



PPTA TE WEHENGARUA ANNUAL CONFERENCE 2019

A TIRITI RELATIONSHIP AND PPTA

A report to the PPTA Te Wehengarua Annual Conference 2019



Te Timatanga

The intention of this summary is to look at the progress PPTA has made on its long journey towards biculturalism. It is a deliberately positive account, acknowledging that regardless of how contentious the present and the future may be, our shared past contains many achievements that deserve recognition and many individuals whose contributions should be valued; together, we have much to be proud of.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That the report be received.
2. That a treaty audit of PPTA structures, policies and practices be carried out in 2019, and a progress report and recommendations be presented to the 2020 conference for membership consideration.

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1. TĀHUHU KŌRERO

1.1. Monoculturalism

PPTA began in 1952 as a monocultural organisation and it was not until the 1970s that the organisation began to recognise that it had to assume some responsibility for the disparity in Māori achievement at secondary schools and for the promotion of Māori language and culture. In 1974, executive approved the following recommendation from the Māori Language Panel:

“PPTA supports the principle that the course of every pupil in New Zealand should contain elements of Maori culture; that this should be true of both primary and secondary courses and that courses in Maori language should be available to all pupils.”¹

1.2. First steps

Although PPTA advocated actively for this position, it was almost 30 years after its formation (probably partly prompted by the occupation of Bastion Point in 1978 and the Springbok Tour of 1981) that the first active steps towards, what was then described as multiculturalism, were taken.

1.3. As a result of a paper presented to conference by the Auckland and Bay of Plenty regions and supported by executive, the 1981 annual conference established six principles which were to form the basis of future policy:

- i) New Zealand is a multicultural community.
- ii) The government has a responsibility to protect New Zealand’s cultures and the education system has a particular role to play in this responsibility.
- iii) All students are entitled to educational success (however the term is interpreted) and it should be equally available to all students whatever their ethnic or socioeconomic background.
- iv) Our identity as a country depends on future adults having a recognition of their own ethnic identity of groups and a respect for the ethnic identity of groups that go to make up New Zealand society.
- v) It is the teachers’ professional responsibility to promote and sustain the multicultural nature of each school.
- vi) Government funding of state secondary schools should provide for the multicultural nature of each school.

1.4. Delegates voted to establish a Multicultural Education Advisory Committee (MEAC) charged with advancing a vision for New Zealand education that went beyond tokenism. As well as providing leadership to PPTA members, it was also to press for the inclusion of multicultural perspectives in teacher education and in-service courses, and for curriculum authorities to ensure that subject areas contained elements of Māori and Pacific Island cultures. It was instructed to advocate with the Department of Education firstly, to expand the range of multicultural resources it offered schools and secondly, to develop a teacher education course for indigenous speakers.

1.5. Pākehā packaging?

The report suggests that not all delegates welcomed the proposals but the Auckland region and executive provided determined leadership. The PPTA News article notes that:

¹ PPTA Executive minutes. August 1974

“One of the Maori delegates to the conference, Peter Wikaira of King Country said his first impression of the papers was ‘Pakeha packaging. But I thought about it again. I thought what a token effort, about 30 or 40 years too late, social window dressing. Then I had another look and I said don’t get angry Pete, they are trying to get something.”²

1.6. Reflecting on this debate, Peter Allen, later to become PPTA president (1986-87), and the first chair of the Multicultural Advisory Committee, acknowledged that:

“... ours is a society in which the Pakeha culture dominates. Members of minority cultural groups are forced to relinquish their own culture if they are to be deemed to be successes.”³

1.7. **Turangawaewae Marae - March 1984**

Two years later, in a seminal event, the New Zealand Māori Council organised a national hui at Turangawaewae Marae to channel the anger and frustration over Māori achievement in schools. The concerns raised at the hui were wide-reaching but a particular target was the dubious practice of School Certificate scaling by a subject-based hierarchy which resulted in a Māori pass rate of only 38%.⁴

1.8. **Waahi Marae April 1984**

This hui was followed by a PPTA-sponsored hui in April 1984 at Waahi Marae which established the principles that were to underpin later developments. The hui called for a range of changes including:

- Māori to become an official language;
- The Māori language to become part of the core curriculum;
- Taha Māori to be an integral component of schools;
- Teachers to receive training in taha Māori;
- The recruitment of more Māori teachers;
- The abolition of School Certificate; and
- That PPTA establish an autonomous forum of post-primary teachers that would be constitutionally recognised and financially supported by the PPTA.

