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A Life-history Analysis of Achievement of Māori and Pacific Island Students at the Church College of New Zealand

(Photograph taken by Ken Coffey, 2007)

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ABSTRACT

The Church College of New Zealand is a private co-educational secondary school located near Hamilton, New Zealand and is sponsored by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Since its opening in 1958, it has hosted a large population of Polynesian students, in particular Māori. The questions that this thesis addresses centre on the nature, history and reasons for what seems to be a disproportionately higher level of achievement amongst Māori and Pacific Island students at Church College than in New Zealand more broadly. Through a life-history approach to research, this thesis provides an overview of the rich history behind the building of the Church College, and highlights the experiences of successful graduates over three particular timeframes – 1951-1969, 1970-1989 and the 1990s.

A major contributing factor to the success of the students at Church College is an environment where both religious and cultural values of students are reaffirmed and considered normal. For some students, Church College provided an environment that validated what students were being taught in their own homes. For others, it provided a refuge from a conflicted home. With the growing pressures of social problems within the wider community for many Māori and Pacific Island families, the school environment of the Church College was a key factor in providing stability and security for some students at the College.

On June 29 2006, an announcement was made by leaders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints of the phased out closure of Church College beginning in the year 2007 and eventually closing at the end of the year 2009. With Māori and Pacific Island students so under-represented in achievement and participation in education settings in New Zealand, the announcement of the closure provided an opportunity to highlight some of the successes experienced at the Church College of New Zealand.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all I would like to express my gratitude to all of the past Church College graduates who took the time out of their own busy schedules to assist me in my research. Their stories have been wonderful and inspiring. Had it not been for their aroha and flexibility, I would never have been able to gather the data that I needed to complete this project. I would also like to express my appreciation to my supervisor Professor Sue Middleton who has just been an amazing source of encouragement and a wonderful mentor throughout this journey. Thank you for your faith and your patience. You have been a source of strength throughout this whole thesis.

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As with everything in my life, I would like to acknowledge my grandmother Tereapii Turu Tiro who has always been my greatest supporter and encouraged me to do well in education. This thesis is a product of her belief that anything can be achieved through working hard and trusting in God. I also want to thank my own family as well as my husband's family, who have been amazing through this whole journey as well, and been very supportive and encouraging. A special thank you to my Aunty Aps who was with me during the last three weeks of my thesis while my husband was away in Australia. I wouldn't have finished this without your support in those last days.

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gratitude and love for my husband Corey. You continuously encouraged me and motivated me to keep going.   Whenever I was ready to give up, you were always there encouraging me to carry on. Thank you for being who you are, for taking care of everything else, so that I could complete this journey. You believe in me and for that I say thank you. This thesis is just as much yours as it is mine. Finally, I want to express gratitude to my God, who continues to bless my family and I with strength and with all that we need to make it through each day.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BYU .... Brigham Young University

CCNZ .... The Church College of New Zealand

CES .... Church Education System

CMS .... Church Missionary Society

LDS .... Latter-day Saint

LMS .... London Missionary Society

MAC .... Maori Agricultural College

PI .... Pacific Island

USA .... United States of America

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCING THE STUDY

Introduction

The Church College of New Zealand (the College or the Church College), is a private co-educational secondary school located near Hamilton, New Zealand, and sponsored by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the Church or the LDS Church). It was built in 1958 and since its opening has always maintained a large population of Polynesian students, in particular Māori. One of the concerns expressed when the school was built was that the education facilities provided for Māori at secondary school level were inadequate and not always easily accessible (Hunt, 1977). My interest and involvement with the school came about through my employment as a Dorm Parent at the College. I currently manage a girl's dormitory on campus with 37 students. My husband and I are responsible for these secondary school students during after school hours. We have lived on campus for almost six years and in that time witnessed the academic achievements of many Māori and Pacific Island students. While studying for my undergraduate degree in Teaching, I developed an interest in Māori and Pacific Island education with a particular focus on underachievement. Aware of the dismal statistics of Māori and Pacific Island students' underachievement, I was intrigued to discover that at Church College, these two populations experience a higher rate of success than the national average.

The impetus for this thesis gained momentum when on June 29 2006, Church representatives announced to the staff, parents and students that Church College would be closing at the end of the 2009 school year, a decision made by Church leaders in the United States of America (USA). In defence of the decision, Church Representatives stated that it was the policy and practice of the LDS Church to discontinue operation of LDS Church schools when local systems are able to provide quality education. A major reason given for the decision to close the school was the

strength of New Zealand's educational programs (Walton, 2006). However, if New Zealand's wider educational programs were disproportionately failing Māori students, as statistical evidence indicated, then why were Māori students at Church College experiencing success?

The questions that this thesis addresses centre on the nature, history and reasons for what seems to be a disproportionately higher level of achievement amongst Māori and Pacific Island students at Church College than in the country more broadly in the 50 years of its existence. What was it about this school that might have encouraged this level of achievement? I began my inquiries with an exploration of the rich history behind the building of the Church College of New Zealand and the connection that Polynesians, Māori in particular, have had with the school. Through a summer internship awarded to me by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, I delved into the resources within the Temple View community and at the Church College itself. This included personal libraries of individuals living on the Church College campus as well as the school library and archives. I completed a literature review covering a history of events which lead up to the building of the school. This historical overview provided a context in which to locate the oral narratives of successful graduates' about their experiences at, and perspectives on, the school. I have interviewed 14 such graduates, selected as indicative of different timeframes in the school's history.

My two-fold focus on, and weaving together of, published histories, archival documents and transcripts of interviews with graduates of each timeframe, is characteristic of what is known as a life-history approach in educational research. This enables me to address the following questions:

1. How do successful Māori and Pacific Islander graduates of the Church College of New Zealand compare with other students in similar demographic school settings?
2. What is the special character of the school and how does it impact on student achievement?

3. Ho do successful Māori and Pacific Islander graduates who attended the college at different times in its history account for achievement at the school?

At the Church College of New Zealand criteria is set by the school by which all Year 13 students are able to graduate at the end of the school year. This is based on the USA schooling system. All of those Year 13 students who meet the criteria will receive a graduating certificate presented to them in an official graduating ceremony at the end of the year.

After graduating from Church College it is expected that upon reaching the age of 19, young men who have graduated from the school will then serve as missionaries for the Church for two years and upon returning home, carry on with tertiary studies and marry Latter-day Saint temples. For young women who graduate from Church College it is expected that they will also carry on with tertiary studies and marry in Latter-day Saint temples. After marrying in the temple, the expectation is that graduates of Church College will continue to be active in their membership in the Church and gain a tertiary qualification. People who follow this path are considered to be successful graduates by the Church and the School.

However for the purposes of this paper, as the focus is student achievement, success will be defined as those students who attended Church College, achieved university entrance, attended a tertiary institution and gained a tertiary qualification.

To set the scene for the chapters that follow, this introductory chapter falls into four sections. The first provides demographic data on the composition of the student body at Church College and their achievement in comparison with the New Zealand population as a whole. The second introduces my historical research on this school and the changing social and political context in which its Māori and Pacific Island students lived and worked. In the third section, I introduce my approach to life-history interviewing and analysis. The chapter concludes with a brief outline of the chapters that follow.

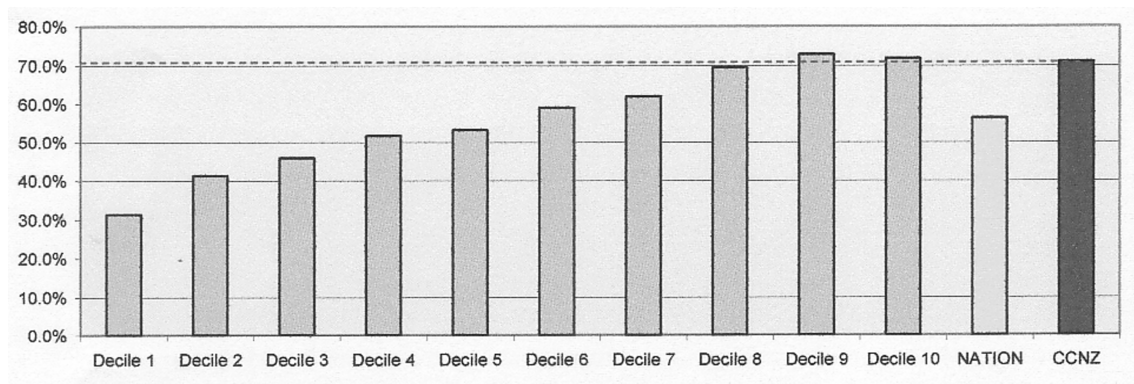
Academic Achievement at the Church College of New Zealand

In 2006, the student body at Church College was comprised of 684 students. The ethnic composition of this group was Māori 73%, New Zealand Pākehā 14 %, Pacific Islanders 11 % and other ethnic groups 2 %. The total Polynesian make-up of the student body for the year 2006 was 84 % (ERO, 2006).

The 2005 Annual Schools Report by the Ministry of Education, reported that only 34% of Year 11 Pacific Island students and 40% of Year 11 Māori candidates achieved NCEA Level 1, in comparison to 65% Year 11 Asian and 72% Year 11 Pākehā. It also reported that 58% of Māori in Year 11 met the literacy and numeracy requirements. Some did not meet both the literacy and numeracy requirements but gained one or the other. Of these candidates 32% did not meet the literacy requirements while 25% did not meet the numeracy requirements (Ministry of Education, 2005).

In a Church College Self-Study Report for 2006, statistics showed that Year 11 students achieved well above the national average in NCEA Level 1. At the time of these statistics, Church College had a decile rating of three. The following graph indicates that Church College not only achieved well above the national average but was comparable to schools with decile 10 rating.

Figure 1: The Church College of New Zealand NCEA Results 2005
% of Year 11 Students Gaining Level 1 Certificate
(Church College of New Zealand, 2006)



The following graphs also indicate that Year 11 students achieved well above the nation in Level 1 literacy and numeracy.

Figure 2: The Church College of New Zealand NCEA Results 2005
% of Year 11 Students gaining Level 1 Literacy
(Church College of New Zealand, 2006)

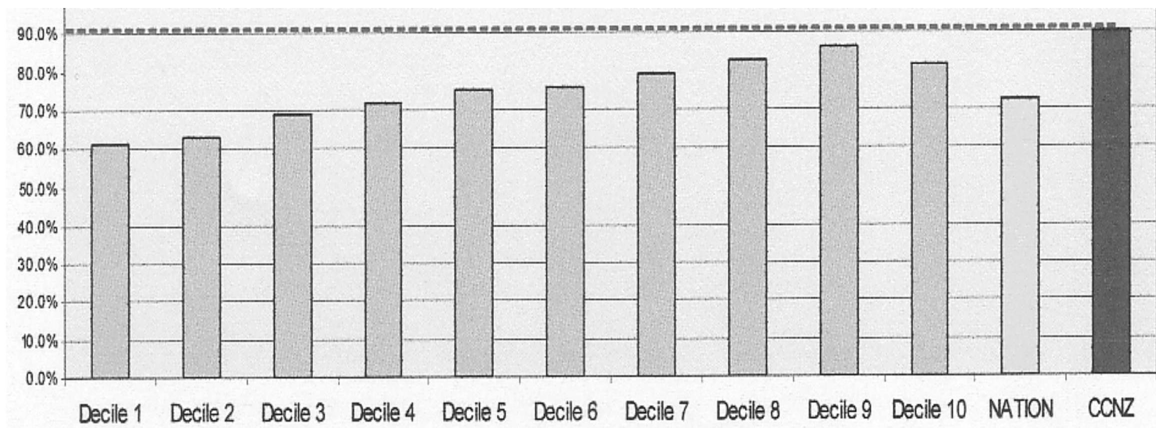
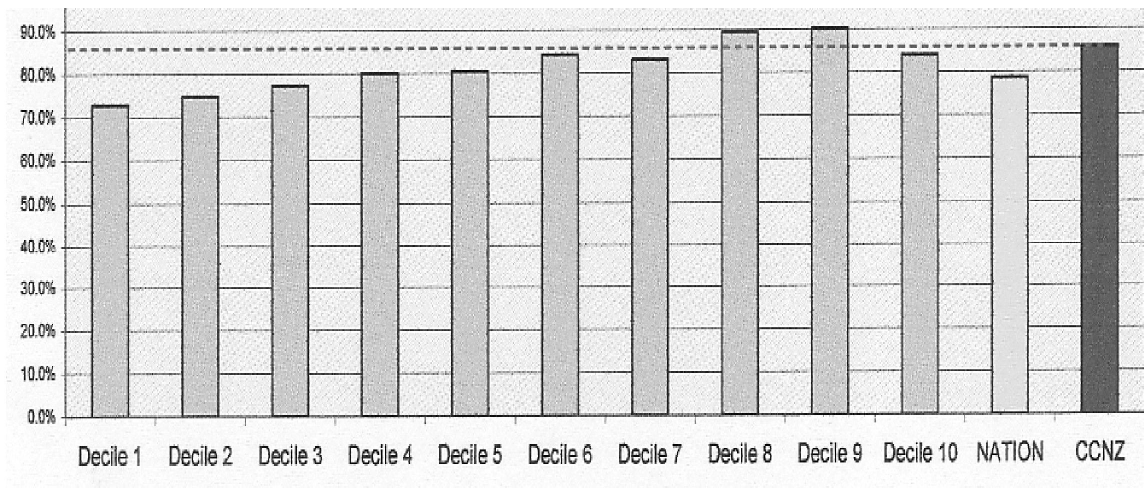
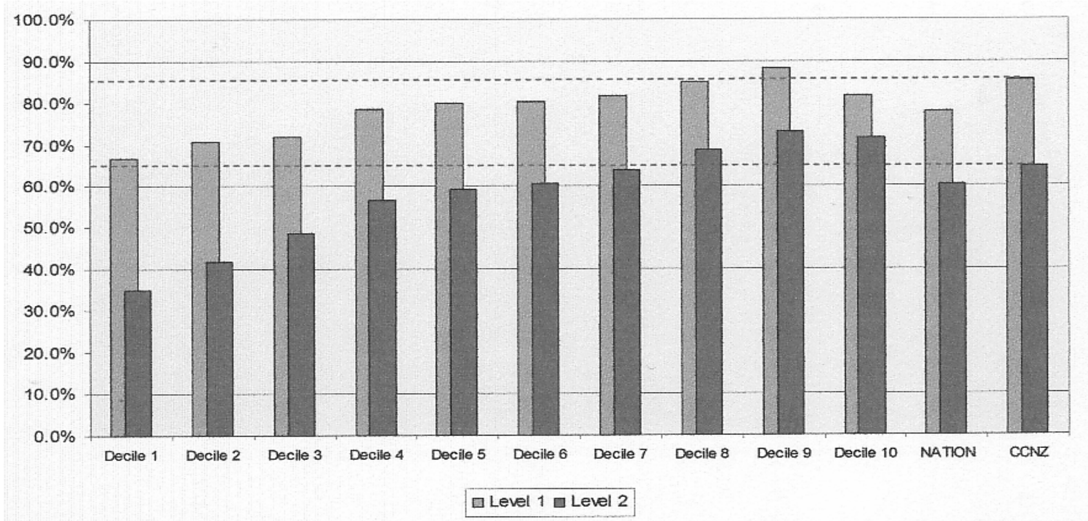


Figure 3: The Church College of New Zealand NCEA Results 2005
% of Year 11 Students gaining Level 1 Numeracy
(Church College of New Zealand, 2006)



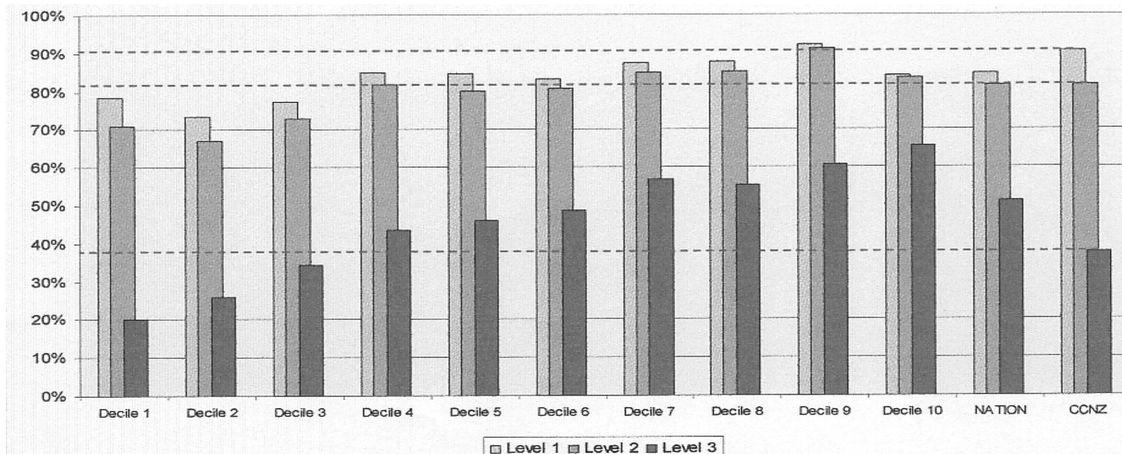
Year 12 results for 2005 highlight that Church College still achieved above the national average and well above schools with the same decile rating. It shows two bars because many students were sitting Levels 1 and 2 simultaneously.

Figure 4: The Church College of New Zealand NCEA Results 2005
% of Year 12 Students with Levels 1 & 2 by their Fourth Year
(Church College of New Zealand, 2006)



The Year 13 group performed below the national average but still above schools of similar decile rating.

Figure 5: The Church College of New Zealand NCEA Results 2005
% of Year 13 Students with Levels 1-3 by their Fifth Year
(Church College of New Zealand, 2005)



The ERO Report for 2006 confirms the academic success experienced by students at Church College with specific reference to NCEA results for 2005. It states:

> Information on student achievement indicates that students at Church College enjoy outstanding academic success. Of particular note is the high percentage of Year 9 students who go on to gain National Certificate of Educational Achievement Level 1, 2 and 3. In 2005, 88% of the 2003 Year 9 intake went on to gain Level 1 as compared to the national average of 45% for schools of similar decile. Similarly, the percentage of Year 9 students who went on to gain Level 2 and 3 was 86% and 50% respectively compared to 41% and 22% for schools of same decile.
>
> NCEA Level 1, 2 and 3 results for 2005 also indicates that students are achieving at levels well above those for students in other schools of similar decile, and comparable with decile 9 and 10 schools. Achievement levels of Māori and Pacific students in NCEA at Church College are significantly higher than for Māori and Pacific students in other schools. NCEA results for 2005 show that students are achieving at levels comparable to their non-Māori and Pacific peers at NCEA Level 1, 2 and 3, and significantly above the achievement of Māori and Pacific students nationally. (ERO, 2006, p 4)

These statistics provided a framework for this thesis and motivated me to look beyond the numbers and highlight the history and experiences of some successful graduates of the school.

Historical Overview

I was fortunate to already be a part of the Church College school community and have access to a range of rich resources. My research began with several conversations with Dr Robert Joseph, a lecturer in the School of Law at the Univeristy of Waikato, who granted me access to his personal library which contained numerous digital videos, articles and books on the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in New Zealand and in the South Pacific Islands. Dr Joseph also lives on the Church College campus as a dorm parent for missionaries who enter the Missionary Training Centre which is located on campus. I was also given access to the personal library of Huirua and Jacqui Tipene who were also dorm parents at the Church College for male boarders. Their library consists of copies of personal journals of family members and missionaries from the early years of the LDS Church in New Zealand. Huirua's father was part of the construction team who built the Church College in the early 1950s. My journey also took me into the school

library which accommodates the archives, school year books and several books on the history of the school and the LDS Church. The school librarian Jason Saikaly also introduced me to a series of Journals known as ‘ Te Karere – The Messenger ‘, which contains articles published by the Church in New Zealand during the early and mid 1900s.

While searching through the various resources that I had been given access to, it became obvious that the most appropriate approach for presenting this paper would be a chronological approach. This was apparent as certain timeframes were influenced by different factors politically, economically and socially, which therefore impacted on the school. These thesis falls into four particular timeframes. The first section covers the general history of the impact of Christianity and education both in New Zealand and the South Pacific Islands during the early 1800s and into the early 1900s, with a particular focus on the introduction of the LDS Church into both geographical locations. The second timeframe to be highlighted is the 1950s and 1960s which is characterized by economic prosperity in New Zealand as a result of the booming manufacturing and agricultural industries in the country at the time. This brought about conditions that affected the building programme and setting up of the Church College. As a result, when Church College opened it was staffed predominantly by people from the USA. The third timeframe is the 1970s through to the end of the 1980s. This period was a time of economic downturn in New Zealand which changed the reasoning for some families to send their children to the College. It was during this period of time that a transition occurred in the school in the general makeup of the staff. The Americans were slowly replaced by New Zealanders as they became qualified in different fields of study and returned to the College to work. The final section covers the 1990s which was a period of education reform and continuous economic downturn. The issue of private education versus public education became a subject of political debate and the private school model was highlighted by neo-liberals as the most preferred option. Where and how did Church College fit in during this timeframe? The final section will discuss this question.

Interviews

A few theses and books have been written about the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in New Zealand and in the South Pacific, such as Ian Barker's (1969), *The Connexion: The Mormon Church and the Māori People*, Rainier Britsch's (1986), *Unto the Islands of the Sea: A History of the Latter-day Saints in the Pacific*, Brian Hunt's first (1977) and second editions (2007) of *Zion in New Zealand* and also Marjorie Newton's (1998), *Mormonism in New Zealand: A Historical Appraisal*. A chapter or two, sometimes only a section in these theses and books have been dedicated to covering the history of the Church College of New Zealand. These have all come from the perspective of a historian, relaying details of important dates, major events, the names of key people involved and descriptions of programmes, buildings and so forth. I know of only one other Masters' thesis where Church College is the sole subject of academic inquiry. That thesis, entitiled *A Review of the Involvement of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in New Zealand Education with Specific Reference to the American influence on the Church College of New Zealand*, was a critical outlook of the American influence on the College written by an ex-principal of the Church College, Ian Ardern. However, most of what is known about the history of the Church College is from journals and stories of labour missionaries, American and Polynesian, and ex-Church College students which are often related to the building of the school. I accessed a lot of this information from personal libraries of people who live in Temple View and archives at the Church College itself

I wanted this thesis to be different to what had already been written. In this thesis, I wanted the students to have a voice. I wanted to tell the story of some of those who actually came to Church College. For this purpose I needed to use a research approach that would allow me to tell the story of people who were more than observers but participants, people who had actually lived the Church College experience. Because this thesis highlights academic success, it tells the story of some of those who experienced this. The life-history approach allows me to do this.

According to Green (2004), oral history is a specific area of historical research and inquiry with its own theory and methodology. It gives us access to the world of the majority who do not leave written accounts of their lives. It reaches past the mere notion of just telling stories and is viewed as a unique tool in understanding the past. In oral histories, lives are explained as stories which include specific recollections of past experiences and events. Organizing those experiences and analyzing them into a coherent account of the past is an aspect of life-histories.

> A present-past relationship is at the core of a life-history. Because all oral histories are recounted in the present to explain the past, a life history may be shaped to lead logically to the present, leaving out information perceived as irrelevant or conflicting with the coherence of the narrative (Green, 2004, p 15).

With the life-history method, data is gathered in the form of stories as told by individuals in an interview (Goodson and Sikes, 2001). These interviews are transcribed and the transcripts are analyzed by the researcher. The researcher or life-historian shapes the nature of the narrative according to the subject of inquiry. Goodson and Sikes (2001) argue that the life-historian re-present the stories they are told within the context of their own frames of reference. Therefore, both the person telling the story and the listener frame the narrative that then becomes the life-history.

I connected with the life-history approach on an emotional and perhaps even a cultural level. As a Polynesian, I was very familiar with oral history through personal experiences with my grandmother and granduncle. It was through the telling of stories and experiences lived by my grandmother, in particular that I learnt about my family ancestry and heritage. This experience of gathering information face-to-face, is something that I became very familiar with and also comfortable with. I found that as I listened to the stories, I would ask more questions. These questions were aroused by expressions on their faces, my interest always held by the raw emotions revealed as they spoke, the tears that were shed, the humor and at times even anger. It was as if I was living the experience through them but even more than that, I was able to gain an insight into the world that they lived in as they had experienced it.

Oral traditions have been an integral part of both Māori and Pacific Island societies. Smith (1992) contends that oral transmission of knowledge in a pre-literate society was how aspects such as whakapapa (genealogy) were preserved. Māori have a preference for working with people they know. The Māori saying 'he kanohi kitea' (a face seen is appreciated) portrays a preference which Māori have for interacting with people face-to face. It is also common practice amongst Māori to ask someone locally known and trusted by their networks to set up initial face-to-face contact (Irwin, 1994).

