

Creating and maintaining equal employment opportunities for Maori at Victoria University of Wellington¹

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ABSTRACT

Two years ago, I was appointed as the first Equal Employment Opportunities Officer in a New Zealand university. My primary task was to develop and implement an equal employment opportunities (EEO) policy and programme for the university that would meet the requirements of the Universities Amendment Act legislation on EEO. This legislation, which initially came into force on 30 March 1988, required New Zealand universities to be "good employers" in terms of all of their staff, but, particularly, in regard to the employment of targeted groups: women, Maori, ethnic or minority groups, and those with disabilities. While the legislation targets different groups that are seen to be disadvantaged in their employment opportunities in tertiary education, the specific focus of my recent overseas study leave was the development of bicultural and multicultural climates and programmes in universities. In particular, how do universities meet their equity goals with regard to the employment of members of minority ethnic groups and indigenous peoples given that this is a process which: (1) requires the university to encourage actively members of these target groups to meet standards of excellence set by a different, dominant culture; and, (2) requires the university to change its own culture to include positively the cultures of members of the target groups? The remainder of this paper will address this question at the level of practice, that is, how do we do it?

Introduction

Two years ago, I was appointed as the first Equal Employment Opportunities Officer in a New Zealand university. My primary task was to develop and implement an equal employment opportunities (EEO) policy and programme for the university that would meet the requirements of the Universities Amendment Act legislation on EEO.

This legislation, which initially came into force on 30 March 1988, required New Zealand universities to be "good employers" in terms of all of their staff, but, particularly, in regard to the employment of targeted groups: women, Maori, ethnic or minority groups, and those with disabilities. In addition, under the State Sector Amendment Act (1989), Chief Executive Officers of universities are required to recognize (i) the aims and aspirations of the Maori people, (ii) the employment requirements of the Maori people, and (iii) the need for greater involvement of the Maori people as employees of the university. They are required to develop and publish equal employment opportunities programmes which are aimed at "the identification and elimination of all aspects of policies, procedures and other institutional barriers that create or perpetuate



inequality in employment". A report on each university's success in meeting its EEO goals is to be made annually.²

The restructuring of post-compulsory education and training in New Zealand, which resulted in the Education Amendment Act in July 1990, restates and reinforces these provisions for the EEO target groups and extends them to cover equal educational opportunities for the target groups. The Employment Equity Act, which came into effect on 1 October 1990, establishes a process to promote equal employment opportunities to be followed by employers of fifty or more workers. The Act designates groups for whom employment opportunities have been unequal: women, Maori, Pacific Island people, workers who have physical or mental disabilities, plus any group of workers designated by the Commissioner of Employment Equity. As a public sector employer of 500 or more workers, the university would have been required by the Act to begin the process of promoting equal employment opportunities for these groups by the end of January 1992. With a change of government at the end of 1990, however, the Employment Equity Act was repealed.

This legislation provides the background against which I was appointed and within which I work. However, Victoria University has consistently worked on equity issues in advance of the legislation and I have worked for the past two years within a 'climate for change': a climate that acknowledges and accepts that change is necessary if Victoria is to be able to make any claims to be a university functioning effectively in the latter half of the twentieth century in New Zealand. This acknowledgement is made at the most senior levels of the university administration and support and resources are made available for developing and meeting equity goals.

While the legislation targets different groups that are seen to be disadvantaged in their employment opportunities in tertiary education, the specific focus of my recent overseas study leave was the development of bicultural and multicultural climates and programmes in universities. In particular, how do universities meet their equity goals with regard to the employment of members of minority ethnic groups and indigenous peoples given that this is a process which:

1. requires the university to encourage actively members of these target groups to meet standards of excellence set by a different, dominant culture and,
2. requires the university to change its own culture to include positively the cultures of members of the target groups?