1.9. Sadly, one of the original members of MEAC and a prime mover for changes in PPTA, Erana Coulter, was killed in a car accident on her way to address the PPTA principal’s conference. Her topic was to be “Taha Māori: its meaning and place in secondary education.”⁵

1.10. **Annual Conference: First Pōwhiri**

The Waahi recommendations were subsequently endorsed by PPTA annual conference. PPTA News announced with some pride that the most significant feature of the 1984 conference was the “incorporation of both the Māori language and Māori culture.”⁶ For the first time, delegates experienced a pōwhiri at annual conference, guests were welcomed with a pōwhiri and waiata were sung.

² “*Multicultural Move Approved.*” PPTA News Vol 2 No 13 September 1981. P1

³ Peter Allen (later to be PPTA president, 1986-87). PPTA Journal, Term 2 1982. P2

⁴ Smaller subjects were scaled against the cohort results in English which resulted in an anomaly whereby the pass rate in Latin was 70% while for Māori language the average was invariably below 50 - no matter how good the students were.

⁵ “*Taha Māori – Bridging Two Cultures.*” PPTA News Vol 5 No 11 July 1984. P3

⁶ “*Taha Māori finds place in Annual Conference proceedings.*” PPTA News Vol 5 No 13 September 1984. P4.

“The powhiri set the tone for the whole conference with many speakers, including the Prime Minister, David Lange and the Minister of Education David Lange, greeting delegates in Māori and receiving the appropriate response.”

- 1.11. Moreover, the session devoted to discussing the recommendations from the Waahi hui abandoned the formal meeting processes altogether (and they were considerably more formal then) for a marae-based approach.

“This session of the conference would undoubtedly have been the most significant and yet it is difficult to convey in words the spirit of a group of people committed to sharing ideas and trying to understand one another’s point of view.”⁷

- 1.12. It was clearly a momentous and optimistic experience for those involved.

1.13. **Whai pānga**

This was the beginning of a very active period during which PPTA grappled with the issue of how the union could best serve Māori PPTA members. The Association’s first kaumatua, Hamiora Tangiora, was appointed at the end of 1984 after serving three years on MEAC.

- 1.14. In 1985, PPTA executive determined that there must always be at least two Māori at its meetings. The decision came as a response to the criticism voiced at the Waahi Hui that,

“it was not possible for a pakeha to accurately represent Māori opinion or for pakeha teachers to talk about how Māori teachers should be involved in PPTA. There needed to be some direct way of obtaining the reaction of Māori people.”⁸

- 1.15. The next year, the size of executive was increased by two places, to be filled at the discretion of the PPTA Multicultural Education Advisory Committee.

1.16. **The flax roots**

Regions were beginning to support the kaupapa too; Auckland, South Auckland and Hawkes Bay were particularly active in organising marae-based seminars attended by teachers, students and parents.⁹ The Auckland region wrote to the general secretary asking that executive contact government ministers seeking a bill that would promote Māori and Taha Māori programmes and would also assess how far schools were staffed to be able to achieve this end.

1.17. **Engari ka tauheretia te aroha ka mau**

Executive began work on establishing the first paid, union position specifically created to further the interests of Māori. The first appointee to the Āpiha Māori position was Ken Mair who took up the job in July 1987.

- 1.18. Once there was a paid official in place, events moved more quickly. Later that year at annual conference, delegates were asked to make a tangible commitment to the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi by including it in the constitution.¹⁰ They were also asked to approve the establishment

⁷ Ibid

⁸ “*Executive ensures access to Māori view.*” PPTA News Vol 6 No 12. August 1985. P12.

⁹ “*Discussions continue Waahi spirit.*” PPTA News Vol 5 No 16. October 1984. P4.

¹⁰ The actual resolution was: THAT this National PPTA Conference makes explicit its commitment to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi as central to the Constitution of the PPTA.

of a Māori structure in PPTA and to hold discussions in their regions about the role of Te Tiriti. Although there was some concern expressed about the speed of the process – with Māori delegates noting the irony implied in such comments – conference approved the process. A further recommendation called for specific action to support Māori women teachers seeking promotion in schools with high numbers of Māori and Pasifika students.

