception making up only 8% of the student population (University of Otago, 2013c). This is what is meant by the above quote. Additionally, the same mentality is undertaken when implementing and devising the MSC for entry into Health Sciences.

> But also knowing that [from] an admissions point of view, that actually, the people that are able to hit those really top grades have often been groomed for getting those kind of grades from when they were very little right from the parents choice of early childhood education, right from, you know they'll be picking which college the come in to, they will have been having tutoring and stuff. So many many Māori whānau would never have that kind of opportunity to groom their kids to get to that point (Associate Dean Māori of the Division of Health Sciences, 2014).

The Division's strategic plan, *Mirror on Society*, has already been mentioned in Chapter One when describing the *whakapapa* of the MSC. However, here the ADM is referring to the misconceived idea that everybody is afforded the same

opportunities. Furthermore, this depicts the overall attitude of the Division towards opening up these opportunities to Māori in an attempt to rectify the overrepresentation of Māori in negative health statistics and underrepresentation in health professions.

Trequity Measures are seen as privileging Māori because they are restricted only to Māori and are therefore unjust, discriminatory, and sometimes termed as racist. These assumptions suggest that there is no real understanding of what Trequity Measures are in place to achieve and are in turn, portrayed as 'special treatment' and 'privileges'. If the media has thrust negative connotations upon certain terms that are used to describe Trequity Measures – either out of confusion, misuse, and misunderstanding – how does this affect people's attitudes and perception of Trequity Measures?

The *whakapapa* of the terminology

The terminology used to describe Trequity Measures definitely contributes to how people construct their own perceptions of and attitudes towards them. 'Preferential entry' is amongst the terminology when discussing the MAE and MSC at the University of Otago. It is therefore important to know and understand the *whakapapa* of said terminology and also how they are used interchangeably and therefore incorrectly.

Equity Measures[22] are based on each society's notions of equality and justice. They address the effects of discrimination resulting in inequality between individuals

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[22] The term 'Equity Measures' is the chosen term that will be used to describe all types of Measures that are in place within various areas of society to ensure that equity is achieved by minority and underrepresented groups in comparison to the dominant group. Callister (2007)

within minority groups and the dominant group. In most cases, the notions of equality and justice are those of the dominant society and do not always serve to adequately address the inequality. Instead it creates an impression of unfairness and discrimination against those who do not receive the benefits of Equity Measures.

Part of the reason why negative perceptions of and attitudes exist towards Trequity Measures is due to the confusion between distinguishing between certain types of Equity and Trequity Measures. It then should be noted here that although it is possible to categorise Trequity Measures as positive discrimination and in the case of certain Trequity Measures available at the University of Otago – affirmative action – this however would not be revealing the entire *whakapapa* of why they exist and why they are necessary. The other half of that categorisation has to do with the Treaty of Waitangi and Māori in the education system, as described in the previous chapter.

Positive discrimination

The idea of positive discrimination is one of the most controversial concepts. If we are to understand discrimination as a mechanism for expressing preference of one thing over another (Malone, 1980, p. 8) then positive discrimination is a countering discriminatory practise that serves to redress the individual and/or group that was initially discriminated against. Moreover Green (2002, p. 79) states that

> positive discrimination, [is] a practise which distributes benefits to individuals and groups, whose eligibility is determined by criteria wholly distinct from the grounds for which the benefits are usually distributed, with a view to

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refers to these as 'Special Measures', however, it is suggested that the word 'special' has a negative connotation associated to it – which acts in opposition of the actual purpose of said Equity Measures.to achieve equity amongst minority and underrepresented groups.
Some examples of Equity Measures include affirmative action schemes in employment and education for African Americans in the US, for Indians in the UK and for Pacific Islander's in New Zealand.

achieving equality of opportunity for the individuals, and equality of outcome for the groups.

Wang (1983, p. 191) explains that positive discrimination "refers to the situation where individuals are accorded special treatment in educational selection because of their membership in a disadvantaged group or groups". Wang goes on to prescribe detailed information, stating that:

> Positive discrimination, then, is used to make them equal where heretofore they have been less than equal. Usually, however, deprivation in and of itself is insufficient reason, for its effects can be (at least theoretically) ameliorated by compensatory programs and financial aids granted on the basis of individual neediness without reference to ascriptive characteristics … First, the group or groups in question have suffered significant negative discrimination in the past, and society must therefore make restitution for this injustice. Second, the group(s) have special rights in the society by virtue of certain historical positions or constitutional provisions. And third, in the interests of political integration of a plural society, the lines of economic and educational inequalities should cut across rather than coincide with racial and ethnic lines (Wang, 1983, p. 192).

It is suffice to note the prescribed types of positive discrimination in an educational sense are three-fold: different qualifying standards, quotas, and affirmative action (Wang, 1983, pp. 195-196). Different qualifying standards allows students admission in to an institution in the hope of "increasing the admissions of candidates of heretofore underrepresented groups" (Wang, 1983, p. 195). Secondly, "*Quotas* enable policymakers to define at the outset the proportions of different groups of students to be represented in a given level or type of schooling" (Wang, 1983, p. 196). So then, this type of positive discrimination is based solely on the fact that proportionately more students from underrepresented groups need to be enrolled to ensure an equitable distribution of funding within the given institution. Different qualifying standards and quotas work in a similar fashion, however one is focussed on making admission into an institution 'easier' for individuals, whereas the other

provides the physical means for the former to be followed-through – things like admissions scholarships.

Affirmative Action

Although Wang (1983) suggested there are three types of positive discrimination in the educational area, the main type of positive discrimination that is used in other areas of society such as employment and policy-making is in fact affirmative action. Greenawalt (1983, p. 17) expresses that

> 'Affirmative action' is a phrase that refers to attempts to bring members of underrepresented groups, usually groups that have suffered discrimination, into a higher degree of participation in some beneficial programme. Some affirmative action efforts include preferential treatment; others do not.

Greenawalt adds that "quotas" and "goals" have also been associated with affirmative action (Greenawalt, 1983, p. 17). The American Psychological Association (1996, p. 2) offers a formal definition stating: affirmative action is "voluntary and mandatory efforts undertaken by federal, state, and local Governments; private employers; and schools to combat discrimination in education and employment for all". Additionally, the goal of affirmative action is to "eliminate discrimination against women and ethnic minorities, and to redress the effects of past discrimination" (Kravitz et al., 1997, p. vii). Affirmative action then is an active policy as opposed to that of the United States policy of Equal Opportunity which Crosby, Iyer, Clayton, and Downing (2003, p. 95) suggest that when there is no indication of direct discrimination, equal opportunity exists between candidates, and so action is only taken if direct discrimination is evident. Crosby et al. (2003, p. 95) further explain that:

> An underlying presupposition of affirmative action is that structural impediments to true equality do not always take the form of overt discrimination. Even policies that appear to be neutral with regard to ethnicity or gender can operate in ways that advantage individuals from one group over individuals from another group.

Therefore, affirmative action acknowledges that policies can act in line with hegemonic motives to then disadvantage one group over another and so the purpose of affirmative action is to compensate individuals within disadvantaged groups for past discrimination by allowing for extra encouragement and opportunity.

Affirmative action in education

Under the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, affirmative action schemes have become more common within elementary and secondary schools around the United States[23]. However, in the United States admission into university is different than it is here in New Zealand. Within the context of this thesis, the University Otago offers a range of Trequity Measures that assist Māori student admission, participation, success and retention. These Trequity Measures include Māori-targeted scholarships at all levels of the university structure, Māori-targeted admission schemes, robust support programmes, and vital support systems within the University which many Māori students credit their success to. However, these are not deemed specifically as 'affirmative action' schemes or processes, and nor should they be. This is because, and has previously been mentioned, by defining them as distinctively affirmative action schemes, it would ignore the importance of other aspects of the Māori situation: the Treaty of Waitangi and how aspects of the education system has impacted negatively on Māori addressed in the previous chapter.

Within American higher education institutions, another form of affirmative action within higher education institutions is that of financial aid (Zamani-Gallaher, 2007, p.

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[23] For more information on the No Child Left Behind Act 2001 see U.S. Department of Education (2014), http://www2.ed.gov/policy/elsec/leg/esea02/index.html

243). Admission into higher education usually has a high cost attached to it for course fees as well as extra living expenses such as accommodation. Universities or colleges may offer "financial aid in the form of grants and scholarships for disadvantaged and underrepresented students [as] a means of affirming access particularly for first-generation, low-income students" (Zamani-Gallaher, 2007, p. 243). The availability of race-based scholarships has been contested copiously and Smith (1998, p. 138) found that White American students are more likely to be in opposition of financial assistance for minority students. Here in New Zealand in fact, scholarships and grants are available for all kinds of different people under very distinctive criteria. People tend to have more concerns in regards to these scholarships however, when ethnicity-based criteria inhibit others from applying for them.

Associated terminology

Rosenfeld (1991, p. 42) explains "[there] is much confusion concerning the meaning of *affirmative action,* resulting, in significant part, from the vast array of often-inconsistent practises and policies that fall under that rubric". The term reverse discrimination has also been associated with both positive discrimination as well as affirmative action and according to Greenawalt (1983, p. 16), it "means a difference in treatment that reverses the pattern of earlier discrimination". Also, reverse discrimination has a negative connotation associated with it whereby the group who has supposedly enforced the discrimination of a certain (sometimes minority) group, is disadvantaged indicating the 'reverse' notion (Rosenfeld, 1991, p. 43).

Another concept associated with affirmative action is preferential treatment. Rosenfeld (1991, p. 43) indicates that preferential treatment "connotes the granting of

a preference to one or several persons among a group of competitors" and is usually discussed within university admissions and job hiring instances – 'preferentially admitted' and 'preferentially hired'. Additionally, Cohen, Nagel, Scanlon, and Dworkin (1977, p. vii) acknowledge that: "Preferential treatment discriminates against some people because of their race or sex, and passes over a more qualified candidate from one group to appoint or admit a less qualified candidate from another group". Therefore, the terms affirmative action and preferential treatment have been used interchangeably. Preferential treatment, because it is based not on the conventional method of merit, is seen as unequal treatment of a more 'eligible' or 'equipped' candidate. Although some affirmative action policies incorporate an aspect of preferential treatment, affirmative action when implemented correctly is not preferential treatment.

This disassociation can be seen as the case with Trequity Measures in New Zealand and at the University of Otago. It is common to form an opinion towards certain Trequity Measures that are in place at the University because of the kind of terminology that has been used to often describe Trequity schemes. Aspects of some student explanations of Trequity Measures highlight this confusion in Chapter Five. This perception can also be seen in regards to both the MSC and the MAE: two of the Trequity Measures here at the University of Otago

Conclusion

This chapter explored the idea that Māori are privileged and also demonstrated that the use of incorrect terminology when describing Trequity Measures, perpetuates this idea. This is because people's perceptions of and subsequent attitudes towards

Trequity Measures are often misinformed by this notion that Māori receive benefits and luxuries that are not afforded to non-Māori simply because they are Māori. Furthermore, these privileges are constructed as discriminatory or unfair by the media who fail to identify Pākehā privilege due to the fact that Pākehā culture is the norm within New Zealand society. These in turn lead to a misconstrued idea of what privilege actually is which leads to a distorted perception of Trequity Measures. This chapter also discussed the intricacies of positive discrimination and the terminology associated with that. This was done to suggest further reasons why perceptions of Trequity Measures are misinformed and is due to the interchangeable misuse of terminology when it comes to describing Equity and Trequity Measures. The following chapters focus on the case study of this thesis: Trequity Measures at the University of Otago.

Chapter Four
The University of Otago: a case study

> These judgements brought into vogue the words 'partnership' and 'principles of the Treaty' in the discourse of negotiation between Maori and the Crown. No agency of the state, including universities, is exempt from that discourse and the obligation to deliver equity to Maori under the Treaty of Waitangi (University of Otago, 1998, p. 10).

The University of Otago is New Zealand's oldest university. This chapter examines the *whakapapa* of this world-renown university by first giving a historical overview of how it came to be in Dunedin in it's early stages and it's accomplishments. An extension of the historical overview will discuss the University's early interactions and relationship, or lack thereof, with local *mana whenua* – Ngāi Tahu. The chapter will then lead on to investigate what things have been undertaken to establish and affirm Māori engagement within the University, what measures are currently in place, and demonstrate the further importance of having an understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi. An extensive list of Trequity Measures will also be provided to show how the University has progressed in terms of Māori engagement and catering to Māori staff and student needs.

Historical overview

In 1844 the New Zealand Company[24] purchased over half a million acres of land from local Māori for just 2400 pounds (Waitangi Tribunal, 1991, p. 12). This became known as the Otago Block. 150,000 acres was set aside for the establishment of a city called New Edinburgh (Brunton & Kapa-Blair, 2014, p. 100). Part of the area that the

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[24] The New Zealand Company were an association that originated in London in 1837 with the aim of promoting the systematic colonisation of New Zealand by following the colonising principles of Edward Gibbon Wakefield (Burns, 1989).

University moved to (it's current position) in 1879 was quarried by Māori people from Taranaki, imprisoned and transported here in the 1860's[25].

The University of Otago was founded in 1869 by the Otago Provincial Council and was able to grant degrees in Arts, Medicine, Law and Music (University of Otago, 2010b). Thomas Burns and James Macandrew were key in the establishment of the University, that was originally named the University of New Zealand (Brunton & Kapa-Blair, 2014, p. 101). Burns was named Chancellor, but he did not live to see the University open in 1871. The institution opened in Dunedin's Stock Exchange area and students attended classes in the Stock Exchange building. It later moved to where it currently is in 1879 and grew out of the Clocktower and Geology buildings (University of Otago, 2010b).

In 1870 a federal University of New Zealand was established by statute and became the degree-granting body for all New Zealand universities until 1961 (University of Otago, 2010b). Additional academic schools and faculties were established during the early to mid 1900's. They include the School of Dentistry in 1907, the School of Applied Sciences in 1911, Commerce in 1912, the Faculty of Theology in 1946 and the School of Physical Education in 1947. In 1961, the University of Otago Amendment Act allowed the University to confer it's own degrees and the University of New Zealand was disestablished (University of Otago, 2010b).

In 1961, there were only 3,000 students enrolled – in 2010 there were about 21,000 students enrolled at the University (University of Otago, 2010b). It has expanded its

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[25] See Griffiths (1980) for more information on the children of Parihaka.

programmes now offering Surveying – which is New Zealand's only school of surveying, Pharmacy, Medical Laboratory Science, Education – to name but a few. As well as its main campus in Dunedin; the University also has two other Health Sciences campuses in Christchurch and Wellington. In 1996 the University created an information and teaching centre in Central Auckland (University of Otago, 2010b).

Governance

As per the Education Amendment Act 1990, the University is governed by the University Council (the Council) (University of Otago, 2010b). The Council is chaired by the Chancellor, or in his absence, by the Pro-Chancellor (University of Otago, 2014). The Council consists of approximately twenty members, both appointed and elected, staff and students of the University and members of the Dunedin community who represent key stakeholders in the University. Specific committees report directly to Council concerning matters that arise comprising of financial management and performance, audit, capital development, ethics, risk management, statutory compliance, and the Treaty of Waitangi (University of Otago, 2014). The Senate is the University's Academic Board and directly reports to the Council on academic matters. The Vice-Chancellor convenes Senate and its members consist mainly of Heads of Departments and other senior academics, staff and students. The figures on the following pages show the *whakapapa* of the University's Committee Organisation Structure (University of Otago, 2011b)[26] and the Central Organisation Structure (University of Otago, 2011a)[27]. It is important to see this structure now for a clearer understanding of the following sections.