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Policy and practice at Victoria University

Within the New Zealand context, the requirements referred to above relate primarily to the needs, aspirations and demands of Maori people. The Report of the Universities Review Committee to the NZ Vice-Chancellors' Committee (the Watts Report) makes this point clearly and is worth quoting at length:

Over the last two decades there has been a renaissance in Maori culture which has engendered in the Maori people an assertiveness and confidence in their identity. This has resulted in a challenge facing all New Zealand institutions to rethink their role and mission in terms of Maori cultural values and aspirations. Education and training is seen by the Maori people as crucial to the solution of their future identity and economic well being in a bicultural society. Because of the 'mana' of the universities in both Maori and pakeha communities, the universities carry considerable responsibility for taking initiatives to help to 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 the 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. (1987:68)

Given that, for Maori, the basis of any measures of redress or equal employment opportunities must begin with the Treaty of Waitangi, how can universities put into place EEO programmes that meet the legal demands with reference to the employment of Maori and, at the same time, meet the political and cultural demands of Maori themselves? What is the current situation; what should our goals be; how can we achieve these while at the same time recognizing the inevitable tensions involved in implementation?

Maori comprise approximately 14% of the general population in New Zealand and the proportion of Maori to non-Maori is increasing. In 1991, Maori comprised approximately 5% of the student enrolment at Victoria University (in 1987, Maori made up 3.8% of the total student enrolment in New Zealand - Pohatu, 1988:76). Statistics on the ethnic identification of staff are not kept by the university. However, the responses to a survey on ethnicity, carried out in late 1989 by the EEO Office, indicate that there are 53 Maori staff employed at Victoria, 5% of the total university employees. of this number, 29 are academic staff and 24 are general staff (see Table One below).

TABLE ONE: Maori academic and general staff by sex employed by Victoria University of Wellington, 1990.

	Academic	General	Total
Female	16	16	32
Male	13	8	21
Total	29	24	53

Maori general staff are distributed broadly among general staff categories ranging from Deputy Registrar to Grounds staff, from Library staff to Secretaries.

The important point to note about the university's employment of Maori staff up to 1990 is that only 16 (or 55%) of the Maori academic staff have been appointed to positions that range from Teaching Assistant to Professor - the other 45% are casual teaching or research staff employed on a temporary basis by the university, generally within the Maori Studies Department. This means that Maori academic employment within the university is to a large degree insecure and relatively poorly paid. Of those Maori employed in academic positions Teaching Assistant and above, eight are in either Teaching Assistant or Assistant Lecturer positions (based on 1990 Finance Section data). These are limited term or contract positions which, again, contain elements of insecurity of employment.

While the total percentage of Maori staff employed by the university appears to be increasing (and certainly compares favourably with most universities in New Zealand), if we count only those Maori academic staff who are tenured we get a figure of less than 2% of the academic staff.

Sixteen Maori academic staff are female and sixteen Maori general staff are female. Maori women comprise 60.5% of Maori staff overall. There are no Maori women in either senior administrative or senior academic positions. The responses to the staff survey indicated that Maori tend to be employed as full-time, rather than part-time, staff and that they are divided evenly between permanent and temporary employment in the university.

It is clear, even from this brief outline of the statistics available on Maori staff and students at Victoria University, that while the situation has improved in the last few years, we are not, at present, meeting any criteria for equity for Maori people even in the crudest and most general terms of



achieving employment goals that relate to the proportion of Maori in the wider population - let alone attaining more specific goals that relate to postgraduate student enrolment; enrolment and employment in specific areas such as Physics or Accountancy or English Literature, for example; levels of seniority of Maori staff; or changing the university environment in such a way that many more Maori people would wish to work and study at Victoria.

For the past 150 years, Maori have struggled to get the Crown and Pakeha New Zealand to recognize the articles of the Treaty of Waitangi, a treaty that is regarded by Maori as a sacred covenant between the Crown and an autonomous, self-governing collection of Maori tribes. The Treaty itself recognizes the cultural and political autonomy of Maori and provides legal protection for Maori taonga or treasures - for example, artifacts, culture, language, fishing and land rights. The declaration of principles adopted by the United Nations Indigenous People's Preparatory Meeting held at Geneva, 27-31 July 1987, sets out clearly the rights of indigenous peoples at an international level, rights that accord with the articles of the Treaty of Waitangi:

2. All indigenous nations and peoples have the right to self-determination, by virtue of which they have the right to whatever degree of autonomy or self-government they choose. This includes the right to freely determine their political status, freely pursue their own economic, social, religious and cultural development, and determine their own membership, and/or citizenship, without external interference. (...)