- 1.19. The record suggests it was not an easy debate but the case was well made by Māori executive members Maiki Marks and Fred Jackson and supported by other non-Māori members of the executive. Discussion was summed up by Eru Potaka-Dewes, principal of Ngā Tapuwae College with the whakatauki:

Ka tauheretia te harakeke ka mutu; Engari ka tauheretia te aroha ka mau.
(If you tie it with flax it will slip; if you tie it with love, it will last.)¹¹

1.20. Change afoot

Despite the difficulties, changes were occurring as evidenced by the November PPTA News which noted that Jim Anglem from Aparima College would be the first Māori to win the position of junior vice president.¹² In the same issue it was reported that the PPTA region of Aorangi was to change its name to Aoraki because it was “the correct southern dialect.”¹³

- 1.21. PPTA principals were also beginning to embrace change. They began their 1987 conference with a pōwhiri for the first time and affirmed in their meeting that Te Tiriti was a cornerstone for educational policies in New Zealand.¹⁴

1.22. Back to Waahi

More tangible advances came in 1988 as the Association moved to consider how to give effect to Te Tiriti. As part of this process, Māori teachers met at Waahi Marae in May 1988 and developed a plan for establishing Māori structures in PPTA. The frustration with the speed of change was obvious at the meeting with calls for a strict timeline for change, immediate establishment of total immersion Māori schools, better representation of Māori in PPTA and even proposals to set up a separate pan-Māori union.

- 1.23. Following on from this meeting PPTA annual conference agreed to establish a network of regional Māori coordinators (ngā Reo a Rohe) and to formally constitute a geographically-based Māori executive, to be known as Te Huarahi Māori Motuhake (Te Huarahi). It also appointed the first association whaea, Kath Sarich.

1.24. Te Tiriti

The PPTA constitution was amended to include reference to Te Tiriti and more specifically, to affirm PPTA’s commitment to,

“the concept of genuine partnership embodied in the Treaty . Acceptance of this commitment suggests that PPTA will affirm and advance:

- the duty to consult about education matters;

¹¹ “*Nga Take Māori.*” PPTA News Vol 8 No 11 September 1987. P8

¹² “*Executive elections.*” PPTA News Vol 8 No 13 November 1987. P2

¹³ “*Name change.*” PPTA News Vol 8 No 14 November 1987. P8.

¹⁴ “*Principals conference largest ever.*” PPTA News Vol 8 No 10 August 1987. P3

- the duty to work for improvements in education that will make good present deficiencies;
- the duty to protect actively, to the fullest extent, Māori values;
- the duty to work to make PPTA structures and policies responsive to the needs of Māori as well as non-Māori;
- the duty to ensure that Māori and non-Māori have equal status in education;
- Māori values, where those values or where Māori taonga are at risk.”¹⁵

1.25. Again, the debate was not straightforward with a number of members expressing concern about the implications, particularly the financial costs, of such change. The remit was passed by 81 votes to 12.

1.26. Wāhine Toa

One issue which was to surface fairly regularly as a source of tension was the role of women in the pōwhiri. On the one hand, honouring the partnership required acceptance of Māori protocol but on the other, as delegates pointed out, there was a “need for women to retain the voice it has taken so long to achieve.”¹⁶ The debate around the adoption of the annual report was characterised by an unresolved dispute about the right of the female president, Ruth Chapman, to speak. It was not until 1989 that agreement was reached and executive approved a PPTA kawa developed by the kaumatua, Te Whare Turuwhenua. It established that:

“...powhiri have a place in association activities and that the kaumatua or his representative would speak for the association when powhiri are held. Neither Pakeha men or women will speak at powhiri while representing the association.”¹⁷

1.27. Unions under attack

The backdrop for these discussions was an education system under siege. The State Sector Act (1988) completely changed the bargaining environment for PPTA and required it to codify all teachers’ conditions into a single document. All conditions, hard-won by teachers over the years had to be separately justified before the State Services Commission, which had been empowered to operate a zero-sum bargaining environment. The following year, the Education Act of 1989 introduced the Tomorrow’s Schools reforms accompanied by plans to dismantle the national pay structures, cut costs through bulk funding, sideline unions and introduce privatisation and user-pays.