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[26] Figure 5 is available at: http://www.otago.ac.nz/council/committees/organisational-chart/index.html

[27] Figure 4 is available at: http://www.otago.ac.nz/otago000744.pdf

**University of Otago
Committee Organisation Structure**

Council

Senate | Honorary Degrees Committee | Appeals Board | Audit Committee | Capital Development Committee | Risk Management, Ethics and Statutory Compliance Committee | Finance & Budget Committee | Treaty of Waitangi Committee | Standing Committee of the Council | Vice-Chancellor's Performance Review Committee
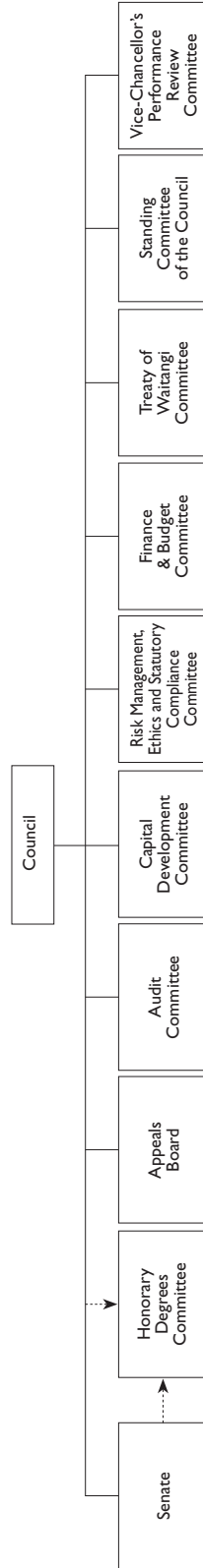
Figure 4: 'University of Otago Committee Organisational Structure'

University of Otago
Central Organisation Structure
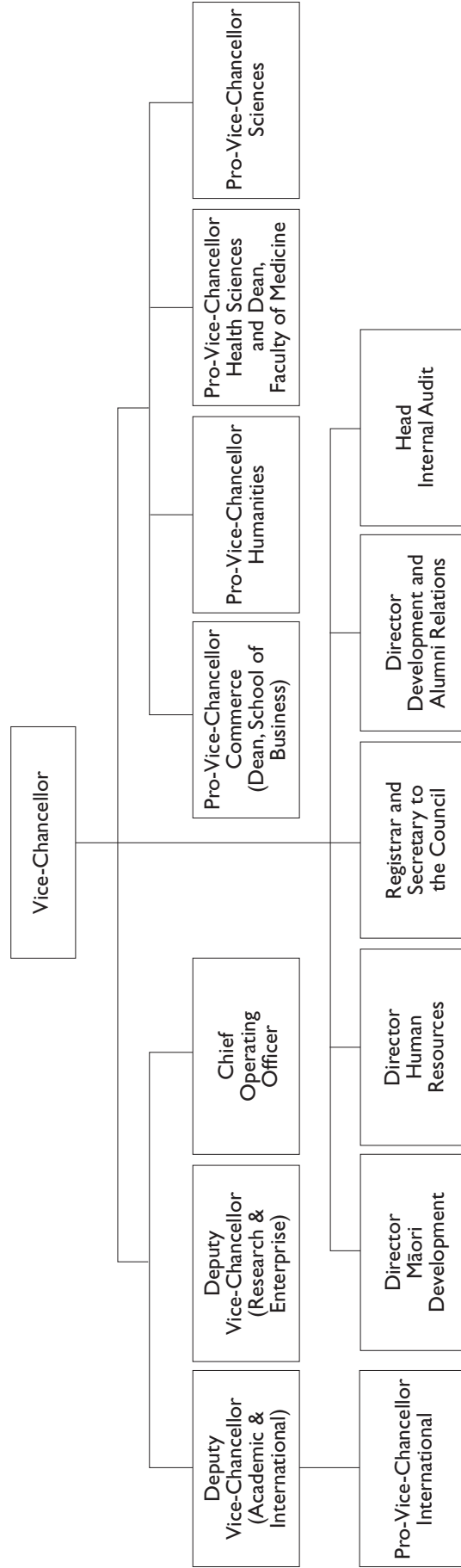
Figure 5: 'University of Otago Central Organisational Structure'

Māori engagement within the University

The Watts Report (1987)

By 1987 New Zealand had moved into a new era of biculturalism brought about by the Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act 1985. The New Zealand Universities Vice Chancellors then commissioned a report which included specific recommendations concerning engagement with Māori at all New Zealand universities (Brunton & Kapa-Blair, 2014, pp. 103-103). Ronald Watts chaired the report, and so it is more commonly referred to as the 'Watts Report'. Chapter Four of the report entitled, 'Accessibility and Social Equity', in particular section 4.5, is dedicated to Māori students and staff (New Zealand Universities Review Committee, 1987, pp. 68-72). The section outlines various recommendations of how universities can lead the forefront of New Zealand's bicultural epiphany.

> Because of the 'mana' of the universities in both Maori and pakeha communities, the universities carry considerable responsibility for taking initiatives to help meet the bicultural challenge. As major institutions fostering social values and culture, the universities have a responsibility to be in the forefront of the partnership required to enable Maori people to make their full contribution to New Zealand society. The low participation of the Maori people in university studies is of very real concern (New Zealand Universities Review Committee, 1987, p. 68).

The Watts Report, much like that which was addressed in Chapter Two, acknowledged that Māori participation in secondary schooling (in 1986) was an indication of why Māori participation in universities was scarce and also recommended bridging courses for students to prepare them to succeed at university level (New Zealand Universities Review Committee, 1987, p. 69). This Report further states that because universities are typically monocultural, "they must be prepared to become bicultural and invite Maori people to participate in a partnership of development which will be mutually beneficial" (New Zealand Universities Review Committee, 1987, p. 70). The Director of Māori Development of the

University explains that there was no appreciation or even acknowledgement of Māori engagement and that the reason why there were not many Māori attending the University was because they were not good enough.

> Whereas, in Otago, we'd done nothing, we were just quite happy with the way it was, and kind of blamed Māori for why they weren't here – same thing, if they were good enough, they'd be here…So 30 years ago, coming to a place like this meant hanging your Māori on a hook, you had to come here and be a Pākehā. There was no place for anything Māori, to express it, and no understanding of it. So things used to happen when people weren't given, [if] there was an exam [and] there was a tangi, they weren't allowed to go to the tangi 'cause there was no understanding of what that meant (Director of Māori Development, 2014).

Further development for Māori engagement at the University include the Māori Centre – Te Huka Mātauraka – which was created in 1988/89 out of direct response to the Watts Report and equity funding released by the Government (University of Otago, 2012a). The Māori Advisory Board and the Māori Liaison Officer were also initiatives that resulted from the Watts Report (Brunton & Kapa-Blair, 2014, p. 104). The Māori Liaison Officer was and is important for recruiting Māori students to the University.

In 1995, the University invited the New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit to carry out an Academic Audit (Brunton & Kapa-Blair, 2014, p. 104). The Audit uncovered many things in regards to the University's progression in terms of Māori engagement, as well as their relationship, or lack thereof, with local *mana whenua.*

> Historically, OU's [the University of Otago's] relations with the tangata whenua in the South Island have not been good. Mistakes have included failure to recognise mana whenua (tribal sovereignty), inconsistent recognition of Kai Tahu dialect in signage, non-inclusion of the Kai Tahu dialect in the language programme, and failure to recognise and communicate with the Kai Tahu Runanga, particularly on matters of kawa (protocol) and tikanga (custom) (New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit, 1996, p. 7).

Although the Audit acknowledged some progress had been made in relation to Māori engagement at the University, there was still more to be done "including Māori and Treaty interests in all levels of the University" (Brunton & Kapa-Blair, 2014, p. 104).

The Walker Report (1998)

In June 1998, in response to the recommendations made in the above Academic Audit, the Deputy Vice Chancellor at the time, Dr Phil Meade, invited Ranginui Walker "to conduct a more comprehensive review of the University's performance on the Treaty" (University of Otago, 1998, p. 1). The Report is more commonly known as the 'Treaty of Waitangi review' or the 'Walker Report'. Walker had been a member of the previous audit committee and was quite familiar with the University and its uneasy relationship with Ngāi Tahu and inclusion of and engagement with Māori. He invited University staff, students, as well as members of the community, and *tangata whenua* to present written and oral submissions as to how the University could better include and address Māori engagement. This Report stated that from its inception, the University made no effort to consult Ngāi Tahu in matters concerning them (University of Otago, 1998, p. 3).

Walker further noted that the University acknowledged the principles of the Treaty as they were written in all official University documents, but failed to adequately implement them within the University structure and physical environment. The Department of Māori Studies (now Te Tumu – School of Māori Pacific and Indigenous Studies) had to then "fill the Treaty vacuum left by the University" because the University "has not "walked the talk"" (University of Otago, 1998, p. 3). This was because the University joined the Department of Māori Studies with the

Māori Centre, instead of allowing the Māori Centre to be its own entity. Staff members and local *mana whenua* saw this as further marginalisation. Additionally, the Walker Report stated that the University was the least progressive university in New Zealand of Māori engagement and the Treaty of Waitangi (University of Otago, 1998, p. 3).

In conclusion, the Walker Report made 28 specific recommendations (University of Otago, 1998, pp. 4-6) not all of which were employed. However the University adopted some very significant ones that have lead to far-reaching and positive changes within the University. This definitely led to a realisation of the need for more of an understanding of Māori engagement and the importance of being able to increase the number of Māori staff and students. The application of some of the recommendations from the Walker Report have made way for the:

- Development of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between Ngāi Tahu and the University;
- Formation of a Treaty of Waitangi Committee with membership from the three local Papatipu Runanga;
- Re-establishment of the Māori Centre under Student Services with independent management (Brunton & Kapa-Blair, 2014, p. 105).

The purpose of the MoU is to "formally record the relationship" between Ngāi Tahu and the University of Otago (University of Otago, 2013b). The MoU further reiterates the partnership that the two groups have established. It recognises Ngāi Tahu as the Treaty partner and has forged an on-going relationship with the University out of respect and a desire to progress efficiently. Specific principles are also within the MoU which outline cooperation and partnership.

The signing of the MoU with Ngāi Tahu in 2001 demonstrated the University's efforts to acknowledge the need for a more proactive and responsive approach to Ngāi

Tahu as *mana whenua* and Māori in research (Brunton & Kapa-Blair, 2014, p. 105). As a result of the MoU, the University appointed its first Māori Advisor to the Vice Chancellor, Mr Darren Russell. This opportunity allowed for structural development within the University as well as a definition of 'consultation' being reached and respective of Ngāi Tahu, as the *mana whenua* of Dunedin. One policy that emerged in 2003 out of the reiteration of consultation was the Policy for Research Consultation with Māori. The implementation of this policy was met with fierce resistance from both within the University and also the Dunedin community (Brunton & Kapa-Blair, 2014, p. 106). After long debate, the Policy for Research Consultation with Māori was passed in Senate with a 12 to 2 secret ballot (Brunton & Kapa-Blair, 2014, p. 107).

From that policy, the Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee (NTRCC) was created as an external committee to the University. The NTRCC has two aims. Its first aim is "to enhance and support Ngāi Tahu rangatiratanga in research relationships" (Brunton & Kapa-Blair, 2014, p. 107). Secondly, the Committee is in place "to ensure that Māori are strengthened systematically across all fields of research" (Brunton & Kapa-Blair, 2014, p. 107). The NTRCC includes two members each from Kāti Huirapa Rūnaka ki Puketeraki, Te Rūnanga o Ōtākou and Te Rūnanga o Moeraki.

Another event that paved way for a better relationship between Ngāi Tahu and the University was when the Anatomy Department and Ngāi Tahu came to a resolution over the '*koiwi* debate' (Brunton & Kapa-Blair, 2014, p. 107). In 2003 an agreement between the Anatomy Department and Ngāi Tahu marked the start of the returning of

these *koiwi* back to their *hapū* so that they could be properly laid to rest (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2013). The agreement meant that the Anatomy Department could do certain tests on the *koiwi*, but as soon as the information was gathered and disseminated back to Ngāi Tahu, the *koiwi* were to be returned to Kāti Huirapa where they could be properly repatriated. In 2013, 73 *koiwi* were repatriated back to the grateful people of Kāti Huirapa.

These changes and considerations saw the strengthening of the position of the Māori Advisor to the Vice Chancellor. This partnership became crucial for continuation of the University's on-going relationship with Ngāi Tahu and has been received as a very positive step towards partnership not only for Ngāi Tahu but all Māori staff and students at the University.

> I think that's actually really good 'cause you know, the Treaty of Waitangi had two partners, Māori and the Crown. And I guess you could say, the University is the Crown relationship and Ngai Tahu because they're tangata whenua. Here, they represent iwi Māori and even the relationship the University has with iwi Māori, Ngai Tahu should be sitting at that table as well if they go to all iwi to do a Memorandum similar (Manager of the Māori Centre, 2014).

As Māori engagement within the University started to become more normalised, the University saw a need for its strategic direction in terms of Māori engagement, to be more focussed on the way it contributed to *iwi* and Māori development.

The Kapa Report (2005)

In 2005, the University commissioned a Treaty of Waitangi Stocktake of the University (the 'Stocktake') (Brunton & Kapa-Blair, 2014, p. 108). The purpose of this Stocktake was to "establish the University's position with regard to its Treaty of Waitangi obligations, aspirations and responsiveness" (Brunton & Kapa-Blair, 2014,

p. 108). Darryn Russell and David Thompson, the Director of Planning and Funding Planning oversaw the Stocktake and Janine Kapa, an external consultant was contracted to conduct it (Brunton & Kapa-Blair, 2014, p. 108); hence the reason for it being referred to as the 'Kapa Report'. A further purpose of the Stocktake was to see how well the University had progressed since Walker's recommendations in 1998 and to clarify which areas within the University still required further development. Much like that of the Walker Report, Kapa collected information from selected staff and student groups within the University (Brunton & Kapa-Blair, 2014, p. 109).

> A major finding of the Stocktake was the refinement of six areas of expectation with regard to the University's Treaty of Waitangi obligations, aspirations and responsiveness, namely, leadership, partnership, Māori research, growth and development, quality programmes and Māori language and culture (Brunton & Kapa-Blair, 2014, p. 109).

Consultation in 2006 with the University's key stakeholders lead to the creation of the Māori Strategic Framework (MSF) in 2007 (Brunton & Kapa-Blair, 2014, p. 109). Unlike that of the Research Consultation with Māori Policy, the Treaty of Waitangi Committee and each of the Pro-Vice Chancellors received the MSF positively (Brunton & Kapa-Blair, 2014, p. 111).

The six goals that emerged out of the Kapa Report remain the six fundamental goals of the MSF today:

1. Te Ārahina – Leadership
   Demonstrate strong, accountable leadership which contributes to whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori development.
2. Te Honohono – Partnership
   Continue the ongoing commitment to the University's Tiriti o Waitangi partner, Ngāi Tahu – and other iwi with which it may enter into a formal partnership.
3. Te Rangahau Māori – Māori Research
   Develop quality research that contributes to the understanding of Te Ao Māori and the achievement of Māori development aspirations and the knowledge economy.
4. Te Tipuranga – Growth and Development

Increase the recruitment, access, participation, retention, development and success of Māori staff and students at the University of Otago.
5. Ngā Whakahaerenga Pai – Quality Programmes
Integrate into existing programmes and develop new quality programmes in Te Ao Māori, te reo Māori and other robust kaupapa Māori options.
6. Ngā Taonga Tuku Iho – Language and Culture
Promote and support te reo me ngā tikanga Māori among staff and students on campus (University of Otago, 2007, p. 3)[28].

As a result of the MSF's first goal (leadership), the Office of Māori Development (OMD) was created (University of Otago, 2010a). The OMD's main purpose is to "provide leadership to both academic and service divisions and to create opportunities for information sharing, clear communication and collaboration, enabling the MSF to move off the page and into the workplace" (University of Otago, 2010a). The role of the OMD has overtaken the Māori Advisor's role who is in direct to the Vice Chancellor, and has an office of five staff members. The Director of Māori Development sits directly under the Vice Chancellor of the University. The OMD also oversees the Policy for Research Consultation with Māori and administers the Treaty of Waitangi Committee (ToWC) (Brunton & Kapa-Blair, 2014, p. 113). The OMD worked closely with the University's Marketing and Communications Division to ensure that the MSF was clearly portrayed and easily understood.

Additionally, the Office also works closely with Human Resources offering Treaty of Waitangi workshops for staff so that they can better understand the MSF and how they can implement it. These two things may be the difference between why the MSF has been more positively received throughout the University, compared to the Research Consultation with Māori Policy. University staff have also commented on the University and how progressive in terms of Māori engagement, it has become

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[28] The original version went until 2013 and then a period of consultation and revision has been undertaken – the new version of the MSF has yet to be released.

(Brunton & Kapa-Blair, 2014, p. 117). This is important to note how education, consultation and knowing the *whakapapa* can achieve positive results.

The formation of the ToWC in 2003[29] was a direct result of the MoU with Ngāi Tahu, but it also was a recommendation of the Walker Report in 1998 (Brunton & Kapa-Blair, 2014, p. 133; University of Otago, 1998, p. 4). This was because it was proposed that the then existent Māori Advisory Board, was ineffective and the University needed to be reminded of its Treaty obligations – more specifically its obligation to consult with its Treaty partner – Ngāi Tahu (University of Otago, 1998, p. 3). The Committee's terms of reference include for the Committee to monitor the Treaty-based MoU with Ngāi Tahu and any revision that it may need (Otago University Council, 2012). It is also the responsibility of the ToWC to advise the University's Council of matters of *kawa* (protocol) and *tikanga*. The Committee is convened by the Chancellor, and its members include the Vice Chancellor, a University member appointed by the Council, and three members nominated by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu (Otago University Council, 2012).

The *whakapapa* of Māori engagement within the University is important for understanding how Trequity Measures have come to be within the University. So much progress has been made in relation to the progression of Māori engagement within the University, increased numbers of Māori staff and students, as well as an effort to normalise *te ao* Māori within the University, which is a predominantly Western institution. The three reports addressed within this section have been instrumental in advancing the position of Māori engagement within the University today. This progress has also been helpful in achieving the Trequity Measures for

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[29] Refer to the Figure 4 'University of Otago Committee Organisation Structure' to see where the Committee sits under the University Council.