12. Indigenous nations and people have the right to education and the control of education, and to conduct business with States in their own languages, and to establish their own educational institutions.

(cited in Tauroa, 1989: 122ff.)

For many Maori, and an increasing number of Pakeha, the Treaty is fundamental to the educational process in New Zealand. Michael King (1988: 236) points out that

Nationally, the Treaty of Waitangi is the most powerful symbol we have. For those who believe in its value, it is a symbol of New Zealand's commitment to racial equality; it is a standard against which the performance of governments and individuals can be measured and - if found wanting - criticised. For those who condemn it, the treaty is a symbol of Pakeha duplicity and oppression; this is the basis for the accusation that 'the treaty is a fraud'. But (...) in both instances, from both differing points of view, the treaty is a potent symbol; the name Waitangi and recollection of the ceremony which took place there strike powerful reverberations, positive and negative, in the public mind.

Unless the university recognizes this, it will be unable to progress in its provision of equal employment and, more fundamentally, equal educational opportunities for Maori.

Victoria University has stated, in its formal EEO policy (which is published in the front of the university calendar in English and in Maori), a commitment to the principle of partnership between Maori and Pakeha that is inherent in the initial signing of the Treaty of Waitangi by two sovereign peoples. It has reiterated this commitment in the charter that it has negotiated with the Ministry of Education as the basis for university funding and in its strategic plan which specifies the performance indicators for the implementation of that charter. This commitment to 'partnership' and the Treaty is very important: it commits the university to working actively with (not just for) Maori people to meet their needs and aspirations. It implies an equality of the partners that has yet to be tested within the university and, in addition, a cultural autonomy for Maori within the institution. The charter includes the following goals that relate to the university's commitment to the Treaty partnership:

1. to encourage effective Maori participation with the University and the wider community;
2. to protect the Maori language and Maori customs in a manner consistent with Maori aspirations;
3. to promote research in Maori language, culture and history;

4. to further develop the University marae as the focal point for Maori activity within the University;
5. to seek opportunities for mutually beneficial partnerships with iwi.

At the same time, however, universities (as the Watts Report, previously quoted, made clear) have responsibilities to increase opportunities for Maori within a Pakeha framework, within a tertiary education system that must focus itself internationally and not just locally. As Vasil (1988:33) points out:

What is required is a massive effort to get increasing numbers of Maori to take advantage of universities, polytechnics and institutes of technology to acquire the skills and education that would give them the wherewithal to provide a reasonable standard of living for themselves. In trying to achieve this, effective ways have to be found to ensure that the Maori have adequate access to these institutions and these do not remain so alien to their culture that Maori people are dissuaded from taking advantage of them.

The relationship between the possession of, what some Maori claim are Pakeha, higher educational qualifications and a particular level of employment is obvious. Equally obvious, is the relationship between certain levels of employment and better standards of living in terms of health, mortality, housing, amenities, leisure, and so on (Gould, 1990a, and 1990b).

How, therefore, shall the university tie together two, potentially opposing, threads? The first, that the university meet its legislative and moral obligations to set goals for the increased employment, promotion and enrolment of Maori in all areas of the University and within specified time frames. The second, that it recognize Maori claims to autonomy and self-government under the Treaty of Waitangi, and their claims to the incorporation and valuation of Maori language and culture equally with Pakeha language and culture within the university. How can we further facilitate the university's commitment both to equal employment and educational opportunities for Maori and to the Treaty of Waitangi?