With this in mind, as I set about to engage participants in this research, it was through friends and family that I was able to contact 20 people to participate. I was acquainted with some of the participants and I was introduced to others by people I was close too, who were only too happy to help. My initial contact with some of the participants was through a phone call and in some instances through an email message. In other situations, initial contact had been made by a family member or friend and then I was introduced to participants. 16 out of the 20 people I contacted consented to an interview. During the research project two withdrew themselves from the sample due to other personal commitments rather than a lack of support for the project. All of the participants were wonderful to work with and very accommodating. Some of the interviews were conducted in my home while others were conducted in their own homes. On one occasion I conducted an interview in an office of one of the participants. Regardless of where the interview was, each interview was semi-structured and each of the interviewees eager and willing to participate. One participant, who currently resides in China, emailed me her responses.

I interviewed people from the different timeframes already outlined in the previous section. From the 1950s-1960s I interviewed Bill Gudgeon, Molly Waetford, Ken Strother and Moses Armstrong; the 1970s-1980s I interviewed Karina Elkington, Brandt Shortland, Glenn Kaka, Dr Nathan Joseph, Sandra Kailahi and Zina Manu; and from the 1990s, I interviewed 'Gina Munroe ', Justin Harris, Stuart Poulava and

Meshweyla MacDonald. All of the participants consented to using their real names while ‘ Gina Munroe ‘ is a pseudonym. Most of the parents of the interviewees did not have the opportunity to attend institutions of higher education. Many of the fathers of the interviewees were laborers while many of the mothers stayed at home. Two of the interviewees had fathers who were teachers and two of the interviewees had mothers who worked as secretaries in schools. Most of the interviewees were also from rural areas or small towns.

All of the interviews were framed around their experiences at Church College as students. I asked them about the early experiences in their lives that led up to the decision to go to Church College, why they as individuals decided to attend school there, what was it like at church college, what were the teachers like, the expectations, the environment, the students, the dorms, activities, and sports? What did they hope to achieve? Had they set goals, what were they, did they achieve them? What expectations were placed on them by their families? The interviews were recorded and transcribed by myself. All of the transcripts and tapes were locked away in a filing cabinet in my office at home. I chose to transcribe the tapes myself as I thought it would be a good way to get to know the stories more intimately. It was a tedious task and one that I do not advocate but the themes became more obvious to me while I listened to the stories. Before I even sat down to read the transcripts I had a fair idea of what areas to focus on. Goodson and Sikes (2001) argued that this was an advantage for those researchers who transcribed their own interviews.

Outline of Chapters

The chapters that follow are indicative of each of the timeframes outlined in the section of this chapter under the heading *Historical Overview*. Chapter 2 is a historical overview of events which lead up to the building of the Church College and is necessary as it establishes the relationship between the school and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, as well as the schools’ strong connection with Polynesians, in particular Māori. Chapter 3 describes the strong American influence

on the College and describes some of the positive affects this influence had on the overall performance of some of the students. Chapter 4 looks at the transition of American staff to New Zealanders and the impact of this transition changed the definition of success for some of the students. It highlights some of the successes of the students despite the negative stereotyping of Māori and Pacific Islanders in the wider New Zealand society. Chapter 5 considers the impact of education reform in New Zealand in general and how the Church College stood amongst those reforms. This thesis concludes with Chapter 6, which discusses academic success at the Church College and also discusses the closure of Church College in more detail.

CHAPTER 2

TOWARDS THE LIGHT

Introduction

The Church College of New Zealand is sponsored by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). The Church's current membership is approaching 13 million. These Latter-day Saints are located in nations throughout the world. This growth of the Church and its membership can be attributed to the Church's missionary programme which is a fundamental characteristic of the Church. Latter-day Saint missionaries can be seen on the streets of hundreds of major cities in the world as well as in thousands of smaller communities (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2008). It was through missionary work, that the Church was established in the South Pacific Islands and in New Zealand during the 19th century.

This chapter provides an historical overview of important events which led up to the building of the Church College in New Zealand. What were the circumstances that brought about the building of this school? Who was it built for and what were the conditions of the people it was built for? What is the relationship between the school and the United States of America? Why does the school have a strong connection with Māori? This chapter looks to answer these questions and in doing so provide context for the rest of this thesis. Chapter 2 falls into six sections. The first establishes the link between the LDS Church in New Zealand and the Church in the USA. The second section outlines the Church's policy on education for its members. Section three provides a brief overview of LDS missionary efforts in the South Pacific Islands, while the fourth section covers the impact of Christianity and education on Māori in New Zealand. Section five outlines the efforts of LDS missionaries amongst Māori and finally the last section describes the Church's efforts in providing education for Māori.

The LDS Church

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was established on April 6 1830 in Fayette, New York in the United States of America (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1996). It was organized during a period of increased religious activity in the USA. The Church grew as a result of missionary work and as the LDS membership increased, persecution against them also increased. The Church was persecuted by individuals and groups who believed that LDS beliefs and practices were unorthodox as they were contrary to what some of the orthodox churches preached (CES, 2000). Persecution drove the Saints from New York to Ohio, to Missouri and then to Illinois. After being driven out of Illinois, they began the long trek west, across Indian territory and settled in the Salt Lake Valley. Thousands of Saints from around the world and the USA migrated to the Valley where they built a temple and a city.

Today, the headquarters of the Church remains in Salt Lake City where the affairs of the Church fall under the leadership of President Thomas S Monson, prophet of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. He is supported in his role by two counsellors. Together they make up the highest governing body of the Church known as the First Presidency (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2008). The First Presidency is further supported by the Quorum of Twelve Apostles (see Appendix i for an overview of the general leadership structure). Education in the Church falls under the direction of the Church Education Board which heads the Church Education System (CES). Thomas S Monson is the chairman of the board (see appendix ii for further information). All major decisions in regards to any area of the LDS Church are made in Salt Lake City by Church leaders. Representatives of CES are located throughout the world where the Church has provided local education whether secular or religious. Although New Zealand is thousands of kilometres from the USA with local Church leaders and CES representatives, the LDS Church in New Zealand as well as the Church College of New Zealand are accountable to Church leaders in the USA.

Education and the LDS Church

Formal education has been an important part of the Church from almost the time it was established (Burnett, 1971). Many of the early Latter-day Saint pioneers came from a New England Puritan background and therefore brought with them a reverence for knowledge and learning (Gardner, 1992). The first LDS Church school was established in Kirtland, Ohio in 1833 just three years after the LDS Church was organised (CES, 2000).

One of the goals of the LDS Church is to improve the overall educational opportunities for LDS throughout the world (Jacob and Lesuma, 2005). It has a commitment to religious and secular education (Gardner, 1992). Religious education has high priority (Johnson, 1975). Seminaries consist of religious instruction for elementary [or primary] and secondary school students. Institutes consist of religious instruction for tertiary students. This is provided by the Church in every location where the Church is established (Gardner, 1992).

There are three major concerns that the Church has for its members in regards to education. They are a desire for an adequate public school education for every child in the Church; post-high-school training of LDS youth and formal religious education.

> …where there are concentrations of Latter-day Saints in areas with inadequate public schools or where special circumstances may work against some youngster's getting proper training, the Church is prepared to consider providing elementary schools and in some instances secondary schools (Burnett, 1971, p 2).

The Church encourages all LDS to be self-reliant and education is a big part of this philosophy. Young people throughout the Church in every country are encouraged to get an education (Packer, 1992). LDS throughout the world are encouraged to take full advantage of public education opportunities, but in those areas where there is a high concentration of members and few public education opportunities, the Church

has established facilities to provide these opportunities (Berrett, 1992). As public schools become more available, most Church schools are closed (Packer, 1992). Education provided by the Church is also seen as one of the significant tools in the development of local Church leaders throughout the world (Jacob and Lesuma, 2005).

Missionary Work in the South Pacific

Although Church College has always maintained a large population of Polynesian students, only a small percentage are of Pacific Island background. The majority of the Polynesian student body make-up are Māori. Regardless, this thesis also looks to highlight the experiences of Pacific Island students and therefore the following historical overview is necessary.

In 1843 LDS missionaries, Addison Pratt, Benjamin F Grouard, Knowlton F Hanks and Noah Rogers were sent to the islands in the Pacific to preach (Ellsworth, 2000; Hunt, 1977). Their original appointment was to work in the Sandwich Islands but after a lengthy voyage and arriving in Tubuai (located 400 miles south of Tahiti), before the Sandwich Islands, it was decided that the mission would be established in French Polynesia first (Perrin, 2005).

After some time, LDS missionaries were sent throughout the Pacific to Hawaii, Australia and eventually New Zealand in 1854. Branches of the Church were set up in these areas over time. It is important to note, that at the time these missionaries were working in the Pacific, there were also other LDS missionaries working in other parts of the world at the same time.

After the Church was established in New Zealand, missionaries were sent to Samoa and Tonga. The establishment of the Church in the Cook Islands did not come until later in the 1900s. Missionaries attempted to establish the Church in the Cook Islands in 1899 and again in 1901 but were unsuccessful (Jonassen, 2005). The primary reason for this was the London Mission Society (LMS) was already very well

established amongst the Cook Island Māori. The Society traces its origins to a group of evangelists from different denominations, mainly Protestants, in the London area who joined together to form a society that would support evangelism throughout the world (Lange, 2005). A large number of Cook Island Māori were very loyal to the Society which made missionary work difficult for the LDS missionaries (Britsch, 1986; Jonassen, 2005).

It was not until 1954 that LDS missionary work began in the Melanesian Islands, specifically Fiji (Britsch, 1986). The first known Latter-day Saint to live in Fiji was Mary Ashley, who moved to Fiji with her family from Tonga to Suva in 1924 (Jacob and Lesuma, 2005). At the time the Latter-day Saint Church arrived, a large majority of ethnic Fijians were Christian, with a large number of them associated to the Methodist Church. The remainder affiliated to the Roman Catholics. Of the Fijian Indians, 4 % had converted to Christianity (Jacob and Lesuma, 2005).

By the time LDS missionaries arrived on the different islands in the Pacific, the people were already associated with Christianity and affiliated to a denomination (Elsemore, 2000). In all of the islands, the majority of people often associated themselves with one Christian denomination while other denominations had smaller followings. In the Cook Islands (Jonassen, 2005), Samoa (Britsch, 1986) and French Polynesia (Perrin, 2005), at the time of the arrival of the LDS missionaries, the LMS was already very well established amongst the people.

In Tonga, the people were predominantly Methodist. Although the LMS had arrived on the island earlier than the Methodists, they were unsuccessful in converting the people (Britsch, 1986). Missionaries from other denominations were responsible for introducing Christianity to the people of the Pacific. They translated the Bible into the languages of the people of the different islands, built schools and introduced literacy to them (Hunt, 1977; Jacob and Lesuma, 2005; Lange, 2005; Perrin, 2005).

> The work of establishing the Church in the Pacific has been abetted by some significant advantages and hindered by some serious obstacles. Among the

> advantages are the Christian foundation laid by missionaries of other denominations who converted the people from non-Christian religions, translated the Bible, educated many of the people, established religious freedom, and introduced some of the amenities of modern life (Britsch, 1986, p xiv).

However, these early missionaries also did all that they could to quash traditional culture (Jonassen, 2005), viewing these traditions as mere practices of heathenism and superstition. This attitude was indicative of early missionaries throughout the Pacific as they sought to use Christianity as a means of "civilising" indigenous peoples. This attitude is even more evident in dealings with Māori which will be discussed further on in this chapter.

As the work of the LDS missionaries spread throughout the Pacific, they encountered much success amongst the Pacific peoples. Despite opposition from other denominations and sometimes challenges posed by the political climate in places such as Fiji, Samoa and French Polynesia, LDS missionaries were still able to establish many branches of the LDS Church in the Pacific (Ellsworth, 2000). Britsch (1986) outlines one of the reasons given for the success of LDS missionaries in establishing the Church in the Pacific in the following statement. He argues:

> Most LDS missionaries in the Pacific have lived with the people, eaten their food, slept on their floors, and bathed in their streams and pools. They have almost always avoided political involvements, except when friction between governments and the Church has drawn missionaries into relations with political leaders (Britsch, 1986, p xiv).

LDS missionaries also established schools. By 1970, the Church was operating 58 primary schools and seven secondary schools. These included schools in Tonga, Tahiti, Western Samoa, American Samoa, Fiji, and New Zealand (Britsch, 1976). Church schools have been a means of facilitating growth and stabilizing the Church in the Pacific Islands (Jacob and Lesuma, 2005).

Early Māori, Christianity and Education

Christianity first arrived in New Zealand in 1814 in the form of English missionaries from the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in London (Davidson and Lineham, 1989). As a result of an acquaintance between Samuel Marsden and Ruatara, a Māori chief from the Bay of Islands, missionaries were invited to settle in Rangihoua (Jenkins, 2000). The missionaries' attempts to preach and convert Māori to Christianity first met with little success (Simon, 1991), as Christianity imposed upon Māori a foreign way of life and thought. Barrington and Beaglehole (1974) explained that while the missionaries sought to convert Māori to Christianity, they also tried to initiate them in the customs and manners of "civilized" British life. Māori already had their own traditional religious knowledge and practices which were an integral part of Māori life (Davidson and Lineham, 1989). However, early missionaries showed little or no understanding of Māori tikanga (culture) and wairuatanga (spirituality). With particular reference to attitudes of early missionaries towards Māori in New Zealand, Elsemore (1999) stated:

> Early missionaries, basing their judgement on their own developed system of religious belief and life, observed the customs of the Māori and seeing no rites they regarded as set apart as sacred observances, concluded the New Zealanders had no religion. To the contrary, Māori religious life was well developed; the problem was merely one of a difference in what made up religion in each of the cultures, with the missionaries seeing the other only from their view point.
>
> Consequently, the message was implied, or even given directly to the Māori that their beliefs were more superstitious, their opinions absurd, their doctrines heathenish, and their natures depraved (Elsemore, 1999, p 3).

Other reasons for the initial lack of success of the missionaries included the inter-tribal wars (Davidson and Lineham, 1989; Jenkins, 2000) and the mere lack of interest by many Māori in the Christian message (Simon, 1991). However, despite the failure of these early attempts, the efforts of the early missionaries increased as missionaries from other denominations arrived in New Zealand and the CMS remained persistent in their efforts, setting up mission stations and schools amongst

other Māori communities (Jenkins, 2000). In 1822, missionaries from the Wesleyan Church arrived and Bishop Pompalier introduced Catholicism in 1938 (Hunt, 1977).

Early missionaries used Christianity as a way of "civilizing" Māori and education became an integral component of that mission Māori (Smith and Smith, 1990). The first mission school was established by the CMS in 1816 in Rangihoua. According to Jenkins (2000), this came about as an obvious occurrence through the initial relationship between Ruatara and Marsden. Jenkins (2000) contends that despite the opening of the first mission school in 1816, schooling for Māori began before that time with Ruatara and other Māori including sons of Chiefs, who were taught English by Marsden himself. In return they taught Marsden to speak Māori. These are considered the first classes with Māori pupils and setting up the school in Rangihoua was obviously the next step. Unfortunately, the school failed to generate much interest amongst Māori and closed two years later.

However, Māori interest in schooling developed over time. Simon (1991), and Smith and Smith (1990) both argue that Māori had a genuine interest in the new technology of the Pākehā and became active in accessing this new knowledge. In 1827, the Gospels had been translated into Māori and by 1830 the missionaries had their own printing press which provided an opportunity to produce greater quantities of printed materials (Sinclair, 1991).

The missionaries set up village school in Māori communities (Paterson, 2006) and a growing enthusiasm for reading and writing became apparent. Literacy became widespread amongst Māori. By the middle of the nineteenth century a higher proportion of Māori were literate than the settlers (Biggs, 1968). Paterson (2006) identified that in the 1850s half to three-quarters of adult Māori could read in their own language, and one to two-thirds could both read and write in it.

> Initially the teaching of reading and writing was undertaken to Pākehā missionaries in Northland, but literacy, like Christianity was subsequently spread by Māori themselves. Many Māori learnt to read informally, taught by

> others whose only qualification was their own literacy, using religious texts printed in Māori by the missionaries. At times Māori started their own informal schools, such as that of the ex-slave Ripahau at Ōtaki (Paterson, 2006, p 39).

The village schools established by early missionaries were unfunded by any governing body and were independent in their operation (Paterson, 2006). The school curriculum was very basic and focused on the skills related to reading, writing and living by the Bible (Smith and Smith, 1990). The medium of instruction was Māori. As literacy spread, so too did conversion to Christianity (Simon, 1991).

This progress was hindered by some fundamental changes that affected Māori politically and economically (Smith and Smith, 1990). A steady migration of British settlers seeking land had begun and Captain William Hobson, the British Government's representative arrived in the country causing confusion and controversy through the Treaty of Waitangi (Owens, 1992). New Zealand was annexed by the British, a settler government was put in place (Owens, 1992; Smith and Smith, 1990) and policies for Māori were centered on assimilation (Paterson, 2006). In 1841, New Zealand was proclaimed a separate Crown Colony (Gardner, 1992).

In 1847, the Education Ordinance was introduced by Governor Grey, the British Government's representative in New Zealand at the time (Department of Education, 1979). This was the first legislative action taken in education. It provided churches with some government funding but was solely to be spent on boarding schools (Simon, 1991; Paterson, 2006). The dominant argument for this policy was that unless Māori children were taken out of the villages and away from their homes, little could be done to "civilize" them. Therefore, the role of the boarding schools was rapid assimilation (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974).

Since the establishment of mission schools, the medium of instruction had been Māori. Under the ordinance, the medium of instruction was to be in English only

(Jenkins, 2000). This funding continued under the Native Schools Act of 1858 but the government soon assumed total responsibility for Māori education with the passing of the Native Schools Act of 1867 (Paterson, 2006).

From 1852, New Zealand was divided into provinces and the various provincial governments were responsible for their own education systems. Some provinces attempted to set up their own public school system while others were content to assist existing mission schools (Department of Education, 1979; McLaren, 1987). This system was abolished in 1876 (Cumming and Cumming, 1978) and in 1877 the first national Education Act was passed (Department of Education, 1979). The main features of the Act were that primary education should be national, free, secular and compulsory (Department of Education, 1979). Simon and Smith (2001) discuss this further and indicate in their research that the Education Act made schooling compulsory for Pākehā but it was not until 1894 that schooling was made compulsory for Māori.

The control of Native Schools was administered directly by the Department of Education while the control of the public schools was administered by regional education boards. Hence there were two parallel systems of state schooling operating – the Native Schools and the Public Schools, although both were in fact public schools systems (Simon and Smith, 2001).

Māori participation in literacy and education throughout this period waned for various reasons. Paterson (2006) argues that Māori attitudes towards missionary activity and Christianity shifted and some established their own schools to be 'freed from European influence'. Jenkins (2000) adds to this discussion by explaining that under the establishment of the settler government, missionaries assumed a different relationship with Māori. They assumed a role of dominance, viewing Māori as 'inferior needing civilizing as a worker '. Paterson (2006) further explained that an agricultural boom in the mid 1850s caused some Māori to doubt the value of schooling and kept many young people home to tend to the families' fields. The

1860s also saw the Land Wars (Belich, 1998) between Māori and British, and various diseases introduced by the settlers caused devastating epidemics amongst Māori (Smith and Smith, 1990).

Amongst all of this, education was aimed at assimilation (Simon and Smith, 2001; Paterson, 2006). Assimilation required the complete destruction of Māori culture and in its earliest phase there was little regard held for any respect of Māori beliefs, values, or practices (Underwood, 2000; Simon and Smith, 2001).

> Education was regarded as the most effective way of breaking down what was regarded as the demoralizing or uncivilized beliefs and practices of the Māori. Schools were expected to assimilate Māori children into Pākehā culture by actively discouraging Māori beliefs and practices and by replacing them with the Pākehā belief systems and 'manners' (Smith and Smith, 1990, p 137).

In regards to secondary school education, McLaren (1987) indicates that during the years 1840-1877, there was little demand for secondary school due to settlers being more concerned about survival than education. Secondary schooling was not compulsory. Only a minority of settlers could afford to pay for any schooling past the age of fourteen and the traditional single sex English grammar schools with its academic emphasis, did not appeal to many settlers at first.

However, the Education Act of 1877 empowered education boards to establish district high schools and institute scholarships to enable selected pupils to attend (Department of Education, 1979). Native primary schools rather than Native secondary schools was the priority for the government and until the country was covered by numerous and efficient Native primary schools, Native secondary schools were considered an impossibility (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974).

However, an important feature which encouraged the progress of secondary schooling for Māori was the renewed development of the denominational boarding schools. Initially they did not appear to offer more than the district schools academically, except for Te Aute College. The Anglican boarding school Te Aute, situated in the

Hawkes Bay (Butterworth, 1968) pioneered Maōri secondary schooling under the direction of its headmaster John Thornton. John Thornton and his staff presented a curriculum of academic subjects which encouraged Māori students to seek after professional careers, rather than limiting the students to more manual occupations (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974). Sir Apirana Ngata of the East Coast, one of New Zealand's first Māori politicians in the early 1900s received his secondary schooling education at Te Aute. Sir Apirana was an advocate for improving life for Māori and saw education as an important way of doing this. He was very influential amongst Māori especially with those who originate from the East Coast of New Zealand (Butterworth, 1968).

Other boarding schools for Māori raised their academic standards and level of teaching parallel to what was being achieved at Te Aute. Māori boarding schools were very important to those Māori wanting secondary school options for their children. Schools such as St Stephen‘s for boys and Queen Victoria for girls, in Auckland and St Joseph's Providence for Girls in Napier are examples of other boarding schools (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974). Walker (1987) adds that some Māori parents also felt that religion was a necessary ingredient in education and therefore supported the denominational Māori boarding schools.

When the Church College was finally built, it was this context that it was established in – as another denominational boarding school for Māori. Although the Church may not have intended for it to be perceived as such, for some Māori, this was exactly how they viewed it.

The LDS Church and Māori

Amongst all of the people in the Pacific where branches of the Church were established, LDS missionaries had the most success amongst Māori in New Zealand (Britsch, 1976). On October 20 1854, Augustus Farnham, William Cooke and Thomas Holder arrived in Auckland on board the steamer 'William Denny' (Hunt,

1977; Midgeley, 1999). They were the first LDS missionaries to New Zealand. For the first few years, the missionaries had little success. Their earlier efforts were aimed at the settlers but interest was low (Elsemore, 1999). There were only a few missionaries in New Zealand at the time and most of the LDS missionary work was conducted in the South Island (Britsch, 1986). Attempts to preach to Māori were made in the 1870s (Hunt, 1977) but these attempts were unsuccessful. It was not until the 1880s that a concentrated effort, under the direction of LDS Church leaders in the USA, was made by the missionaries to go amongst Māori (Hunt, 1977; Britsch, 1986).

Britsch (1986) outlines two major reasons for the delay in preaching to Māori. The first was due to the ongoing tension between Māori and Pākehā which escalated into the Land Wars between 1860 and 1872. The second reason was the Church recognized in the 1850s that many Māori were already very faithful and committed to the orthodox faiths. However, by the 1880s this had changed.

During the period of the Land Wars, many Māori had defected from their orthodox faiths (Underwood, 2000). While some reverted back to former traditions, many associated themselves with religious movements that had evolved amongst Māori themselves. These movements contained fundamental Christian beliefs but were integrated with parts of Māori culture (Elsemore, 2000), therefore having more relevance to Māori in their situation at the time. Movements such as the Ringatu, Rātana, Pai Marire and Te Kīngitanga are amongst those named by Elsemore (1999).

The result of the land troubles between Māori and Pākehā resulted in a deep distrust and even hatred of Pākehā. The missionaries were also included in this. Missionaries had been instrumental in the drafting of the Treaty of Waitangi and some even carried the Treaty from tribe to tribe to have it signed. Because of this hatred, many Māori withdrew their support for the missionaries, their churches and even their education (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974; Elsemore, 1999; Paterson, 2006). Despite this

withdrawal of support, Elsemore (1999) argues that Māori did not turn away from the Christian beliefs and principles they had been taught.

> While they had turned away from the messengers, however, they had not rejected the message, and right when the Māori were looking for a way to reconcile the two, a solution arrived (Elsemore, 1999, p 151).

The coming of the LDS missionaries amongst Māori was at a crucial period and despite opposition, the missionaries achieved considerable success. This began with the conversion of the Teimana family in Cambridge, who were baptized in the Waikato River on Christmas Day in 1882 (Hunt, 1977). Consequently the Waikato region went on to become an area in which the Church grew rapidly. Waikato were heavily involved in the Land Wars of the 1860s (Sorenson, 1992) and the growth of the LDS Church in the Waikato region perhaps suggests a need for spiritual healing amongst Māori in the Waikato.