1.28. Tino Rangitiratanga

For Māori, the situation was complex because the 1984 Labour government for all its neoliberal approach to financial matters, was sensitive to issues of disability and racial and sexual inequality. So, for example, the State Owned Enterprise Act (1986) included the following:

“Nothing in this Act shall permit the crown to act in a manner that is inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.” (s9)

1.29. A subsequent court case taken by the Māori Council confirmed that the Crown could no longer ride roughshod over Treaty principles. Although this precedent was about land, it was soon

¹⁵ PPTA Constitution. P4.

¹⁶“PPTA kawa.” PPTA News. Vol 9 No 10 September 1988. P5.

¹⁷“Conference opens with a powhiri.” PPTA News. Vol 10 No10. August 1989. P12.

expanded to other areas giving a significant impetus to tino rangatiratanga. Māori were also able to make effective use of the changes under Tomorrow's Schools, empowering 21 parents to seek to set up a school, to establish kura kaupapa or whare kura.

1.30. Better assessment

Slowly the assessment system was changing too, with the abolition of the irrational School Certificate scaling system that was a source of such unfairness for Māori students (and anyone doing vocational subjects), the abolition of University Entrance and the initial experiments with internal assessment and standards-based assessment. Teachers of Te Reo were in the vanguard of internal assessment because of the importance of being able to assess oral language. Discussions about a new standards-based system that would focus on what students knew were about to revolutionise assessment in secondary schools and would be particularly beneficial for Māori students. The curriculum for Māori medium schools, Te Marautanga, was launched in 1992.

- 1.31. At the same time the reforms wrought by neoliberal governments, including job cuts and the slashing of social welfare spending, impacted most harshly on the young and the poor, a demographic which was predominantly Māori.

1.32. Class politics

For PPTA, the 1990s was a time of resistance: to the Employment Contracts Act, to bulk funding and individual contracts, to job losses, restructuring, student loans and user-pays, and burgeoning inequality accompanied by the concomitant social problems. The strength of the collective was tested constantly throughout these years, both nationally and also at regional and branch level. It is testimony to the commitment and determination of PPTA members, Māori and Pākehā, that PPTA was able to withstand these attacks.

1.33. 1990: Sesquicentennial of Te Tiriti

1990 was a significant year for Māori and Pākehā relations in New Zealand as it was 150 years since the signing of the Tiriti O Waitangi. It began inauspiciously for PPTA with a Te Huarahi boycott of the first executive meeting of the year. There was an expectation that Jim Anglem the junior vice president would be the Association's first Māori president but the election was won by Shona Hearn (Smith). With hindsight this seems to have reflected a breakdown in communications as Pākehā members of executive appeared to not be aware of the expectation.¹⁸

1.34. Te Totara Wahi Rua

Matters were resolved through the Te Totara Wahi Rua process which was the name given to the formal discussions undertaken to resolve disagreements arising from Ngā Take Māori. At annual conference that year, a paper of the same name advocating amendments to the PPTA constitution was passed. It established an electoral roll for Māori members, and constitutional processes for the election of Te Huarahi members, the convenor, Te Reo a Rohe positions, and for the kaumatua and whaea. It also set up a process for determining executive and annual conference Māori delegations.

- 1.35. During 1990, regions were encouraged to undertake activities that promoted Te Tiriti and were supported with funding to do so. In April 1990, PPTA appointed its first Māori field officer, Kingi

¹⁸ PPTA papers. HX 90/247

Houkamau and the first Māori principal, Frank Solomon, was appointed to the PPTA Principals' Advisory Committee.

1.36. Testing Times

The election of a National government at the end of 1990 meant PPTA was immediately embroiled in industrial and political campaigns around the Employments Contracts Act, bulk funding and the teacher staff cuts in the 1991 "mother of all budgets".¹⁹ Despite the multipronged attack, members were unified and resolute. The organisation was able to draw upon the traditional Māori commitment to collectivism (and in the case of some Te Huarahi members an understanding of the realities of industrial action forged in freezing works and shearing gangs) to bring strength to the struggle. The Āpiha Māori led from the front, declaring bulk funding to be in breach of the Tiriti because it,

"releases the government from its obligation to protect Māori rights...divides the whanau, ...promotes individualism and competition (and) negates cooperation."²⁰

1.37. Te Ara Taki; Education Sector Union

Partly as a response to the attacks on unions, preparations had begun to establish a single education union. This was a welcome development for many Māori members who were used to working together in organisations like the Māori Education Authority, the Combined Teachers Association and through an educational pressure group called Tino Rangatiratanga.