Māori student advancement and success. Therefore, a *whakapapa* diagram of the evolution of Māori engagement within the University is then provided on the next page. Below, is a table showing current policies in place at the University that provide space and allow for a more 'Māori-friendly' Campus. These could also be seen as Trequity Measures because they acknowledge the University's responsibility to ensure Māori engagement is normalised within the University and they also recognise a need for equity for both Māori staff and students.

Category	Policies
Administration and Management	- Māori Language Policy – Ngā Kaupapa mō te reo Māori (2002) - Equal Educational Opportunities Policy (1993)*
Human Resources	- Affirmative Action Policy (1994)** - Equal Employment Opportunities Policy (1994)**
Research	- Research Consultation with Māori Policy (2003)
Finance	- Koha Payments Policy and Procedure (2004)
*Policy only applies to University students **Policy only applies to University staff members	

Table 7: shows 'Māori-friendly' policies in place at the University
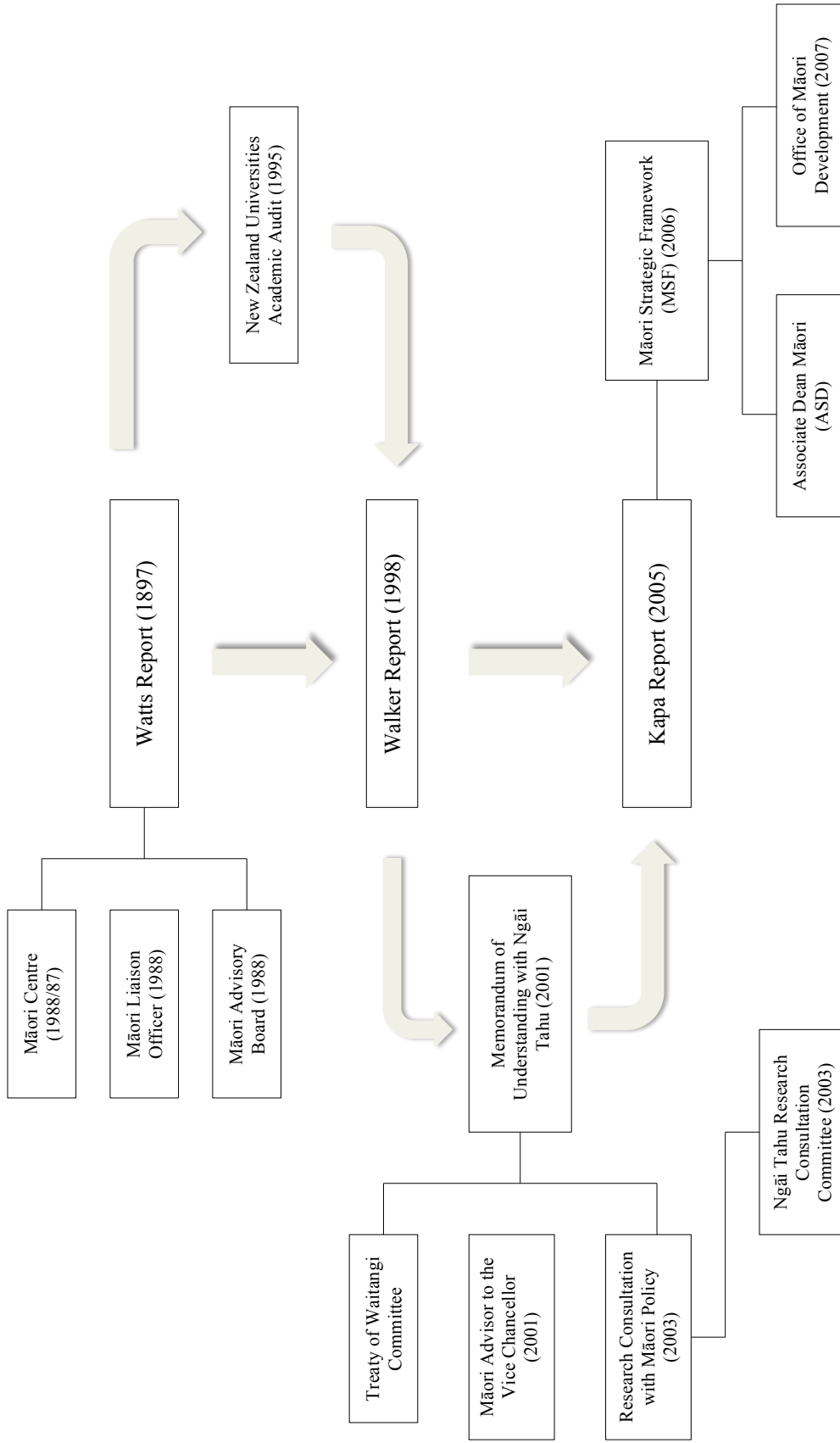
Figure 6: The *whakapapa* of the evolution of Māori engagement at the University of Otago.

Watts Report (1897)
- Māori Centre (1988/87)
- Māori Liaison Officer (1988)
- Māori Advisory Board (1988)

New Zealand Universities Academic Audit (1995)

Walker Report (1998)

Memorandum of Understanding with Ngāi Tahu (2001)
- Treaty of Waitangi Committee
- Māori Advisor to the Vice Chancellor (2001)
- Research Consultation with Māori Policy (2003)
- Ngāi Tahu Research Consultation Committee (2003)

Kapa Report (2005)

Māori Strategic Framework (MSF) (2006)
- Associate Dean Māori (ASD)
- Office of Māori Development (2007)

Trequity Measures at the University

Currently at the University

In 2013 there were 21,113 students enrolled at the University (University of Otago, 2013c). 74.3% were Pākehā, 8% were Māori, 18.6% were Asian, just 3.2% were of Pacific Island descent, and 3.3% identified as 'other' or unknown. Overall tertiary and university statistics were provided in Part Two of Chapter Two to show how underrepresented Māori were in New Zealand universities, and the University of Otago is not exempt from that trend. However, given the overall decrease of student populations in all tertiary providers, Māori enrolments at the University have increased from 7.5% in 2009 to 8% in 2013 (University of Otago, 2013c). The table below shows the dispersal of domestic students throughout qualifications in 2013 based on ethnicity at the University.

Ethnicity	Bachelors degree	Postgraduate Diploma/Honours	Masters	Doctorates
Pākehā	11 374	1001	662	479
Māori	1 319	87	63	34
Pacific Island	460	34	17	12
Asian	2 046	143	71	81
Other	480	59	29	37

Table 8: shows the distribution of domestic students in 2013 at the University of Otago based on ethnicity (Ministry of Education, 2014).

Little tangible research has yet been done on whether or not introduced initiatives and programmes within the University have contributed to the overall increase in Māori enrolments. However, this definitely needs to be done to ensure the integrity of the following Trequity Measures are protected and advantageous for overall University success. This is also imperative for the way in which the outside community form their own attitudes and opinions towards these particular Trequity Measures.

Equity at the University

An Equity Advisory Committee was established in 2013 by the Vice Chancellor Harlene Hayne (University of Otago, 2013a, p. 56). The purpose of the Committee is to receive and review equity-related information and generating appropriate responses. Equity in this sense refers to 'Equal Employment Opportunities', mentioning the underrepresentation of women in senior academic positions. Equity at the University is understood to be something that is mostly applied to staff members and equal opportunity in employment (Human Resources, 2013). It relates more to the area of Human Resources, and current Trequity Measures in place for staff at the University include, cross cultural awareness workshops in terms of diversity and being aware of this diversity, an effort to recognise *te reo* and *tikanga* Māori as an important aspect within the University, and professional development for women.

Equity for Māori

The University acknowledges that the partnership with *tangata whenua* and Ngāi Tahu in particular, is a matter of equity (University of Otago, 2013a, p. 52). It highlights both the MoU with Ngāi Tahu and the MSF as being two key strategies in place at the University to contribute to Māori staff and student success. Educationally, the University states its commitment to eliminating unnecessary boundaries for Māori student admission and progress is part of its Treaty obligation. The University cites the increase of Māori and Pacific Island Entrance Scholarships (MPIES) as one of the ways that it is committed to ensuring Māori participation at the University (University of Otago, 2013a, p. 53). Additionally, various types of Trequity Measures in different divisions amongst the University are also cited as recognition of the success of Māori students (University of Otago, 2013a, pp. 53-55).

This is also in recognition of all that the University is doing to assist Māori admission, retention and success. The Director of Māori Development understands equity for Māori to mean something that addresses and compensates for past oppression. However, there is no one place that addresses equity for Māori at the University.

> Equity applied to unequals creates bigger [in]equity. So in other words, there's a group of people who believe that everyone has an equal opportunity in this country, so the ACT Party, the Conservatives, everyone has the same opportunit[ies], some of us take the opportunity and some don't, it's a personal choice, and that's how they see it, and they have got to where they have got to because they've worked hard. And then there's another level of understanding which I think is the right one which acknowledges that it's not a level playing field and there are a whole lot of reasons, historical reasons why we haven't had the same opportunity. Or, the opportunities we've had have been at a cost (Director of Māori Development, 2014).

The University of Auckland has a detailed webpage dedicated to educating students, staff and anybody who visits it, about how the University ensures equity for it's Māori staff and students (University of Auckland, n.d). The *whakapapa* of Trequity Measures at the University of Auckland is easily accessible and all in one place. Additionally, an awareness project that has recently come out of the University of Auckland that addresses the racism that Māori and Pacific Island students face[30]. The Youtube video series asks students to describe their experiences and there is also a video where staff express the *whakapapa* of the Trequity Measures that are available at the University of Auckland.

The figure on the next page[31] demonstrates that the University of Auckland actively demonstrates how they are contributing to equity at the University at each stage of

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[30] Follow this link to watch the Youtube series, *I, too, am Auckland*, that was published in March 2015: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dYb0KmvPbDM&app=desktop
[31] Figure 7 is available at: https://cdn.auckland.ac.nz/assets/central/about/equal-opportunities/projects/documents/FInal%20Equity%20Cycle%20Final%20%202014docx.pdf

growth. In comparison, each Trequity Measure at the University of Otago is a separate entity, in that each Trequity Measure has an over-arching department, Division or Office that is responsible for their implementation and success. However, there is no one University equity policy that covers retention and success for Māori students. The overall aim of every Trequity Measure that is in place at the University however is to assist in achieving equity for Māori students.

The University of Auckland Equity Cycle

The University of Auckland makes a difference to achieving equity outcomes for students and staff at our University and for people throughout New Zealand. We do this by contributing at each of the following stages of the Equity Cycle through our research, teaching and learning.

High Quality Early Childhood Education

eg
- Faculty of Education research
- ECE workforce training & development
- 6 ECE centres at the University

High Aspirations

eg
- BEAMS (Business, Engineering, Architecture, Medicine and Science)
- PILOT (Pacific Island Leaders of Tomorrow)
- KATTI (Kei a tātou te ihi)
- Equity Office – Te Ara Tautika, Schools Partnership Office, faculties

Informed Decisions

eg
- Starpath research
- Academic counseling in schools
- Equity Office – Te Ara Tautika, Schools Partnership Office, faculties

Healthy Start to Life

eg
- Liggins Institute research
- Growing up in NZ study
- Staff equity initiatives

Teaching and Learning

Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Treaty of Waitangi

Research

Achievement in School

eg
- Schools' workforce training & development
- Woolf Fisher Research Centre
- LENScience

Success in Employment

eg
- Graduate profile/employability
- Liaison with employers
- Relationships with professional bodies
- Career Services
- Staff equity initiatives

Success at University

eg
- Tuākana Learning Community
- Numerous student equity initiatives
- Transition to postgraduate

Access to University

eg
- Transitions from other tertiaries
- Foundation courses
- Scholarships
- Undergraduate Targeted Admission Schemes

Figure 7: The University of Auckland Equity Cycle

Types of Trequity Measures

Trequity Measures are policies, initiatives, programmes and support systems, groups and strategies that are in place at the University to assist Māori student and staff participation, success, and retention at the University of Otago. A few key policies and initiatives have already been mentioned in the above section in an attempt to demonstrate the importance of the *whakapapa* and formation of these Trequity Measures.

University documents such as the Student Charter (University of Otago, 2013d), the TEC Investment Plan 2013-2015 (University of Otago, 2012c), and the 2013 Annual Report (University of Otago, 2013a) all make references to the University's responsibility to uphold its Treaty obligations and their quest for appeasing educational and social equity. Section 2.5.2 of the TEC Investment Plan, *Better Outcomes for Māori and Pacific Learners*, acknowledges that although the Māori student cohort has risen steadily over the past few years, there is still more that needs to be done (University of Otago, 2012c, pp. 9-10). This includes aiming to increase Māori enrolments in all levels of study – especially postgraduate qualifications, overall completion and retention rates, embedding already successful programmes (like Tū Kahika – which is one of the Trequity Measures highlighted in the following chapter) into other areas of the University, easing transition pathways into and throughout study, and "continuing to undertake research into these initiatives, sharing that research nationally and internationally, and learning from other research in this area" (University of Otago, 2012c, p. 12).

The following tables present many Trequity Measures currently in place at the University – many of which have emerged out of and have been made possible by recommendations within the Watts, Walker, and Kapa Reports. The first table shows Trequity Measures that apply to students studying in all areas of the University. They are set out to show that Trequity Measures are in place for firstly participation at the University, then for students to succeed, and so that they continue studying – especially to post-graduate level. The second table illustrates Trequity Measures in place throughout the four academic Divisions of the University.

University-wide Trequity Measures	
Participation	- Māori On Campus Experience, OCE **Māori and Pacific Island Entrance Scholarship (MPIES) (2005)** - Māori Liaison Officer
Success	**Māori Centre/ Te Huka Mātauraka (1987/88)** - Tūraka Hou (orientation programme) - Kā rikarika-ā-Tāne (mentoring programme) - Counsellors - Tutorials (academic support) - Te Tumu – School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies (1990) **Te Roopū Māori (1994/94)** **Office of Māori Development (2007)** - Māori Strategic Framework (2007) - Associate Dean Māori (ADM) **Departmental Kaiāwhina Māori**
Retention	**Māori Masters Scholarships** **Māori Doctoral Scholarships** - MAI ki Otago (Māori post-graduate student support programme)

Table 9: shows Trequity Measures in place for the participation, success and retention of Māori students at the University

N.B: Trequity Measures in **bold** are ones that frequent most in the interviews with participants in the following chapter.

Trequity Measures		
Division of Health Sciences	▪	**MSC into Health Sciences**
	▪	Māori Health Workforce Development Unit (2011)
	▪	**Tū Kahika (2010)**
	▪	Te Whakapuāwai Health Sciences First-Year support
	▪	Te Ara Hauora
	▪	Māori/Indigenous Health Institute (MIHI)
	▪	Te Oranga ki Otago (Māori Medical students)*
	▪	Ngā Mōkai o ngā Whetū – Māori Dental Student Association*
Division of Sciences	▪	Science Wānanga (2007) for secondary school students
	▪	Hands-On Science
	▪	Academic orientation for first-year Science students (2013)
	▪	Physical Education Māori students' Association*
	▪	Te Roopū Pūtaiao (2013)*
Division of Humanities	▪	**MAE into Law**
	▪	Māori and Pacific Islands Advisory Board
	▪	Te Aka-ā-Tāwhaki
	▪	**Māori and Pacific Island Bridging Scholarships**
	▪	Humanities Māori Students' Association (2014)*
	▪	
Division of Commerce/Otago Business School	▪	MoU with Ngāi Tahu Tourism
	▪	He Kākano (2013)
	▪	Hikohiko te Uira Māori Enterprise Internship (2012)
	▪	Te Tai Tuara (Māori Commerce Students' Association)*

Table 10: shows Trequity Measures in all four academic Divisions at the University
*Student-formed/managed support groups that are not directly funded by the University.
N.B: Trequity Measures in **bold** are ones that frequent most in the interviews with participants in the following chapter.

To summarise, the University has in place a number of different Trequity Measures to assist and encourage Māori students to study at the University. Not all of the Trequity Measures listed above tend to cause controversy, however some do. These include Māori-targeted support services, scholarships and admission schemes.

Conclusion

The *whakapapa* of Trequity Measures at the University of Otago is extensive. There have been a lot of structural changes within the University over the past 20 years to account for a more Māori-friendly University environment. The Watts, Walker, and

Kapa Reports have proven instrumental in initiating significant University policies that support Māori interests and success. The MoU with Ngāi Tahu and the MSF have impacted positively upon the University's staff and students. Although there is much to be done, there is more of an appreciation for Māori engagement at the University because of the University's relationship with local *mana whenua*. An extensive list of Trequity Measures was provided in this chapter to show how the University is trying to contribute to increase Māori participation in university and rectify the issues that were presented in the three key Reports.