By 1884 nearly all of the LDS missionary work was concentrated among Māori in the Wairarapa, Hawkes Bay, Waikato, and Gisborne areas (Hunt, 1977). The growth of the Church amongst Māori, especially in these areas was rapid and significant numbers of Māori joined the Church (Britsch, 1986). The other area in New Zealand with a concentrated effort of missionary work was amongst the tribe Ngā Puhi in villages around the Bay of Islands and in particular Maromaku, Kawakawa, Waihou, Otaua, Awarua, Te Horo, Kaikou and Pakotai (Magleby, 1907; Britsch, 1981).

Although Henderson (2004) contends that Māori conversion to the LDS Church was an expression of irritation at both British and Anglican behaviour, there are several reasons for this success. Barker (1967) outlines that two of these reasons are LDS missionaries generally showed a lack of racial prejudice and gave Māori the opportunity to actively participate in the running of local branches of the Church. Elsemore (2000) also indicates that in most instances the early missionaries of other denominations detached themselves from Māori by living apart from them in an English-style house, surrounded by a fence:

> On their trips through their area they would pitch a tent and sleep apart from their Māori companions. In this way they no doubt hoped to provide an example of ideal, even 'right' society. European settlers and the occasional missionary who lived in the villages with the local people were criticized by missionaries for their lapse in social and moral standards (Elsemore, 2000, p 21)

In comparison, the LDS missionaries who worked among Māori lived with them. They learnt to speak Māori, ate their food and even slept in their houses. In many instances the LDS missionaries slept on the floors of the people they were working with (Hunt, 1977; Henderson, 2004). The LDS missionaries also did not have the task of converting Māori from "pure heathenism" to "Mormonism", as they had already been taught the Christian message (Elsemore, 2000). Their role was to preach to Māori a Christian message that would have relevance in their lives without alienating their cultural identity.

One of the principles taught by the LDS missionaries that reinforced this role was the confirmation of the common belief amongst many Māori that they were descendents of the House of Israel (Britsch, 1986; Binney, 1996; Elsemore, 2000). The early missionaries had taught Māori that they were of the House of Israel and many Māori identified with this belief. However, the missionaries from other denominations who had introduced Māori to this doctrine, later denied this notion of Māori origin. When LDS missionaries came amongst Māori, they confirmed the connection (Elsemore, 1999).

> The Māori-Israelite connection was greatly reinforced by Mormon theology. Latterday-Saints held a rather exalted view of the identity of indigenous peoples in the Western Hemisphere and the Pacific. They believed that the Māori among others were a literal "remnant" of Israel, rather than just another people with situational similarites (Underwood, 2000, p 6).

More importantly, the literature suggests that Māori were prepared for the LDS Church more than any other Pacific people, not only for the reasons already given but because of prophecies made by some of their own Māori prophets (Britsch, 1981). Two of the more common prophecies were made by Paora Potangaroa, a Wairarapa

chief of Te Oreore (Cowley, 1954) and Ārama Toiroa, a patriarch in Māhia (Britsch, 1981, Underwood, 2000).

In March 1881, a conference was held in the whare ‘ Ngā Tau E Waru’ at Te Oreore. The purpose of the conference was for chiefs of Ngati Kahungunu to discuss political, social and religious problems. The orthodox churches were well represented at the conference and the chiefs present shared a feeling of discontent about the lack of unity among them. One of the questions raised at the conference was which of the many Christian churches was the church for Māori? After much debate and discussion, this question was directed to Paora Potangaroa (Cowley, 1954). He was considered the wisest and the most respected of all the chiefs present (Britsch, 1986). After some time he addressed them (Cowley, 1954). The contents of that address became known as the Covenant of Paora Potangatoa (Elsemore, 1999). The following is an account of the translation of some of his address:

> My friends, the church for the Māori people has not yet come among us. You will recognize it when it comes. Its missionaries will travel in pairs. They will come from the rising sun. They will visit with us in our homes. They will learn our language and teach us the gospel in our own tongue. When they pray they will raise their right hands (Cowley, 1954, p 69).

Shortly after this many Māori of Ngati Kahungunu believed this prediction came true when the LDS missionaries arrived in the area. They joined the Church in large numbers (Britsch, 1986). However, Elsemore (1999) adds that many also left within a short time. Furthermore, Rātana claimed that Potangaroa’s prophecy was fulfilled by the Rātana movement and many Māori also joined the Rātana Church (Cowley, 1954; Elsemore, 1999).

In 1830 Ārama Toiroa, a chief from Māhia gathered his whānau (family) together and made the following prophecy to them:

> There will come to you a true form of worship; it will be brought from the east, even from beyond the heavens. It will be brought across the great ocean and

> you will hear of it coming to Pōneke and afterwards its representatives will come to Māhia. They will then go northward to Waiapu but will return to Māhia. When this form of worship is introduced amongst you, you will know it, for one shall stand and raise both hands to heaven. When you see this sign enter into that church (Britsch, 1986, p 272).

In 1884, LDS missionaries arrived in Korongata where many of Ārama Toiroa's descendants lived. As a result of this prophecy, every person in Korongata (Bridge Pa in Hastings), joined the Church. The missionaries then traveled to Māhia and baptized many of Toiroa's descendents there (Britsch, 1981). Te Kooti claimed that the prophecy referred to him and that he was the one of whom Toiroa said would pray standing with both hands raised to heaven. He is the founder of the Ringatu Church and still has a large following (Binney, 1996). Despite his claims, many Māori still joined the LDS Church.

By the turn of the twentieth century, nearly a tenth of Māori in New Zealand had joined the LDS Church. Underwood (2000) attributes this success to the notion that in becoming a Latter-day Saint, one was not abandoning Māori culture to become a brown Pākehā'. Midgeley (1999) discussed this further and contends that LDS missionaries depended on their Māori hosts and had a genuine love for them. For Māori, on the other hand, they found, sometimes for the first time, Pākehā with whom they could enjoy a satisfactory, loving relationship.

Henderson (2004) presents a different argument to the success of the LDS missionaries amongst Māori with the following statement:

> The LDS did not attract the following of the Anglicans or the Māori prophetic movements, but its successes showed that its adherents felt it answered a need. As it was a more modern church, it acted as a vehicle for change. Its open cannon meant that Saints could receive new revelations. With its strong American outlook and concern for education and health, it was seen as a modernizing agent and brought some individuals and iwi to a new understanding of the world around them (Henderson, 2004, p 152).

In his statement, Henderson (2004) highlights the influence of American culture on Māori which was introduced through LDS missionaries. This argument is interesting as in latter years when the Church College was opened, this same American influence occured amongst Māori students in the foundation years of the school.

LDS Church Education for Māori

The twenty years or so between the establishment of New Zealand as a British colony and the outbreak of war had seen little achievement in Māori education. During the 1860s Māori virtually abandoned the mission schools (Simon and Smith, 2001) and eventually they closed (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974). By 1870 however, there was a renewed desire amongst Māori for schooling. Village day schools were established under the 1867 Native Schools Act and Private day schools and boarding schools were once again established under provincial acts (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974). By 1879 57 Native primary schools had been established through-out the country (Simon and Smith, 2001). The underlying policy of education, however, was still aimed at assimilation (Smith and Smith, 1990).

Despite the schooling system and facilities provided by the government, there were still many rural areas with smaller numbers of Māori children that did not have schooling facilities. Most LDS Māori resided in small villages where schooling facilities were not available (Barker, 1967). The missionaries felt that the children in these villages needed some form of education and took it upon themselves to provide it. LDS Māori were also very anxious for their children to learn as much as they could. On January 11 1886 the first LDS school was established in Nūhaka (Hunt, 1977).

By the end of 1888, schools had been established in Waiapu, Māhia, Waikato and the Hauraki (Britsch, 1986). Additional small schools were set up in Awarua, Kohonui, Kopuawhara, Korongata, Opoutama, Porirua, Moawhanga, Hastings, Tauranganui, Waiwhara and Wairau. All of the teachers at these schools were missionaries. The

curriculum was made up of the basic subjects of reading, writing and arithmetic (Hunt, 1977). In some areas vegetable gardens were grown and the vegetables were given to the children to eat and also sold to Pākehā. The money was used to buy supplies to operate the schools. The classes were held in school buildings built by LDS families themselves and these doubled as Church meeting houses (Newton, 1998).

The LDS Church schools achieved marginal success for various reasons. They were below the standards of the government schools and therefore received no recognition from the Department of Education. The missionaries themselves were not professionally trained teachers, were educated in American schools and their time in New Zealand was short (Newton, 1998). This created instability in the schools. The schools were also poorly financed and supplied. Some schools were still operating as late as 1917 but were gradually phased out as government education was provided in these rural areas (Britsch, 1986).

Throughout this period there was a growing concern amongst LDS Māori to open a Church high school for their children to progress on to. This also became the view of leaders of the Church in New Zealand at the time (Hunt, 2007). In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, secondary education was not compulsory and the government's schooling policy, as already mentioned, in regards to Māori was aimed at providing primary education and not secondary education. Secondary schooling was also elitist, selective and academic in its nature and very expensive. Admission into a public secondary school was based on the passing of the Proficiency Exam which was given at the end of standard six (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974).

The support for providing a secondary schooling facility for LDS Māori came out of concern from Church leaders for the lack of secondary schooling provided to Māori (Hunt, 1977), as well as an awareness of LDS youth moving away from Church beliefs while they attended boarding schools of other denominations (Britsch, 1989).

This concern was accompanied by numerous requests from LDS Māori to have a high school run under the direction of the Church (Hunt, 2007).

In 1913, in Korongata (Bridge Pa), Hastings, the Church opened the Māori Agricultural College (MAC). It was established to provide modern educational facilities for Māori boys. Although the school was to provide secular learning, there was also instruction in the fundamental principles of the Church. The overall objective of the school was the all-round development of the boys who attended it (Hunt, 1969).

Although many Māori families had promised to support the school in sending their children there, when the school opened it did not receive the support that they had hoped for. Instead, families opted to send their children to other denominational boarding schools. Te Aute College was close by and rather than send their children to the MAC, many families opted to send them there. Therefore the college roll was sustained by an influx of Pacific Island pupils from Samoa and Tonga. In 1923, 52 of the total roll of 89 students were from the Pacific Islands (Barker, 1967).

The MAC consisted of five buildings (Hunt, 1969). These were comprised of an assembly hall, a dormitory, a manual raining building, a duplex for faculty families and a laundry building. The assembly hall was also used as a chapel and contained four classrooms. The dormitory had 27 bedrooms with two or three beds per room, a large kitchen, dining room and six bathrooms (Church College of New Zealand, 1983; Britsch, 1986).

The curriculum consisted of the following subjects: Agronomy, Animal Husbandry, Bookkeeping, Botany, Chemistry, Choral Work, Manual Training (including carpentry), Civics, Dramatic Arts, English, Field Crops, Geography, History, Mathematics, Mechanical Drawing, Music, Outdoor Framework, Penmanship, Physiology and Hygiene, Piano and Organ, Public Speaking, Reading, Soil Management, Sports, Theology and Typewriting. These subjects were taught

throughout the years and were thought to provide a well-rounded education for the boys (Hunt, 1969). Barker (1967) further explains that the emphasis on agriculture was aimed at equipping Māori students with the necessary skills to develop their main material asset – land.

During the years of the MAC, the relationship between the LDS Church and the government was strained. The government refused to officially offer the school status of a registered high school. They doubted the effectiveness of the education it offered to the boys who attended it. However, in March 1930 the school finally received approval to be a registered high school. Unfortunately by then, the leaders of the Church in the USA had their own concerns about the school, partly due to a decrease in the number of enrolments and the cost per capita in operating a school with a small number of enrolments (Hunt, 1969; Newton, 1998). It was also based partly on Church policy to withdraw from education in areas where a good state education system was in place. At the time, Church leaders seemed confident that New Zealand's education system could cater for LDS Māori. In October 1930, it was decided by Church leaders that the school would probably discontinue (Hunt, 1977).

Before it could be closed, disaster hit the school on February 3 1931, in the form of the Napier Earthquake. Fortunately there was no one on campus as it was still school holidays and therefore there were no casualties. However, the buildings received considerable amounts of damage and could not be repaired. They were declared unsafe and that was the end of the school (Hunt, 1969).

During its 18 years existence, the MAC gave many Māori and Pacific Island young men opportunities that they perhaps would not have received in other schools. At the time of the earthquake, the school was only just starting to reach a high academic plateau (Hunt, 1977). However in the years that followed after the destruction of the MAC, the young men who attended the school remained close friends and organised the MAC Old Boys Association. When these young men became adults, they went on to be actively involved in the running of the Church in New Zealand. One of the

participants in this research shared how his grandfather and his grandfathers' brothers left their home in Pipiwai, a small village in the Northland to attend the MAC in the Hawkes Bay. The MAC was destroyed not long after. During World War II, American missionaries were withdrawn from New Zealand and sent back to the USA. Matthew Cowley was the only American who remained in New Zealand to oversee the affairs of the LDS Church (Newton, 1998). MAC alumni were a crucial part of Church leadership during this period of time.

Matthew Cowley was given the task of investigating the need for another LDS Church school in New Zealand (Britsch, 1986). In order to do this, he looked at the overall needs of the youth in the Church in New Zealand. During the Second World War, he notice that the majority of those who attended the MAC were still very active participants in the Church in comparison to those LDS Māori who had attended other denomination boarding schools. In many instances these youth had left the Church and were strong in their commitment to the churches of the schools they had attended (Hunt, 1977). He met with members of the MAC Old Boys Association and other LDS Church leaders in Hastings, at the home of Rakaipaka Puriri. From this meeting came a letter to the leaders of the Church in the USA requesting that another LDS Church secondary school be established in New Zealand (Hunt, 1977). Matthew Cowley himself returned to the USA to consult with leaders over there. When he returned to New Zealand in September of 1948, he informed members of the Church that they had received permission to build another Church secondary school (Newton, 1998).

Conclusion

The MAC old boys also contributed greatly to the building of the next Church boarding school which created strong ties and traditions between the two schools. The new school, however, was to be very different from the MAC in its locality, its student body, its faculty and even in its building programme. How would Latter-day Saints in New Zealand, especially Māori respond to the new school? When the MAC

was built, LDS Māori indicated that they would support the new school but failed to do so and an influx of PI students sustained the school roll. Would it be the same for the next Church school? Would the focus of the new school benefit Māori in particular at all?

CHAPTER 3

AN AMERICAN SCHOOL IN NEW ZEALAND

(1951-1969)

Introduction

Matthew Cowley returned to New Zealand and informed the Latter-day Saints that permission had been granted by leaders of the Church in the USA to build another LDS Church secondary school. The responsibility of finding land to build the school on fell upon Gordon C Young, President of the New Zealand LDS Mission at the time. Princess Te Puea, the granddaughter of King Tawhiao, the second Māori King, offered her farm for this purpose in 1947 (Barker, 1967), but Young considered it to be too far away from good sources of equipment and materials (Hunt, 1977). Tuhikaramea, a rural area in the Waikato was chosen as the locality for the new school as it was thought to be more central than the Hawkes Bay (Barker, 1967; Newton, 1998). Through negotiations with the government and private land owners, 215 acres of land in Hamilton was purchased on Tuhikaramea Road. However, although approval had been given and a locality chosen, two significant factors due to the state of the New Zealand's economy at the time, provided some challenges for the Church. Both a labour shortage and teacher shortage in New Zealand brought about a special building program and a unique staffing situation for the school. Construction on the school began in 1951. Although the school did not have its official opening until April 1958, it was actually opened to the students in February of that same year.

This chapter is divided into six sections. The first section describes the economic situation in New Zealand during the 1950s and 1960s, and the effect this had on both Māori and Pacific Islanders. Section two gives a description of the unique building program of the school and highlights the experience of one of the students who not only participated in the program but also went on to be a founding student of the school. The third section discusses the teacher shortage in New Zealand and how the

LDS Church overcame this challenge to provide a full faculty for the Church College. In the fourth section of this chapter, I provide a brief discussion on the focus of education in New Zealand during this period. This section leads into the fifth which focuses on the American influence in the school and the effects this had on the interviewees. The last section discusses the experiences of the interviewees and their perceptions of the teachers who taught them.

Four of the interviewees attended the College during this period, Bill, Molly, Ken and Moses. As outlined in Chapter One, the participants in this thesis are defined as "successful" Māori and PI graduates of the Church College. The criteria for "successful" graduates are those who achieved university entrance while at the Church College, attended a tertiary institution and gained a tertiary qualification. Bill attended the College in 1958-1959. He was awarded a full scholarship to the Church College of Hawaii where he graduated with a Teaching Certificate in Physical Education. Molly attended the College in 1959-1963. After completing her time at Church College she went on to Teachers College in Auckland where she trained as a Home Economics Teacher. Ken attended the College during 1961-1965 and he also went on to the Teachers College in Auckland and trained as a Primary Teacher. Moses attended the College in 1969-1974. He went on to the University of Auckland where he gained a Bachelor of Commerce Degree. All four interviewees are Māori.

Land of Milk and Honey

The 1950s was a prosperous decade for New Zealand with an expanding and successful agricultural based economy which ensured full employment (Treasury, 2007). World War II was over and New Zealanders were establishing some security and stability as a nation. The Korean War created a sales boom for wool which contributed to high agricultural prices and the manufacturing and forestry sectors were beginning to expand (King, 2003). Before World War II over 80% of Māori were living in rural areas (Hunn, 1961; Meredith, 2007). During the war a small number of Māori migrated to urban areas for various reasons including the

opportunity to live a modern life. But after the war the migration increased as Māori families deliberately moved to the towns and cities in search of employment and with that employment, a "better life" (Meredith, 2007).

> By the 1950s the rural areas in which most Māori people lived were no longer an economic place to live and younger Māori adults moved into urban areas to seek work and the promised advantages of a progressive society (Smith and Smith, 1990, p 139).

With the growth of the manufacturing and forestry industries, the availability of manual jobs were large in number and Māori were employed in all sorts of manual labour including the meat works, timber mills and construction – the kinds of jobs that would leave them unemployed in times of economic downturn as they required no education, trade or professional qualifications (King, 2003).

This migration of Māori to urban areas was further encouraged by the Hunn Report (1961), a report published by the Department of Māori Affairs on the state of Māori people in New Zealand in general. Some of the areas reported on included housing, education, employment and population. One of the recommendations of the report was that Māori would benefil from being integrated into society with Pākehā and this would improve the quality of life, not only for Māori but Pākehā too. Smith and Smith (1990) defined integration as the best aspects of both cultures, integrated into one culture with the intention of creating a singular New Zealand culture. This recommendation was a major shift from previous practices based on the policy of assimilation and in 1969, the relocation of Māori from rural areas to more urban areas became official policy (Walker, 1990). Mass migration continued into the 1960s and by 1966 the urban population of Māori was 49% (Smith and Smith, 1990).

Although large numbers of Māori were employed in the expanding industries of New Zealand, the labour demand was too great and there was a labour shortage. To combat this, the employers looked to recruit from overseas and implemented schemes attracting people from the neighbouring Pacific Islands to come to New Zealand to work (Tiatia, 1998). New Zealand was portrayed as a land of prosperity, the land of

milk and honey. From the late 1950s and through to the 1960s, Pacific Island families, in particular, from the Cook Islands, Samoa and Tonga migrated to New Zealand for better work opportunities for their children (Tiatia, 1998; Anae, Iuli and Burgoyne, 2006).

Grandparents of some of the Pacific Island participants in this study were part of this migration. My own grandparents were a part of this migration too and migrated from Aituaki, Cook Islands. Sandra, a graduate from the 1980s explained how her father who was born in Tonga, came over in the 1960s in search of a better life in the land of the milk and honey. Gina, a graduate from the 1990s also shared how members of her family joined the migration from the Cook Islands:

> My grandparents migrated here back in the 60s as part of the whole Pacific Island migration back then looking for work and education opportunities. They actually separated when they came here and my grandfather went and worked in the forestry industry while my grandmother worked in a factory. My grandmother didn't actually want to come here but she was convinced by her sister that New Zealand was the place to be. The one factor that did convince her though was the ideal of a better education. But many of our people were leaving the island, so she did too.

Pacific Island immigrants usually settled as small tight-knit communities throughout New Zealand, mostly in the main cities near developing industries. For example, throughout the suburbs of Auckland where factories were built; Porirua in Wellington had a motor vehicle assembly factory; Invercargill had the freezing works and aluminium smelting plant, and also in small towns such as Tokoroa, Kawerau and Mangakino where the forestry industry was expanding (Taule'ale'ausumai, 1998).

In the islands, Pacific Island communities consisted of small villages where the extended family as a unit was an integral part of island life. At the centre of the communities was a church. When Pacific Islanders moved to New Zealand, they remained in tight-knit communities and at the centre of that community was church. For many it was the Pacific Island Church – known as the PIC. The church in a sense became the equivalent of the village back in the islands and it held the Pacific Island

communities together as they maintained both their language and island traditions through the church. This gave a sense of security and stability in their new country (Taule'ale'ausumai, 1998; Tiatia, 1998).

The Labour Missionary Programme: Building the School

The labour shortage crippled building operations on the school (Barker, 1967). Although the urbanization of Māori and the migration of Pacific Islanders had assisted in combating the labour shortage, this took place over a period of years and many of them were unskilled. The Church was looking to begin construction on the school as soon as it could. How could labour be recruited to build it?

A project committee was put together by leaders in the USA and sent over to New Zealand. One member of the committee was the construction supervisor George Biesenger. He had already been in the country building chapels and was later given the construction of the school as his new assignment (Britsch, 1986). Construction on the school began in 1951 but the shortage of skilled labourers in New Zealand hindered its progress. The answer came from two workmen who had witnessed an experiment in the LDS Church in Tonga where voluntary LDS workers had been trained by LDS tradesmen and used to overcome labour problems in Tonga (Barker, 1967).

> The young Tongans, 'labour missionaries', were kept in food and clothing by the local branches and were housed by the Church. The crew at Tuhikaramea put forward the suggestion to the Mission and volunteered to train local unskilled labour (Barker, 1967, p 92).

The scheme was endorsed and in 1952 New Zealand Latter-day Saints wanting the school to be built according to schedule, volunteered and dedicated themselves to the construction of the school (Church College of New Zealand, 1983). Branches of the LDS Church throughout New Zealand volunteered to supply the workers with food

and pocket money (Barker, 1967). This was a volunteer programme and became known as the Labour Missionary Programme. Those Latter-day Saints who were not able to labuor themselves supported the workers with donations of food and money (Britsch, 1986). Some of the interviewees were involved, directly and indirectly, with the project.

Seven skilled builders were sent from the USA to assist in the construction of the school. These men supervised the crews made up of the labour missionaries. They trained the volunteers to be carpenters, brick masons, cabinet makers, electricians, concrete workers and so on (Britsch, 1986). The volunteers themselves were Māori, PI and Pākehā. Some young men were not even members of the LDS Church but had come to participate in the program as koha (a gift) from their whānau (family). The construction of the school covered a period of eight years and George Biesenger supervised all construction for that entire time (Hunt, 1977). Over that period, 382 people worked as labour missionaries.

> One hundred and twenty-three labour missionaries served a full year. One hundred and twenty-six served for two years. Seventy-three served three years, and thirty were there for four years. It is interesting to note that twenty-two were on the job for five years and that six stayed six full years. Another brother worked seven years, another eight full years (Church College of New Zealand, 1983, p 3).

To assist in the construction of the school, a mill was bought by the Church in Otaua to provide timber for the project. A brick plant was built onsite along with a joinery. A rock quarry was purchased in Whatawhata and a 3,800 acre forest was purchased at Kaikohe to provide for an increasing need for lumber (Hunt, 2007). Barker (1967) explains that the reason for the Church's investment in these areas was due to a shortage of local raw materials at the time and initially, the Church could not engage any sub-contractors.

The labour missionaries lived on site. All single men lived in tents in a designated area, while those who were married with children lived in little cottages nearby. A

kai (food) hall was built for a place to eat. There was a butcher and a shop onsite to cater for the needs of the missionaries (Barker, 1967; Church College of New Zealand, 1983). The Labour Missionary Programme was further extended when David O McKay, a prophet of the LDS Church visited in 1955 and announced the building of a temple on land near the school. The school, the homes and the temple became a village known as Temple View (Britsch, 1986).

Many of the labour missionaries learned trades and gained skills that allowed them to further provide for themselves, and for many, their families, after the building of the school and the temple. The MAC Old Boys Association supported and encouraged the project. Many of them were also labour missionaries. According to the literature, no one who ever contributed to the project in any way regretted their efforts and those days are remembered amongst Latter-day Saints as great days (Church College of New Zealand, 1983).