1.38. As well as challenging the neoliberal push in education, the latter group undertook investigations and publicly exposed schools that it regarded as having racist practices. This activity was a source of some discomfort to executive as members in those schools tended to blame PPTA for the negative publicity.

1.39. The Education Sector Union failed to get approval from the 1992 annual conference, partly because NZEI members had refused to join with PPTA in a strike on July 1st 1992 – the first strike by any union under the Employment Contracts Act - and also perhaps because the elaborate multi-level separate structures for women and Māori signalled an increase in union dues.

1.40. Te Huarahi

Internally, Te Huarahi continued to make progress on its agenda, including developing a better process for allocating a budget for its expanded range of activities and successfully making a case to convince executive of the need for a bilingual secretary to support its work.

1.41. The Āpiha Māori

In 1994 Ken Mair left PPTA. As a fearless and determined advocate for Māori, he had provided the leadership executive had wanted at the time, abrasive when necessary but also persistent and able to work with others to find solutions. He had successfully built structures that ensured that Māori voice and influence was integral to the functioning of PPTA.

1.42. His replacement, Te Mākao Bowkett, brought different qualities to the role, consistent with the changing demands. Her background in secondary teaching and as a Te Huarahi activist meant

¹⁹ The Finance Minister, Ruth Richardson described her Budget this way. It cut benefits and introduced user pays into health and education and cut over 600 teaching jobs.

²⁰ "Bulk funding implications for Māori." PPTA News Vol 12. No 8 August 1991. (supplement)

she brought a strong professional, educational and union focus to the role while her efficiency and skill in administration ensured that public showcase events such as Ngā Manu Kōrero and the Māori Teachers Conference ran smoothly and grew in popularity.

1.43. Tino Rangitiratanga 1997

Following on from the development of a Collaborative Action Plan for Māori secondary students in 1996, Te Huarahi presented a paper to the 1997 PPTA annual conference, called Tino Rangitiratanga. It aimed to engage delegates and regions in the process of advancing understandings about Te Tiriti and was to develop resources to assist with the process. The following year, Te Huarahi sought conference approval for a report on a Māori structural analysis.

1.44. He Huarahi Hou 2000

The report, written by Dr Moana Jackson, was received at conference in 2000 along with a recommendation that executive establish a Treaty Change Management Team to progress its proposals. So began a reasonably fractious period in Tiriti relationships as executive and Te Huarahi tried to fit the proposals made in *He Huarahi Hou* into a union structure.

1.45. A number of the proposals from the report were able to be actioned including the establishment of Te Roopu Matua, the provision of Treaty-change workshops, the expansion of Mahi Tika programmes to include Tiriti courses at level 1, 2 and 3, the use of Māori protocol in other Mahi Tika programmes, constitutional change to better align iwi and PPTA regional boundaries, improved representation at annual conference and the development of clear cultural protocols for use in association activities. Progress was made on the staffing proposals, with the appointment of a Māori field officer, Te Mataroa.

1.46. The proposal to redraw and reduce the number of regions and to create a new smaller executive was never really seen as consistent with a dynamic, organised, membership-driven organisation and was not acted upon. To some extent, the structural changes and the audit requirements proposed in the original report are a reflection of a 1990s perspective that prioritised organisation over relationships. At the time, for example, the focus in schools was on management, accountability and auditing in contrast to the later emphasis on the development of relationships that best enhance learning. This shifting viewpoint is captured in the 2018 Te Huarahi conference paper, *Time to Review and Strengthen PPTA's Treaty Relationships* which states:

“Te Huarahi Māori Motuhake wishes to build on the unique place of tangata whenua as the first people of Aotearoa. Within the context of the PPTA, that means we must continue to honour our obligations to one another under the Treaty of Waitangi, through whanaungatanga and making connections based on relationships of trust and purposeful engagement.”²¹

²¹ Time to Review and Strengthen PPTA's Treaty Relationships. PPTA conference paper 2018. P5

2. COLLECTIVE PROGRESS

2.1. Industrial Agreements

From the 1980s, efforts have been made to better support Māori teachers in their workplaces by negotiating clauses that take account of their cultural needs. Leave provisions were expanded by the inclusion of tangihanga leave and the NZ Māori Council, Māori Women's Welfare League, Tribal Trust Boards, Iwi Authorities and Rūnanga-A-Iwi were added to the list of statutory bodies for which teachers were entitled to paid leave.