A number of interviews were conducted with six staff members employed in positions at the University that endorse specific Trequity Measures. There were also 11 students interviewed, all of whom have been affected, positively and/or negatively through the Trequity Measures. These will form the basis of the case studies in the following chapter.

Chapter Five
Perceptions of and attitudes towards Trequity Measures

> Are you gonna be a Māori doctor, or are you gonna be a doctor who helps Māori?
> There's a big difference (Student 7, 2014).

Perceptions of and attitudes towards Trequity Measures have been explored mainly in Chapter Three. In relation to Trequity Measures at the University of Otago, the previous chapter described the *whakapapa* of things Māori and Māori engagement at the University. It included various steps that have been taken to solidify the University's relationship with Ngāi Tahu as *mana whenua*; the attempts that have been taken to normalise things Māori within the University; and Trequity Measures that are now in place to ensure the participation, retention and success of Māori students at the University – some as a result of the three major Reports that were discussed in Chapter Four.

Chapter Five allows the participants in this thesis to share their perceptions of, and attitudes towards, Trequity Measures at the University[32]. Perceptions and attitudes that they have also experienced have been documented in an attempt to understand them and to eliminate the perceived negative stigma. The main Trequity Measures that are discussed from staff and student perspectives can be sectioned off into three categories. The first section will discuss perceptions and attitudes towards support systems. Following that, Māori-targeted scholarships will be examined in relation to both staff and student experiences. The final section will then be dedicated to admission schemes in the Health Sciences and in Law, detailing the staff and student

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[32] To familiarise, see Table 1 for Staff Profiles and Table 2 for Student Profiles in Chapter One.

experiences with the MSC (Māori sub-category in Health Sciences) and the MAE (Māori alternative entry in Law).

Māori-targeted support systems

Māori-targeted support systems at the University are in place to ensure that students reach their full potential, succeed in academic studies and are able to be around like-minded people to gain a sense of community and comfortableness. Two main support systems for Māori students at the University are the Māori Centre (MC) and Te Roopū Māori (TRM – Māori Students' Association). The Office of Māori Development (OMD) supports staff and students through the equity funding administered from the Tertiary Education Commission. Departmental Kaiāwhina are also in place to support Māori students in each department with any academic issues that they may have.

Perceptions

There are a number of systems in place that are often perceived as being special treatment because they prioritise Māori. There are also questions about how the systems are funded. When asked how the MC was funded, the Manager responded saying:

> We're not funded by student fees like people think we are. We're funded from the University. I don't know whether this comes from EFTs, I'm not too sure whether it comes from the Ministry (Manager of the Māori Centre, 2014).

Here, the Manager suggests that there is a misperception that student fees fund the MC. If this were in fact the case, then this could be why people might hold a negative attitude towards the MC's existence – because it appears to prioritise only Māori students through provision of a communal space and environment. This perception

could be further driven by the presence of the University's Student Learning Centre (SLC) that provides support to all students, including Māori. The student representation groups are also split with the OUSA (Otago University Students' Association) representing all students including Māori, and the Māori representative group being for Māori students alone (TRM). Therefore, discourse around the existence of the MC within the student community supports perceptions of inclusion and exclusion.

> it's not even that non-Māori students don't get these things, it's just that they don't utilise them… And so really what we are doing is just tapping into something that we know is there, whereas there's a whole lot of students out there that are complaining that Māori get all of these things but they've got it too, they just need to go and find it in a different place (Student 1, 2014).

This interview response suggests that MC exclusion of non-Māori students is testimony that non-Māori do not tend to utilise the mainstream support systems that are in place. So rather than these support systems being an issue of special treatment, it is more this perception that they are seen to exclude non-Māori as opposed to there not being anything in place at the University for non-Māori. One example given by an interviewee counteracts this perception because her partner who is non-Māori had been invited to the see a counsellor at the MC because he is *whānau* and can utilise these services on that basis (Student 11, 2014). The following quote demonstrates the idea that mainstream support systems can be utilised by Māori students too.

> So I think that first of all that they're really important, but I also understand that there are those kind of ignorant people on Campus that think that it's another form of privilege. Like Māori tutorials at the Māori Centre, people hate it. It makes me laugh, but I'm like, people have other opportunities if they want to learn, and to get extra help if they want it. The Student Learning Centre provides tutorials, they just don't utilise it and people will say, "oh well Māori can use those ones too," [and] I'm like, yeah but they don't really understand this kind of notion of whakamā that Māori students have (Student 2, 2014).

There are multiple thoughts being shared here. Firstly, the student highlights the perception that the MC is another form of privilege that is not afforded to non-Māori. She counters this notion of privilege by suggesting that the SLC, which also provides numerous academic tutorials, is under-utilised by students. These are students who criticise the MC's Māori tutorials as being a Māori privilege, but do not utilise facilities available to them. Students who hold this negative attitude only see MC support as something they are missing out on. However, those who categorise things as privileges, are usually those who are the most privileged; and are a part of the dominant group (McIntosh, 1989). An extension of this example will be provided in the following section that discusses scholarships where the same pattern in regards to the idea of Māori privilege is more prevalent.

Another important idea addressed by Student 2 is this notion of *whakamā* (feeling shy and uncomfortable). The MC environment reduces the sense of *whakamā* because the support is in an environment that Māori feel comfortable in. Being *whakamā* is one of the reasons why Māori students do not tend to utilise non-Māori or mainstream support services. The notion of *whakamā* is consistent with the following description of the MC's uniquely Māori approach that is both welcoming and beneficial for Māori students.

> …especially like the counselling and the tutoring, and in a Māori setting, because a lot of people can be kind of nervous, especially [those] that are from areas that are more predominantly Māori, it can be harder to kind of integrate into mainstream support services. Whereas if it were set up in a more whānau manner, as the Māori Centre is, it becomes more easier to access (Student 3, 2014).

Support for Māori by Māori in a *whānau*-type atmosphere resonates in this student's explanation of what makes the MC different and more appealing than the likes of the SLC or other mainstream services. Perceptions of Māori-targeted support systems

suggest that people tend to be unaware of the reasons why these systems are in place. This is evident through the following attitudes.

Attitudes

The Director of Māori Development shared his experiences of attitudes towards things Māori as being mostly positive, especially in regards to staff at the University in implementing the MSF (Director of Māori Development, 2014). He has also encountered negative attitudes towards things Māori at the University, however he chooses to ignore them because he has found that these negative attitudes are often based on ignorance and unawareness. The OMD Director stated that Pākehā students within the University do not require the same assistance as Māori students because the University is predominantly Pākehā (Director of Māori Development, 2014). This idea, that things Pākehā are the normal way, is precedential by most aspects of the University being a bastion of Pākehā culture. Māori students and other non-Pākehā, need structures in place that support their participation and success in an ultimately Pākehā institution. Māori-targeted support systems are that necessity.

The Manager of the MC has experienced different attitudes from staff and students, Māori and non-Māori, towards the existence of the MC.

> So you can get a positive [attitude] from Māori and a negative [attitude] from Māori staff and students, or even whānau. I know I've been questioned, "why do you guys have [the] Maaori Centre?" And I'm going, "what's the problem?" I'm asked the same question that non-Māori ask in regards to our existence that Māori ask. I actually am surprised that a lot of Māori ask questions like that (Manager of the Māori Centre, 2014).

It is interesting that she has encountered Māori that are unaware of the reasons for the existence of the MC within the University. This is just one reason as to why it is important to know the *whakapapa* of Trequity Measures. The notion of

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understanding the *whakapapa* of Trequity Measures can be clearly seen when people, especially non-Māori are supportive of things Māori within the University, in particular the role that the MC plays in assisting in Māori success and retention.

> But a lot of staff, [the] majority of staff are really positive [towards] the Centre, they're willing to help…But there's more positive, I would say, coming from staff (Manager of the Māori Centre, 2014).

Not only are staff generally positive towards the MC, but Māori students also testify that the Centre is one factor that directly relates to Māori student success, the sense of community, and the continuation of an integral aspect of one's Māori identity at the University (Wharerau, 2013, p. 53). During their interviews many of the students expressed similar views to how beneficial the MC and other Māori-targeted support systems are at the University.

> With the Māori Centre, I think it's an awesome institution in terms of, I think it's directly linked to how successful Māori students are at Otago… I think it's a great way to have a, kind of a advocacy group for Māori (Student 3, 2014).

> It's good to know that other Māori are here, and a place like the Māori Centre, different Māori groups throughout the University, [are] a good way establish those connections with other Māori students at University (Student 5, 2014).

> MC ,[Māori Centre] is so good. The tutes and stuff are way more designed for us, as opposed to, the ones at Uni are not very good, for how we learn (Student 4, 2014).

Student 4 references the standard of academic tutorials being more beneficial for the way "we" learn. She is referring to the *whakawhanaungatanga* aspect of the tutorials that has been referenced by the Manager of the MC as to being the underlying mission – the coming together of like-minded students who can prosper and succeed together. The next TRM example demonstrates how each interviewee regards TRM as being for them and other Māori students.

> So it's just about, kind of a home away from [home]…and it's kind of like a whānau system within the University, and that's kind of a real positive and a real useful tool I think, in terms of making sure that our tauira do… have

people to go to, if they don't wanna go to staff then go to the students. And [it is] just a way of maintaining your cultural links within the University, because it's a European institution (Student 3, 2014).

Both the MC and TRM are held in high esteem amongst the Māori student population, as are the other Māori support roles such as Departmental Kaiāwhina.

> If I ever have a problem, so with either Law or Commerce, my first person that I would go to would be the Kaiāwhina Māori, I'd go to them before I went to the Dean or the Course Advisor in each department…they are awesome. And you don't feel shame, like if I'm having trouble, like I'm struggling with some papers, then I'll be like, "oh I don't wanna ask for help", so I won't go to anyone then but them. They're the only people that I'd feel comfortable going to … 'cause they've kind of been through it as well, they're more understanding (Student 4, 2014).

Again the idea of being *whakamā* is expressed as a reason for Māori not feeling comfortable utilising non-Māori support systems. It is more appealing to confide in someone who you can see genuine similarities with or a connection to.

Attitudes towards Māori-targeted support systems at the University are definitely positive from those Māori students who utilise the services. Where a negative attitude has been perceived it has been because those who are seen to be ineligible for the services are excluded from the resource and tend to regard the services as unfair privileges. This notion tends to be reoccurring in the discourse surrounding some of the Trequity Measures in place at the University. The other concerning thing is the point that the Manager of the MC bought up about some Māori questioning the existence of the MC. Her position within the University allows her to know the reality of how unlikely it is for Māori students to pursue tertiary education should specific support systems not be in place. The importance of being able to know the *whakapapa* of Trequity Measures and why they are necessary for Māori students and Māori people becomes apparent. Furthermore, it is worrying that some Māori are unsure of the reasons why Trequity Measures like the MC are in place and find it

difficult to reply when faced with the question: "well why do Māori have the MC, or Māori-targeted scholarships, or the Māori sub-category in Health Sciences?" This idea is explored further later because it links in with eligible student understandings of Māori-targeted scholarships, the MAE and the MSC.

Māori-targeted scholarships

Māori-targeted scholarships are in place at the University to increase the level of Māori student participation. In particular, financial assistance is a major factor when students are choosing to come to university. Wharerau (2013) outlines reasons why Māori students apply for Māori-targeted scholarships at the University and the participants in this thesis share similar if not the same motivations. They have all cited scholarships as having been extremely helpful, not only from a financial aspect, but they also provided a financial security that enabled them to focus on their studies. Student interviewees were asked about their views pertaining to the Māori-targeted scholarships.

Understanding of existence

> I think, my understanding of it would be to try and pull in top Māori academic students … to kind of show that Māori are supported…But to be honest… I couldn't tell you my knowledge of the history of it and why… I couldn't tell you exactly what it would be for – why it was established, who established it, I wouldn't know that sort of stuff (Student 1, 2014).

The student's understanding aligns with what the Manager of the Scholarships Office understands about the scholarships.

> So I think the University does recognise that strategically, that it is more likely to be more difficult for Māori students to make the step in to tertiary education, compared to non-Māori. And it's the same for post-graduate study, strategically it's more difficult to stay on or to do graduate study so there again. Otago has to prise them out of their homes, to make it more attractive,

financially. We try and counter some of the financial implications I suppose (Manager of the Scholarships Office, 2014).

This confirms that the scholarships are in place to assist in increasing the number of Māori and Pacific students enrolled at the University. It aligns too with the reason given in the University documents for the scholarship's establishment, "to celebrate academic excellence and cultural diversity, [and is]…intended to encourage the progression of Māori and Pacific Islands students into tertiary study" (University of Otago, n.d-d).

The same understanding can be seen in how this doctoral student describes her own understanding of Māori-targeted postgraduate scholarships at the University.

> One is for the University to demonstrate that they're supporting Māori students in a way without actually having to do too much, because it is kind of just money…But also I think that there have been people genuinely within the University that have been fighting for these types of things so that students have the ability to do research. Because without it, I know plenty of students who have left because they didn't get scholarships, and they haven't done the research that they'd intended to do (Student 2, 2014).

Again, this student poses an intriguing idea in regards to the University's commitment to Māori students. This idea was explored in Wharerau (2013) in relation to the MPIES. For the students who were awarded the MPIES, it was just money that the University had given to them. They felt more obligated to reciprocate in some way to those who had provided other types of support, such as providing them with a sense of community, support mechanisms such as the MC, and individuals that guided them through their first year. Other students interviewed agreed with the view that the scholarships are a way that the University can show that they are supporting Māori students.

The following student understands Māori-targeted scholarships to be in relation to the Treaty of Waitangi. This demonstrated how she understands the link between Māori-targeted scholarships and the Crown's obligation to Māori through the Treaty.

> Well first of all because we're a minority group… I feel like I need to start going back to the Treaty… to explain it…But, yeah, basically to help Māori and Pacific Island[er's] in to tertiary education (Student 8, 2014).

Non-Māori perceptions of Māori-targeted scholarships tend to focus more on what they are missing out on because of non-eligibility as opposed to this social agenda.

Perceptions

The wider community's perceptions of Māori-targeted scholarships tend to be more in line with what is in the media. The scholarships are perceived to privilege Māori students, be easier for Māori students to obtain, and that the criteria are often lowered because the recipients are Māori students as expressed by the OMD who sits on the MPIES Selection Committee.

> it's been common for years and years for that sort of crap about [how] Māori get special treatment, "Māori get this, and Māori get that". And it's crap, we don't lower the bar for Māori and Pacific students, we don't. What we do is we include other things in the decision about whether to bring people in, apart from just their academic successes (Director of Māori Development, 2014).

He explained that the Committee takes other aspects of criteria into consideration such as community involvement. He adds that the perceived privilege that Māori are afforded at the University is unsupported by the number of entrance scholarships actually given to Māori students per year.

> The other thing though ae is that when it comes to the scholarships, it's easy for people to target or pick on the Māori ones. But actually, we give out $3 million nearly, worth of entrance scholarships. Academic excellence: 37, Leaders of Tomorrow: 201, Māori and Pacific Island: 80, Dux scholarships 100 of them, there's all these scholarships that we give out, all together we give out 470, so 400 of them are non-Māori ones or Pacific, but no one bleats

> and moans about those… Actually as a percentage of the number of scholarships it's 80 out of 470 (Director of Māori Development, 2014).

This mirrors the notion that Māori students receive special treatment such as the MC tutorials, when they could utilise mainstream support services. The above perception stems from the belief that Māori students can get non-targeted scholarships too. However, the reality is that Māori students are not among the highest achievers in New Zealand, and the majority of all University scholarships are awarded based on academic merit. Granted there definitely are Māori students who were and are awarded other mainstream scholarships just like Student 9 who was awarded both the University's Dux and MPIES.

Furthermore, the reality is that the University gives out approximately $20 million per year in scholarships (Director of Māori Development, 2014; Manager of the Scholarships Office, 2014; Wharerau, 2013) and on average, Māori-targeted scholarships make up about $1 million of that. So even though 8% of the student population is Māori, in terms of scholarships, Māori students are only receiving 5% of the money that is set aside for all University scholarships. Again, this statistic challenges the perception that Māori-targeted scholarships are a privilege and that Māori get scholarships easier than non-Māori.

Therefore the perception that it is easy for Māori students to get Māori-targeted scholarships supports the hypothesis that there is a negative stigma attached to Trequity Measures at the University. The following student addresses this negative stigma.

> Yeah, they think that because you're Māori you get this scholarship… People ask at the hostel and stuff, at the beginning when everybody was getting to know each other, "oh did you get a scholarship", [they] just expected that

obviously I did type-thing. And I was like, "I didn't get a scholarship because I'm Māori, I got a scholarship 'cause I worked really hard through high school, every year I aimed to endorse in Excellence and I did, and I was head girl and stuff and that's why I got it, not because I was Māori, just purely" (Student 6, 2014).

This student experienced first hand the ill-informed perception of Māori-targeted scholarships even before she explained her impressive achievements that she obtained in order to be eligible for the MPIES. Moreover, this experience is not uncommon amongst the participants of this thesis.