It is important to see the tension between these two positions as a very complex issue that is not amenable to simplistic solutions. There is much, however, that the university could do that it is not doing at present to facilitate its commitment to equal employment opportunities for Maori and to the Treaty of Waitangi. It is possible to work with optimism at small steps directed towards long term results. As Pohatu (Ibid.: 83) points out, '... for many of us (including non-Maori people) who are in the business of helping our institutions to transform some of their cultural perspectives, we are well aware that (a) the process has only just begun, and (b) the process takes time.'

Within the basic EEO framework of recruitment, appointment, promotion, and retention policies and practices, there are strategies that can be used to achieve both the university's and the Maori people's goals. These are set out below in the recognition that this is only a beginning, that there are fundamental questions to be asked as we tread the long path towards biculturalism within the university.

Recruitment

In order to increase our pool of potential employees who are Maori, the university must 'grow its own' in New Zealand. (While there is a pool of qualified Maori academics who reside outside of New Zealand, we cannot depend on their return and their numbers are minuscule). To meet its legal obligations to employ Maori people in all areas and across all levels, the university must work at creating an available pool.

We know that the majority of Maori young people still leave school with little or no formal qualification and this would indicate that the university needs to be active in its recruitment of Maori students, not just at the senior levels of the high school (as we are at present), but also at the thirteen and fourteen year old levels and possibly even earlier than that. Unless the university intervenes



positively at the high school and undergraduate levels to support potential students who are Maori there will be no future pool to draw on for university employment. By actively targeting individual students (for example, the university could circularize high schools for the names and addresses of the schools' top graduating Maori students) and by networking with the Maori community in this regard, it should be possible to encourage more Maori young people to enrol at university at an undergraduate level.

Specific areas, such as mathematics and physics, should be targeted especially and financial assistance provided that will enable Maori students to continue to the seventh form in the targeted subject areas. Vacation study programmes in specific subjects (such as mathematics or physics), programmes that bring Maori students onto campus for six weeks annually for the final three years of their secondary schooling, are another form of focused recruitment. By the time that young Maori have had three years of contact with the university, they will begin to 'own' the university, to see it as a place where they can express themselves confidently as Maori, a place that welcomes and supports them.³

One-year bridging courses for Maori students into the university in specific areas, e.g. a pre-enrolment year in the Law Faculty for Maori students who wish to be part of such a programme, can be provided by the university. We already provide some bridging and new start programmes through our Department of Continuing Education - these should be extended substantially.

The university's first year Maori language course is well-established as a course that is available through Whitireia Polytechnic in Porirua, an area of high Maori and Pacific Island populations; we know that this course encourages the enrolment of Maori and Pacific Island students in further degree courses at the university. First year university courses in other subjects should be provided through local polytechnics, as well as pre-enrolment years that can 'prep' Maori and Pacific Island students for entry into restricted courses at the university. Quotas are already established in the university for Maori student entry (on merit) into the first and second year Law courses. This provision could be extended to restricted courses other than Law, to ensure Maori enrolment in these courses at undergraduate entry level.

To address the problem of retention of students, at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels, the university can provide direct financial assistance such as scholarships to individual students in specific areas or indirect assistance through targeted work/study opportunities (such as tutorships). In addition, linking with Government departments and private enterprise to provide holiday work and funding for Maori students (e.g. the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research scholarships for Maori and Pacific Island women in science education and other government scholarships lately established to assist these students in degree studies) will help to retain Maori students once they are in the university. Victoria also needs to set up effective mentoring for Maori students in all disciplines and support the creation of structured study groups for these students.⁴

Many of these bridging and funding possibilities, which would allow us to create a recruitment pool across the university, can also be targeted specifically at mature age Maori (who have skills and professional expertise, but not necessarily the educational qualifications to match) and at Maori women. Kuiper (1988) is emphatic that the provision of bridging courses, for example, is an initiative that is especially important if we want to increase Maori women student enrolments in tertiary education.