Bill Gudgeon, former member of the New Zealand Party and Member of Parliament was directly involved in the building program of the school. He was just a boy living on the East Coast of New Zealand when the school was being built. He was not a member of the Church but his maternal grandparents were. Through his grandparents, he became aware of the building of the new school. For Māori who were living on the East Coast at that time, Māori was the first language (Butterworth, 1968). Many Māori children had been punished in schools for speaking Māori as earlier policies were centered on assimilation (Simon and Smith, 2001). Sir Apirana Ngata's influence was still very strong on the East Coast despite having passed away in 1950 (Butterworth, 1968). Bill recalled:

> I was brought up on the East Coast. That's where I'm from. Māori language was the first language. I think I must have been at the tail end of students getting the strap for speaking Māori in the school playground. But the general atmosphere at that time was centered around the influence of Sir Apirana Ngata. He encouraged all the East Coast people to get a good education. That was number one for him. Retain the culture and the language and those things that were good, but education was the future for all Māori. That's how he looked at

> it and at that time, all of our people, our parents and our grandparents were thinking like that.

It was common knowledge amongst Māori that a new school was being built and the location was Tuhikaramea, in the Waikato. Many Māori still affiliated with the Māori place names rather than the Pākehā ones. Māori saw the school as another Māori boarding school similar to schools such as Te Aute College and therefore likely to have high standards and encourage success for Māori students. Bill developed a desire to go to Church College. He was not sure how that came about but realized one day that he wanted to go. However, Bill's father was not a member of the Church and wanted him to attend the local district school.

> …I told my Dad, "I want to go to that Mormon College". Well lucky he had his gout otherwise he would've squashed me…I ran over the hills to my grandparents place. I got there and my grandfather used to work on the road. He was coming home for lunch and he saw the smoke coming out of the chimney. He wondered who was at home. It was me…He said, "what you doing here boy?". I said, "I want to go to that Mormon College"…We went into the sitting room and it was the first time I heard a man pray. He got down and prayed. He asked Heavenly Father to soften my dad's heart and allow me to go. As soon as he said his prayer and said "Amen" – on the phone and rang my father up. "Sonny, George here. Taku mokopuna, e hiahia ana e haere ki te Kura ki Tuhikaramea. My grandson wants to go to that school at Tuhikaramea". My father said "yes". Just like that. That was Friday. Monday the bus came around the Coast – Gisborne, picking up all the people to come up here and I got on, and I only had the clothes that I had on.

When Bill arrived at the College, it had not yet opened. His grandfather's cousin Sid Crawford was the personnel officer at the time and suggested to Bill that he work on the school as a labour missionary. Bill was 15 years old.

> It was beautiful working on the school. I've never experienced anything like that in my life. First thing every morning, everyday, every crew started their day with prayer. I used to listen to these fellas say prayers. They thought I was a member but I wasn't…I worked amongst a lot of faithful people then. We got paid ten shillings a week – that's a dollar. That's all we got…When we got our ten shillings, it got us to the movies or whatever we wanted to do…

Out of all of the graduates interviewed in this project, Bill was the only participant who served as a labour missionary on the school and also on other Church project's, therefore his contribution to this project is unique.

> Why did we give so much of ourselves for virtually nothing? I think it just came back to the teachings of our old people. We didn't have much where we originally came from and we just worked and worked and you reaped the results of that work by building good family relationships and being obedient. The main thing was knowing that we were serving our Heavenly Father, and knowing that in time to come, the recipients would be our families – because of the faith of those people that worked and built that place…

Bill explained that one of the motivating factors behind the commitment of the labour missionaries, in his opinion, was the notion that those who would benefit from their hard work would be their own families. The labour missionaries not only supported the school by building it but they also supported it by sending members of their families there, which created some strong family ties with the school. In some families, attending Church College is a family tradition that began with members of their families who were labour missionaries. Bill sent all of his children to Church College. Other participants also had relatives involved in the building program of the school and each of them have strong family ties with the school.

Molly, who also attended College in the late 1950s, said that her father had worked for the Church mill up north at Kaikohe and carted logs down to Church College on a truck. Molly's children also attended Church College. Moses, a graduate of the 1970s, had an older brother who had been both a labour missionary and a foundation student of the College. Moses is one of 19 children and they all attended the school. Moses's children also attended Church College. His youngest children are still attending the school. Stuart, a graduate in the 1990s, had grandparents who had migrated from Samoa to New Zealand and had worked on the school as labour missionaries. Stuart's grandfather was one of the mechanics for the heavy machinery on the building site. These family ties are significant in the success of these

graduates as it instilled within them a sense of pride. The motivation to succeed came from the knowledge that these labour missionaries, their grandparents, parents, siblings - members of their families, had volunteered to build a school that would benefit them as individuals, as families, as a Church – as a people. Education was viewed as the only way to improve quality of life and for years, in New Zealand both Māori and PI had struggled to live in a society dominated by Pākehā values.

The Labour Missionaries are still loved and respected within the Church, especially in New Zealand because of their voluntary efforts in building the College. Although there were many missionaries who were LDS, there were some who were not LDS. Some went on to become members of the Church while others did not. Many Māori who were not LDS saw the College as another Māori boarding school and wanted to donate to that cause. For some it involved donating food and clothes. In many instances where families could not send food or clothes, they sent their sons to work on the school for a period of time. This established a sense of pride and ownership, not only amongst LDS, but amongst Māori too, hence they supported the project in any way that they could. With this legacy, how could students who went on to attend Church College not want to succeed?

Teacher Shortages in New Zealand

Māori supported the building of the school in various ways, labour, food, clothing, money and so on. It created within the LDS and Māori community a sense of pride of ownership. It was viewed as another Māori boarding school but it was different. Due to labour shortages in New Zealand, the school had been built by a voluntary work force which was made up of workers who were predominantly Māori.

The labour shortage was particularly significant amongst teachers. From the late 1950s there was a nation-wide shortage of teachers in primary and secondary schools. McLaren (1974) outlines various reasons for the shortage, including increasing rolls due to the post-war baby boom and few recruits into the teaching profession during

the war years. Most secondary school teachers in the 1940s were untrained by the state. An advisory committee on teacher recruitment set up in 1956, predicted an annual shortfall of 600 post-primary teachers from 1957-1960 (Beeby, 1992).

> Various factors contributed to it including, low salaries, poor working conditions, and a rapidly expanding demand for highly qualified manpower in the economy generally. As a result, many schools were literally half filled with unqualified and temporary staff. Many of the staff recruited were also young and therefore inexperienced, and their rate of turnover was high owing to the attractions of more lucrative occupations (Whitehead, 1974, p 60).

The Church's response to this was to supply its own teachers from the USA. When the school opened in 1958, the principal Dr Boyack was an American. According to research conducted by Ian Ardern (1993), a past principal of Church College, 18 out of 21 foundation staff members were American. Of the 18, 12 had Master's degrees. Because its predecessor, the MAC, had failed to receive state recognition, accreditation for the new school was a priority for Church officials. Therefore the Church insisted upon and ensured the appointment of what they considered to be a high quality staff. The staff members were not only selected for their educational qualifications but also because of their faithful activity in the Church (Te Karere, 1958).

Ardern (1993) described the attitudes of the American teachers as being very different from their New Zealand counterparts as they had been schooled in the progressive ideals of theorists such as Dewey and Thorndike. Dewey and Thorndike were amongst other psychologists and educationalists such as Maria Montessori, Sigmund Freud and Jean Piaget who were part of a movement with characteristics such as self-expression, child-centered learning, equality of opportunity in education (Middleton and May, 1997), catering for individual needs of learners and learning by doing (Tanner, 1997). This movement was termed the 'new education' in New Zealand and although it was not very influential at the secondary school level, it was very much so in New Zealand early childhood and primary education (Middleton and May, 1997).

Ardern (1993) argues that New Zealand secondary schools in the 1950s were still very much influenced by 19th century British thought and therefore classroom practices were very authoritarian and more aimed at teaching large masses rather than catering for individual student needs. This claim was made in order to highlight that the American teachers brought into their classroom a different appreciation for their students in comparison to their New Zealand counterparts.

Education Reform in New Zealand

Despite Ardern's claim, progressivism did in fact have a place in New Zealand's education system which became more prevalent over time. When the first Labour Government came in to office in 1935 with Michael Savage as Prime Minister, the deputy Prime Minister Peter Fraser became the Minister of Education. Fraser was a keen advocate of progressive ideals and the new Labour Government was committed to education reform (Renwick, 1986). Fraser set about initiating major reform to the education system. In 1936, the Proficiency Exam was abolished and the school-leaving age was raised to 15. Up until then access to secondary schooling was only given to those who passed the Proficiency Exam at the end of Primary School. The Proficiency Exam was a tool of elitist succession and very few passed (McLaren, 1974). This was even more evident amongst Māori (Simon and Smith, 2001). Those who could not afford to pay for secondary schooling but passed the exam were awarded scholarships. Therefore secondary schools catered for an elite minority consisting of the children of wealthy parents and a small number of students who had won scholarships (Whitehead, 1974).

In 1937, Fraser closed schools throughout New Zealand for a week so that teachers everywhere could attend the New Education Fellowship Conference. The focus of the conference was to encourage change in education in New Zealand and lecturers from overseas were invited to speak on progressive education (Middleton and May, 1997).

While Fraser was Minister of Education, he appointed Clarence Beeby as Assistant Director of Education in 1938. When Fraser became Prime Minister in 1940, Beeby was appointed Director of Education. Beeby was called upon in 1939, to draft a statement on the Labour Government's policy on education for the annual report to parliament of the Minister of Education (Beeby, 1992). This statement in Fraser's annual report defined policy directions for decades to come. It was a foundation for education reform in New Zealand with its intent to provide equality of educational opportunity for everyone (Beeby, 1992; Renwick, 1986). He stated:

> The Government's objective, broadly expressed, is that every person, whatever his level of academic ability, whether he be rich or poor, whether he live in town or country, has a right, as a citizen, to a free education of the kind for which he is best fitted, and to the fullest extent of his powers. So far is this from being a mere pious platitude that the full acceptance of the principle will involve the reorientation of the education system (Fraser, 1939, p 37).

In line with the government's concern to make secondary schooling available to all children, in 1941 Native District High Schools were established for those Māori who were not able to attend the denominational schools or urban public schools (Simon and Smith, 2001). From 1947 all Native Schools were known as Māori Schools (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974; Simon and Smith, 2001). These schools were generally situated in the remoter parts of rural New Zealand as many Māori were still living in rural areas (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974). In fact in 1945 only 26 % of the Māori population lived in the towns and cities. By 1956 this had increased to 35 % (Meredith, 2007). By 1966 this had increased again to 49 % (Smith and Smith, 1990). At this stage, most Māori were in city schools rather than rural Māori schools and becoming more integrated into a society dominated by Pākeha values.

With secondary schooling more accessible to New Zealand citizens, the government set about reviewing the curriculum. This task was assigned to the Thomas Committee, under Beeby's directions, in 1942 (Beeby, 1992). According to

Whitehead, 'the committee's task was closely defined – to consider and report upon the implications for the post-primary curriculum of the proposed introduction of accrediting for entrance to the university' (Whitehead, 1974, p 54). The Thomas Committee presented their report to the Government in November 1943. It contained an overview of the curriculum at that stage accompanied by a list of recommendations for restructure. The committee to some extent agreed with Ardern's claims about the teaching methods in secondary school classes.

> The committee was anxious to see an end to the formality, narrowness and authoritarianism that was then characteristic of the teaching methods in the schools. Instead, they wished to see classroom work conducted in a freer, democratic and more humane setting, with a greater emphasis on flexibility, diversity and increased pupil participation (Whitehead, 1974, p 57).

They criticized this traditional academic approach to secondary schooling especially when applied to students who learnt best through methods that encouraged 'doing' things. It was the recommendation of the committee that every student should be able to work to his own capacity.

> The committee claimed that they had set out to ensure as far as possible that all post-primary pupils, irrespective of their varying abilities and their varying occupational ambitions, receive a generous and well balanced education. Such an education should aim at the full development of the adolescent as a person, and also at preparing him for an active role in society as a worker, neighbour, homemaker and citizen (Whitehead, 1974, p 55).

The recommendations of the committee were based on the principle of equality of opportunity keeping in line with the policies of the Labour Government (Beeby, 1992). This 'hands on' approach to learning was a strong recommendation of the Thomas Report and thought to assist in the education of many students especially Māori. It is in this area that Ardern (1993) argues the American teachers at Church College were more experienced in.

A Flash American School

The American teachers and administrators arrived in New Zealand and brought with them a culture that appeared fascinating to the students. Music, dance and entertainment in the early-mid 1900s were heavily influenced by American films and sound recordings. The development of radio and then movie technologies also influenced fashion and advertising. Americans were perceived by New Zealanders as being wealthy with their clean-cut appearance and big cars (Dalley & McLean, 2005). They were considered by New Zealanders as being "flash". During World War II, American marines were stationed in New Zealand and their presence created a glamorous atmosphere as they had plenty of money to spend and many were looking to spend that money on liquor and entertainment (Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2007).

Right from the start Church College was characterised by those who attended it, members of the LDS Church, and the wider public as being an American school. It belonged to an American church, it was built by Americans, its teachers were Americans and many of the activities held at the school were indeed American. Ken, a graduate of the 1960s, an ex-teacher at the College and currently an Academic Advisor for Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, a tertiary provider in New Zealand explains:

> …my personal outlook as it was, we were leaving an old town like Danniverke, you know a country town and we were taking off and we were landing in the States because we had the American teachers with their American cars, their pretty American wives and the American school with proms and activities, inter-murals – we might as well have just picked all of these New Zealanders up and just gone boom and dropped us in a school in the States. I enjoyed the whole experience there with their coaching, the basketball and the auditorium with all the activities and dancefests and songfests – you name it – they were all American High School things, the swimming pool – and then pick us up and take us back to the country for the holidays. So my appreciation was like that. I was going away for a big adventure and I wasn't going to Hamilton – I was getting out of New Zealand virtually.

The American teachers, in particular with their American values, ideas and fashion impressed many of the students. Bill remembers:

> …the teachers were neat. I've never seen a group of teachers like that, even today. They were teachers with strong testimonies. They were Americans. There were only two New Zealanders – Brother Kernal and Sister Api Hemi. Api Hemi was the Māori teacher and Brother Kernal was the Wookwork teacher. Other than that they were just all Americans. Their dress standards were immaculate – a neat white shirt, tie, suit, and their clothes were always matching…most of the school was Māori but the teachers were all American. You couldn't get a better school.

The school was made up of several buildings – classrooms, dormitories, an auditorium, gymnasium, cafeteria, student store, an indoor swimming pool, laundry, barber shop, butcher shop and an administration building (Hunt, 2007). A lot of the school's programs were funded by the Church including the sports programs. Families were required to pay minimal school fees. This reinforced the feeling amongst people, especially Māori as being a "flash" school.

Many of the early students who attended Church College came from rural areas on the East Coast, Hawkes Bay, Porirua and the far North. For some the lifestyle they experienced at Church College was in contrast to their home lives where their families were involved in rural manual work, typically farming and receiving a low income. Despite these circumstances many families sent their children to Church College and worked hard to pay what little fees they were required to pay. The school implemented a student work scheme in which students could pay for their fees by working during non-school hours (Newton, 1998). Many students took advantage of this program. This made private schooling accessible to low income families whereas other denominational boarding schools charged higher fees. Molly, a current teacher at Church College and graduate of the 1960s recounts:

> …they had what they called student assistance then, everybody had a job so my first job was working in the café washing dishes. I didn't even know what that big machine was in the kitchen. I'd never even seen one of those before. That

> was my first job but I only lasted in there for a week and then I was called as a secretary to Brother Asay. Brother Asay was the vice-principal at that time. So I sort of worked in his office doing little bits and pieces which was really neat and getting paid for it. Well it was helping to pay for my fees while I was here at Church College.

Students were required to work in different places throughout the school. Having come from rural areas, many of the students were used to hard work. Moses, a third former from 1969 also recalls:

> In those days part of the way you could fund your education was you could do cleaning jobs and we had a cleaning job which was cleaning one of the blocks, the toilets and the classrooms in one of the blocks. This was part of a way of being able to subsidize your fees. We had this as part of our daily routine.

Attending Church College was considered a privilege as it was mostly funded by the tithing of the Church and in many instances required great sacrifice from families to pay for the remaining fees. During this period many of the families were poor and the opportunity to attend Church College gave the students some luxuries that they had never experienced before. Molly recounts:

> In the dorm life we had Sis Garlic, she was the matron. She was a prim and proper person. Everything had to be done the right way which was good because it taught us mannerisms, it taught us how to be refined women and to me that was really good because I'd never seen that kind of thing before living out on the farm. We had an easy type, going life. But she taught us how to eat properly, how to keep ourselves clean. In the dormitory we had to make sure that our rooms were clean. We had a regular check – every day your room was checked to make sure that it was ok before we went to school. Before we left the dorm we had a dorm check as far as the uniform went. You had to have the right type of uniform. You had to have the right shoes, we didn't have any choices then about the different kind of shoes, we just had white shoes. You had a turquoise uniform – dress. I thought that that was really nice. Because I hadn't had, before, any nice clothes then. So the school uniform was really lovely and I thought it was lovely having something so neat. The colour was too – the blazer, I loved our blazer. I wanted to keep my blazer but because I came from a family of eight, my school uniform had to be handed down to the next lot and so I never ever got to hang on to my blazer but I've always thought that the blazer was always one of the outstanding pieces of material that Church

> College had and it really identified you as Church College because to me it was a real privilege to wear the blazer.

Moses shares a similar experience:

> In those days you went as a third former. So I was 13 years of age. I never had my own suit or shirt or tie before. Suddenly I was in this flash uniform with a flash blazer, new pants, new shoes – man I was king of the hill that first day I went to school.

If it were not for Church College many of these students would have attended their local district schools. Many of the parents of the students of Church College grew up during a period of time in New Zealand where assimilation practices such as inflicting corporal punishment upon Māori children for speaking Māori at school were common. The education institutions were dominated by European or Pakeha values and anything Māori was disregarded therefore alienating Māori (Smith and Smith, 1990). The Church College environment encouraged families to be a part of the school and many activities were held where families were invited to attend with their students. The school had an unwritten open-door policy and there was a constant flow of family members and visitors on the campus, as Ken explains:

> In my time there was very much this Church feel. It was the pioneering time. The Temple had been built and the College had been built and it was the flashest thing on this land. Well you can imagine, the Americans come over and they built this school and it was just the crème de la crème…it belonged to us as a Church – Church College was owned by everybody. I mean everybody wandered on to the campus – all of the parents. A group would come down from Auckland and just wander around as if it was theirs. If anyone said what you doing – hey this is Church College, it belongs to all of us. So there was an atmosphere that it belonged to you, for those who wanted it to. There was this whanau thing – church thing. It was like a fence with no gate. That constant flow of support of old people, young people, visitors constantly coming – you weren't being educated in isolation. There was a feeling of ownership in and through the place, so people in the community would look up at College and say well that's our auditorium, that's our gym…

This sense of ownership created throughout the school, the community of Temple View, the LDS Church and anyone else who chose to affiliate themselves with the school, a large extended family unit. The school did not belong to the State or to Pākehā. In a sense, the school belonged to the people and they believed that God had blessed them and to some extent they felt indebted to the Americans who came to put in place this great blessing.

The American Teachers

The participants for this period developed an overwhelming respect and admiration for the American teachers who had given up a portion of their lives in the USA to come to New Zealand and teach them. They were very qualified. Many of them were male and married. Their wives also had an impact on these students. Ken describes:

> For the first time in our lives we saw strings of women who had the same qualifications as their husbands – raising their children.

More importantly, the students felt that the American teachers respected them and expected that they could all achieve, which was in contrast to what some of them were used to. Bill explains:

> They didn't just look at the person who was smart. They also wanted to develop the one that was part of the furniture that said nothing…they were the ones that brought out the inner being of those students from the back blocks or wherever they came from – and developed them.

The teachers and the administration endeavored to create an atmosphere in which the students could envision themselves achieving at different levels and in different ways. Students were taught to set goals and work towards achieving them. Guests were brought into the school such as the Harlem Globetrotters, world renowned pianist

Winifred Asphal and at one stage, Miss America. This was aimed at opening the minds of the students to a world with endless opportunities.

In the classroom, their teaching approaches were different than what the graduates had experienced in their rural schools at home. The opportunity to be creative is something that stood out for Moses who was in the third form in 1969. He recounts:

> I was not academic by nature before going to College and when I went to College there were a couple of subjects that I really thrived in. Maths was one and English – I really loved the creative part of it. We had some amazing English teachers at College, especially the American ones. They would almost open our minds and our imaginations to things that we had never dreamed about. We would come alive. We put on our own Shakespeare shows, we also had opportunities to write our own plays and our own poetry. Now this, I had never experienced before and I really enjoyed them.

Although the graduates did not place a huge emphasis on the teaching skills in the classroom, a lot of their respect for the American teachers also came through interactions outside of the classroom. They were not only responsible for presenting the curriculum but the teachers, who were also selected for their active involvement in the Church, were also responsible for organizing Church activities during the week and congregational services on Sunday. They were also responsible for the extra-curricular activities such as the sporting programs and cultural activities. Ken recounts:

> The thing about those teachers is they put in 28 hours a day virtually, because not only were they teaching and preparing and running the school but they were also the ones running the Church and the activities and the Stake things which included bringing cultural activities and other things to the Stake.

The teachers also opened their homes to the students and invited them to share time with their own families. This sharing of their own personal time and having the students spend time with their families made a positive impact on the students as Moses remembers:

> It was predominantly male teachers at that time. They opened their homes to us. We would go into their homes and have family home evening and dinner. My bishops in the different wards were teachers at the school. They would take you out and you would have dinner with their family. So they were more than just school teachers. They were more like mentors in many ways to me. I have still kept in touch with a number of them over many years. They have come back periodically to New Zealand or we have gone over to the States and stayed with them. They really had quite a huge influence on me – just kind of seeing the Church in a wider view than just in education.

However, despite the influence of the American teachers there were some challenges. Each of the teachers were only at Church College for short periods of time. They would come for two to four years and then return to America. Upon returning, they would be replaced by other American teachers. The disadvantage with this constant overturn of teachers is that it took them a little while to get used to the New Zealand curriculum and prepare students for the School Certificate exams and accreditation for University Entrance (Newton, 1998). Once they had become familiar with the curriculum, it was time for them to go home. Moses shares an occasion where this affected him as a senior:

> When I was doing bursary, geography was the only subject I failed…Out of that whole class of about 15 students, only one – Ewen MacDonald passed and the rest of us failed. That was because we had a new American teacher who didn't know the curriculum and he was teaching at the seventh form level and he taught us all of the wrong stuff. When we went to the exam, none of us knew what it was about. Ewen was so bright he was able to actually sit the exam without knowing the stuff.

Most of them had had no experience with Polynesians before and came into the school with rules and high expectations that many of them had learnt through experience in their middle-class high schools in their middle-class suburbs. They were all middle-class Latter-day Saints from Utah. Ken explains:

> They didn't know Māori ways, they only had the Church ways and luckily those two came pretty close together – the way of the Māori homes and living,

> as well as the Church way of living is very closely linked…They did their best and they did really well…They expected a lot more than they got, but you gotta remember where they came from – Utah and they hadn't seen many Polynesians so they weren't sure what to expect. They were disappointed a lot in some of the effort but when I looked around at some of my mates, I thought that they were doing better than most of my mates in primary school, had done. Most of them came from families whose folks were labourers, shearers, fencers, farmers, freezing workers – there's nothing wrong with that but it was just a different level of expectation in those days.

Regardless of the challenges faced by the American teachers, from the point of view of those interviewed, they made a positive impact on the school and its students. They established a school with American traditions that seemed to bring potential out of a lot of students. The graduates interviewed in this chapter all expressed an admiration for the values and time offered by the Americans.

Conclusion

During the first decades of the Church College, it had a strong American influence and was even perceived by some as an American school with an American faculty and strong American characteristics. Although it had a strong American influence, it was looked upon by some as another denominational Māori boarding school. LDS Māori who were local Church leaders had met with Matthew Cowley to request another LDS Church school be built in New Zealand for their children. Although LDS Church leaders in the USA made the final decision, the New Zealand LDS community, who were predominantly Māori were involved in the decision-making process through a process of consultation. Then they were involved in building the school and later supported the school by sending their own children to attend the school. Both the American and Māori presence seemed to co-exist which created a strong sense of unity and "ownership". Church College belonged to "us" as a people and as a Church. But will this sense of unity and ownership continue to exist throughout the years? Will the LDS community continue to be a part of the decision-making process in regards to Church College? Does the future of the school lie with the Americans who founded it?

CHAPTER 4
A NEW ZEALAND SCHOOL
(1970 – 1989)

Introduction

By the beginning of 1970, Church College had been in operation for eleven years with a predominantly American faculty. Of the original faculty in 1958, only two were New Zealanders. During the late 1960s a gradual introduction of more New Zealand teachers in to the Church College faculty began. When the Americans were at Church College, they established an environment based on LDS Church values that in many ways paralleled Māori values, in particular a feeling of ownership amongst the wider community which in a sense established an extended family unit for the school. This was a key characteristic of the school as it provided the students with stability. This environment would become even more important as major changes were about to occur in the New Zealand economy that would effect many Polynesians.