> 'cause I felt, I knew I was quite lucky to get this scholarship. But a lot of attitudes were that I didn't have to work for it, that I'd just gotten it, and actually one night I got quite angry. Someone had said something and I just kind of blew up at them, 'cause I'd said, "well I've got my excellences, I was Head Boy, what else would I have done to get a scholarship anyway". And so I think it kind of made things a little bit awkward for a few people but a few of them said to me afterwards, "oh, I didn't realise"… And people just come and say, "oh you'll be right, you would've gotten a Maaori scholarship or something", I'm just like, "well yeah but I earned it (Student 3, 2014).

Both Students 3 and 6 explained that the negative stigma that they had experienced was contradictory and insulting, regardless of their ability.

Contrasting to the two previous examples, this student admitted to not being comfortable with telling people that she received the MPIES, because instead of it being celebrated and something to be proud of, her experience was met with assumptions.

> Yeah people just assume if you're Brown, and you say you got a scholarship, people just assume, "oh, is it a Māori one"? Which, most of the time it is, but there's not even like a, "oh cool that's so awesome", it's like, "just 'cause you're Brown, you got that". Which is probably one of the biggest reasons why I don't tell people that I get them (Student 4, 2014).

It is both frustrating and unfair that these perceptions have caused this student to be unable to celebrate her achievements simply because negative perceptions exist when it is a Māori-targeted scholarship.

The Manager of the MC admits that she thinks that the negative perception of

Trequity Measures, including Māori-targeted scholarships is due to the media fuelling

a negative stigma that New Zealand society places on Trequity Measures.

> [This perception] is not going to go away until society changes, not the
> University, not you, it's a societal issue that they think Māori get everything
> handed on a plate, and it's not that. It's just media sensationalism really
> which is annoying (Manager of the Māori Centre, 2014).

Student participant comments offer more insight by suggesting that there may be

underlying issues of ignorance and possibly racism behind why there are negative

attitudes towards Māori-targeted scholarships and Trequity Measures in general.

Student 7 thought that people that she has encountered have had uninformed and

ignorant opinions towards Māori-targeted scholarships, and more broadly Trequity

Measures, which has resulted in a negative perception of Māori-targeted scholarships.

> I think for some people it's racism, but I think for most people it's just
> ignorance, and it's just kind of lack of understanding of why they exist and
> what they're there for, to address the imbalance in New Zealand society in
> general (Student 7, 2014).

The media's influence as suggested by the Manager of the MC is repeated in this

response from Student 2

> I think that's just a general reflection of society. People have come from
> places where everything that they see on television, in newspapers, is negative
> and it's showing that Māori want, want, want, so they connect these
> scholarships with that. That Māori want land back, that they want
> compensation for things that happened in the past, all that kind of thing, so
> they connect the University and they connect scholarships with that (Student
> 2, 2014).

This supports the ideas that the media tends to portray Māori as privileged and hides

the reality of Pākehā privilege (Barnes et al., 2012, p. 201).

The student participants' voiced many comments about the importance of

understanding why something is needed to be able to hold an informed and vigorous

opinion about it as suggested in Chapter One (Roberts & Fairbrother, 2004, p. 15).

Student 4 and Student 9 describe their experiences that coincide with Tajfel's in-

group/out-group theory, citing entitlement and jealousy.

> I think part of it stems from jealousy, "why should they get it and we don't
> type-things", "I pay taxes, so why don't I get it type-thing" (Student 9, 2014).

> Anything that not everybody's entitled to, it's always gonna be like that, like
> student allowance, people that aren't on it don't like it, because they can't get
> it, it's the same thing (Student 4, 2014).

This aspect is also in line with notions of ineligibility and entitlement towards Māori-

targeted support systems too.

Attitudes

On the whole, those that have received Māori-targeted scholarships from the

University tend to have positive attitudes towards them. Five of the students

interviewed expressed positive attitudes to receiving the scholarships. They shared

the sentiments expressed by Student 2, Student 3 and Student 9.

> Love it. 'Cause I wouldn't have been able to, oh I probably could've applied
> for other scholarships, but it also meant that I didn't have to go outside the
> University (Student 2, 2014).

> I'm really for them, just because I was brought up in an area that was
> predominantly Māori and in my school of about, I don't know…maybe 2 were
> going to University (Student 3, 2014).

> Because I received one, I'm quite grateful, I'm glad they're there, and it
> certainly made it a lot easier… I can see why some people get jealous, but a
> lot of Māori come from low socio-economic backgrounds in the first place,
> and a lot more Māori as opposed to Pākehā students… And at the moment, it
> is Māori, the majority who are disadvantaged (Student 9, 2014).

Many of them have stated that the scholarships they received were the difference

between them coming to university, or being able to live at a Hall of Residence in

their first-year. This parallels with what D. Hayward (2012, p. 115) explained about

financial scholarships attracting Māori students to pursue tertiary education. So, not

only do Māori-targeted scholarship recipients have positive attitudes towards them, they also express that without the scholarship, their university lives may have been much more difficult to transition into. Additionally, Student 9 addressed her knowledge of overall inequities between Māori and non-Māori. As positively as these students feel about the existence of Māori-targeted scholarships, certain observations have been made about the selection processes of some of the University's Māori-targeted scholarships.

Risk minimisation

Both staff and students interviewed made observations regarding the selection process for Māori-targeted scholarships at the University. Their observations may assist in understanding the negative stigma that is attached to Māori-targeted scholarships such as the Māori-targeted entrance scholarship, MPIES[33]. The following example demonstrates some of the tensions between academic and cultural aspects of the selection criteria.

At the beginning of 2014 the University held a *mihi whakatau* (welcoming ceremony) for all MPIES recipients. This was so that they could meet the selection panel, meet other MPIES recipients, and become familiar with what was expected of them as MPIES recipients. The OMD Director admitted that the selection panel would often get applications of students saying that they had not yet had any involvement with their Māori background, but the MPIES would allow them the means to do so: "a lot

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[33] As has previously been mentioned, the MPIES is in place to increase the number of Māori and Pacific Island students at the University and most importantly an academic scholarship. Eligible applicants are of Māori and/or Pacific Island heritage and one other component that is taken into consideration is the applicant's community involvement. Because it is a Māori and Pacific-targeted scholarship, it is beneficial that applicants demonstrate their involvement with their Māori and/or Pacific communities – however this is not absolutely necessary to be considered for the scholarship.

of you wrote in your scholarship applications that you haven't had much to do with your Māori background, but you said that you will if you receive the scholarship in coming down here - you will" (Director of Māori Development, 2014). Therefore, this *hui* (meeting) was to enforce the expectation that the University wants them to be involved in things Māori and to contribute to Māori on Campus.

A positive outcome of this meeting was that students who attended this *mihi whakatau* received the message about *utu* (reciprocity), obligation, and participation as part of the scholarship process (see Wharerau, 2013).

> "They don't enforce it enough, and they need to. In terms of educating them during their time at uni, maybe making them sit Māori [102][34] or whatever (Student 8, 2014).

The idea that students need to take seriously the message from the Director of the OMD suggests that there needs to be more to educate students about the *whakapapa* of Māori-targeted scholarships – why they exist, what has happened for Māori to require financial assistance at university, why Māori are a minority within universities, and what positive impacts could occur if they are made aware of this information. Information as to why Māori-targeted scholarships are in place is part of the journey to eliminating the negative stigma attached to Trequity Measures at the University.

In addition, another student interviewee also expressed concern that she assumed the MPIES recipients would have been more involved with their Māori and/or Pacific communities (Student 6, 2014). Her observation might appear to be a judgement of

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[34] MAOR 102 – Māori Culture and Society, is a paper at the University that teaches students fundamental aspects of Māori culture and society. The paper tends to invite international students that are on exchanges to learn about Māori culture and society and it also acts as an elective for students studying towards Health Sciences. With this being said, the paper attracts approximately 600 Health Science students in Semester Two. This is probably why Student 8, being that she was a Health Sciences student, made a reference to the paper.

the recipients' Māori identities, however, it is rather an observation that the cultural component of community involvement is not given equal weighting with the academic aspect of the criteria. Though, in reality, it is the only thing that differentiates between a Māori-targeted scholarship and a mainstream academic scholarship. Not only is it interesting that this student questions the purpose of the MPIES, but two other student participants also strongly agreed that if there is a community involvement aspect within the criteria, it should be considered on an equal basis with academic success.

Other student interviewees admitted to having similar misgivings, especially in regards to the selection process of University Māori-targeted postgraduate scholarships. One thought that there should be an interview component in the selection process.

> I definitely think that there should probably be an interview component with some of the scholarships, because it's a massive amount of money, and it would actually allow people giving out the scholarships, to actually get to know the person. Because anyone can write anything down, but it's how they, you can see when people talk about their research, how they feel about it, and that kind of stuff (Student 2, 2014).

In her experience with postgraduate Māori-targeted scholarships, this student feels as though the impersonal approach to awarding these scholarships is in opposition to the community involvement aspect of the scholarship criteria[35]. The interviewees all perceived that the Māori cultural aspect of the criteria is not given equal weighting in regard to postgraduate scholarships either. The current Manager of the Scholarships Office has also brought the same issues to attention,

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[35] To see the criteria for a Māori Masters scholarship, please see the link below,
http://www.otago.ac.nz/study/scholarships/otago00799511.pdf
To see the criteria for a Māori doctoral scholarship, please see the link below,
http://www.otago.ac.nz/study/scholarships/otago007994.pdf

> …there are targeted scholarships but the number you give out, how you give them out, anything to do with them is just, all it is just a scholarship with 'Māori' tacked on to it. There's nothing different. And that is reflected in the numbers that have them (Manager of the Scholarships Office, 2014)[36].

The Director's earlier comments regarding reciprocity suggest that the issue of cultural versus academic is being addressed and that there is some sense of obligation and expectation being instilled into the MPIES recipients. This may counteract the attitude that Māori-targeted scholarships are 'easy' to obtain merely based on the fact that you have *whakapapa* Māori. This attitude is just as much internal as well as an external one. One student commented,

> Yeah and those people that are admitted [like that], [they say], "yay, I got a scholarship just 'cause I'm Māori", and they diss it themselves I feel. They give a bad rep to Māori … (Student 6, 2014).

This then implies that part of the negative stigma that is attached to Māori-targeted scholarships, is perpetuated by Māori recipients themselves. The perceived easiness also effects how recipient's feel about acknowledging that they have received Māori-targeted scholarships, as shared earlier by Student 4 when she spoke of people just assuming that she received a Māori-targeted scholarship just because she is Māori.

Yet another aspect that ties into the continued perpetuation of the negative attitude attached to Māori-targeted scholarships may be a result of a recipient's perception of their own Māori identity. For instance, to be eligible for a Māori-targeted scholarship, you also have to prove that you have *whakapapa* Māori. Participants who had received Māori-targeted scholarships from the University all said that they were proud that they had received these scholarships because this also meant that they

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[36] Since being interviewed, the Manager of the Scholarships Office has notified me that steps have been put in place to ensure that a more holistic approach to awarding doctoral scholarships has been arranged. This means that the additional information (community involvement and commitment to their *Māoritanga*) within scholarship candidates' application is being taken into further consideration now.

were actively acknowledging their Māori identity. When asked what types of recipients might not be as proud to acknowledge that they had received a Māori scholarship, perhaps because of the negative stigma that is attached to it, or for whatever other reason, one student replied:

> I feel kind of, I don't like to say it but I guess it's people aren't as strong in their identity or in their Māori identity. They might not feel that they are Māori enough, and I hate when people think that, because there's no way to determine how Māori someone is (Student 2, 2014).

This suggests that students, who are less involved with, or knowledgeable of, their *whakapapa* Māori, might be less inclined to be proud of, or acknowledge, that they received a Māori-targeted scholarship. This raises the question that these recipients might pose a risk to the validity of a Māori-targeted scholarship. Essentially all the recipient has had to do, is prove they were of Māori descent without having to demonstrate any kind of obligation or responsibility to the tribal group they claim descent from. This all-care-no-responsibility attitude is a notion discussed by the Associate Dean Māori of Health Sciences around risk minimisation in regards to backlash towards the MSC in the University's Division of Health Sciences. Therefore this particular idea will be extended on in the following section largely based on Māori admission schemes at the University.

Māori-targeted admission schemes

Māori-targeted admission schemes at the University could be considered as a form of affirmative action as described in Chapter Three. Much like the two previous Trequity Measures, the same rhetoric surrounding Māori privilege, perceived easiness, and 'lowering the bar', can also be seen here. The two Māori-targeted admissions schemes that were analysed as part of this thesis were the MSC in Health Sciences and the MAE in the Faculty of Law. Both admission schemes are different

from each other because the MSC is just one of many sub-categories which include standard entry, Pacific descent entry, rural entry, international entry, graduate entry, and prior work experience entry. For the MAE, there are only two alternative entry options under the standard entry option: MAE and special circumstances. They both also apply different selection methods to permit eligible students into Second-Year[37]. The following sub-sections will essentially be divided in two; however, they will be compared to each other because of the differences in participants' experiences with each admission scheme.

<u>MSC – Māori sub-category</u>

Although the MSC has evolved substantially during the time that is has been in place, the fundamental reason that drives its existence is to increase the number of Māori health professionals. Other aspects of the scheme will be touched on as well because the participants address them in their interviews. Participant comments relating to Tū Kahika, a Health Science scholarship programme, will also feature, as it is a large part of how two of the student participants have come to understand the MSC. This demonstrates that the MHWDU (Māori Health Workforce Development Unit in the Division of Health Sciences at the University) has created a cohesive programme that supports Māori students into and throughout all Health Sciences courses.

Understanding of the existence of Tū Kahika and the MSC

Student participant understandings of why Tū Kahika and the MSC exist are reflected in this student's response.

> Tū Kahika was set up 'cause of…Vision 20:20. Auckland set it up as well with Whakapiki Ake, but the whole point is that by [the year] 2020, Māori

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[37] Please do refer back to Chapter One for further explanations of these processes.

will make up 20% of the New Zealand Health workforce because currently we only represent 2-3% (Student 8, 2014).

In regards to the MSC, the same student reiterates the link between the two Trequity Measures, stating:

> …you can't expect Māori to be just as representative of the population as they should be in the Health workforce when the playing field wasn't level to start with. And that's the whole thing with the Vision 20:20 (Student 8, 2014).

The student also explained that as part of being in Tū Kahika and now also part of Te Whakapuāwai (a Māori support programme for HSFY), she was taught the importance of the Treaty of Waitangi in relation to Māori health disparities. Students were told all the information they needed to know about the MSC and they were encouraged to choose the MSC when applying for any of the Health Sciences professional programmes. The Associate Dean Maori, Division of Health Sciences explains,

> So we encourage all of our Māori students to apply under the Māori sub-category, and if they're getting straight A plusses, even better. So we've been really clear that this isn't, it isn't a consolation prize way of entry. It's not a second-rate way of getting into Medical School. It's a very, very important, legitimate approach to getting into Medical School, that recognises how we value future Māori Health Professionals (Associate Dean Māori of the Division of Health Sciences, 2014).

In Health Sciences, eligible students are fully informed of the importance of the MSC. This next student, who was not part of Tū Kahika, but was a part of Te Whakapuāwai, references a similar understanding of the existence of the MSC:

> …there aren't enough Māori doctors, based on the percentage of the New Zealand population who are Māori. So I think there's only 3% of doctors maybe even less, are Māori. Whereas 12-15% of the population's Māori. And in a few years, it's gonna be a lot higher than that (Student 9, 2014).

Another Dentistry student, who was not in any of the MHWDU's programmes, speaks of her understanding of the MSC as being something that syphons out unique Māori qualities that are valued in the Health Sciences professional sector.

Yeah and so it's not the fact that it makes it easier for you to get in to the profession by applying under that sub-category, it's the fact that you have unique qualities that you want to bring to the profession by being brought up in a different setting, so that being Māori, that being rural. And also it means that you're more likely to go into jobs that will assist and help that certain category in the future (Student 10, 2014).

Therefore, student understandings of the existence of the MSC tend to be aligned with the University's understanding of the MSC in relation to ensuring diversity, honouring Treaty principles, and promoting academic equity (University of Otago, n.d-a).

Perceptions

The ADM of Health Sciences also explained that when students apply into any of the Health Science professional programmes through the MSC, they are demonstrating their on-going commitment to improving Māori health. She noted part of the misinformation that circulates, is that students will use the MSC as the easier way of getting into, for example Medicine, and continue to not acknowledge or exercise their commitment to Māori health (Associate Dean Māori of the Division of Health Sciences, 2014). She explains that there is this perception that at the last minute, students will try to find a tiny bit of *whakapapa* Māori so that they are eligible for the MSC. However, this is one of the myths from her point of view. The ADM further states that part of ensuring that that situation does not happen comes down to the way students are informed about the MSC. This includes notifying them of all of the situations that they could be faced with (the *whakapapa* of the MSC) – why it exists, how it works – and so students who do apply under the MSC are fully aware of what is expected of them and what they are signing up for.