2.1.1. Te Atakura

The most significant development was that of Te Atakura, a culturally responsive teacher education model. It was a direct response from PPTA to the demand from Waahi that there be more Māori teachers in schools. There was a sense of urgency around this proposal because of the revitalisation of te reo driven by kohanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori. It was to operate as a forerunner of the current process of recognition of prior learning (RPL) by having applicants' suitability assessed by the local Māori community and a qualification *He Tohu Mātauranga Māori* awarded.

2.1.2. As earlier schemes that had tried to fast track Māori speakers into schools had failed largely because of under-preparation and the unreasonable expectations of schools, PPTA wanted enhanced support for teachers this time. Consequently the collective agreement established a provision guaranteeing such teachers a time allowance of 0.5 in which to undertake community engagement:

3.7 Te Atākura Time Allowance

3.7.1 Te Atākura graduates trained in 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991 and 1992:

(a) Shall be allocated a time allowance of up to 0.5 FTTE time as a special allowance for teachers trained under Te Atākura scheme for the use of their special skills in the areas of Taha Māori, of support for Māori students and for liaison between the school and the Māori community; and at least 0.5 FTTE from the school's normal staffing entitlement.

(b) For clarity, these allowances are in addition to those provided under 5.2.

2.1.3. The opening up of teacher education courses to private providers after 1989 seriously undermined the qualification and five years later, the ministry closed the scheme. For Māori teachers already in Te Atakura positions, the protections remained in place (although the employer party regularly sought to remove the time allowance during collective agreement negotiations.)

2.1.4. He Tohu Mātauranga mo te Ao Māori

As a result of the hard-fought and controversial collective agreement of 2002, He Tohu, along with a number of other G3 qualifications was subject to a salary bar.²² Facing

²² After 18 months of industrial action the collective agreement was referred to a dispute panel for resolution. In an attempt to control costs for the government by preventing a flow on to the primary teachers' collective agreement, the panel instituted a salary bar between 3 year and 4 year qualifications.

obduracy from the Ministry of Education, PPTA fashioned a solution based around recognition of prior learning (RPL) – basically requiring members to have their qualifications revalidated. This was not entirely welcomed but it did solve the problem and once the process was completed qualification holders received full backpay. As one member of Te Huarahi described it:

“G3: A number of us in our region completed the CAPL process. Although at first we moaned about the ‘work overload’ that was required to complete the process, we certainly changed our minds at the finish. The knowledge and skills gained was so valuable and stimulating and the experience truly enhanced our teaching practice. (Great P.D.) Sincere thanks to PPTA for supporting G3 members.”

2.1.5. Other contractual provisions

- Agreement to develop a good employer kit with respect to the employment needs of Māori.
- 15 study awards specifically dedicated to Māori (1999) increased to 20 in 2002 but removed in 2004 as result of Labour repudiating the “Closing the Gaps” policy. In practice PPTA representatives on the study award panel give active support to Māori applicants.
- Teacher relief days and travel funding for Ngā Manu Kōrero (2002).
- Resolving conflict in a Māori context.
- Māori Immersion Teaching Allowance (MITA) (2004). Legal action is currently underway to widen the application of this clause.
- Teacher relief days for kapa haka. (2007)
- Relief days for Polyfest and for teachers to attend kapa haka competitions. (2011)

2.2. Mahi Tika

As noted earlier, Mahi Tika has become an important vehicle for providing education about Te Tiriti since the first course for Māori members was held in 2004. Developed by Te Mataroa and field officers, these courses have a specific focus on the application of Treaty principles within the context of secondary education and professional teaching practice. All other Mahi Tika courses now include appropriate Māori protocol.

2.3. Ngā Manu Kōrero

PPTA has been an active partner and supporter of Ngā Manu Kōrero for most of its 50 years. As ever, with these sorts of events, the bulk of work is done by the often unsung heroes on the ground, secondary teachers. One stalwart contributor whose efforts must be acknowledged is Te Huarahi activist, Tihi Puanaki.

- 2.4. PPTA has assisted them by administering the competition, providing a reliable source of funding (including in 2008 when the Ministry of Education decided to reduce its contribution by half) and by supporting teachers through the addition of collective agreement clauses that deliver relief days and travel subsidies.