At the same time, it is important to note that as well as seeking means to fit more Maori students into the prescribed structures of the University, we should also be willing to examine the structures themselves and to understand and address their limitations. For example, the established curricula of the University may be inappropriate in some ways for the needs of Maori students and may need to be adapted accordingly. The same might be said of the types of pedagogy that generally prevail in the University and the general ethos which often seems intimidating if not alienating. As has recently been observed Maori people have gone beyond 'putting up with add-on, low status courses

designed to make Maori people fit in and feel good about an essentially hostile setting', to begin 'constructing courses and a curriculum which is designed around the knowledge base and needs of Maori people (Smith and Smith, 1989, p.7).⁵

Apart from recruitment strategies that focus on creating our own pool of potential Maori academics, through encouraging Maori student enrolment at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels in all subject areas, we need to utilize more fully the pool of Maori that are already available for university employment. The university should, for example, set up search committees that actively seek out qualified Maori staff for all positions - academic and non-academic. These committees would need to use professional networks, the Maori community, lists of university graduates in specific subjects, and targeted advertising both nationally and internationally. We need to compete effectively with other New Zealand universities for Maori staff - this means seeking out those staff, offering them recruitment and retention allowances on top of salary, and appointing them to senior levels.

Appointment

The question of who is fit for appointment and promotion in an academic context centres on the notion of merit. Gross points out that, in relation to universities, we are discussing not mere merit, but the question of first quality which is, or is supposed to be, the sole criterion of acceptance (1978: 30). Merit in relation to academic appointment and promotion is much more than just the possession of the minimum qualifications and experience necessary to carry out the job (which is the criterion referred to in many EEO implementation models). It is the possession of superior qualifications and experience that is generally regarded as merit for academic appointment and, as Sowell points out, 'the need for qualifications cannot be sneered aside as mere code words for discrimination' (1984: 112). For a variety of reasons, however, members of EEO target groups have often either not gained these superior qualifications or are perceived not to possess them in any traditional sense. If the university is committed, legally and as an employer, to increasing the proportion of Maori as academics, then this is an issue that must be confronted and resolved.

One of the ways in which the university can confront this question of qualification is to look for potential rather than high levels of initial qualification for probationary appointments. Across North America, I did not come across one university that was prepared to lower academic appointment entry qualifications (such as the possession of a doctoral degree). To lower entry standards for faculty positions, in order to employ greater numbers of minority group members or women, was seen to discriminate against those staff in the long term and to dilute the academic mission of the university. However, I think that, in New Zealand, we must do this if we are to gain Maori staff in the short term who can do two things: (i) be effective role models for students (who are potential staff) and (ii) help to provide a bicultural climate in the university for all staff - Pakeha and Maori. The issue with such appointment would be the extent to which the university provides opportunities for potential to be realized in the gaining of higher academic qualifications in specific fields. In other words, the university would have to appoint, then ensure that the staff members was provided with time and resources to complete higher degree studies within the probationary period of employment.

The Working Party Report on Equal Employment Opportunities at Victoria University of Wellington (1987: 7) stated that 'the interview procedures for job applicants at Victoria were also identified as a problem area in that they are particularly mono-cultural and need to be modified to cater for other ethnic groups.' Victoria's appointment procedures now enable job applicants to bring whanau (or a support group with a maximum of three members) to the interview process - this is available to Maori or non-Maori candidates. Some recent candidates, shortlisted for academic appointments, have had their interviews on the marae, have brought large groups to support them and the interviews have been conducted in Maori with the candidate's whanau speaking for them.



The university is open to establishing culturally appropriate appointment procedures, but there are obvious difficulties that relate to language, structure and comparisons among candidates that still need to be worked through.⁶

As EEO Officer, I have been involved in appointment procedures at all levels of the university and I consider that Victoria does provide equal employment opportunities within those procedures which, while still monocultural in many ways, are fair and non-discriminatory and which do apply 'affirmative action at the margins' - i.e. if two candidates are approximately equal in their abilities and qualifications for the position, then the candidate that is a member of an EEO target group will be appointed. The problem with the appointment of Maori staff is that we need to be applying affirmative action rather than equal opportunity principles and this affirmative action needs to begin, as I suggested above, in the early high school years.