Students encounter an array of experiences in relation to the MSC. The following student describes a compulsory Treaty workshop she undertook at the beginning of her first year in Medicine where a non-Māori student commented that "the Māori entry's terrible, it's not fair, why do they even get it if they can't get the grade, why should they even be here, they won't make good doctors 'cause they're not smart enough" (Student 9, 2014). She explained the frustration with being considered not good enough,

> "… And even me, I got a A average last year, and even then, if I said that, people will be like, "oh but you didn't work as hard as us". And I was like, "but it was an A average, okay". But people will still sort of look down and say, "oh you didn't work as hard as us" (Student 9, 2014).

Student 9 admits that towards the beginning of her first year in Medicine, she experienced some perceptions about the MSC where some of her classmates mentioned that she probably did not have to try as hard as they did, just because she was Māori. This shows that there is a negative perception of the MSC from other students. She adds that another problem is the assumption that non-Maori students miss out on getting a spot in a Health Sciences programme, because a Māori student has taken their place.

> But also talking about it to people who aren't in Med, who didn't get in. And they're like, "aww you would've only get in because you're Māori", or "why did you take my friends place, he's in Physio, he could've been in Med if you hadn't been here", type-thing. Or parents, when I went back home, and they're like, "yeah my son got a 91% and he didn't get in". And then I'm sitting there and I'm like, "oh I only got an 87% and I'm in" (Student 9, 2014).

This student's experiences contrast with Student 10's experiences in Dentistry where she has received mostly positive feedback about the MSC.

> Positive, yeah mainly positive. I haven't experienced any negativity whatsoever… I think there can be, I never personally experienced it. You do hear it, you hear whispers of it, and I suppose it was a long time ago for me when I did get in. So I think one, it spurs from competitiveness, everyone's vying for limited spots (Student 10, 2014).

Student 10 suggests that although she has heard about the negative stigma attached to the MSC, her own personal experiences in relation to the MSC in Dentistry have been very positive. She does however reference the competitiveness in the professional courses, more specifically HSFY where there are over 1000 students vying for limited spaces in any of the professional programmes. During this time, it is common knowledge that students tend to get extremely stressed out. However, the general perception is that after HSFY, the students are no longer competing and the negative stigma that is attached to the MSC is no longer as much of an issue. Both staff and students hold this idea.

> Once people are in to programmes, you know students just get on with it. Every now and then, something happens, but not, it isn't all around them in the same way that Health Sci generates (Associate Dean Māori of the Division of Health Sciences, 2014).

> It's the people who don't get in that have the problem. 'Cause once you're in, everyone's like, cool, chill, "we're in here, we don't have to worry about how you got in"… They're like, "oh those Māori people they have it so easy, they don't have to study as hard", type thing (Student 9, 2014).

The perception that Māori students have it easy, do not have to try as hard, and that the MSC is unfair tends to be common among students within HSFY or students that did not get into their preferred professional course, "they then look at the 45 Māori students in Medicine in 2014" (Associate Dean Māori of the Division of Health Sciences, 2014) and assume that they took their place.

Attitudes

Student attitudes towards the MSC are interesting because rather than being seen as a 'back-up plan' or a consolation prize, as the MAE is perceived as in Law, it is rather an active step towards acknowledging that they are Māori and that they are committed

to improving Māori Health. Therefore, when asked why they would or did apply under the MSC, the student participants responded as such:

> [It's] sort of like the pride of being Māori, anyway, it'd be cool, and I feel like I do owe something back. So applying under the, to me anyway, applying under the Māori category, is a bit like promising that you're going to do something in Māori Health (Student 9, 2014).

> Well number one, I am Māori…and so for me it wasn't a choice of 'ticking-the-Māori-box', that is who I am. I am Māori, and so it's more an identification for me of saying, "yes, I'm Māori and I'm proud of it and these are the specific values that I'm going to bring to this profession by being a Māori person" (Student 10, 2014).

Unlike the MAE in Law, in Health Sciences, a student can only choose one sub-category that they are eligible for to apply through. Therefore, for each of the above students, choosing the MSC is, and was, more of an acknowledgement of being Māori, as opposed to a decision about perception of stigma and judgement. With that being said, Student 8 had a different experience and prior to coming to university, she held the same negative perception about the MSC. It is interesting to see how her perception of and subsequent attitude of the MSC changed just by learning the *whakapapa* of the Trequity Measure.

> I was just kind of like, "why do I need to apply under the Māori sub-category?" For me it was kind of like, "oh, do I need it, I wanna get the grades good enough so I don't have to say I relied on that, or I depended on that". But then post-Tū Kahika, I learned about why it was in place and all that kind of stuff, and I was like, "well actually I'm gonna tick that box regardless of what happened", regardless of the grade because like I said before, I wanna be a part of that statistic (Student 8, 2014).

Her latter comment about being a statistic refers to how she views positive change in the Māori health workforce. These students chose to go through on the MSC and get into their course this way, which impacts positively on the MSC as a robust strategy. It is doing what it is in place to do, and that is to increase the number of Māori health professionals.

Risk minimisation

In order to ensure that MSC is functioning correctly, the MHWDU has methods in place to ensure that the integrity of this Trequity Measure remains intact. This includes making sure people's perceptions of it do not effect student's decisions when it comes to applying for a professional course. When students are apprehensive about applying under the MSC they are encouraged to think carefully about whether or not they are committed to improving Māori health, and what kind of health professional they want to be (Associate Dean Māori of the Division of Health Sciences, 2014). With that being said, the MSC is an inclusive strategy: if you have *whakapapa* Māori, you are committed to Māori health and you understand why the MSC is in place then the MHWDU will support you as a Māori student in Health Sciences.

> And if someone's saying, "well gosh I didn't want people to know I was Māori", then actually, probably it's not for them. But you know, if it is, "cool, oh I will so look forward to that, I'm really excited" (Associate Dean Māori of the Division of Health Sciences, 2014).

The ADM says that the above scenario does not happen often, however she does admit that the MSC is probably not a good fit for students who are questioning 'being Māori' or struggling with being affiliated with the MSC. The following students have the same attitude towards the issue.

> I think you'd be silly to be ashamed and then I also think that you shouldn't probably be applying under that category if you are gonna be ashamed. There's no reason to be as well. I actually can't think of a reason why you'd be ashamed (Student 10, 2014).

Students 7 reiterates how she sees the MSC as more of an acknowledgement of being Māori. Her attitude towards students who may be uncomfortable with acknowledging going through on the MSC demonstrates how positively she regards the MSC and other services that the MHWDU provides.

> Well it's a bit ratchet if you go to all the tutorials and all the feeds, but you can't claim being Māori (Student 7, 2014).

The ADM also supports this attitude. She admits that it is not for her or members of the MHWDU to judge how Māori someone is, or if they are Māori 'enough', but rather to instil in them a sense of reciprocity, obligation and purpose for applying under the MSC.

Therefore, this suggests that a way of minimising the perpetuation of the negative stigma attached to the MSC, and additionally Māori-targeted scholarships, may require ensuring, firstly, that students understand the *whakapapa* of the MSC. Secondly, that they are comfortable with acknowledging that they are Māori. The MSC participants demonstrate their ability to counteract negative attitudes that they have experienced because of their understanding of the *whakapapa* of the MSC. The same is not so apparent with Māori students within the Faculty of Law at the University.

Māori alternative entry, MAE, in Law

The way the MAE works in Law is different from the MSC in Health Sciences in that there are only two alternative entry pathways for students other than the standard entry[38]. These two entry pathways are known as Special Circumstances and the MAE. This would suggest that the MAE is less of an equity issue but more about recognising that Māori are the *tangata whenua.* In this way the Faculty of Law acknowledges the MAE in accordance to the Treaty of Waitangi.

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[38] Please refer back to Chapter One to review the application process for the MAE.

Understanding of existence

An Associate Professor in Law and the Executive Assistant of the Faculty (EA) are both also Departmental Kaiāwhina. Out of the two of them, only the EA sits on the Law Admissions Board. They both state that their understanding of the MAE is to recognise the Treaty and that this is but one way for the Faculty to fulfil their obligations to Māori. Often the MAE is compared to the programme within the Health Sciences and in particular with Health Sciences stance on reciprocity, obligations and commitment to Māori health.

> We're different to Health Sciences, you know you don't need to have that rural, people from all over take Law anyway, so there's no need to really have that…I could understand, because, yeah what's motivating that in Health Sciences, is that entry is to hopefully try and create that professional Medical professional that will go back out in the rural area (Associate Professor of Law, 2014).

> There's not so much of a need for that here. I think people will go back to wherever they want to go, they['ll] practise where they want to practise. And some choose rural, and some choose smaller towns (Executive Assisant in Law, 2014).

> And also just the comparison with the Health Sciences, I don't know if I'm correct in saying this…but there's not a real pressing need for more Māori lawyers, nationally. Of course we need more, but there's not a real pressing need (Associate Professor of Law, 2014).

Māori Law students have a different understanding to that of the Law Faculty staff of why the MAE is in place, citing equitable representation, societal disadvantage, and the need for more Māori practicing Law.

> Personally I think we have preferential entry, so that in the professional world we have an appropriate representation of New Zealand as a whole… So I think it's appropriate to have. Not all Māori are disadvantaged because of what happened but there is the general, Māori culture are at a disadvantage because of what happened in the past (Student 5, 2014).

> Kind of the same as scholarships, just making it more accessible, just to give Māori the equal opportunity to get in (Student 4, 2014).

> I think it's so that there are a number of Māori represented in Law, and they have the access way, to have a chance like everyone else does. We're in New

Zealand…there needs to be a number of Māori who are lawyers, who are doctors and stuff (Student 6, 2014).

Their responses imply an understanding of the MAE with the idea that there also needs to be more Māori doctors, as is the case for the MSC. However, unlike the two staff members, these students understand the MAE to be more of an equity issue. Student 5 was referencing the importance of the Treaty in terms of past disadvantage; however, ultimately they believe that the MAE exists to comfort an issue of equity.

Perceptions

The perception that Māori students in Law are only admitted because they used the MAE definitely exists. Sometimes, the Law Faculty's Administration will receive phone calls from disgruntled parents of students who did not get into Second-Year Law (Executive Assisant in Law, 2014). These parents are often under the impression that their child has missed out because a Māori student has taken their place.

> I think staff are fine with it, because it's not really that controversial, we're only taking someone down from 1 or 2%, it's not like we're saying, "10% of our students in LAWS 101 are going to come in to second year Law [and be Māori]. There's no quota that we're trying to fill…there's definitely a general feeling amongst some Law students about anything that's sort of seen as special but it's just not understanding (Associate Professor of Law, 2014).

Although staff admit that they themselves have not experienced a negative stigma, they have acknowledged that it might be different for students. The Associate Professor expresses that they definitely do not have a quota system in place for Māori students as they do at Victoria University of Wellington where "ten percent of available places in each 200-level LAWS course are reserved for Maori students applying under the Maori Admissions Process" (Victoria University of Wellington, 2010). This could be why some parents are phoning in questioning the admission

process.   Student 4 describes a situation where she experienced this negative perception.

> We were at my house…and one of our Māori friends bought his Pākehā friend over and he's in Law, he's in the same class as me, this was in second year. And him and my friend were talking and he said something about, "ugh, she just got in 'cause she's Māori", about me…but my friend was like, "oh nah, she actually got a higher mark than you".   And he just didn't know how to react, he was like, "oh, oh, sorry".   I was like, "did you just think I got in 'cause I was Māori?"   He was like, "yeah, let's be honest".   And I was like, "oh, well I got this".   And he was like, "oh, oh, yeah sorry" (Student 4, 2014).

Law Faculty staff and students have slightly opposing understandings of the existence for the MAE.   Staff are very positive towards the existence of the MAE and they stand behind the process in that the MAE will only admit a Māori student if they are only 2-3% below the cut-off mark (Associate Professor of Law, 2014).   This is in order to ensure that the student will be able to cope with the workload in second-year Law.

Student 5 said he had experienced situations where people have spoken about the MAE.   However, what is interesting about his statement is that he admits that it is mostly implied and not directly addressed – which may contribute to perpetuating the myth.

> Yup, I was told, they said, "oh how did you get in, it must've been through the Māori entry", specifically they said that to me.   But then that's one or two people out of a 200 person class, not everyone said that to me and as I've gone on…really that's the only time, I personally ever encountered someone. It's interesting because it's mostly an unspoken thing, people don't talk about it, but you can tell what their view is about it.   I've had run ins with a lot of people about Māori preferential entry (Student 5, 2014).

Additional to this perception about the MAE, students also acknowledged being unaware of the intricacies of the MAE as a process.   This meant that they had a

specific perception as to how the process worked. This is most evident in their attitudes towards the MAE.

Attitudes

Staff members are also aware of the negative attitudes that are present towards Trequity Measures such as the MAE, and so they tend not to really talk about it at all out of fear of backlash.

> I think there are negative attitudes though, I think amongst the general student population around anything, this sort of special category for Māori in that, it's a really touchy subject, it's not something that… We've got to be very careful what we [say], like even in lectures we wouldn't, I wouldn't really kind of highlight any kind of activities that are specifically for Māori, we've got to be very careful about it and it's a real shame, but you do have to be really careful about it (Associate Professor of Law, 2014).

The Associate Professor goes on to admit that because of this fear, this approach is not allowing the students to understand the MAE. Not only is this supportive of the fact that there remains a negative perception of the MAE, but even eligible MAE students do not understand the MAE process. The process allows Māori students to apply under the MAE, but will only be permitted entry if their overall Law grade is no larger than 2-3% below the cut off mark. If they meet these criteria they, along with Special Circumstances entries, may be offered places in addition to the top 200 spots for Law. This is why it is suggested that this process is additional as opposed to it being preferential. Initially, two of the three Law students were unaware of these details. Therefore, when they were asked about their attitudes towards the MAE, they expressed that they see the MAE as more of a back-up plan and almost the lesser way of getting into Second-Year Law. It should be noted here though, that all of the Law students that were interviewed, qualified for Law via the standard entry option.

Therefore, when they were asked what they will or would have felt like had they qualified under the MAE they responded,

> Yeah, I think that I would've felt like maybe I didn't deserve it as much, or that maybe I shouldn't have gotten in, even though I did do the work… But I think that if I hadn't had got the grade, then I think that I would've felt like, "oh maybe you don't deserve to be here" (Student 4, 2014).

> That's hard. Probably wouldn't be as proud as getting in like everyone else, just to be honest. Because it has that stigma that you didn't get in the same as everyone else, so you're not as good, type-thing. So yeah, I'd probably be more proud to get in on the standard entry (Student 6, 2014).

It is interesting to see what these students attitudes were before they were given the details behind the MAE. This thinking is in opposition to the previous situation with the Health Sciences students where the MSC was more of a positive acknowledgement of being Māori and not so much a 'back-up plan' or a consolation prize. Student 5 admits that although he would have personally felt better had he qualified through the standard entry: if he did get in through the MAE, he would have no problem with it because of his background in *te ao* Māori (Student 5, 2014). This student's attitude towards the MAE could stem from the fact that he is very involved in Te Roopū Whai Pūtake, the Māori Law Students' Association. His experiences within this group have afforded him with more of an understanding of the MAE processes. Whereas with the other two Law students, it was concerning that they were unaware of how the process worked, because this clearly affected their attitudes towards the MAE. Once they were told the details of the admissions process, their attitude changed. The First-Year Law student admits that she still would have been embarrassed to tell everyone how she got in, only because of people's perceptions of the MAE.

> And now, knowing that it's only a couple marks down, then yeah I would've been alright with it. But if I had've gotten say a 72, I would've been pretty ashamed. Just because before this conversation, I thought I would've taken away people's places, but now that I know, that it's not like that, my attitude's

completely different, I don't think I would feel anywhere near as bad (Student 4, 2014).

Yeah, I mean it's changed my opinion. Well I'd probably within myself [be okay], but probably not as [much] because people would think that I got in on a way easier thing, I wouldn't wanna tell everyone that. I would know that it was very close, but they wouldn't, they'd think it was like a whole grade different, like five or so percent… And so it'd be easier if you just got in in the normal way like everyone else, like the same way (Student 6, 2014).

It is concerning that this student would still feel embarrassed that if she got in to Law via the MAE, other students' perceptions would still effect her attitude towards the MAE. The Associate Professor stated that this perception may exist because in the past, MAE applicants were able to get in to second-year with a mark that was a whole grade (5%) lower than the cut-off mark. She explained that because students were struggling at second-year, this mark had to be raised. The lack of information that is given to the students is apparent in their explanations of the MAE process and this was challenged once the process was explained to them.