The 1970s saw a growing concern about the underachievement of Māori children at school. One explanation was that Māori pupils were being denied education opportunities to succeed by destroying the self-esteem of Māori pupils through a process of cultural denial and implementing practices and policies that undermined the validity of Māori as a language and as a culture (Smith and Smith, 1990). Pacific Islanders were also experiencing their own social injustices as unemployment rose during an economic crisis in the 1970s, and the reality of the ‘better’ opportunities that all Pacific Islanders had been promised, were far from the wonderful experiences they had hoped for. Meanwhile, at Church College, despite the growing pressures in New Zealand society amongst Polynesians, the graduates interviewed for this thesis who attended during this period of time, found stability and security in the Church College environment and had positive experiences.

This chapter falls into four sections. The first section provides context for the remainder of the chapter by describing the problems Māori and Pacific Islanders, in general, were experiencing in New Zealand society. The second section discusses the transition from American teachers to New Zealand teachers and the effects of this on the students as described by those interviewees who attended Church College during this period. Section three discusses how Church College provided an environment that was considered to be 'safe' and therefore an environment in which students could experience success. Section four discusses other factors that contributed to the environment of Church College that encouraged success in many areas, according to the life-histories of the interviewees.

For this time frame, there are five interviewees who attended Church College during this period. They are Karina, Brandt, Glenn, Sandra and Nathan. As outlined in Chapter One, the participants in this thesis are defined as "successful" Māori and PI graduates of the Church College. The criteria for "successful" graduates are those who achieved university entrance while at the Church College, attended a tertiary institution and gained a tertiary qualification. Karina attended Church College in the years 1975-1979. When Karina left Church College, she attended Brigham Young University (BYU) in Hawaii where she completed her Bachelors of Social Work degree. She also completed further studies at Massey University, where she gained a Postgraduate Diploma in Health Management, and Masters in Management – Health Management. Brandt attended Church College in 1978-1982. He later attended the University of Waikato where he graduated with a Bachelor of Social Science and then through further studies completed his Bachelor of Law degree from Victoria University. Glenn attended Church College in 1980-1982. He also attended Brigham Young University (BYU) of Hawaii where he gained a Business degree. Sandra attended Church College in the years 1981-1985. She attended the Manukau Polytechnic and gained a Certificate in Journalism. Nathan attended Church College during the years 1985-1987. He later attended the University of Otago where he studied medicine and gained both his Bacherlor and Master's degrees in this area. Apart from Sandra, who is a Pacific Islander, the other four graduates are Māori. In

some areas, where interviewees who have been students at the school in earlier times mentioned issues relevant to this chapter, their interviews are also cited.

The "Polynesian Problem"

By the end of the 1960s a collapse in wool prices reduced overseas earnings which led to a tightening in the economy and brought an end to full employment (King, 2003). Faced with growing balance of payment problems, successive governments, in order to maintain New Zealand's high standard of living and protect its domestic industry, borrowed increasing amounts of money from overseas resulting in major government debt (Treasury, 2007). The situation escalated in the 1970s, with a rise in international oil prices. Britain, New Zealand's major export market, also joined the European Export Community and the future of having a secure market for primary produce from New Zealand was in question (Anae, Iuli and Burgoyne, 2006; Treasury, 2007). This had a major impact on both Māori and Pacific Islanders as the demand for unskilled labour decreased dramatically. A good number of Māori and Pacific Islanders lost their jobs and unemployment began to rise.

I have already shown that up until the mid 1970s, Pacific Island migrants were encouraged to migrate to New Zealand and fill the labour shortages in the expanding industries on relaxed immigration laws. Entry in to New Zealand was not restricted. Visas were issued and annual quotas for immigrants were set, but as long as the demand for labour was strong, regulations were not enforced (Anae, 2007). But after the economy declined in 1973, the Pacific migration was portrayed as a brown epidemic. Many Pacific Islanders were labeled overstayers and blamed for overloading social services, as well as taking jobs away from "New Zealanders" (Anae, Iuli and Burgoyne, 2006). With encouragement from the government, the Immigration Department and the Police enforced immigration restrictions and harsh penalties on Pacific Island overstayers. This escalated under the new National government of 1975, with Robert Muldoon as prime minister.

The Hunn Report of 1960, argued that in order for Māori to improve their quality of life, integration with Pākehā was necessary. Many left their rural communities and relocated to more urban locations. Housing developments were built by the government to cater for the migration, but as urban migration continued, those housing estates became overcrowded. Urbanization brought with it some new issues for Māori that required some adjusting. These were more economic demands that were placed on them as part of urban life, such as acquiring permanent employment to meet obligations such as paying rent, hire purchases and mortgages (Walker, 1990).

Urbanization and Pacific migration brought Polynesians face-to-face with Pākeha and their dominant culture, as now they were living in the same suburbs. For Māori in particular, it took them away from their tight-knit communities associated with their marae. Māori families were isolated from their traditional tribal social and cultural structures and found it hard to adjust to the dominant Pākehā culture which alienated many Māori from their customary tribal values and processes (Walker, 1990). This wide-spread contact with Pākehā brought challenges of prejudice and conflict for both cultures (King, 2003). It caused a disintegration of Māori tribal structure, an almost complete loss of the Māori language and a loss of a sense of identity (Walker, 1990; King, 2003). With reference to Māori, King (2003) stated:

> Some families, removed from the social and cultural structures that had given their lives meaning and direction for generations and lacking any alternative structures to substitute or compensate for these changes, collapsed into dysfunction, alcohol and drug use, physical and emotional health problems, violence and crime (King, 2003, p 470).

Māori were disproportionately affected by the downturn of the economy and faced with increasing unemployment, low education achievement, poor health and high crime rates (Walker, 1987). Māori and Pacific Islanders, because of their brown skin and "social problems", were often associated by politicians and Pākehā as one people under the heading of Polynesian. In fact, both Māori and Pacific Islanders

themselves, because of the similarities in cultural characteristics, physical appearance and social injustices related closely to each other. It was not until younger generations of both peoples began protesting against government policies that appeared racist to Māori as a people, and Pacific Islanders as a people, that both became aware of the needs and differences of the other culture (Anae, Iuli and Burgoyne, 2006).

The economic situation escalated even further in the 1980s. Further loans acquired by the National Government of the 1970s increased overseas debt and New Zealand's economic situation did not improve. In 1984 a fourth Labour Government was voted in to office with David Lange as prime minister. Traditionally, the Labour Party sought to be involved in the business of running the country (King, 2003), but the new Labour Government implemented policies informed by neoclassical economic theory (Olssen and Matthews, 1997).

> …the Labour cabinet set in motion reform of the public service, a transformation of some departments into state-owned enterprises charged with making a profit, and the sale of others, such as the telephone and banking sections of the former Post Office, New Zealand Steel and the Shipping Corporation (King, 2003, p 487).

As the government set about selling off state-owned enterprises, the unemployment situation worsened (Ministry of Economic Development, 2007). For example, the New Zealand Post Office was a key public enterprise and in 1984, it was the largest single employer in New Zealand with a total of 41, 000 people. As a result of restructuring and eventual privatization of the Post Office, thousands of New Zealanders were made unemployed (Ministry of Economic Development, 2007).

Unemployment affected Pacific Islanders and Māori the most and the statistics of the social problems of the 1970s intensified. Increased unemployment for Māori and Pacific Islanders led to large numbers relying on the state welfare system which led to a loss in morale for many people. In 1987 the unemployment rate for Māori was

13.5% and Pacific Islanders was 6% compared to 4% for Pākehā . By the end of the 1980s Māori were three times more likely than Pākehā to be apprehended for an offence and also more likely than Pākeha to be paying a third of their income to rent (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998). Although this was the context for the 1970s and 1980s in the wider New Zealand society, at the Church College, these social problems appeared not to have any direct affect on the interviewees themselves. While these social and economic changes were taking place in the wider society, changes were also occurring at Church College.

Transition from American to New Zealand Teachers

The purpose of supplying Church College with a constant flow of teachers from America by the Church was to combat the effects of the teacher shortages in New Zealand. But by the late 1960s as Church College became more established as a school and more New Zealanders were graduating from Teacher Colleges and Universities, the Church looked to replace the American teachers with New Zealand teachers. However, in New Zealand, staffing problems were still a concern at the secondary schooling level (McCulloch, 1990) and the Church College was faced with the same problem. The Church College administration looked to recruit primary trained teachers and university graduates who had specialized degrees but who were not necessarily trained as secondary school teachers..

One of those teachers was Ken, a former student of the Church College and graduate from the 1960s, who trained as a primary teacher at the Teachers Training College in Auckland. While teaching in Hastings he was approached by Nolan Reid, a representative of the school, and offered a teaching position at Church College. He recalls:

> We went into a side room at the chapel and he said, “we are preparing to replace the American teachers with New Zealand teachers now on a larger scale, but we don’t have enough human resources in the country so we’d like to develop that. I know that you’re teaching primary school, but how would you like to come to

> College and teach there for a couple of years with the third formers and then we'll sponsor you to the States and you can finish your degree. You can take your family and we'll sponsor you all the way". I said, "yes" – real quick.

So after having been a student at the Church College from 1961-1965, Ken returned as a teacher in 1970. The transition from an entire faculty of predominantly American teachers to all New Zealand teachers took place over a period of approximately ten years. When Moses was a third former in 1969, he remembered it as being the start of the transitioning years where as Karina, another graduate from the 1970s, recalls that the last of the American teachers left while she was a fifth former in 1977. By 1978 there were no American teachers left on the faculty (Newton, 1998).

During the transition years, the American teachers continued to make an impact on the students and the new New Zealand teachers coming into the school made an impact too. Karina developed an admiration for the American teachers as she felt that they were very supportive of Māori students. She recalls:

> They were very centered in the gospel and they taught around that in terms of academics. I felt that they were very supportive of Māori students. There wasn't the issue of white or non-Māori versus Māori or anything like that. They loved being in New Zealand and they were grea. They mixed with us and I still have a lot of American friends. They pushed us. An important thing that we learnt early was in terms of setting goals – where you were heading and what you wanted to be.

The impact of the New Zealanders was in some ways different from the American teachers. America was perceived by New Zealanders in general as having this culture of success and therefore the American teachers with their fashion, values and qualifications fitted this perception of success amongst the students. But success was associated with the glamour that came with the American culture. When the new teachers, some of whom were Pacific Islanders and Māori, arrived in the school, success for the Polynesian make-up of the school took on a new meaning.

The impact of the New Zealand teachers, especially the Polynesian teachers, on their Polynesian students was enormous and an important contribution to "success" at Church College. Some of the New Zealand teachers who taught at Church College had a previous association with the College either through family connections or the Labour Missionaries, but some of them were also past students of the school. Barney Wihongi, the schools' first student body president from 1958-1959 returned to the school as Dr Barney Wihongi and was the schools' first New Zealand principal in 1975-1983 (Hunt, 2007). Dr Wihongi was Māori. The New Zealand teachers seemed to cement the notion of whānau in the school that had been a key characteristic of the school right from the start with the Labour Missionaries, as they often knew the families of the students attending the school. This affected the relationships and interactions between teachers and students. Literally translated it means the extended family unit but in modern settings it can be used to describe people working cooperatively and collaboratively for a particular purpose (McFarlane, 2004). Karina explains:

> We had other teachers who were coming in who were old students, who had come back from places like BYU Provo and Hawaii. They were Pacific Island and Māori…they brought us back to focusing on New Zealand. With the Kiwis coming back after they'd graduated with their degrees, some of them had gone to school with my father and that made a difference too because they knew my family. They took a particular interest in you and would be checking on you to see that you were OK or telling Dad you were mucking around…

This close connection between the New Zealand teachers, students and families, established a stronger link between the school and students' homes therefore establishing more of a personal rather than a purely professional interest in the success of the students. Brandt explains this further:

> The teachers at Church College included the dorm parents and all of the faculty – they were more than just teachers, they were uncles and aunties and like every other school there were good ones and bad ones. There were two or three people that had an incredible impact on my life. One was my dorm parent Bill Dennis, he was like another father to me. What set him apart was that he was consistent with his standards. He was loving and understanding

> and he rewarded those that did well…So Bill was one person that shaped my life and the other one was Aunty Lil Kershaw, who was a lot like another mother. She took Kapahaka culture and other things. She was loving towards everybody. She treated you like you were one of her own kids and of course you responded to that. This is the thing about teachers at Church College, they had that extra burden sort of thing. It wasn't like a teacher-student relationship sort of thing where you went home at four o'clock. You'd go to their place for a feed at night, they'd pick you up when something bad happened – they'd make sure you were OK.

Brandt considered every adult at Church College that he was involved with whether in the classroom, in the dormitory, or even Kapahaka, as a "teacher". Regardless, these adults in whatever capacity, took their roles further than what was expected, and established a more personal relationship, which Brandt affirms contributed to his success. Ken, a graduate from the 1960s contributes to this discussion with his own experience. He recounts:

> Another thing about Church College is it's very much a family…you've got this added support on a Saturday for the rugby – everybody came. If the basketball team was just having a practice, everybody came to watch…so it wasn't just part of a school and the parents were just from out here. There was very much that whānau thing – church thing. It was like a fence with no gate. That constant flow of support of old people, young people, visitors constantly coming – you weren't being educated in isolation.

The notion of whānau contributed to the sense of ownership and pride already felt by those associated with the school, either directly or indirectly, but especially amongst LDS and Māori. The American teachers established an environment in which students, especially Māori could excel. This environment was one where students and their families felt that they could participate in comfortably. The New Zealand teachers brought students' homes and the classroom closer together because they were already closely linked to the families of students that they taught. They encouraged the idea that Māori and Pacific Islanders could experience success in many areas, despite the stereotyping of society upon these two populations, not only through taking a personal interest in individual students but also through their own examples of academic success.

Church College – A Safe Haven for LDS Māori

Statistics on the ethnic composition of the student body at Church College in 1971 show that approximately 60 % of the school was Polynesian. Māori made up 49 %, which was a decrease from 60 % when the school first opened in 1958 (Newton, 1998). Throughout the years, Church College consistently maintained a roll, predominantly made up of students who were Māori. Sandra, a Pacific Islander and graduate of the 1980s describes the "Māori" environment at Church College. She recounts:

> All of my friends were Māori, everybody was Māori and so I had an appreciation for things Māori.

In the wider New Zealand society, statistics from the Hunn Report of 1961 indicated that 80 % of Māori school leavers, left with no qualifications. Further statistics from the 1970s indicated that this number had improved to 68.5 % in comparison to 29 % for non-Māori. Again, in 1982, this number had improved to 64 %. Statistics also indicated that the number of Māori who were 16 years old and still in secondary school was 48 % in comparison to almost 74 % non-Māori (Department of Statistics, 1996b). Although statistics were improving for Māori, in comparison to non-Māori, the gap between the two groups was significant. With such low academic achievement and participation rates, negative stereotypes of Māori continued to be portrayed in the wider New Zealand society. Glenn, a graduate of the 1980s adds:

> We all knew that we were pretty much the same. We were disadvantaged a little bit and maybe not in this generation but certainly in my generation we were second class. It wasn't expected that we could be equal to someone else and we personally – I personally believed that we could. I thought that I was as good as anybody else and that might've been one of the drivers to show them, to get the grades and show them…

Glenn's determination to succeed was perhaps an example of how many Māori were feeling and in education, Māori in the wider New Zealand society came up with a solution themselves. The 1980s brought with it what Pita Sharples (1989) described as the most important educational initiative of the twentieth century – Te Kohanga Reo. Literally translated as the language nursery, this movement came about as a result of an idea from the Māori Leaders Conference in 1980 which was held in response to Richard Benton's findings in 1979 that showed that the Māori language was facing extinction. Te Kohanga Reo were early childhood centres set up to revive the Māori language and Te Reo Māori was to be the medium of instruction. It was considered that in order to revive the language, young children should be immersed in the language (Smith and Smith, 1990). The extension of this movement was Kura Kaupapa, or Total Immersion schools for Māori speaking students. These two initiatives came from outside the state education system and in fact from within the Māori community itself. Smith and Smith (1990) stated:

> In Kura Kaupapa Maaori schooling, to be Maori is the norm, and therefore taken for granted. Issues of identity and self-worth are not distractions to getting on with the task of learning and achieving levels of excellence. (Smith and Smith, 1990, p 148)

Adding to this discussion, Bishop and Glynn (2000) wrote:

> Participation in Kura Kaupapa Maori (Maori medium schools) reaches into Maori homes and brings parents and families into the activities of the school. Where parents are incorporated into the education of their children, on terms they understand and approve of, then children do better at school…In other words, the closer students' classroom experiences and their home experiences are, the more likely it becomes that students will be able to take part in the educational experiences designed at the school (Bishop and Glynn, 2000, p 4).

These initiatives appeared to be an appropriate answer for Māori to experience success in educational settings. The initiative was to provide Māori schools for Māori children using the Māori language as the medium of instruction and guided by Māori tikanga (culture). But for some LDS Māori, this was not enough. They needed a school where not only was Māori the norm but also being LDS was the

norm too. LDS were easily identified within the communities as many worked hard to abstain from factors such as alcohol, drugs, pre-marital sex and continue with Sunday worship, family worship in homes and maintain what were termed conservative, traditional moral values (Hunt, 2007). This was not so easy in a wider society where communities of Māori and Pacific Islanders were riddled with increased unemployment but also were adversely affected by increased consumption of alcohol and drugs, promiscuity, suicide and crime, especially amongst teenagers (Walker, 1990).

The need to attend a school where it was not only OK to be Māori and OK to be LDS was important. Glenn, who had received a full scholarship to St Stephens in Auckland, found it hard to stay there because of the conflict of religious beliefs. St Stephens was an Anglican Māori boarding school. He stayed there for three years but left in his sixth form year. He explains:

> I did well over there. I won a scholarship to get everything paid. I topped the fifth form and got really good grades. During that year I was going to Church every first Sunday in Pukekohe with Uncle Nick. He'd come and pick me up and we'd go to Church there…I decided I wanted to go to Church College. I just wanted to be a Mormon deep down inside…that's what led me to Church College – it was mainly a desire to be LDS. I don't know why this was important to me. I was 14 years old with all of my mates around me. Some of my best mates are from St Stephens. I really loved it and I was doing really well but what it made me realize was that I believed in different things. There were about six of us Mormons there but we were almost stigmatized. It wasn't a nice thing to be a Mormon, but I was and I couldn't get away from it.

Karina describes what it was like to attend a school with peers with the same values. She recounts:

> At that time it was the best high school facility in the country and we had a whole lot of things that no other schools had. There were lots of Māori here and we knew some of the teachers too…you knew you'd be there with your mates and you knew that they all had the same values and beliefs as you. You didn't have to explain yourself…it was a great place to be.

For many LDS Māori, acknowledgement of their identity as children of God and being active in the LDS Church was paramount and in some situations took precedence over their identity as Māori. For others, the two went hand in hand. Karina makes this statement:

> There were lots of Māori teachers and lots of Māori students. They were able to relate to the students and understand them from a cultural perspective and also from a religious perspective, in terms of expectations around their values and beliefs. That was important and they understood that, and they supported them.

Within their homes, practices such as family worship, discussions on serving missions for the LDS Church, encouraging temple attendance, good health practices and chastity was and still is the norm. Attending a school that encouraged these same values only validated what these students were being taught in their homes. Brandt adds:

> While I was at Church College my family expected a couple of things from me – always to keep the Church standards, do the right things and follow the rules. I did the best I could in the programs that were provided. I don't think I would've achieved as much if I had gone to school somewhere else, because first and foremost, I wanted to be a good church boy. That was my decision.

Glenn adds to this discussion:

> I just so wanted to go to Church College. I just wanted to be a Mormon – deep down inside…So I went to Church College to be a Mormon.

At the Church College, being Māori and LDS was definitely normal. This notion brought student's homes and their school lives even more closer together, as in their minds, their cultural and religious values were the same. Perhaps Bishop and Glynn's statement, "the closer students classrooms experiences and their home experiences are, the more likely it becomes that students will be able to take part in the educational experiences designed at the school" (Bishop and Glynn, 2000, p 4), can be applied here also.

For some students, life at Church College was similar to home and for others it was a refuge from a conflicted home. As already mentioned, many Māori were experiencing social problems in the wider community and this impacted on families. According to King (2003), before the urban shift many Māori derived their identity from their whakapapa (genealogy) and tūrangawaewae (home place) and these links were preserved by living close to their extended family on family owned farm land in rural areas. However, after urbanization and Māori moved to the towns and cities, the whānau was replaced with the nuclear family which was modeled after Pākehā homes (Walker, 1990).

> As the urban drift increased…Māori were subjected to strong pressures to conform to Pākehā lifestyles. Traditional values and beliefs quickly disappeared and were replaced with a new found culture of western ideologies which promoted individualism. Whakapapa and whānaungatanga were soon supplanted by a faster pace of urban life where human value and identity became equated with material possessions (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998, p 16).

Church College provided a haven for some students whose families were struggling with their own pressures and their home situation presented challenges that could have hindered their progress in education. This was the case for one of our graduates, who was caught up in the middle of his parents marital problems which eventually led to divorce. This graduate had older siblings who were already attending Church College. He was at home because he was not old enough to attend Church College yet. While at home, this graduate attended a public high school and was rebelling with friends who encouraged misbehaviour. The graduate went from being a top student and achieving 'A' grades in school to failing with 'E' and 'F' grades. This graduate recounts:

> …it was really neat coming here because everybody was kind of on the same wavelength – well almost. There were a few rebels here and there but everybody was working at Church and going to Church. We had a lot of service projects and activities that kept you involved. So from that point of view that was the important thing for me because of what was happening at home, and I was rebelling at home. I needed to go to a place where my friends were moving in the same direction…Academically here it wasn't like it was the

> top of academics and you had the best teachers and everything sitting there for you so you could use it, but for me, my personal life, my family life wasn't great and all of this stuff was happening, so coming here provided a haven for me so I could be in a safe environment so I could achieve like I should. If I didn't come here to Church College – I would've been a bum.

Church College provided an environment that was safe for the majority and in providing such an environment, it gave students the opportunity to excel in ways they may never have in their home schools.

Church College – A Great Place to Be

For these graduates, the Church College environment was family orientated, it was safe and it also provided many areas in which students could experience success such as, sports, leadership, poly-culture and music. For these graduates, there were no identity issues, no need to explain their values and beliefs to their peers because they shared those same values and beliefs. With these two factors aside, learning was a pleasure and not a chore. If students were not as academic as others then there were other areas where they could experience success. Academics were linked to these other areas though, because in order to participate, for example, in sports or poly-culture, the students were required to meet certain academic criteria and maintain certain grades and attendance percentages. Sandra shares her experience:

> I was kind of in a clique where we all helped each other along and we were all kind of in the same level. We just got on with our work. We were kind of like the good girls. We had a lot of fun but still kind of the good group…If you weren't good at one thing, you could develop your skill in another area. I always liked that about College. Like with my group of friends, we were all good academically, but some were good singers and others were good at sports, while others were good in other areas…My time at Church College definitely helped in all my successes especially with leadership skills. I think I had a tendency to be a leader from an early age and it came to a fore at Church College. You know, I was a prefect and then head girl in my last year and also in the A1 basketball team. I was in the A1s for four years and then in my last year I captained the team.

Brandt also shares a similar experience:

> It was neat at Church College. It was both challenging, it was rewarding, it was a test of your personal character and you had to find out where you sat with all of that…I had goals – not to be kicked out, I wanted to explore, learn something and do well. I had goals around sports…I wanted to partake in everything that was available – that was my goal. I did all of that and as a result of partaking in everything I was really blessed…I was on the Student Body Presidency, Poly-culture, Captain of the First XV, Captain of the Waikato Secondary team and I won lots of awards. That was more than I expected.

As already mentioned, there were several areas in which students could excel. The New Zealand teachers had replaced the American teachers and their presence not only affected the overall general 'feel' or environment of the school but it also changed the perceptions of the image of the school. In the previous chapter, the school was perceived as being a 'flash' American school. As the New Zealand teachers arrived, the image of the school changed from an 'American flash' to more of an 'American-Māori flash', which instilled pride amongst the students. They were proud of everything associated with the school – the buildings, pool, bus, uniform and for some, the teachers. Some of these teachers made an impact on certain graduates. Glenn shares an experience about two of his teachers:

> Api Hemi - he was fantastic. There were flash people, there were flash teachers with good degrees but Api wore a Harvard ring. He finished with honours. He started school in his 20s after his labour mission. He went on to do a PhD. He was blimmin impressive to me…He was a hori dresser but he had a passion for education and he could teach. He never took any nonsense. His class was one of the hardest classes and he just captivated me and motivated me to do well. I loved his class and really enjoyed it. He did some cool stuff. Some of the best stuff I did at High School was in his class. He taught Geography…There was another guy…Kelly Harris Junior. He was an English teacher. He was kind of like a flasher guy…the one thing that I loved about him was he made us think and he didn't let you off.