One way, however, in which we can apply affirmative action directly in our appointments (and the university already does this) is to recognize the professional expertise of Maori people within a Maori context. The university, in making an appointment to the Department of Social Work for example, might look to the necessity for the person appointed to have standing in the Maori community, to be able to work with and through the Maori community, and to be able to work with Maori social work students and clients. (This recognition of a professional expertise is equivalent to the university recognizing the professional, rather than academic, qualifications of a candidate for a lecturing position in the Commerce and Administration Faculty i.e. so is not setting a unique precedent that relates to the appointment of - Maori staff only).

John Cranna (1989) sets out clearly some of the possibilities and the very real difficulties that relate to affirmative action for Maori in appointment to tertiary education teaching positions. These difficulties relate to cultural ignorance on the part of the institute, a reluctance to share power on the part of other staff, lack of an appropriate pool of applicants, and also the problem of lack of perceived qualification in the applicants.⁷

Promotion

The difficulties with reaching at least a proportional representation of Maori staff at Victoria University do not lie with the promotion procedures - the difficulties lie with recruitment and appointment. Research indicates that there are three factors that affect the promotion of women and minority ethnic groups in universities:

1. How open and explicit are the procedures? Victoria University has very open procedures and, once Maori staff are appointed, the mechanisms for promotion are clear.
2. How well are staff informed about their eligibility for promotion? At Victoria, some departments are obviously better than others in this regard but, in theory, every staff member is informed each year about eligibility for promotion.
3. A recognition and celebration of cultural difference. This recognition would mean that Victoria must change; it must cease to be a 'pakehafied' institution and become much more responsive to other cultural values and incorporate these values into its working life. The promotion documents for academic staff, that are circulated to all staff members before the promotion round, are explicit that merit includes contributions that strengthen the university's bicultural and multicultural nature. This statement is used to support applications for promotion and is taken seriously by those who make promotion decisions. What we are really talking about here, then, is the university continuing to recognize difference, continuing to support staff in positive ways to achieve their potential, and enabling Maori staff to compete effectively.

Procedures need to be put in place to mentor all Maori staff effectively, academic and non-academic. This means that the university must ensure that Maori staff are aware of career paths in the university; of the necessity for building up good curriculum vitae; of the need

for research, publication and presentation of papers at conferences. Victoria must also recognize that Maori staff are not simply brown Pakeha; that there are often cultural constraints and demands from the Maori community on Maori staff that are not present for Pakeha staff. Maori staff need support to enable them to cope with these pressures effectively and the most immediate form of support is the recognition and acceptance of cultural difference.

Retention

The issue of retention of Maori staff is one that relates directly to the development of biculturalism in the university, to the development of a genuine partnership between Maori and Pakeha cultures that is expressed in the physical surroundings, the curriculum content of a variety of disciplines, the teaching and evaluation processes, and the standing of Maori language and culture within the university.

Autonomous, privately-funded Maori universities have been, or are the process of being, established in New Zealand and the university needs to develop strong links with these *whare wananga*. However, the university also has to address the issue of its partnership obligations with reference to the Treaty of Waitangi within Victoria - that is, the development and maintenance of Maori Studies and Maori culture within the university, a process which implies a negotiation between Maori and Pakeha cultures.

Victoria has resourced and staffed a growing Department of Maori Studies which incorporates a university *marae*, a *kohanga reo*, a research unit and an outreach undergraduate programme, as well - as undergraduate studies in Maori language and culture. It is expected that the establishment of a *kohanga reo* will encourage the enrolment of more Maori women students and the employment and retention of more Maori women staff (Victoria University of Wellington, 1989). According to the Government Review Team (1988:7). 'Te Kohanga Reo is a vigorous lively movement. It has arrested the fragmentation of the traditional cultural base. It has revitalised the use of the *marae*. It is helping to preserve the Maori language.'