Ignorance

Ignorance towards Trequity Measures has been cited many times in regards to the Māori support systems, scholarships, and the MSC in Health Sciences. Participants have suggested that ignorance is often the reason that they have been confronted with the idea that Māori are privileged. In terms of the MAE, the same could be said for Māori students who are unaware of the processes and the *whakapapa* of the MAE.

Yeah, and it is like that, with those kinds of attitudes you kind of do have to justify it. Because no one really knows what Māori entry actually is, 'cause even I didn't know, that it is that tiny amount (Student 6, 2014).

If we don't even understand the process and we are Māori, then I imagine that non-Māori would have even less knowledge than we do. If I didn't even understand the process, and the requirement for the Māori entry, then there's no way that non-Māori would understand it. (Student 4, 2014).

Therefore, it is clear that even eligible Māori students are unaware of the MAE's process and this has affected even their own attitudes towards the MAE. Two of the Law students often referred to the MAE as preferential, which is consistent with what Rosenfeld (1991, p. 42) argued about terminology used interchangeably and therefore often incorrectly. Correct application and implementation of terminology plays a huge part then in the way people will perceive Trequity Measures. However, it is positive that the Law Faculty staff interviewed admit that there needs to be more conversations about the MAE with students.

Conclusion

Trequity Measures at the University do tend to cause controversy amongst people who are not familiar with the *whakapapa* of the processes. There is now evidence to support the notion that a negative stigma is attached to Trequity Measures at the University. Māori-targeted support systems are often seen as separatist, while the reality is that many Māori students do not tend to utilise mainstream support systems because they do not feel comfortable. The criteria for Māori-targeted scholarships were considered by students and staff to favour students who excelled academically, but lacked community involvement. This helps perpetuate the negative stigma that tends to be attached to Māori-targeted scholarships. The differences in structure and implementation of Māori-targeted admission schemes have been correlated to student perceptions of, and attitudes towards, these admission schemes. This discussion of Trequity Measures was to highlight staff and student perceptions of and attitudes towards the analysed Trequity Measures. Eliminating the negative stigma that is attached to said Trequity Measures will be based on educating eligible students and staff so that the background for such Measures is more widely known.

Conclusion

There are two main arguments within this thesis. The first one is surrounding the invention of the term Trequity, as a more inclusive and accurate term to define measures that are in place to assist Māori to achieve a more equitable place within New Zealand society, and more specifically at the University of Otago. The term Trequity addresses how Article Three of the Treaty of Waitangi ensures that Māori are entitled to equity – this is the whole purpose of what Trequity Measures are in place to do. The *whakapapa* of the term Trequity then also justifies their place within New Zealand society and more specifically, at the University of Otago.

The second argument highlights the idea that because non-Māori are not eligible for them, Trequity Measures are seen as Māori privileges. The *whakapapa* of the idea of Māori privilege as well as crucial case study information suggests that this negative stigma presents itself because people are not well-enough informed when it comes to Trequity Measures. Therefore, the overall aim of this thesis was to find out ways to eliminate this negative stigma from the University and the wider community. Table 11 summarises the thesis chapters and the key points from each one and it puts a strong emphasis on the importance of 'knowing the *whakapapa*'. It also helps to lay the groundwork for the recommendations and suggestions as laid out in the last part of the Conclusion.

Further research

Ignorance vs. racism

At times some of the participants alluded to racism as being one of the reasons as to why people, generally non-Māori, might herald a negative perception of or attitude

towards Trequity Measures. However, as this research has also shown, and the experiences of the students themselves has highlighted, the dearth of information around the *whakapapa* of Trequity Measures means ignorance rather than racism is why negative perceptions or attitudes towards Trequity Measures have existed at the University.

In addition to this, it is interesting that even though there are other Equity Measures for non-Māori students at the University, the same negative stigma surrounding special treatment and privilege does not tend to be attached to them. For example, the MPIES is actually a Māori and Pacific Islands scholarship, there is a Pacific Island Centre, an Office for Pacific Development, and a Pacific peoples sub-category in Health Sciences, but the same stigma is not so willingly attached to these Equity Measures.

Chapter Two	
- **A solid understanding of the role the Treaty of Waitangi has for Māori and achieving equity.** - **Understanding and having knowledge about Māori education disparities and where they stem from.**	- Article Three as well as subsequent legislation entitle Māori to be at an equitable level within New Zealand society (access to resources, education, employment). - Knowing the difference between equality and equity. - Understand that Trequity Measures are not 'special treatment'. They are necessary for Māori to be at a more equitable standpoint within society. - Understanding that the education system was set up for the needs of Pākehā to succeed. This is evident by the amount of Māori that do not pursue tertiary education and do so poorly in secondary schools in comparison to their Pākehā peers.
Chapter Three	
- **Having more of an accurate notion of privilege and being more aware of how certain terminology, such as preferential treatment or the use of the word 'special', connotes negative perceptions.**	- Knowing how much influence the media has on people's perceptions of societal issues. - Having a more accurate understanding of privilege and how people who are the most privileged do not realise because it is seen as the norm or the status quo. - Understanding that by referring to a Trequity Measure as 'special treatment', 'preferential entry', or a form of reverse discrimination is detrimental to the overall purpose of Trequity Measures.
Chapter Four	
- **Knowing the *whakapapa* of Māori engagement with the University as well as other Trequity Measures that are in place**	- Knowing the *whakapapa* of the University's engagement with Māori (or lack thereof) will assist in understanding why things are the way they are. For example, the Associate Dean Māori roles have come about by the 'Kapa Report' to be active enforcers of the MSF. - Knowing that each Trequity Measure around the University is different. They have different application criteria, differences in the way that they are implemented and monitored to align with their overall purpose. For example, the Māori-targeted admission schemes in both the Health Sciences and Law are run very differently. However, they seem to be perceived as if they are the same.
Chapter Five	
- **Having an understanding about some of the realities that students are facing as a result of this imprudent idea they call Māori privilege**	- For Māori students that are eligible of Trequity Measures, it is important to know that they are not alone in their experiences. - It is important to provide discussions and forums that address this idea of Māori privilege because of people's perceptions of Trequity Measures. - It is also important to understand the effects that these perceptions and/or attitudes can have on the students who experience this stigma. This is how it can be addressed and hopefully eliminated.

Table 11: shows a summary of important aspects of the *whakapapa* Trequity Measures at the University.

Recommendations

As a researcher, it is the ultimate goal that we wish to implement change as well as add to the pool of literature surrounding our topic. It is a privilege that one is able to work so closely with one's research community because I am both researcher and participant. The recommendations that are suggested then are not an attack on any of the University's current Trequity Measure structures, but rather an opportunity for the University to play more of an active role in both staff and student perceptions of, and attitudes towards, Trequity Measures at the University. Table 12 further summarises the main findings of the thesis, and suggests broad suggestions that the University could take into consideration when addressing the need to educate staff and students on the *whakapapa* of Trequity Measures.

Educating eligible students

It was surprising how some students were unfamiliar of the Trequity processes that they were candidates and/or recipients of. This was either because the information is not readily available or because of the fear to discuss things that could be seen to include only Māori and therefore exclude non-Māori. At the very least, Māori students who are eligible for certain Trequity Measures at the University should have access to and should be better informed of the *whakapapa* of the Trequity Measures that they are utilising or applying for. This method has already proved extremely helpful for MSC candidates in Health Sciences who have a firm grasp of the *whakapapa* of the MSC and also other Trequity Measures. This has contributed to them being fully prepared when faced with a situation where they have to defend not only the Trequity Measure, but also their position within the University.

Discussing the stigma

The terminology used to define certain Trequity Measures at the University is for the meantime appropriate. For example, the way that the MSC in Health Sciences is framed as being just another sub-category within the admission process, is important for the way that they MSC is received overall. Of course it would be detrimental and unproductive to address a lecture theatre full of impressionable young Law students and advertise the MAE as something that excluded non-Māori. However, not acknowledging the negative stigma attached to the MAE for example, is just as unproductive. Staff members need to make a more conscious effort to discuss these options and issues with at least eligible Māori students in order to stop further perpetuation of this stigma. This includes not using language such as 'special', 'preferential' and 'privilege'. Therefore, knowing the *whakapapa* of these Trequity Measures will encompass a more holistic and inclusive understanding and perception of said Measures.

Simple yet effective resources

The University of Auckland explains each of their Trequity Measures in place at the University as part of an Equity Cycle, through a webpage (University of Auckland, n.d). The contents offer insight of the importance of the Treaty of Waitangi, what equity is, and what has happened to allow strenuous inequities for Māori. Additionally, a recent Youtube series published in March 2015 detailing Māori and Pacific Island student experiences at the University has also proved extremely useful in enlightening anyone who is interested to watch it[39]. One of the videos also gives staff the chance to express the *whakapapa* of some of the Trequity Measures that the

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[39] The videos can be found at:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dYb0KmvPbDM&app=desktop

University of Auckland has to support Māori and Pacific students. Resources like these could be beneficial for the formation of more accurate perceptions of and attitudes towards Trequity Measures at the University of Otago.

Specific suggestions

As well as knowing the *whakapapa* of Trequity Measures at the University, specific aspects of certain Trequity Measures need to be taken into further consideration. The table on the following page suggests additional recommendations that will help prevent the perpetuation of the negative stigma that is attached to these Trequity Measures.

Māori-targeted scholarships	
Eliminating the perceived 'easiness'	**MPIES** – At the *mihi whakatau* that happens at the start of the year to welcome MPIES recipients, it should be reiterated how prestigious this scholarship (or any scholarship) is and that they are not granted easily. It is already positive that students took on board what was told to them at the first *mihi whakatau* (in 2014) about actively participating in things Māori at the University. This will assist in eliminating the perpetuation of the idea that anyone with *whakapapa* Māori can receive a Māori-targeted scholarship.

Community involvement – The community involvement aspect of the Māori-targeted scholarship criteria at the University must be proportionately weighted for it to be a true representation of a Māori-targeted scholarship. It is appreciated that all scholarships are and should be based on academic merit, however, what is the point of asking applicants for their community involvement if 1.) it is not taken into consideration and 2.) students are not expected to demonstrate/prove this criteria. Not only will this satisfy an important aspect of the scholarship criteria but it will also assist in ensuring that the perceived 'easiness' of receiving a Māori-targeted scholarship will not be so prevalent, at least within scholarship recipients. |
| Māori-targeted admission schemes | |
| **Eliminating the negative stigma attached to the MAE** | **Clarify the *whakapapa*** – First-year Law students need more opportunities to discuss the MAE process. They also need to know that there are other Māori Law students who are deciding whether or not to apply through the MAE. Therefore, there needs to be an informal *hui* for all Māori Law students to be able to learn the *whakapapa* of the MAE – why it is in place, the application criteria, and the Law Faculty's expectations for Māori Law students (if there are any)[40].

Solidifying *the whakapapa* – The Law Faculty as a whole (or at least staff that are involved with the MAE) need to be more knowledgeable about the *whakapapa* and therefore overall purpose of the MAE. As they are continuously compared to the Health Sciences and often do not want to be, it is suggested that they need to establish firm grounds as to why their processes are different. If having the MAE is less of an equity issue and more about acknowledging that Māori are *tangata whenua*, more needs to be done to ensure staff and students understand this difference and therefore justification for the MAE. |

Table 12: shows specific recommendations for the University of Otago to consider.

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[40] The *Building Māori Leaders in Law* programme was launched on Friday 20 March 2015. It aims to provide holistic support for Māori Law students, provide inspiration and purpose for students to achieve success in their Law studies as Māori students, to build confidence and provide further opportunities to connect with their *Māoritanga*, increase the number of Māori students in Law school, increase the number of Māori students succeeding in Law school, and increase the number of Māori students enrolling in post-graduate studies.

To finish, I leave you with an example of the positive impact that knowing and understanding the *whakapapa* of Trequity Measures can have on all who encounter it. It outlines the student's attitude before coming to University and her attitude after being part of Tū Kahika.

> I was just kind of like, "why do I need to apply under the Māori sub-category?" For me it was kind of like, "oh, do I need it, I wanna get the grades good enough so I don't have to say I relied on that, or I depended on that". But then post-Tū Kahika, I learned about why it was in place and all that kind of stuff, and I was like, "well actually I'm gonna tick that box regardless of what happened", regardless of the grade because like I said before, I wanna be a part of that statistic (Student 8, 2014).

Glossary

hapū	sub-tribe
Hīkoi	Māori Land March
iwi	tribe
kaitiaki	guardian
karanga	welcome call
kaumātua	elderly
kaupapa	principle, issue, topic
kawa	protocol
kāwana	governor
kāwanatanga	Government
kohanga reo	Māori language immersion nests
koiwi	skeletal remains
kura kaupapa	Māori language immersion primary school
mana	prestige, authority
mana whenua	tribal sovereignty
manaakitanga	hospitality
Māori	indigenous people of New Zealand
Māoritanga	Māori identity
mātauranga	Māori knowledge
mihi whakatau	welcoming ceremony
noa	mundane, ordinary
oritetanga	citizenship
Pākehā	non-Māori, New Zealander of European descent
pepeha	expression of identity
rangatiratanga	chieftainship
raranga	weaving
rohe	area, district, region
takiwā	area, district, region
tangata whenua	indigenous people of New Zealand
taonga	treasure
tapu	set apart
te ao Māori	the Māori world
te reo Māori	the Māori language
tikanga	customs
tino rangatiratanga	sovereignty, self determination
tohunga	expert
tūrangawaewae	home
waiata	songs
wānanga	Māori-centred tertiary education providers
whaikōrero	Māori oratory
whakapapa	genealogy, history, evolution, connection, layers
whakawhanaungatanga	coming together
whānau	family
whanaungatanga	togetherness
whare wānanga	traditional houses of learning
wharekura	Māori language immersion secondary schools

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Appendix

Appendix A: Treaty of Waitangi (English version)[41]

The Treaty of Waitangi (English text)

Her Majesty Victoria Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland regarding with Her Royal Favor the Native Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and anxious to protect their just Rights and Property and to secure to them the enjoyment of Peace and Good Order has deemed it necessary in consequence of the great number of Her Majesty's Subjects who have already settled in New Zealand and the rapid extension of Emigration both from Europe and Australia which is still in progress to constitute and appoint a functionary properly authorized to treat with the Aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's sovereign authority over the whole or any part of those islands – Her Majesty therefore being desirous to establish a settled form of Civil Government with a view to avert the evil consequences which must result from the absence of the necessary Laws and Institutions alike to the native population and to Her subjects has been graciously pleased to empower and to authorize me William Hobson a Captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navy Consul and Lieutenant Governor of such parts of New Zealand as may be or hereafter shall be ceded to Her Majesty to invite the confederated and independent Chiefs of New Zealand to concur in the following Articles and Conditions.

Article the first
The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess over their respective Territories as the sole sovereigns thereof.

Article the second
Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Preemption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

Article the third
In consideration thereof Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her royal protection and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British Subjects.

[signed] W. Hobson Lieutenant Governor

Now therefore We the Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand being assembled in Congress at Victoria in Waitangi and We the Separate and Independent Chiefs of New Zealand claiming authority over the Tribes and Territories which are specified after our respective names, having been made fully to understand the Provisions of the foregoing Treaty, accept and enter into the same in the full spirit and meaning thereof in witness of which we have attached our signatures or marks at the places and the dates respectively specified.

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[41] Source: Orange (2011, p. 271).

Appendix B: The Treaty of Waitangi (Māori version)[42]

Appendix 2. Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi)

Ko Wikitoria te Kuini o Ingarani i tana mahara atawai ki nga Rangatira me nga Hapu o Nu Tirani i tana hiahia hoki kia tohungia ki a ratou o ratou rangatiratanga me to ratou wenua, a kia mau tonu hoki te Rongo ki a ratou me te Atanoho hoki kua wakaaro ia he mea tika kia tukua mai tetahi Rangatira – hei kai wakarite ki nga Tangata maori o Nu Tirani – kia wakaaetia e nga Rangatira maori te Kawanatanga o te Kuini ki nga wahikatoa o te wenua nei me nga motu – na te mea hoki he tokomaha ke nga tangata o tona Iwi Kua noho ki tenei wenua, a e haere mai nei.

Na ko te Kuini e hiahia ana kia wakaritea te Kawanatanga kia kaua ai nga kino e puta mai ki te tangata maori ki te Pakeha e noho ture kore ana.

Na kua pai te Kuini kia tukua a hau a Wiremu Hopihona he Kapitana i te Roiara Nawi hei Kawana mo nga wahi katoa o Nu Tirani e tukua aianei amua atu ki te Kuini, e mea atu ana ia ki nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani me era Rangatira atu enei ture ka korerotia nei.

Ko te tuatahi
Ko nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa hoki ki hai i uru ki taua wakaminenga ka tuku rawa atu ki te Kuini o Ingarani ake tonu atu – te Kawanatanga katoa o o ratou wenua.

Ko te tuarua
Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki nga Rangatira ki nga hapu – ki nga tangata katoa o Nu Tirani te tino rangatiratanga o o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa. Otiia ko nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa atu ka tuku ki te Kuini te hokonga o era wahi wenua e pai ai te tangata nona te wenua – ki te ritenga o te utu e wakaritea ai e ratou ko te kai hoko e meatia nei e te Kuini hei kai hoko mona.