Api Hemi is Māori and Kelly Harris Junior is part Māori and part Pacific Islander. In regards to Glenn's statement about Api, the term 'flash' was associated with his success and the fact that he had attended Harvard and wore a Harvard ring as evidence. It was not associated with his dress. Api being seen as "flash" despite

being a sloppy dresser was unusual. The perception of Church College being a 'flash' school, was a perception from the time the school opened and part of that perception was associated with dress. The school always had strict grooming standards, which were introduced by the Americans. This included wearing the school uniform with dignity and pride. This theme continued throughout the 1970s and 1980s also. Moses recalls:

> I think one of the things that I was always quite taken by was the turquoise blazer. It was something that always stood out, especially with a turquoise blazer and black pants. When you would see a group of kids from College, like a sports team – it was quite striking. At that time they had a bus that used to take all the sports teams to different places. We would all get on that bus with our turquoise blazers and when we'd come walking off that bus you could see that people would turn and look. It had a distinct wow because we had such good standards.

The sports programs at College were funded by the school and heavily supported by parents, faculty and other departments in the school. The sports teams received a lot of recognition. This also contributed to the 'flashness' of Church College. Ken explains:

> Having basketball teams that achieved national titles put us on the map and added value. Sport's is important. There was one stage where we were running 80 teams in a year and that's a lot of teams to facilitate. The school was right behind it with decent uniforms and you didn't have to go out raising funds by selling cakes so you could go anywhere. The money was there. You had the quarter million bus to drive in and everywhere we went we didn't look like poor relations – it was done properly. We had a flash gym and the laundry was there to make sure the uniforms looked great and the cafeteria supported with lunches and the teachers were there. In other words it was a full program and you felt part of the big things rather than oh yeah you got a basketball team with no uniforms and one of the parents comes and helps.

In the 1970s-1980s, as in the first decades of the school, the lifestyle at Church College was completely different to the low socioeconomic status that some of the students had come from. Māori and Pacific Islanders were in general, considered

poor in the wider society and yet at Church College they were at a different level. But the image of the school encouraged pride in the students too. Perhaps, the facilities represented "success" to some students. Glenn adds:

> Those years were great at Church College. We had Barney Wihongi at his prime. There was good money being spent at that time – big budgets. We were one of the flashest schools you could go to in that era. It had all of the facilities that no one had. It was a really flash school.

This perception of Church College being a "flash" school is a theme that carried through to the 1970s and 1980s, but in different forms, although the association with the American glamour was in a small way still apparent. Glenn emphasized the school as having facilities that no other school had. Whether or not this was true is not the issue, but in Glenn's opinion Church College was "flash" and the amount of money being spent on the school suggests that perhaps money also was associated with "success", as money brings about more opportunities.

With quality facilities and away from the social pressures and stereotypes of society, these students were able to be themselves and make the most of the opportunities presented to them. Their families had sent them to Church College to have a positive education experience, and they did. That's not to say that it was the same for every student, because that was not the case. But for the interviewees in this particular period, it was. Sandra continues:

> I loved Church College. I was one of the ones that sometimes when I listen to my friends and they go, "oh I had really bad experiences", I go, "what! Were we at the same school?". Because I loved it. When I was Standard Four, I would look at my friends' brothers and sisters and say, "gosh, I can't wait to go to Church College". It just seemed like this amazing place to be.

Brandt adds to this discussion:

> I wasn't actually an academic guy. It didn't interest me…But there was a neat environment at the school. It was an environment where I felt for me personally, that you could excel in. It was just about you making an effort…It

> was just about you doing the right thing at the right time. There's no doubt and I say this for me, is that Church College made a huge impact on my life because it taught me about structure, about the gospel and how important it was, and you could have a life with sport, music, and social relationships all within that structure and it was safe and it was good.

Interestingly enough, despite Brandt's claims of not being very academic, he went on to tertiary studies and graduated with a law degree. Brandt became the second Māori Coroner in New Zealand and this is his current position.

The interviewees described Church College as a great place with several opportunities in different capacities, in which students could experience success. For these students, they wanted to do well, they had teachers who were of the same ethnicity who had experienced success themselves and encouraged it in their students, they also had friends who, in many instances, had the same goals and values and they were presented with the opportunities.

However, the Church College environment was not only characterized by what the Polynesian teachers did. The teaching faculty and support staff were instrumental to the success of the students. Several Pākehā teachers also made an impact on the interviewees. Nathan recounts:

> The one teacher that stood out the most for me, just because I found him interesting was Brother Ardern. He was Pākehā. Academically, when it came to English, I could do it but I wasn't really interested. I suppose at that time English was about the way you think, looking past and at books and how they influence you. For me at that time, my head space wasn't in it - it was just all about me. He was just really quirky and did things like stand on a chair and say 'attention!'. Just the way he talked was kind of stimulating. He was cool.

Some teachers created positive experiences for these students. In some situations they were able to help steer them into great career opportunities. Moses shares an experience he had with his PE teacher:

> Brother Rose, he was a PE teacher – I wanted to be a PE teacher. I just loved sport! I couldn't think of a better job – playing sport and being paid for it. In

> those days there was no such thing as professional sport. I said to him, " Brother Rose, I want to be just like you when I get off my mission ", and he pulled me aside and said, " let me tell you something son. It looks like a really great life doesn't it, playing sport and being paid to play it? But in actual fact there is a real problem with it. It hasn't got a real career path that goes beyond being the head of the department. You will get to a point where you will find that you will want more from that and that's where I'm at right now ". Then he said, "you will need to be able to do more for yourself so don't limit yourself to just one career option ". That's what he said to me. "If you want to be a PE teacher that's fine, but open yourself to other possible careers ".

After graduating from Church College, Moses served a mission for the Church. When he returned he attended the Auckland University and graduated with a Bachelor of Commerce. He was the first in his entire family to earn a tertiary qualification from a university.

Conclusion

The Church College environment was considered a safe environment and one that encouraged and nurtured "success" in individuals. Several factors contributed to this – great teachers, an environment that reflected the cultural and religious values of the majority of students, quality facilities and several areas in which students could succeed. All of these factors, according to the interviewees contributed to their "success" at Church College. But will these same factors continue into the next decade or will the growing pressures in society start to penetrate the "safe" environment of the school? Will the LDS community continue to support the school as strongly as they had from the time it was built? How will future education policies impact on the relationship between LDS Church leaders in the USA, the Church College school community and the decision-making process?

CHAPTER 5

CHURCH COLLEGE – A PRIVATE SCHOOL

(1990s)

Introduction

Earlier chapters have argued that the environment at Church College, for some students, offered a safe haven and opportunities to experience "success". The 1950s-1960s had seen the urbanization of many Māori, the immigration of Pacific Islanders and some economic prosperity for both populations. However, this prosperity and optimism would be short lived, overtaken by the economic recession of the 1970s and then the restructuring of the economy in the 1980s. This restructuring was to have disproportionately adverse affects on Māori and Pacific Island populations because the manufacturing and other manual occupations in which they were concentrated were the most strongly affected by closures and job losses. Although conditions improved slightly in the 1990s, the affects of the restructuring continued to affect Māori and Pacific Islanders into the 1990s. At the Church College of New Zealand, effects of these and other social problems within the wider New Zealand society were also starting to show in the school and the perception of the school in the general LDS community changed.

This chapter falls into five parts. The first section sketches the context in which to place my interviewees' stories about Church College in the 1990s through a brief overview of the education reforms. The section second discusses integrated and independent schools and how Church College fits in these categories. Section three gives an overview of the administrative structure of Church College. The fourth section discusses some changes in how Church College was perceived in the 1990s and the final section discusses the environment of the school in the 1990s.

Five of my interviewees attended the school at this time, Zina, Justin, Stuart, Gina and Meshweyla. Zina, Justin, Stuart and Meshweyla are real identities whereas Gina is a pseudonym. Zina and Justin have both Māori and Pacific Island heritage, while Stuart and Gina are Pacific Islanders. Meshweyla is Māori. Zina attended Church College during 1986-1991. After leaving Church College, Zina attended the University of Waikato and has a business degree. Justin attended Church College during the years 1991-1995. After his time at Church College, Justin attended the University of Waikato and is now a Maths teacher at St Johns Collegiate School in Hamilton. Stuart attended the College in 1992 and after his time at Church College attended Wintec in Hamilton and graduated with a degree in Applied Social Sciences. Gina attended Church College from 1997-1999 and attended the University of Waikato where she graduated with a business degree. Meshweyla attended Church College in 1998-1999. She graduated from the University of Waikato with a Master's degree in Law. In some areas, where interviewees who have been students at the school in earlier times mentioned issues relevant to this chapter, their interviews are also cited.

Education – A Commodity

For decades in education, the underpinning ideology of education policies and practices was 'equality of opportunity' (Beeby, 1992). When this was emphasized by Peter Fraser, Minister of Education in 1939, several inequalities in New Zealand had existed, especially in gaining access to secondary and tertiary education. However, despite the change in focus in education settings, inequalities continued to exist in education outcomes, especially for Māori (McCulloch, 1990).

In the previous chapter I discussed the restructuring of the economy by the fourth Labour Government, voted in to office in 1984. Their policies were influenced by neo-classical economic theory (Olssen and Matthews, 1997). The Prime Minister David Lange, became the Minister of Education, and he looked at restructuring the education system also. David Lange, believed, along with Peter Fraser, that public

education had important potential social benefits. He looked to foster a new focus for education that would help to overcome the inequalities of the present education system. The new rationale or ideology became equity – equality of outcome (McCulloch, 1990).

David Lange set up a taskforce under the leadership of Brian Picot, a successful supermarket businessman. The terms of reference for the taskforce were confined to administration and structure of the system, and did not extend to professional matters such as teaching and the curriculum (McKenzie, 1999). In April 1988, the taskforce presented its report, Administering for Excellence – more commonly known as the Picot Report. The Picot Report identified five areas of concern in the existing education system. These were 1) the over-centralization of decision-making, 2) uncoordinated decisions and duplication of services, 3) lack of information and choice including a lack of information about learner performance, 4) lack of effective management practices and 5) feelings of powerlessness and consumer dissatisfaction especially from parents (Department of Education, 1988a).

The recommendations made in the report included de-centralizing the education system, eliminating the Department of Education and regional education boards and implementing a fundamental restructuring of the education system where the basic unit would be the individual learning institution or school. It further recommended that each school would be under the control of a Board of Trustees elected from the parents of children attending the school. The daily management of the school would be by the school principal and the school teachers. Funding to schools was also to be made in bulk grants and the Boards were to be responsible for school expenditure which included teacher salaries, operational costs and school resources (McKenzie, 1999).

While the taskforce members claimed that their recommendations would empower parents and communities, educationists argued that they were heavily influenced by neo-classical economic rather than educational theories with education viewed as a

mere commodity, with parents and students as consumers of that commodity (McKenzie, 1999). The New Zealand Treasury, the government's lead advisor on economic and financial issues stated that education shares the main characteristics of other commodities traded in the market place. Other groups such as the New Zealand Business Roundtable had also expressed the view that education was a private good rather than a public one and emphasized a concern that schools were not producing graduates that were required to drive the New Zealand economy (Olssen and Matthews, 1997).

The government's response to the report was the Tomorrow Schools (Department of Education, 1988b) document which took the ideas and recommendations of the Picot Report and drafted them into a form for implementation. More responsibility for the administration of education was allocated to individual schools with the establishment of Boards of Trustees and Charters. Charters were to be drawn up by individual boards and were to contain the mission, aims, objectives and targets of those individual boards and provide a base against which the Board's performance could later be assessed. The Charters were not only to reflect the national education guidelines but also reflect the incorporation of Māori tikanga (culture) and reo (language) (McKenzie, 1999). Furthermore, the Boards of Trustees were to ensure that the school's policies and practices were aimed at achieving equitable outcomes for students of different backgrounds and with different needs, such as gender, geographic location and ethnicity (McCulloch, 1990). The Education Review Office (ERO) was also established to evaluate and report publicly on the education and care of students in individual schools. All of these changes were instituted through the 1989 Education Act, 1990 and 1991 Education Amendment Acts (Olssen and Matthews, 1997).

Independent and Integrated Schools

With the introduction of market style policies into the New Zealand education system and the abolition of zoning, schools became separate entities and in competition with

each other as parents were given an opportunity to seek out the schools which would perform best for their children (Lauder, Hughes and Watson, 1999). One of the key underlying assumptions of pro-market advocates is “that it is the way individual schools are managed that makes the difference in performance” (Lauder, Hughes and Watson, 1999, p 87).

> They believe that the spurs and sanctions of competition drive up the performance of schools and that an educational system structured according to market competition will generate the best outcomes for all students. They further assume that the private system, because its very existence depends on competing head-on for their clients’ dollars, will have sharpened its performance to a razor edge. Pro-market advocates cite the apparent success of private schools relative to state schools as evidence to support their views (Lauder, Hughes and Watson, 1999, p 87).

In examining the competing views of educational markets, Hughes and Lauder (2002) described that pro-market advocates also believed that parents would have equal access to schools of their choice and that schools would become more diverse as they sought to establish niche markets for themselves which in return would give families more choices. However, in examining the research, they found that students from privileged backgrounds were more likely than their disadvantaged peers to get into more prestigious schools. The research also showed that students from indigenous populations, namely Māori, were least likely to be accepted into these schools and Europeans were more likely to be accepted. They concluded that although parents seemed to have equal knowledge about schools, those from lower socio-economic backgrounds and ethnic groups had different power to send their children to the school of their choice.

Amongst the education reforms and competing views of educational markets, the issue of independent schools and integrated schools and how they fitted in the system came to the forefront. In 1975 the Private Schools Conditional Integration Act was passed. The Act was passed after regular demands from various church authorities, particularly the Catholic Church, for state aid to be granted to private schools. The

1877 Education Act, while it had declared free, compulsory and secular primary schooling, it had forbidden the state funding of private, church-controlled schools (Lee and Lee, 1998).

> The 1975 Act allowed the controlling authorities of religious denominations to operate their church schools in return for full government funding, subject to certain conditions. The ownership of these institutions was to remain in the hands of various religious orders, who were permitted to give sectarian instruction while at the same time receiving legislative assurance that their schools' "special character" (religious philosophy) would be preserved (Lee and Lee, 1998, p 156).

Many of the private schools, especially Catholic schools saw the financial benefits of the Integration Act and relinquished their independent status to become integrated schools. Lee and Lee (1998) contend that their market standing in a competitive schooling environment underpinned their interest. "It was presumed that with integration enrolments could increase, attendance dues would be reduced, facilities upgraded, staffing expanded and their own special character retained and protected" (Lee and Lee, 1998, p 158).

Two examples of schools that integrated, were the Māori boarding schools St Stephens and Queen Victoria, both situated in Auckland. Before the Integration Act was passed, both schools were experiencing difficulties in maintaining their school rolls and meeting the operational costs of running the schools. After the Act was passed, both schools became integrated and the government funded the operational costs of both schools. The schools' Board was required to provide and maintain the school and hostel buildings. For a short while, the two schools appeared to be experiencing growth but from the mid 1980s the rolls started to fall (St Stephen's and Queen Victoria Schools Trust Board, 2001).

> At that time the economy was being totally restructured and primary and secondary industry laid off large numbers of workers. Māori families were severely affected and numbers at the two boarding schools dropped as families could no longer afford to pay boarding fees. At the same time Te Reo Māori started to be taught at increasing numbers of state schools and parents no longer

> had to send their sons and daughters to Māori boarding schools to learn Te Reo Māori and Tikanga Māori…As a result of those economic constraints and of the increased competition, rolls at Queen Victoria and St Stephen's Schools fell to unsupportable lows (St Stephen's and Queen Victoria Schools Trust Board, 2001, p 1).
> .

The decline continued into the 1990s. At the end of the year 2000, St Stephen's was closed and Queen Victoria at the end of 2001. The closure was related to low student numbers as well as student achievement. So, although integration improved the financial position of the school, other factors including a competitive market brought about low student rolls which eventually saw the closure of both schools.

In the 1990s, the list of private schools wanting to change their status from independent to integrated schools lengthened and they became an increasingly popular choice for parents. Wylie (1999) outlined that since decentralization the integrated school sector experienced the most growth, increasing from 9% of schools in 1987 to 10.9% in 1997. They have a higher average decile rating than state schools with a higher proportion of decile 10 schools and a lower proportion of decile 1 schools. They also get full government funding for teaching salaries and operational costs but take responsibility for their own capital costs.

Private or independent schools are governed by their own independent boards on behalf of the owner. Although they are autonomous they must meet standards set by the Ministry of Education in order to be registered. Private schools are not bound by the same requirements relating to the curriculum, management or administration structures as state schools, but the 1989 Education Act makes provisions for registration and inspection by ERO to ensure that the property is safe and the curriculum is of a reasonable standard (Ministry of Education, 2007). Te Puni Kokiri (1995) adds to this discussion by stating that private schools spend more on administration and property and less on education in comparison to state schools.

In Lee and Lee (1998), Jan Kerr, the Executive Director of the Independent Schools Council maintained that "the philosophy of education, the individual attention given to each child, and the values of the family", marked the difference between independent schools and state, and integrated schools. She also acknowledged that independent schools were struggling to survive in a competitive schooling environment, hence the reason for several private schools choosing to integrate. But Kerr contends that the market appeal of private schools lay in their status as independent schools. Private schools account for about 3.5% of enrolments and in most cases require large tuition fees. Private schools are generally attended by students with parents can afford to pay for those fees.

Church College – Private and Independent

As already noted, the Church College of New Zealand is sponsored by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Although several private schools changed their status from independent to integrated schools, Church College remained independent. The reforms of the late 1980s saw Boards of Trustees established in individual schools made up of parents from the community, however, provisions were made for private schools whereby they could be governed by boards which represented the owners of the school. Church College operates under the latter system.

It operates under the direction of the Church Board Education of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, based in Salt Lake City, United States of America and is represented on campus by the school principle and a single Church Education official known as the Church Education System Country Director (ERO, 2000). The Board is made up of Church officials, predominantly American, and all major decisions regarding the management of the school come from overseas. The prophet is the chairman of the Board (CES, 2000). Many day-to-day decisions relating to the school operation are made by the Administration Council consisting of the Senior Management Team (Principal, Deputy Principal, Assistant Principal), and the

Directors of Physical Facilities and of Financial and Administrative Services (ERO, 2000).

Unlike most private schools which charge large tuition fees in order to fund the running of their schools, Church College is heavily subsidized by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In 2005 a self-study report carried out by the school revealed that the fees paid by parents and caregivers of students attending the college only accounted for 17 % of total running costs of the school, whereas the Church funded the remaining 83 %. This covered salaries of faculty and support staff, building maintenance, health, transport, student services, curricula and extra-curricula programmes. The reason for charging families minimal fees is to relieve families from the financial burden of sending their children to a Church school (Church College of New Zealand, 2006). In covering the majority of the running costs, the Church has ensured that finance is not a factor in hindering secondary school students from attending Church College and therefore students from low socio-economic backgrounds may also receive a Church education.

At the Church College of New Zealand, entry into the school is based on academic effort, not academic excellence, and a personal recommendation from student's local ecclesiastical leaders. This recommendation endorses that individual students are living fundamental Church principles and will continue to live that way while attending the school as well as a commitment to work towards achieving their full potential (Church College of New Zealand, 2006). This approach towards enrolment ensures that the make-up of the student body of the school is not limited to a privileged social class determined by affluence and competition for placements in the school is not market driven. According to Newton (1998), in February 1997, there were over 600 students enrolled at Church College. 84% of the student population were Polynesian students with the majority of that number being Māori. This was well above the 70% figure for the school's opening year in 1958. Church College was a decile 3 school.

In transferring more administrative responsibilities to local communities through Boards of Trustees, the Picot Report argued that this would bring schools and communities together and empower parents. Parents, teachers and principals would meet regularly as Boards and after consultation, decide on what would be best for the students of their individual schools. At Church College however, administrative control remained with the Church Education System and the Church Education Board, therefore eliminating any consultation process with parents and locating the decision-making process away from the school's community and leaving it to the governing body of the Church located in the United States of America. However, it must be emphasized that the president of the Church is considered and recognized by Latter-day Saints to be a prophet and therefore representing God. Any decisions for the school that are made by him, are received in an attitude of obedience worthy of a prophet of God.

Perception and Reality

The rolls of Catholic schools increased as they integrated after the passing of the 1975 Integration Act. The justification for this increase was the desire of Catholic parents to gain a Catholic education for their children. Critics however, challenged this notion and contended that in some areas parents wanted their children to attend Catholic schools, not because of their special character or religious education but because they were better than nearby state schools. The connections with the church were considered irrelevant (Lee and Lee, 1998). At the Church College, however, for the interviewees of this period, the connection with the Church of Jesus Christ remained paramount.

Within the LDS community, the perception of Church College as being a quality academic school was being questioned. The numbers of students that attend Church College only account for approximately 10% of LDS youth in New Zealand (Church College of New Zealand, 2006). For those LDS who had never attended Church College had no affiliation with the school, or had bad experiences at the school, the

common perception was that Church College was not doing well academically and struggling to maintain an environment that encouraged success.

The reality, however was that Church College maintained a large Polynesian roll and they were experiencing incredible results. The ERO Report for 2000 stated that in the year 2000, there were 690 students. 74% were Māori, 9% Pacific Islanders and 15% Pākehā. With reference to achievement in 1999, ERO (2000) stated:

> The 1999 results indicate the school's success in promoting achievement for Māori students. Nearly 36% of Māori leavers attained a Year 13 qualification. This result is at least 10% higher than the results of similar schools. Over 85% of Māori students leaving Church College gained either a national qualification or more than twelve credits towards a national certificate. This is almost 30% higher than the results achieved by other similar schools. It is clear that Church College is making a substantial difference to the achievement of its students (ERO, 2000, p 3).

The report also stated that high proportion of students left Church College to go on to tertiary education and about 70% of those graduate from tertiary institutions (ERO, 2000). Newton (1998) also contributes the following statement:

> Between 1968 and 1976, the pass rate at CCNZ ranged from 36 percent (1968) to 53 percent (1975) with an average for the nine years of 43.4 %, ten percentage points above the national average. Since then, the pass rate has climbed to 57 % in 1990 and 60 % in 1991. In 1995, CCNZ achieved a school certificate pass rate of 59.9 percent, ranking sixteenth of forty-one high schools (both private and state) in the Waikato school districts (Newton, 1998, p 179).

Commenting on the success at the College Justin, a graduate of the 1990s states:

> … the facilities are here and with the facilities that we have here, many of our families couldn't actually afford it at the world rate, so the things that are provided here you'd expect it at St Paul's or St Peter's and we can't afford those. So if more Māori and Polynesian went to those schools they'd probably do as well. I think in a sense you can't ignore the facilities. The other main factor I think is the environment of peace and safety and the ongoing encouragement to succeed despite what the stats say. Yes we do realize that we are poorly represented in terms of Maori and Polynesian people in the stats but

> before that we're members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. We don't accept being in those statistics – well we shouldn't.

Meshweyla adds to this discussion:

> The school environment was excellent and the facilities of the College are second to none, I believe. There are ample opportunities for sports and secular activities such as singing and performing and the support from the academic and administration staff was excellent. One thing I noticed at College that was different to my home high school, was that student success was celebrated by other students…We all celebrated each others successes like a family. It was a positive learning environment, facilitated by the teachers and internalized by the student body.

In the wider New Zealand society, Māori levels of achievement appeared to be improving in areas such as education and unemployment, but non-Māori were improving too and the disparity gap between the two populations was still a significant factor. In 1996, statistics showed that 15% of the New Zealand population identified as Māori (Department of Statistics, 1996a). Almost one fifth of this population were aged between 15-24 years old (Te Puni Kokiri, 1999). 41% of most Māori children were living in one parent families. Māori were more likely to live in employment poor areas of New Zealand, were over-represented in the lowest 25% of incomes (Department of Statistics, 1996a) and three times more likely than non-Māori to be apprehended for an offence (Te Puni Kokiri, 2000). In education, in 1997 22% of all Māori school leavers went directly into formal tertiary education in comparison to 45% non-Māori and Māori comprised 12.7% of all tertiary graduates that year. In the same year, Māori comprised 19.8% of all secondary students but experienced 41.7% of all suspensions and expulsions. In 1997 64% of Māori students who were in third form in 1995 sat School Certificate in comparison to 92.3% non-Māori students. In 1998 over 30 % of Māori school leavers left with no school qualifications compared with under 20% of non-Māori (Te Puni Kokiri, 1998).