Strategies need to be developed within the university which attempt to address Maori claims to autonomy and self-government under the Treaty of Waitangi. These strategies will often be at odds with those outlined above and with what is regarded as the traditional mission of a university within an international context. What we can do, however, is resource autonomy for Maori within the university. For example, the university can:

1. Continue to resource the Maori Studies Department in its development into a School of Maori Studies which would incorporate outreach programmes, postgraduate and doctoral programmes in *Maoritanga*, a *kohanga reo* and a research unit (Mead, 1989);
2. Work with the Maori community to employ *kaumatua* (Maori elders) as senior advisers to university faculties to promote cultural awareness, cultural change and curriculum adaptation within faculties;
3. Create positions in departments that focus on the Maori dimension of whatever subject area is involved, whether Mathematics, Women's Studies, Economics or Physics;
4. Establish *whanau* housing for Maori students, i.e. Maori students would have the opportunity to reside on campus in a hostel organised specifically within Maori *tikanga* or cultural practices;
5. Continue to resource the *kohanga reo* which has an important role to play in supporting Maori women staff and students in their entry into the university;
6. Ensure that all of the university's policies and practices are formulated in negotiation with the Maori partner.

While these strategies will still not meet many claims by Maori for a fundamental change in university goals, processes, curriculum design and management, they will go some way towards addressing Maori concerns and achieving one form of equity.

Conclusion

To conclude, I would like to quote a Department of Education publication's definition of equity:

Equity is the achievement of fairness and justice. It is achieved for or by a particular group which is currently disadvantaged. The addressing of identified equity-needs often requires unequal or different treatment for equal or more appropriate outcomes. (Department of Education, 1989: 11)

and complement this with an equally relevant statement from Waatara Black:

So when you look at some of the positive initiatives that have been taken up today, such as Kohanga Rea, greater public awareness of the Treaty and the Waitangi Tribunal, it is important to remember that they resulted from Maori suffering. (...) One hundred and forty-nine years down the line, we are a landless, language-less people in our own country. (1989: 10-11)

Maori are disadvantaged currently in New Zealand universities, both in their employment opportunities - and in relation to a self-determination that derives from the articles of the Treaty of Waitangi. It is vital that New Zealand universities provide 'unequal or different treatment for equal or more appropriate outcomes' for Maori people, while at the same time remaining clear about the long-term academic goals of the institution and the relationship of these goals to Maori students.

Notes

1. Paper presented to the Equality, Equity and Excellence: Issues and Challenges for Equal Opportunity Practitioners in Higher Education in the '90s Conference, Melbourne 5-7 November 1990. This paper contains some modified sections from a paper, 'Equal Employment Opportunities in New Zealand Universities: Strategies for Enhancing Employment Opportunities for Maori', presented at New Zealand Past and Present: A conference marking the 150th anniversary of The Treaty of Waitangi, Edinburgh University 17-19 May 1990.
2. While the State Sector Act (1989) does not provide any penalties for failure by the university to meet its equity goals effectively, it does incorporate equity review procedures: it states that the university will be reviewed annually, in terms of its equity goals and programmes, by the Education Review Office. However, this review process for tertiary education institutions is in abeyance at present - personal communication, Education Review Office, 20 June, 1991.
3. Purich (1986: 90) suggests, in his paper on Native Law Students in Canada, that 'affirmative action programs are important (because) they are viewed by minority applicants as an indication that the school has a commitment to the education of minority students and that there is a fair chance of their being admitted and that the overall environment at the law school is more likely to be supportive than hostile'.
4. Research by Uri Treisman in the United States has suggested that a major reason for the educational success of Asian university students is their ability to work in strong, structured, peer groups. This way of working has been applied with Black American university students with very good results and it would certainly be a 'culturally appropriate' method of working for Maori students.
5. It seems necessary, however, to refer here to Roy Nash's caution that 'relativism about knowledge is always a doctrine that serves the interests of tyranny - large and small (1990: 116). In other words, we (Maori and Pakeha) need to debate how that knowledge base and these needs are defined within the university context.
6. The EEO Office is currently reviewing personnel procedures at Victoria and these difficulties are being addressed in that review.

7. Cranna's book on the bicultural development of the School of Social Work at the Auckland College of Education refers to social work training, however, and is not totally applicable to the appointment of university academics who must carry out research and publish at an international level to maintain their status as academics.

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