Ko te tuatoru
Hei wakaritenga mai hoki tenei mo te wakaaetanga ki te Kawanatanga o te Kuini – Ka tiakina e te Kuini o Ingarani nga tangata maori katoa o Nu Tirani ka tukua ki a ratou nga tikanga katoa rite tahi ki ana mea ki nga tangata o Ingarani.

[signed] W. Hobson Consul & Lieutenant Governor

Na ko matou ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani ka huihui nei ki Waitangi ko matou hoki ko nga Rangatira o Nu Tirani ka kite nei i te ritenga o enei kupu. Ka tangohia ka wakaaetia katoatia e matou, koia ka tohungia ai o matou ingoa o matou tohu.
Ka meatia tenei ki Waitangi i te ono o nga ra o Pepueri i te tau kotahi mano, e waru rau e wa te kau o to tatou Ariki.

Note: This Treaty text was signed at Waitangi, 6 February 1840, and thereafter in the north and at Auckland. It is reproduced as it was written, except for the heading above the chiefs' names: ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga.

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[42] Source: Orange (2011, p. 270).

Appendix C: A Literal Translation of the Treaty of Waitangi into English[43]

Appendix 4. A Literal Translation into English, Made in New Zealand, of the Māori Version of the Treaty

Victoria, the Queen of England, in her gracious remembrance of the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand, and through her desire to preserve to them their chieftainship and their land, and to preserve peace and quietness to them, has thought it right to send them a gentleman to be her representative to the natives of New Zealand. Let the native Chiefs in all parts of the land and in the islands consent to the Queen's Government. Now, because there are numbers of the people living in this land, and more will be coming, the Queen wishes to appoint a Government, that there may be no cause for strife between the Natives and the Pakeha, who are now without law: It has therefore pleased the Queen to appoint me, WILLIAM HOBSON, a Captain in the Royal Navy, Governor of all parts of New Zealand which shall be ceded now and at a future period to the Queen. She offers to the Chiefs of the Assembly of the Tribes of New Zealand and to the other Chiefs, the following laws:--

I. The Chiefs of (i.e. constituting) the Assembly, and all the Chiefs who are absent from the Assembly, shall cede to the Queen of England for ever the government of all their lands.

II. The Queen of England acknowledges and guarantees to the Chiefs, the Tribes, and all the people of New Zealand, the entire supremacy of their lands, of their settlements, and of all their personal property. But the Chiefs of the Assembly, and all other Chiefs, make over to the Queen the purchasing of such lands, which the man who possesses the land is willing to sell, according to prices agreed upon by him, and the purchaser appointed by the Queen to purchase for her.

III. In return for their acknowledging the Government of the Queen, the Queen of England will protect all the natives of New Zealand, and will allow them the same rights as the people of England

(Signed) WILLIAM HOBSON
Consul, and Lieutenant-Governor

We, the Chiefs of this Assembly of the tribes of New Zealand, now assembled at Waitangi, perceiving the meaning of these words, take and consent to them all. Therefore we sign our names and our marks.

This is done at Waitangi, on the sixth day of February, in the one thousand eight hundred and fortieth year of our Lord.

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[43] Source: Orange (2011, p. 274).

Appendix D: Section 6, Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975[44]

6 Jurisdiction of Tribunal to consider claims

- (1) Where any Maori claims that he or she, or any group of Maoris of which he or she is a member, is or is likely to be prejudicially affected—
  - (a) by any ordinance of the General Legislative Council of New Zealand, or any ordinance of the Provincial Legislative Council of New Munster, or any provincial ordinance, or any Act (whether or not still in force), passed at any time on or after 6 February 1840; or
  - (b) by any regulations, order, proclamation, notice, or other statutory instrument made, issued, or given at any time on or after 6 February 1840 under any ordinance or Act referred to in paragraph (a); or
  - (c) by any policy or practice (whether or not still in force) adopted by or on behalf of the Crown, or by any policy or practice proposed to be adopted by or on behalf of the Crown; or
  - (d) by any act done or omitted at any time on or after 6 February 1840, or proposed to be done or omitted, by or on behalf of the Crown,—

and that the ordinance or Act, or the regulations, order, proclamation, notice, or other statutory instrument, or the policy or practice, or the act or omission, was or is inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty, he or she may submit that claim to the Tribunal under this section.

(Student 2) The Tribunal must inquire into every claim submitted to it under subsection (1), unless—

  - (a) the claim is submitted contrary to section 6AA(1); or
  - (b) section 7 applies.

(Student 3) If the Tribunal finds that any claim submitted to it under this section is well-founded it may, if it thinks fit having regard to all the circumstances of the case, recommend to the Crown that action be taken to compensate for or remove the prejudice or to prevent other persons from being similarly affected in the future.

(Student 4) A recommendation under subsection (Student 3) may be in general terms or may indicate in specific terms the action which, in the opinion of the Tribunal, the Crown should take.

(4A) Subject to sections 8A to 8I, the Tribunal shall not recommend under subsection (Student 3),—

  - (a) the return to Maori ownership of any private land; or
  - (b) the acquisition by the Crown of any private land.

(Student 5) The Tribunal shall cause a sealed copy of its findings and recommendation (if any) with regard to any claim to be served on—

  - (a) the claimant:
  - (b) the Minister of Maori Affairs and such other Ministers of the Crown as in the opinion of the Tribunal have an interest in the claim:
  - (c) such other persons as the Tribunal thinks fit.

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[44] Source available at:
http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1975/0114/latest/DLM435515.html

(Student 6) Nothing in this section shall confer any jurisdiction on the Tribunal in respect of any Bill that has been introduced into the House of Representatives unless the Bill has been referred to the Tribunal pursuant to section 8.

(Student 7) Notwithstanding anything in this Act or any other Act or rule of law, on and from the commencement of this subsection the Tribunal shall not have jurisdiction to inquire or further inquire into, or to make any finding or recommendation in respect of,—

- o (a) commercial fishing or commercial fisheries (within the meaning of the Fisheries Act 1983); or
- o (b) the Deed of Settlement between the Crown and Maori dated 23 September 1992; or
- o (c) any enactment, to the extent that it relates to such commercial fishing or commercial fisheries.

(Student 8) Despite anything in this Act or in any other Act or rule of law,—

- o (a) the jurisdiction of the Tribunal is subject to the enactments listed in Schedule 3; and
- o (b) without limiting paragraph (a), the Tribunal does not have jurisdiction, in relation to licensed land (within the meaning of the Crown Forest Assets Act 1989) in the takiwā of Ngāi Tahu Whānui, to make a recommendation for compensation or for the return of the land to Māori ownership.

6AA Limitation of Tribunal's jurisdiction in relation to historical Treaty claims

- • (1) Despite section 6(1), after 1 September 2008 no Maori may—
  - o (a) submit a claim to the Tribunal that is, or includes, a historical Treaty claim; or
  - o (b) amend a claim already submitted to the Tribunal that is not, or does not include, a historical Treaty claim by including a historical Treaty claim.

(Student 2) However, subsection (1) does not prevent a historical Treaty claim submitted to the Tribunal on or before 1 September 2008 from being amended in any way after 1 September 2008.

(Student 3) The Tribunal does not have jurisdiction (including, but not limited to, the jurisdiction to inquire or further inquire into, or to make any finding or recommendation) in respect of a historical Treaty claim that is—

- o (a) submitted contrary to subsection (1)(a); or
- o (b) included in a claim contrary to subsection (1)(b).

(Student 4) To avoid doubt, if a claim is submitted to the Tribunal contrary to subsection (1), it must be treated for all purposes (including, for example, for the purposes of sections 8A(2), 8C(1), 8HB(1), 8HD(1), and 8HJ) as not having been submitted.

6A Power of Tribunal to state case for Maori Appellate Court or Maori Land Court

- • (1) Where a question of fact,—
  - o (a) concerning Maori custom or usage; and
  - o (b) relating to the rights of ownership by Maori of any particular land or fisheries according to customary law principles of "take" and occupation or use; and
  - o (c) calling for the determination, to the extent practicable, of Maori tribal boundaries, whether of land or fisheries,—

arises in proceedings before the Tribunal, the Tribunal may refer that question to the Maori Appellate Court for decision.

(Student 2) Where a question relating to the Maori or group of Maori to whom any land or any part of any land or any interest in land is to be returned pursuant to a recommendation under section 8A(2)(a) arises in proceedings before the Tribunal, the Tribunal may refer that question to the Maori Land Court for decision.

(Student 3) Any question referred to the Maori Appellate Court under subsection (1) or to the Maori Land Court under subsection (Student 2) shall be in the form of a special case to be drawn up by the parties (if any) to the proceedings and, if the parties do not agree, or if there are no parties, to be settled by the Tribunal.

(Student 4) The Maori Appellate Court shall have jurisdiction—

- o (a) to decide any question referred to it under subsection (1); and
- o (b) to hear and determine any appeal against any decision of the Maori Land Court on any question referred to that court under subsection (Student 2).

(Student 5) The Maori Land Court shall have jurisdiction to decide any question referred to it under subsection (Student 2).

(Student 6) The decision of the Maori Appellate Court on any question referred to it under subsection (1) and on any appeal determined by it pursuant to subsection (Student 4)(b) shall be binding on the Tribunal.

(Student 7) Subject to subsection (Student 8), the decision of the Maori Land Court on any question referred to it under subsection (Student 2) shall be binding on the Tribunal.

(Student 8) An appeal may be brought under section 58 of Te Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993 against any decision of the Maori Land Court on a question referred to it under subsection (Student 2); and section 58 of Te Ture Whenua Maori Act 1993 shall apply in relation to any such appeal as if that decision were a final order of the Maori Land Court.

(Student 9) The Maori Appellate Court shall inform the Waitangi Tribunal of the decision of the Maori Appellate Court on—

- o (a) any question referred to it under subsection (1); and
- o (b) any appeal brought against any decision made by the Maori Land Court on any question referred to it under subsection (Student 2).

(Student 10) The Maori Land Court shall inform the Waitangi Tribunal of—

- o (a) the decision of the Maori Land Court on any question referred to it under subsection (Student 2); and
- o (b) the bringing of any appeal under subsection (Student 8).

Appendix E: Section 9, State Owned Enterprises Act 1986[45]

9 Treaty of Waitangi

- • Nothing in this Act shall permit the Crown to act in a manner that is inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.
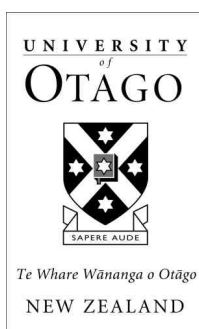
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[45] Source available at:
http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1986/0124/latest/DLM98028.html

Appendix F: Information Sheet for Participants

"You Maaris get everything" – Attitudes towards Treaty Measures at the University of Otago: Māori-targeted scholarships and alternative entry.

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the Aim of the Project?

This project is being undertaken as part of the requirements for a Master of Arts in Indigenous Development. The aim of this thesis will be to examine attitudes towards Treaty Measures at the University of Otago. An extension of the primary question will explore whether or not these attitudes affect eligible Māori students and their decisions to apply for Treaty Measures (scholarships and alternative entry).

- What are the attitudes experienced by Māori students who have received either scholarships and/or who are in courses with the alternative entry option?
- What are their own attitudes towards Treaty Measures implemented by the University of Otago?
- What are the attitudes of staff members responsible for (or involved with) the implementation of Treaty Measures at the University?
- What can be done to help remove the negative stigma attached to Treaty Measures within the University environment?
- Why does this negative stigma even exist?

What Type of Participants are being sought?

We are seeking 8-10 participants that:
- are enrolled full-time at the University of Otago
- are of Māori descent
- have received a scholarship(s) towards their university studies from the University of Otago and/or are in a course that offers alternative entry as an admission option.

What will Participants be asked to do?

Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to

- Take part in an in-depth interview for a maximum of one hour
- Read your interview transcript to ensure the information is correct and as you would like it to be presented

Please be aware that you may decide not to take part in the project without any disadvantage to yourself.

What Data or Information will be collected and what use will be made of it?
- People that choose to participate:
- Will be audio taped
- These audio tapes will be transcribed by the researcher
- These audio tapes will be stored securely and stored in a locked and secure filing cabinet (or similar) in a secure office in Te Tumu for 5 years
- The audio tapes and transcripts will be analysed and will contribute to the completion of a Master of Arts in Indigenous Development and any subsequent academic publications.
- The principal investigator, Marcelle Wharerau and her supervisor, Dr Lyn Carter will have access to the audio tapes and transcripts.

- The data collected will be securely stored in such a way that only those mentioned above will be able to gain access to it. Data obtained as a result of the research will be retained for **at least 5 years** in secure storage. Any personal information held on the participants such as contact details, audio or videotapes, after they have been transcribed, will be destroyed at the completion of the research even though the data derived from the research will, in most cases, be kept for much longer or possibly indefinitely.

- The identity of participants will remain anonymous' by adding the following to that statement: 'They will be named only as Female 1, Female 2, Male 1, Male 2 and so on.

- A copy of your interview transcript will be returned to you for you to make corrections, additions and omissions where you think necessary. Further to this, a copy of your case study as it is presented in the thesis, before it is submitted for examination, will be sent to you for approval and discussion.

- A copy of the completed thesis and any academic articles that use the information from your case study will be sent to you if you desire.

- This project will involve one main one-on-one interview no longer than one hour long. The precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the

way in which the interview develops and the answers to the preceding questionnaire.

- In the event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that you feel hesitant or uncomfortable you are reminded of your right to decline to answer any particular question(s) and also that you may withdraw from the project at any stage without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

Can Participants change their mind and withdraw from the project?

You may withdraw from participation in the project **at any time** and without any disadvantage to yourself.

What if Participants have any Questions?
If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-
Marcelle Wharerau
Cell phone number: 027 949 3628
Email Address: marcelle.wharerau@otago.ac.nz
                and/or
Dr Lyn Carter
School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies
University Telephone Number: 03 4793049
Email Address: lynette.carter@otago.ac.nz

This study has been approved by Te Tumu, School of Māori, Pacific, and Indigenous Studies. However, if you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479-8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix G: Staff Participants Consent Form

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CONSENT FORM FOR
***PARTICIPANTS* (Staff Members)**

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I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.

I know that:-

1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary.

2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage.

3. This project involves an open-questioning technique during the subsequent oral interviews. The interview will take no longer than an hour each. The general line of questioning will be based around the attitudes that participants have experienced because of their involvement with Treaty Measures at the University of Otago. The precise nature of the questions which will be asked has not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops and the answers to the preceding questionnaire.

4. If at any time I feel uncomfortable or feel that information I have provided puts me at risk, I understand I can ask for it to be reworded or omitted from the final publication.

5. I understand that no formal payment will be made for my participation in this project; however, I understand I will be offered a *kōha* in line with *tikanga* Māori practice and the concept of *manaakitanga*.

6. The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand) and on online repositories such as the OUR Archive and Te Tumu: Te Papa Hou.

7. I understand that the title of the position that I currently hold at the University of Otago may be revealed within the written transcripts as well as the published thesis. Subsequent information in relation to the position currently held at the University of Otago will also be detailed within the thesis for an understanding of the relevance of my involvement with Treaty Measures at the University of Otago.

8. I, as a participant, **agree** that my interview recordings and transcripts may be kept in storage for **up to 5 years**. ☐

I **agree** to take part in this project,

....   ………………………..

(Signature of participant or participants)   (Date)

This study has been approved by Te Tumu, School of Maori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix H: Student Participants Consent Form

CONSENT FORM FOR
STUDENT PARTICIPANTS

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage.
I know that:-
1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary.

2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage.

3. This project involves an open-questioning technique during the subsequent oral interviews. The interview will take no longer than an hour each. The general line of questioning will be based around the attitudes that participants have experienced because they have either received a scholarship to help towards their university studies and/or are enrolled in a course with the alternative entry option. The precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops and the answers to the preceding questionnaire.

4. If at any time I feel uncomfortable or feel that information I have provided puts me at risk, I understand I can ask for it to be reworded or omitted from the final publication.

5. I understand that no formal payment will be made for my participation in this project; however, I understand I will be offered a *kōha* in line with *tikanga* Māori practice and the concept of *manaakitanga*.

6. The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand) and on online repositories such as the OUR Archive and Te Tumu: Te Papa Hou.

7. My identity will remain anonymous throughout the written transcripts and the entire produced thesis.

8. I understand that my identity as a participant will be anonymous; with only descriptions such as Female 1 or Male 1 being used in the thesis or other publications.

8. I, as a participant, **agree** that my interview recordings and transcripts may be kept in storage for **up to 5 years**.

I **agree** to take part in this project,

....   …………………………..

(Signature of participant or participants)   (Date)

This study has been approved by Te Tumu, School of Maori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.