Perhaps, the perception of Church College as a non-achieving school can be attributed to two factors. The first is with the introduction of market based policies

where education is viewed as a commodity, parents have had to look more closely at schools and decide for themselves which school would best suit the needs of their children. One of the major concerns that brought about the building of Church College, was a lack of quality facilities and education for LDS Māori children in New Zealand (Hunt, 1977). In the 1990s however, several choices were available within the New Zealand public education system and Church College became a novelty for many LDS families. Perhaps, in the minds of some LDS parents, the only difference between Church College and state schools was the influence of the Church on the school. If students were receiving a strong LDS Church influence in their homes, and a strong focus on education in local schools, then sending their children to Church College was not necessary for academic achievement.

The second factor can be found within the following statement made by Gina, also a graduate of the 1990s. She recounts:

> I was at College in the late 1990s and there were lots of kids who seemed to have been dumped there because their parents had split up or were just too naughty at home. Some kids brought their baggage into the dorms and at times it wasn't a nice place to be. There was some major bullying going on, especially up in the boys dorms. Some kids were even game enough to bring alcohol and marijuana on campus. In some situations they were caught and sent home. But the dorms weren't really equipped to handle all of the excess baggage.

Zina, another graduate of the 1990s felt that Church College was becoming more of a rehabilitation facility for students. She adds to this discussion:

> When I was there, there was a high pregnancy rate and so I felt that there should've been some sex education before all of these teenagers fell pregnant so that they knew what to do should something happen to them, but there was no education and no one you could go to.

With the growing social problems in the wider New Zealand society, perhaps it was to be expected that these would eventually leak into the school. Despite the strict

moral criteria for entry into the school, a lot of this is based on the honesty of individual students in their interviews with Church leaders and Church College officials. With the images of schools being marketed as part of the appeal of individual schools, the image of Church College was no longer one of an environment that would be a safe haven for students but rather, the image or perception of the school was that it was becoming more of a rehabilitation centre for students with problems.

The image of the school was something that previous interviewees had boasted, was an appeal of the school. It was always considered a 'flash' school. Although Justin contends that the facilities were still of considerable standard, they were aging. But the term 'flash' was not just associated with the facilities but also with the school uniform. But the way in which students wore their uniform had changed too. Bill, a founding student makes the following comparison:

> You never saw a young man or woman in clothes that were untidy. The shoes were spit polished, you saw the crease on the pants, everyday everything was ironed, tidy, no shirts hanging out. That was the standard and the guys are still like that today. You never saw them roll their pants up or pull it down, the shirts weren't hanging down, it wasn't like that. It was just part and parcel of the training we received and supported by the school administration. That's what it was like. So when I see what's happening today and I see that the standard has deteriorated, it saddens me.

This observation by Bill suggests that for some students, attending Church College was a novelty and not so much a privilege anymore. With the increase in choice of schools, other schools were considered to be more prestigious than Church College, which was only a decile 3 school. But the perceptions of some of the general LDS members in New Zealand, of Church College were also influenced by those who had never attended the school. In previous years, many local leaders throughout New Zealand had attended Church College themselves, or had an affiliation with the school (Hunt, 2007), but through the 1990s local branches were being lead by those who had not attended Church College and therefore did not support the school as

strongly as past leaders. This factor became very important when the announcement to close the school was made. This will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Church College – A Safe Haven for LDS Polynesian Students

Regardless of the challenges being faced by the school, some students continued to experience success and some families continued to send their children to Church College to escape the growing social pressures placed on some Polynesian families. Gina explains why her family sent her to Church College. She explains:

> We had no links with the school only that it was a Church school. To be fair, my parents wanted us to get away from some of the influences that were affecting my cousins, such as drugs, alcohol and early pregnancies and I suppose they were also afraid that we would settle like many of our cousins did, who didn't make it through high school. I think they struggled with the whole education system but to be quite honest, the whole system just collided with their home lives and was so foreign to the way they lived, they just couldn't relate. But many of them failed. There was lots of stuff going on too, redundancies and unemployment.

While at Church College, Stuart found it to be a safe haven from some of the social pressures of his peers at home. He recounts:

> I felt heaps more comfortable. I had no pressure of trying to defend my religion whereas at my other school there was. There was also no sort of pressure to drink and get into drugs and stuff when I was here at Church College.

Although Gina found that some of these problems had leaked into the school, she found that Church College, for her, provided an environment where academic success could be experienced. She continues:

> One of the problems we had at home was this whole dumbing down thing. It wasn't cool for Polys to be clever and some of our Poly kids did pretend to be dumb so that they wouldn't stand out – I didn't see the sense in that. At College they didn't have that problem.

Stuart also makes a comparison between Church College and his old school but places emphasis on the Polynesian environment at Church College. He states:

> At my old school you could feel a little bit of a label because there weren't a lot of Polynesians at the school and you kind've got labeled as being slow or he's just here for sports or just here to play rugby. I struggled there because of that kind of mentality but when I came to Church College, everybody was pretty much on the same level because everyone was Māori or Polynesian so it didn't really matter.

What Stuart realized when he attended Church College, was being Polynesian was normal and, in his experience, there were no stereotypes within the school that made him feel uncomfortable about being Polynesian. Because being Polynesian was normal, Stuart enjoyed his experience more at Church College. Ken states:

> Why do Māori and Pacific Island do well at Church College? Well in my opinion, we all tend to be copycats, we do things together. If there's an atmosphere of achievement, well we all copy. If this ones being naughty – we all copy. So all it takes is leadership among the youth and its not competitive, they do it together and they bring each other through together and its knowing that we as a school are not fighting the system but as a school we're trying to do better…Secondly, at prize giving when the one's going getting dux and getting the top of this and top of that, top of the class, and you'd sit there and you'd look at them. You'd see a white face and another white face but then the rest are all Māori and Pacific Islanders – achieving, and they see that year after year. You sit there and you think, this is possible for all of us. That was a major, it wasn't all dominated by Asians and Pakeha. I mean it in real terms, we were the majority of the school and so we had the majority and sometimes you get top Pākehā students but the dux is still Māori. If he's fair, look, he's part Māori anyway.

Gina adds more to this discussion:

> I think that College provides an environment of achievement that maybe other schools of similar decile settings don't give to their students. There definitely are no deficit theories implicated in the school but that's probably more about the influence of the Church on the school than anything else. It made a huge difference for a lot of my mates in terms of study routines. The special character and achievement?? Probably the Church but to be honest I think a lot of the students have been well prepared at home by their families.

As already discussed in the previous chapter, the influence of the Church at Church College, for some students was a contributing factor to their success. It has already been suggested previously that in regards to the decision of some parents sending their schools to Catholic integrated schools, the religious education and special character was not a key influence in enrolling their children in those schools, but at Church College the influence of the Church, for some, continued to be very important. Stuart recounts:

> At Church College we still had our drama's and issues socially but with values and beliefs being the same, I seemed to enjoy it more. It felt – because I'm religious, I was living the gospel and I was at a school that had the same beliefs that I had, and it just seemed more spiritual…It just felt right.

Justin adds the following:

> Yes we do realize that we are poorly represented in terms of Māori and Polynesian people in the stats, but before that, we're members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. We don't accept being in those statistics – well we shouldn't.

The emphasis by Justin and Stuart on their LDS values, reflects an important theme that has been portrayed throughout this thesis, and that is the identification of the interviewees as children of God. In believing that people are literally children of God, individual potential is limitless and therefore anything is attainable. Ken, a graduate from the 1960s contributes this statement:

> The vision is I am a child of God, the glory of God is intelligence and light and truth, and we all have the potential in the Church to become as – in other words there's no limitation and it's not based on color or race. The scriptures teach us that – our potential for all of us. So the real good question, the real basis of education success is really understanding your place in this whole plan of salvation – without that you've got no where to hang your achievements or hang your purposes or hang your efforts. But with the plan, you know where it's going and where it's taking you. So the bigger vision is that.

In this statement, Ken suggests that the notion of identifying as a child of God is an ideal that encourages a greater perspective on life, one that looks past the challenges or limitations or perhaps even stereotyping, that comes with ethnicity. He also suggests that the basis of education success is understanding how and where individuals see themselves in this world. Palmer (1998) states:

> Education at its best, this profound human transaction called teaching and learning – is not just about getting information or getting a job. Education is about healing and wholeness. It is about empowerment, liberation, transcendence, about renewing the vitality of life. It is about finding and claiming ourselves and our place in this world (Palmer, 1998, p 19).

Palmer (1998), suggests also that education is more than a set of transactions. It has the ability to heal, to empower and to liberate individuals. Perhaps, for too long in education in New Zealand, the focus has been about using solutions that require numbers to solve the dismal numbers we are continually faced with in regards to underachievement. As individuals, we cannot change those numbers on our own, but according to Ken and Palmer (1998), how we perceive the purpose of education can determine what we gain from it. This, according to Ken, has little to do with ethnicity but is more about how we perceive ourselves in this world. As already suggested by Justin, we have the ability to determine whether or not we become part of the dismal statistics.

Conclusion

The students who attended Church College during the 1990s, experienced success at the College despite the social pressures of the wider New Zealand society starting to show in the school. Although for some it appeared to be a rehabilitation institution for students with problems, for others it continued to provide a haven for those who were seeking to escape these pressures and who were also looking to have their identity as Polynesians and LDS validated in an environment where it was OK to be Polynesian and OK to be LDS. However, the education reforms of the 1990s

changed the way in which individual schools were managed and put schools in competition with each other. With the increasing operational costs of schools, some schools closed down and therefore many private schools integrated to keep this from happening. With Church College choosing to remain independent, what would the future of the school be? With the establishment of Boards of Trustees in individual schools aimed at bringing schools and communities closer together, how does this apply to Church College? Local input into the school has been a key factor of its success but in the 1990s, local input seemed to more restricted as it became apparent that decisions for the school were being made in America. Without local input, how would the leaders of the Church know the needs of the students at Church College?

CHAPTER 6

THE CLOSURE OF THE SCHOOL

Introduction

At the end of the 1990s, when many private schools were choosing to become integrated schools, Church College maintained its status as an independent school. In choosing to become integrated, many of these schools received further funding that kept their schools open. For all church owned schools, the operation costs for those schools is enormous and a huge expense. The Church College was no different. For years the Church had considered closing the school but had chosen not to. Going into the twenty-first century, the school maintained a high percentage of Polynesian students and they performed well academically.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first is a personal recollection of the announcement of the closure of the school. The second section is a critique of the announcement as made by Church representative, area authority Spencer J Condie. The third section discusses the importance of local input by communities into local schools and the final section, which concludes this thesis, provides a brief overview of key points made in this thesis.

The Announcement

On June 29 2006, my husband and I were asked to attend a special meeting with leaders of the Church, including two General Authorities who had traveled from the United States of America to meet with us. We were surprised by the announcement of the meeting and attended with much anxiety and anticipation. After a short time, it was announced that Church College would be closing at the end of 2009. At the time, my husband and I were dorm parents of a dormitory that housed 39 female boarders aged between 14-18 years old. Initially we were shocked, as with the rest of

the faculty and staff in the room that day. Then after the shock settled in, the emotion took over. We were devastated. We were not the only ones. Throughout the years, it had been rumoured that Church College's days were numbered but nobody really believed it.

For my husband and I, the walk home to our dormitory was an emotional one because we had the task of informing our young women who were waiting for us at home. Although the closure would not affect them, for some of them, it would affect their younger siblings and this would be an emotional rollercoaster for those students. Why? Because for some of those students and their families, Church College represented hope, security and safety. It presented them with opportunities that they would never have experienced at their home school simply because at home life was hard. We were in a unique position as dorm parents and therefore very close to some of these students and their families. We knew exactly what Church College meant to them. We arrived at our dormitory where our young women waited anxiously for us. We informed them of the decision. It was an emotional moment for many of them and there were many tears shed. We sat with them and cried together.

That night we attended another meeting. This time with our students and the parents of day students who lived in Hamilton. The auditorium was full. The parents of the boarding students, if they had not been told by their children already, would find out through the media that night. We sat there and we listened to the same words that had been shared with us in the previous meeting but this time as I listened and looked around at the people around me, I was angry – hurt. After the announcement, as a congregation we were asked to sing "We thank thee oh God for a prophet". I remember it vividly. I did not sing. I watched people around me cry, some straining to sing the words. It was the quietest I had ever heard that hymn sung from a congregation with hundreds of people. As I stood there and watched, several questions raced through my mind but there was one question that I kept coming back to – how could we have not known that this was going to happen?

The next day my husband and I went to visit one of the boys dormitory's where Corey's cousin was the dorm parent. We sat with him and asked him how his father was coping with the announcement. His father, Uncle Charlie, was a labour missionary who worked on the school and several chapels in New Zealand. Piwa, Corey's cousin was two years old when he first came to Church College with his parents. He returned as a student in the late 1960s and then again as a dorm parent in the school's final years. He told us how after he had heard the announcement, he and his wife went to see his father to tell him about the closure. He shared with us how Uncle Charlie sat there quietly and wept. After a short while, he said, "well if that's what the prophet said".

A Historical Decision

According to Hunt (1977), Church College's existence is contrary to general Church policy. Its policy in regards to schooling, is to establish facilities in those areas where there is a high concentration of members and few public education opportunities, (Berrett, 1992). As public schools become more available, most Church schools are closed (Packer, 1992). Hunt (1977) records that in 1973 the Church College roll was particularly low which caused some concerns for Church leaders. In 1974 serious considerations were being made in regards to closing the school. However local Church leaders in New Zealand rallied on behalf of the school and committed themselves to support the school in any way. Two LDS members, Barney Wihongi and Alton Wade conducted a survey that indicated that several Church College alumni were leaving to serve missions and marrying in the temple. These two factors were instrumental in the continued operation of the school. Nathan contributes to this discussion. He recounts:

> The school's closing down now. We had a general authority come in 1985 and there was talk about them closing it down then. ..but we were turning out the most missionaries and temple marriages and so it never did.

The school has been an ongoing concern for leaders of the Church because of the amount of money needed to maintain it. But throughout the years, each time the school came close to closing, it appears that local leaders spoke on behalf of the New Zealand LDS community to keep it open and it did. But where was the voice of our community now? Where was the united front of local leaders? How could such an important decision be made without consulting our community first? How could such a decision have been announced without informing our Labour missionaries first?

Perhaps in order to understand the frustration, it would be helpful to review some of the statements made at the announcement of the closure of the College. Spencer J Condie, the Church's highest official in New Zealand, who holds the office of area authority for the South Pacific Area, is an American and is situated in Auckland. After outlining the purpose of building Church College in his opening statement, which was to provide suitable educational facilities for LDS youth living in rural areas who did not have access to such facilities, he noted how New Zealand had been ranked by UNICEF as having the 10th best school system in the world. He then made the following statement:

> Thanks to CCNZ, Bill Gudgeon, former Member of Parliament, Sid Christy and half of the other stake presidents in New Zealand, received an excellent secondary education. And thanks to the Church, literally hundreds of labour missionaries became skilled tradesmen as they served their apprenticeship as brick layers, carpenters, plumbers and electricians building the dormitories, faculty housing, classrooms, and the imposing David O McKay building (Condie, 2006, p1).

In this statement, Condie (2006) suggests that without the Church, the labour missionaries would not have become skilled tradesmen and that it was only because of their work on the College that they gained these skills. This may be true, but it undermines the reasons why these people came from all over New Zealand, and in some cases overseas, to work on this school. The work of the labour missionaries on the Church College of New Zealand, is nothing more than an act of love. In a time

where Māori, in particular, struggled to find a place in a society so heavily dominated by Pākehā values, the school represented hope for their children, and other generations to come. The education opportunities were limited and Māori faced several challenges in education settings. Education equated with a better life and our labour missionaries knew that. The school was a blessing and they had built it for virtually nothing. After stating the good the Church had done for the labour missionaries, Condie (2006) acknowledged this in his next sentence.

> These faithful labour missionaries poured more than concrete and mortar into these buildings, they also poured their faith into every brick as each building became a monument to their loving labour for the Lord (Condie, 2006, p1).

The work of the devoted labour missionaries only warranted one sentence in his entire delivery. Condie (2006) then proceeded to emphasise to the LDS community the importance of not becoming attached to buildings. He states:

> This is not the first time in the history of the Church that buildings have been built with faith and sacrifice only to be left behind. The history of the Restoration is one of persistent scattering and gathering and scattering again. The Church began in Palmyra and Fayette, New York, but the Saints soon moved to Kirtland where they built a magnificent temple at great sacrifice….
>
> From Kirtland the Saints went to Missouri, and then they were driven to Nauvoo, Illinois where they built another House of the Lord, perhaps the finest structure in the State of Illinois in 1845. But they were again driven from their homes, forcing them to leave their beautiful temple behind.
>
> It would seem that the Lord would have a people who do not become overly attached to places and things, especially buildings (Condie, 2006, p 1).

There are two points that need to be highlighted in this statement. The first is in regards to the comparison to early LDS pioneers who were driven from state to state in the United States of America. If the Church College school community were being driven out of the city by angered mobs then perhaps this statement would have relevance to this situation. This is not a situation where LDS can leave and start again as did the early LDS pioneers. There will not be another Church College. If

there is one similarity in both situations, it would be that both communities had no choice but to leave, because the decision-making process had been taken away from them.

Secondly, the reference to not becoming attached to buildings reflects a lack of understanding and appreciation for the value of Church College in the lives of the people it serves. For the graduates interviewed in this thesis, Church College provided them with opportunities that they would have never experienced in their home schools. Church College allowed them to be themselves – Polynesian and LDS. For these students there were no religious conflicts, no cultural conflicts and no identity crises. Church College provided an environment in which they could experience "success". For these students it gave them hope in a society that was filled with so much disappointment and disillusionment, not just in educational settings but in New Zealand in general. Although the buildings are a big part of the 'flash' image portrayed to the general public, it does not encapsulate the Church College experience. However, without the buildings there is no school.

Condie (2006) also made the following statement:

> The decision to close CCNZ was not made before receiving assurances that the New Zealand Ministry of Education would be able to provide adequate alternative educational opportunities for CCNZ students (Condie, 2006, p1).

Several times in this thesis, it has been mentioned that the majority of the school roll for Church College has always been Polynesian students, in particular Māori. These students have experienced "success" in many areas but most importantly, academically. In general, in New Zealand Māori and Pacific Islanders are under-represented in achievement and participation in secondary and tertiary settings, so how can any promises given by the Ministry of Education be taken seriously, let alone be reassuring? If parents walked away from this meeting feeling disillusioned because the future of education for their children was reliant on the "adequate

alternative educational opportunities" provided by the Ministry of Education, who could blame them?
Any initiatives in education aimed at improving outcomes for Māori have come from Māori. Even the building of the MAC and Church College came about as a request from LDS Māori themselves (Hunt, 1977). Therefore how can the Ministry of Education be trusted with the future of these "faithful, talented, beautiful youth" (Condie, 2006, p2), who Condie spoke so highly of? He then went on to say, "how wonderful it would be to spread these Latter-day Saint youth throughout the entire nation so they could enrich and edify the lives of other youth from Kaikohe to Invercargill". If only he could see that the real beauty for these students, came in being together, not in groups of five or ten or even fifty, but by the hundreds. At the time Condie made this statement in 2006, there were 684 students, 83% of which were Polynesian, 74% of which were Māori (ERO, 2006). They were all Polynesian and all LDS.

That day, one thing was clear to me. For years the New Zealand LDS community felt a sense of ownership about the College and in being connected to the school, one was essentially connected to a much larger whänau (extended family). But we did not own the school – they did. On that day, it was clear that there was a "them" and an "us", when all of these years I had thought that it was just "us". The decision was final, there was nothing that we could do. The leaders of the Church had "agonized" over the decision and yet it was made – in the United States of America. There was a greater need elsewhere. But where was the "voice" of our local leaders???

Tomorrow's Schools

While reflecting on the closure of the school, I was reminded of an experience my family had with the closure of our local primary school in the 1990s. At the initial implementation of *Tomorrow's Schools,* I became involved with the Board of Trustees at my district high school, Tokoroa High School in the small town of Tokoroa, situated in the central North Island. For high schools, a student

representative was required to represent student ideas and perspectives on the Board of Trustees. At the start of the year 1990, general elections were being held and I found myself nominated for the role. The nomination was put through by a group of friends without my consent or any desire to be put into the limelight whatsoever. I was in the Sixth Form or Year 12. The high school that I attended had a large European population but an equally large Polynesian population. At the time of the school elections, I was one of three candidates and the only Polynesian student. The others were European and in the Seventh Form or Year 13. Elections were held and I won – by a landslide. I was surprised by the outcome, mainly because of the efforts of the other Polynesian students who were, myself included, usually very casual about such matters and yet went out of their way to vote.

At the same time my mother was elected onto the board of the primary school being attended by my younger siblings. The ethnic make-up of the board reflected the ethnic make-up of the school. It was a very multi-cultural school and therefore a multi-cultural board. My mother, who was a factory worker at the time, had a very different experience than mine and as a parent, she was very involved with the school and satisfied with the input the board had in the school. Unfortunately, despite efforts from the board, the roll of the school decreased tremendously during the early 1990s, largely because of the abolition of zoning, many parents opted to send their children to other 'better' schools and with the decreasing roll, funding was cut and the school closed down.

Although the primary school was considered the local school in the area of which we lived, some parents sent their children to schools that had a large European population and were considered ' better ' schools. Under Tomorrow's Schools Maori Immersion education facilities such as Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa and Wananga grew and this option also became readily available in Tokoroa and many parents took advantage of this. Many of the older smaller schools in Tokoroa closed during the 1990s and today there are only a few still in operation.

Perhaps the significance of this story, in relation to what is happening with Church College, is the opportunity for the local community to have a “voice”. Although the primary school closed down, the parents did all they could to save it and although it closed, at least the community had an opportunity at “closure”. With the closure of Church College, there is no local “voice” and therefore no “fight”. How much difference this would have made to the College remaining open is not known but at least the school community would have had an opportunity to “fight” for this school that they love so much. Perhaps, if there were a process of consultation, an outlaying of concerns to the New Zealand LDS community and an opportunity to resolve those concerns, the closure of Church College may not hurt so much.

Ken comments:

> We’ve always been an expense to the Church. We’ve just been an added or extended blessing for twenty something years. As much as I love it and always had strong feelings about it, the writing’s been on the wall for some time. We always anticipated it some day. It’s getting more and more expensive. But the Church was never willing to allow us to have our salaries for instance, paid for by the government like other schools who work out an integrated arrangement. In fact the government could’ve paid for 90% of everything if they wanted them to, but the Church wouldn’t allow a cent of government money.

In discussing the closure of the College with some of the interviewees for this thesis, it was obvious that the overall feeling was a sense of loss. Karina recounts:

> I feel sorry for the ones who have missed out on coming here, those who dreamed of coming here. I had a niece who was coming and is just devastated. Another niece who’s nine years old cried because she knew that she was never going to get the opportunity to go to College. She even talked to her mother about doing a sausage sizzle so she could raise some money for College. Every now and then when it comes up she gets upset by it.

Brandt’s statement is of particular significance as he not only refers to the impact the closure has on his own family but also on people that he knows personally who still perceive the school as a Māori boarding school. He comments:

> All of our whānau up North went to the MAC and when that shut down, they sent them all to Church College. So there's a lot of history there and the Church is the centre of all of it. My son, he's now ten and he cried when they announced that Church College was going to close, because we came to Hamilton to position ourselves for our kids to go to College when the time was right. When they announced that Church College would shut, I said to my wife, "we may as well go home". Our kids aren't gona be there.
> The impact of the shutting down of Church College on the community is far and wide cause I have a lot of connections outside of the Church and a lot of Māori people who are not members of the Church approached me quite upset, asking why this has happened to Church College. "We never thought the Mormons would shut Church College". I said to them, "why is it upsetting you, all of my life you've been giving me a hard time because I went to Church College". These are people that went to St Stephens and Queen Vic. For them it was the closing of another Māori school. Of all the Māori schools, they recognized that Church College was the most stable. I told them we had been told by the Church that the school has served its purpose and achieved its goals and the education system is ok. But nah it's not – that's the way I look at it. My opinion is it will be a loss – a huge loss.

Many families have moved to Hamilton to prepare for their children to attend Church College. For some children, attending Church College is a dream. Even in the twenty-first century, almost 50 years later, the school is valued by many people. It may not have the same image as it had in 1958, the facilities may have aged a bit, but the Church principles are still at the core of the school and that is a key factor for families to send their children to the College.

Conclusion

The Church College of New Zealand, was built by Labour Missionaries who had a vision of hope for future generations to attend a Church school where their children would be the majority and they would experience "success" because the principles of the Church, values and beliefs that were incorporated in many of their homes, would underpin the overall education being given at the school. Initially, it was perceived as a Māori boarding school. There was a feeling of ownership by the wider school community, not just LDS, everybody who wanted to be a part of the school. The

environment was unique, in that for the students interviewed in this thesis, they experienced "success" because of an environment that fostered it, and not just academically, in several areas. There were teachers that encouraged success – not every teacher at Church College was brilliant, but for each student interviewed in this thesis, there was at least one that made a huge impact on their lives. With the increasing pressures of social problems in the wider New Zealand society, Church College provided a safe haven for some students whose home lives taught the same values and beliefs at the College and for others, it provided a haven from a conflicted home. It provided an environment in which the students interviewed in this thesis could be themselves, that is, LDS and Polynesian, and with this as "normal" at Church College, students could just get on with the learning and enjoy the opportunities presented to them.

Although many people felt a sense of ownership over the school over the years, when the announcement was made, it was clear that "we" did not own the school. The Church owned the school. The decision was made in the United States of America by Church leaders situated there. Although this thesis has critiqued the decision to close the school and the reasons given for that decision, it must be said that although the decision to close the College hurts and although it will be a loss to us, we will be obedient, we will move on and we will continue to work hard. We will encourage our children to "succeed" wherever we go. For as Uncle Charlie put it, "well if that's what the prophet said". What else can we do?

There are many questions left unanswered in my mind in regards to the decision to close the school: What information did the Church use to conclude that the New Zealand education system would be able to cater for the needs of the Church College community? Where did that information come from? Although the College only serves 10% of LDS youth in New Zealand, how are the other 90% coping in the education system? Are they really as okay in the system as Church leaders suggested they were? But my biggest question, is where was the voice of our local leaders??? Were they involved in the decision-making process? Were they given a chance to

offer any solutions or suggestions to keep the school open? The statistics indicate that perhaps the school is worth keeping open but Church leaders indicate that the need is greater elsewhere and it probably is. But still, what about our children?

To conclude this thesis, it would be appropriate to finish with two statements from two of the interviewees, Ken a graduate from the 1960s and Nathan from the 1980s. Nathan comments:

> I'm sad the place is closing – it's a great place. You always kinda hope that someones gona come and say SUCKER!

Ken states:

> Personally, like anything else in the Church, if we obey in faith more blessings come. The MAC got bowled over and then we got Church College and we got umpting blessings. Now it's closing, what greater things are in store. It should be great. It could be exciting to see what happens.

As the Church College prepares to close its doors in 2009, despite what the perception of the school is in the general LDS community, the school has given an opportunity for many Māori and Pacific Island students to experience academic success, a feat that cannot be acclaimed by many schools with the same demographic settings. A friend, while making enquiries about my thesis, made the statement, "demographics and ethnicity aside, how do they really do?" But how do we ignore the demographics and ethnicity? When Māori and Pacific Island students are so under-represented in achievement and participation in education settings in New Zealand, how can we not celebrate the success they experience at Church College, not just in numbers of five, or ten or even fifty, but hundreds? Each year as we progress further into the twenty-first century where the Ministry of Education, education researchers at different universities are still looking for initiatives to improve education outcomes for these two populations, at the Church College of New Zealand large numbers of Polynesian students have experienced academic success. That is worth celebrating.

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APPENDICIES

Appendix 1: **Governing Structure of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints**

Appendix 2: **Structure of the Church Education System**

Appendix 3: **Letter to Research Participants**

Appendix 4: **Information Sheet for Research Participants**

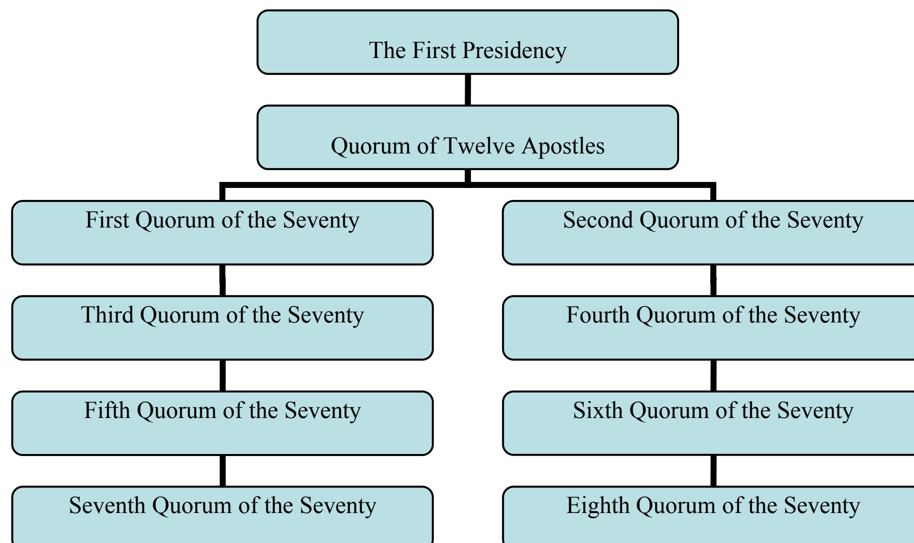
Appendix 5: **Initial Consent Form**

Appendix 6: **Second Consent Form**

Appendix 7: **Information Sheet and Consent Form for the Church College Administration**

Appendix 1: Governing Structure of the LDS Church

Pictured above is the highest governing body of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, known as the First Presidency. Seated is President Thomas S Monson, prophet of the Church and standing beside him are his counselors President Henry B Eyring (to the left of the picture) and President Dieter F Uchtdorf (to the right of the picture). They are assisted in their duties by the Quorum of the Twelve Aposltles, who are then assisted by eight Quorums of the Seventy responsible for the Church in different areas of the world. (Retrieved on 20 February 2008 from www.lds.org, The official website of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints).



Appendix 2: Church Board of Education and Board of Trustees

Officers

Chairman	Thomas S Monson
First Vice Chairman	Henry B Eyring
Second Vice Chairman	Dieter F Uchtdorf

Board of Education

Chairman	Thomas S Monson
First Vice Chairman	Henry B Eyring
Second Vice Chairman	Dieter F Uchtdorf
Member	Russel M Nelson
Member	M Russel Ballard
Member	David A Bednar
Member	Earl C Tingey
Member	Julie B Beck
Member	Susan W Tanner
Secretary	Roger G Christensen

Commissioner of Church Education

W Rolfe Kerr

Appendix 3: Letter to participants

Tereapii Solomon
Elva Dorm
Church College of New Zealand
Private Bag 3000
HAMILTON

Email: elvadorm@hotmail.com
Phone: 078468805/02102461477
Fax: 078468861

Kia ora

I am currently a postgraduate student at the School of Education, of the University of Waikato. I am starting a research project which is entitled " An educational analysis of Maaori and Pasifika at the Church College of New Zealand ", which involves focusing on successful academic experiences at the Church College. As part of the project, I intend to take a life-history approach and interview 10 CCNZ alumni. In doing so, I hope to explore their experiences at Church College with an interest in hearing their views on whether or not the special character of the school contributed to their academic success experienced at the school.

My purpose in writing to you is to request your participation in this project and consent to being interviewed. If you agree to participate, the interview will be tape-recorded and transcribed. You will receive a copy of the transcript and be free to make any amendments, should you wish to. At the end of the project, the original tape will be returned to you and no copies will be made. The original transcripts will be sent to you and copies of the transcripts will be kept indefinitely in accordance with the University's current regulations.

Extracts from the transcripts may be used in academic publications and seminars. If you do not want your name to appear or be used, then you may be referred to under a pseudonym. Noone else will have access to the original interview data and this will all be locked up in a cabinet in my office. If you are not able to be interviewed personally but would still like to participate, than you may opt to conduct an email interview, where a questionnaire could be sent to you and your responses emailed back.

The interview itself will be conducted over a period of an hour maximum and will focus on your life story, with a particular emphasis on your time at Church College. It will be conducted at a time convenient to you and in a place that is comfortable and private. The time and venue will be discussed further should you consent to being interviewed. You will be kept up-to-date throughout the project with email newsletters.

Your contribution to this project would be valuable and much appreciated. If you have any questions regarding the project, please feel free to contact me at any time on the above details. This letter will be followed up with a phone call to hopefully gain your consent to participate. Thank you for your time and consideration. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Yours sincerely

Tereapii Solomon

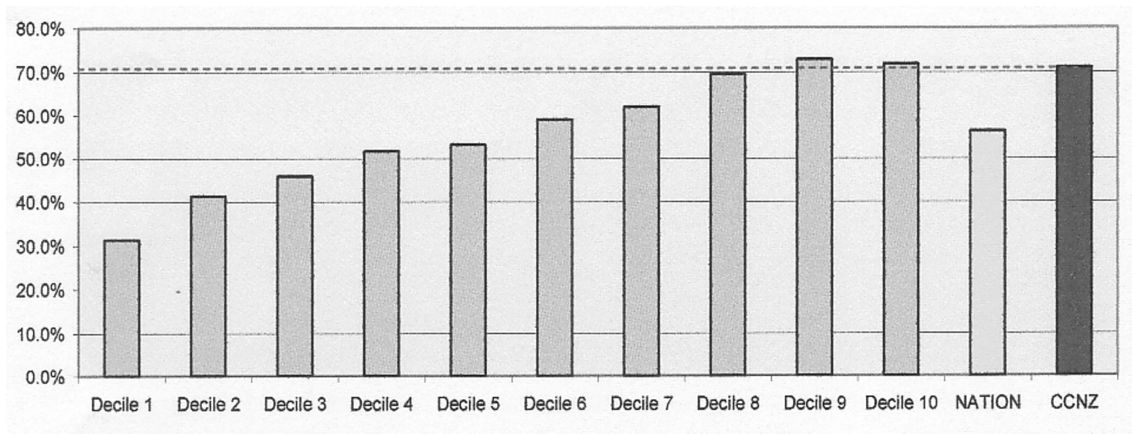
Appendix 4: Information sheet to participants

The pursuit of this topic came about through my employment as a Dorm Parent at the Church College of New Zealand. I currently manage a girls' dormitory on campus with 37 students. My husband and I are responsible for these secondary school students during after school hours. We have lived on campus for almost six years and in that time witnessed the academic achievements of many Maaori and Pacific Island students. While studying for my undergraduate degree in Teaching, I developed an interest in Maaori and Pacific Island education with a particular focus on underachievement. I am aware of the dismal statistics of underachievement and was intrigued when I discovered that at Church College, these two populations experience success. I thought it would be valuable to explore the reasons for this success through case studies of " successful " graduates and this is what I aim to do in my thesis.

My motivation and decision to pursue this topic was further fuelled by the statistics I came across in 2006. The 2005 Annual Schools Report by the Ministry of Education, reported that only 34% of Year 11 Pasifika and 40% of Year 11 Maaori candidates achieved NCEA Level 1, in comparison to 65% Year 11 Asian and 72% Year 11 Paakeha. It also reported that 58% of Maaori in Year 11 met the literacy and numeracy requirements. Some did not meet both the literacy and numeracy requirements but gained one or the other. Of these candidates 32% did not meet the literacy requirements while 25% did not meet the numeracy requirements (Ministry of Education, 2005).

In a Church College Self-Study Report for 2006, statistics showed that Year 11 students achieved well above the national average in NCEA Level 1. At the time of these statistics, Church College had a decile rating of three. The following graph shows that Church College not only achieved well above the national average but was comparable to schools with decile 10 rating.

Figure 1: The Church College of New Zealand NCEA Results 2005
% of Year 11 Students Gaining Level 1 Certificate
(Church College of New Zealand, 2006)



The following graphs also show that Year 11 students achieved well above the nation in Level 1 literacy and numeracy.

Figure 2: The Church College of New Zealand NCEA Results 2005
% of Year 11 Students gaining Level 1 Literacy
(Church College of New Zealand, 2006)

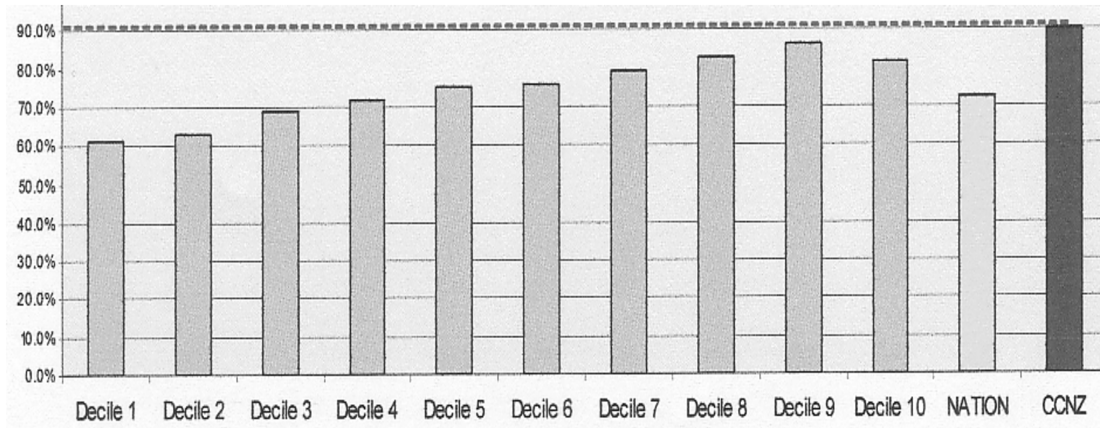
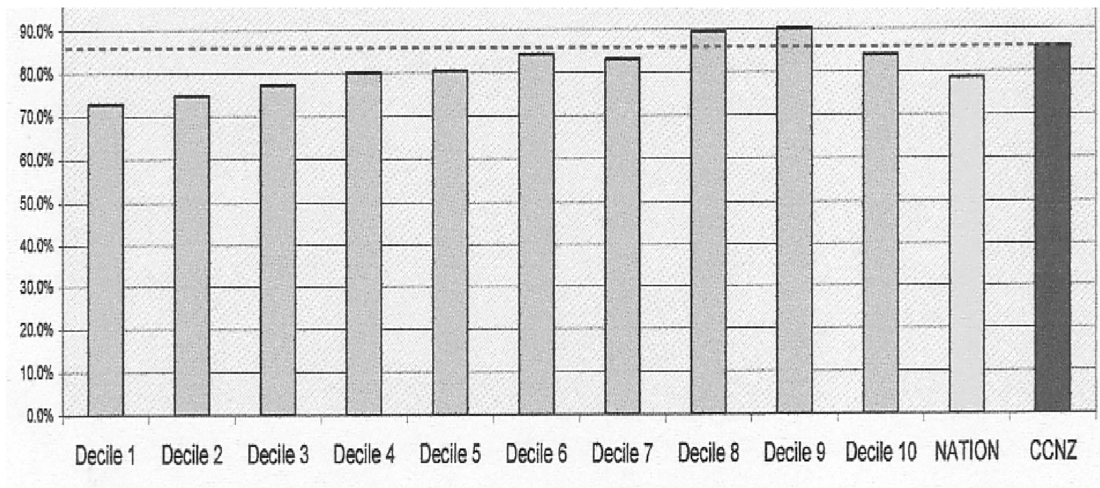
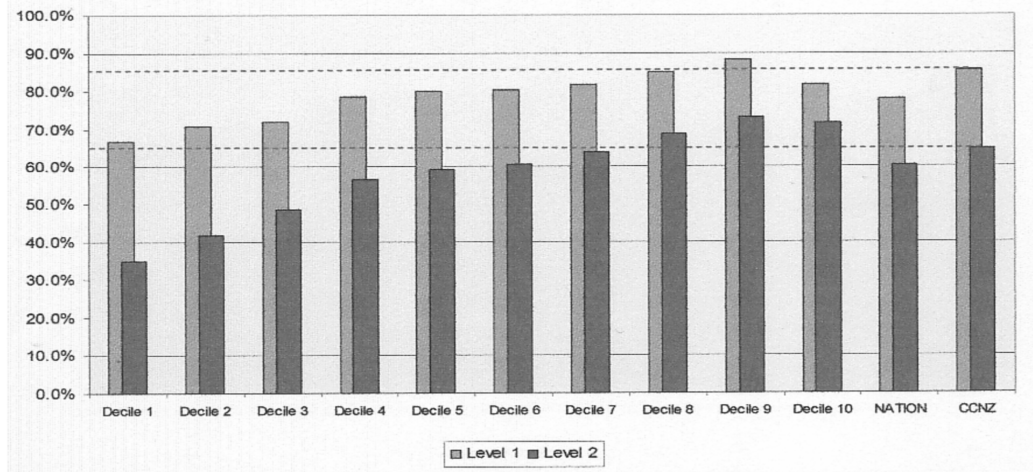


Figure 3: The Church College of New Zealand NCEA Results 2005
% of Year 11 Students gaining Level 1 Numeracy
(Church College of New Zealand, 2006)



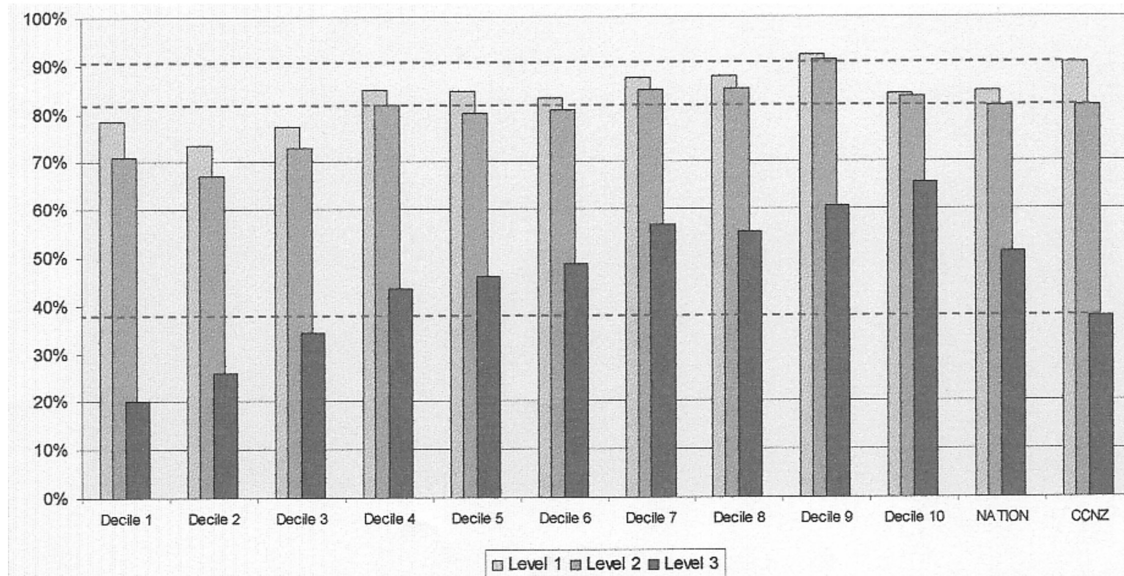
Year 12 results for 2005 show that Church College still achieved above the national average and well above schools with the same decile rating. It shows two bars because many students were sitting Levels 1 and 2 simultaneously.

Figure 4: The Church College of New Zealand NCEA Results 2005
% of Year 12 Students with Levels 1 & 2 by their Fourth Year
(Church College of New Zealand, 2006)



The Year 13 group performed below the national average but still above schools of similar decile rating.

Figure 5: The Church College of New Zealand NCEA Results 2005
% of Year 13 Students with Levels 1-3 by their Fifth Year
(Church College of New Zealand, 2005)



The ERO Report for 2006 confirms the academic success experienced by students at Church College with specific reference to NCEA results for 2005. It states:

> Students at Church College enjoy outstanding academic success. Of particular note is the high percentage of Year 9 students who go on to gain NCEA Level

1, 2 and 3. In 2005, 88% of the 2003 Year 9 intake went on to gain Level 1 as compared to the national average of 45% for schools of similar decile.
Similarly
the percentage of Year 9 students who went on to gain Level 2 and 3 was 86% and 50% respectively compared to 41% and 22% for schools of same decile.

NCEA Level 1, 2 and 3 results for 2005 also indicates that students are achieving
at levels well above those for students of similar decile, and comparable with decile
9 and 10 schools. Achievement levels of Maaori and Pacific students in NCEA at Church College are significantly higher than for Maaorii and Pacific students in other schools. NCEA results for 2005 show that students are achieving at levels comparable to their non-Maori and Pacific peers at NCEA Level 1, 2 and 3, and significantly above the achievement of Maaori and Pacific students nationally. (ERO, 2006, p 4)

On 29 June 2006, an announcement was made to the faculty, staff, parents and students of Church College by Church representatives that the college would be closing at the end of the school year in 2009. This was a decision made by leaders of the Church in America

Regarding the decision, representatives stated that it was the policy and practice of the Church to discontinue operation of Church schools when local systems are able to provide quality education. A major factor in the decision to close the school was the strength of New Zealand's educational programs and that educational standards in New Zealand are the highest in the Pacific region and among the highest in the world (Walton, 2006). The decision to close the school was not made without receiving assurances that the New Zealand Ministry of Education would be able to provide adequate educational opportunities for Church College students (Condie, 2006). Aging facilities was also a contributing factor (Walton, 2006).

The announcement of the school's closure has motivated me even more to pursue this research and perhaps provided a sense of urgency to highlight some unknown successes that the school has experienced.

Interview Questions

1. What early experiences took place in your life or your family's life that lead up to the decision to go to Church College?

2. When the time came why did you decide to go to Church College?

3. What was it like at Church College? (teachers, expectations, school environment, friends, school work etc)

4. What did you hope to achieve? What were your goals? Were they achieved? How and why?

5. What was expected of you by your family while you were at Church College?

Research Questions to be addressed in project

1. How do graduates of the Church College of New Zealand compare with other students in similar demographic school settings?

2. What is the special character of the school and how does it impact on student achievement?

3. How do successful graduates account for achievement at the school?

Appendix 5: Initial consent form

I consent to being interviewed by Tereapii Solomon for the research project " An educational analysis of Maaori and Pasifika at the Church College of New Zealand ". I understand that the interview will be tape-recorded and transcribed into print and that a copy will be sent to me. I understand that I will have the opportunity to make amendments to that transcript should I wish to. I also understand that I have the option of using a pseudonym rather than my real name in publications or seminars. At the end of the project, I also understand that the original tape will be returned to me and tapes and transcripts will only be accessed by Tereapii. I also understand that I am free to withdraw from this project but must do so before the 31 October 2007.

Name ____________________________________

Signed ____________________________________

Date ____________________________________

Postal Address ______________________________

____

____

Phone ______________________________

Email ______________________________

Appendix 6: Second Consent Form

Kia ora

Enclosed is the transcript of the interview we did for the project " An educational analysis of Maaori and Pasifika student achievement at the Church College of New Zealand ". I have listened to the tape and read through the transcript with the tape, making corrections with pen and then alterations on the computer. I would appreciate it if you would read your transcript and make any alterations as you see fit. If you are happy with it would you please return it to me via email attachment or post.

Please remember that only small excerpts will be used in publications or seminars and identity of names of people you mentioned will be kept confidential. Should you wish to use a pseudonym, please indicate be low. Once again, thank you for you time and I would appreciate it if you returned the transcript as soon as possible by email or post.

Yours sincerely
Tereapii Solomon

Name:

I have received the transcript of my interview and I have ticked or commented on the following options:

- The transcript is OK as raw data provided that the conditions agreed to on the original consent form are met and I have kept the transcript.

- I would like changes made to the information in the transcript as indicated in the enclosed or attached draft.

- The name I would like to be known by in any academic papers or seminars is as follows (please tick an option:

    - I wish to be referred to by an assumed name of my own choosing (give a name) throughout publications

    - I wish to be referred to by an assumed name of the researcher's choosing throughout publications

    - I wish to use my real name throughout publications

Appendix 7: Information and Consent Form for the Church College Administration

Tereapii Solomon
Elva Dorm
Church College of New Zealand
Private Bag 3000
HAMILTON

Email: elvadorm@hotmail.com
Phone: 078468805/02102461477
Fax: 078468861

The Principal
Church College of New Zealand
Private Bag 3000
HAMILTON

Dear Sir

I am currently a postgraduate student at the School of Education, of the University of Waikato. I am starting a research project which is entitled " An educational analysis of Maaori and Pasifika at the Church College of New Zealand ", which involves focusing on successful academic experiences at the Church College. As part of the project, I intend to take a life-history approach and interview 10 CCNZ alumni. In doing so, I hope to explore their experiences at Church College with an interest in hearing their views on whether or not the special character of the school contributed to their academic success experienced at the school.

My purpose in writing to you is to inform you of my intent to conduct this research on your school and obtain permission to have access to any school historical archives and national statistics you have on record in regards to student achievement (for example, NCEA results for 2005 and 2006). I would appreciate any help that you could contribute to this project. I will contact you soon through a personal visit to see what your decision is.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Yours sincerely

Tereapii Solomon