2.5. Māori Secondary Teacher Conferences

From its inaugural conference in 1995, Te Tau o Te Reo Māori, the Māori Teachers’ Conference has grown from strength to strength and provided an important forum where Māori teachers can offer and receive professional support and validation. A notable change over recent times is the

number of Pākehā teachers who attend because they want to better understand the needs of their Māori students and to make common cause with their Māori colleagues.

2.6. Polyfest

PPTA has also been an active and visible supporter of the various cultural festivals – both at a national and regional level. They have continued to grow in terms of status and popularity.

2.7. Professional support

PPTA provides professional guidance to secondary teachers in the form of publications on various topics including advice to teachers on effective ways of working with Māori students. It has also developed advice for boards of trustees to assist them in meeting their obligations to Māori employees.

2.8. Future possibilities

An interesting challenge for the future is how PPTA continues to offer its courses in schools where only Māori is spoken. The Rainbow Taskforce is approaching this issue creatively by setting up a group to translate its Safer Schools for All presentation into te reo and by training members who are fluent speakers to deliver the programme in partnership with an advisory officer.

3. ARE WE THERE YET?

3.1. The He Huarahi Hou paper provides a useful checklist for evaluating progress:²³

3.1.1. *Does the organisation have structural arrangements that permit effective and accountable involvement of Māori at governance and management level?*

PPTA has an extensive network of structures that support and encourage Māori to join and be active in the union. It also provides forums and networks that give voice to Māori issues and concerns: Te Huarahi, Te Roopu, Te Reo o Rohe, the Kaumatua, the Whaea, the Mataroa and the Āpiha. Events such as the Māori Teachers Conference, Ngā Manu Kōrero and polyfestivals all offer opportunities to recruit and engage new members. The model PPTA operates enables Te Huarahi to determine and fund its own priorities while still ensuring there is a Te Huarahi voice on executive. The result is a cross-fertilisation of ideas.

3.1.2. *Does it have effective and accountable processes for the development of Māori policy-making?*

PPTA is a broad church and members hold a range of views on issues. Policy making is not so much about the static structures but how people engage with them and how they see their own viewpoints reflected in outcomes. In general, PPTA tries to accept a diversity of views and encourages frank and open debate along with its concomitants, respect, trust and kindness. There will not be agreement on every issue but it should be possible to at least reach an understanding about why there is a difference of viewpoint. As an example of how this works, the Māori Teachers' Conference welcomes members and non-members (aside from a single timetabled, PPTA-only slot) so non-members see the reality of teachers' work and the role their union plays in supporting that work. As a result many non-members have joined the union.

Over the last two years, Te Huarahi has demonstrated policy-making in action by presenting two well-received papers to annual conference.

3.1.3. *Does it have effective and equitable representation of Māori at governance level based on an equal right to representation rather than allocation based on set criteria such as population or membership?*

As far as possible, the parties have moved away from raw numeric formulae and have tried to establish kaupapa-driven relationships based on mutual respect. The goal is to find ways to support the needs and aspirations of all members. There is no evidence that members of Te Huarahi want to jettison the current arrangements for a single joint executive.

3.1.4. *Does it provide for an equality of resourcing, in both financial and structural terms, so that fair and reasonable outcomes can be expected and met?*

Again this process is kaupapa-driven. Funds should be spent wisely, accounted for, and directed to the encouragement of activism. For more than 25 years, Te Huarahi has operated successfully and predictably within its budget. On exceptional occasions, as happened in 2008 when the Ministry of Education threatened to withdraw \$30,000 from the

²³ The responses are a composite of views expressed by the Āpiha Māori and the General Secretary.

budget for Ngā Manu Kōrero, a case may be made to executive (as any group in PPTA may do) for funding. Executive will invariably approve spending requests that are fair and reasonable.

- 3.1.5. *Does it allow for the negotiation of resources based on an equal right to identify needs and set priorities, rather than allocation based on set criteria such as population or membership?*

Te Huarahi sets its own priorities and negotiates its own budget. The Totara Wahi Rua process exists to deal with disagreements over budget allocations but in practice, requests for justified increases will never be declined.

- 3.1.6. *Does it function on the basis of a genuine and practicable sharing of power developed over time through policy and structural change?*

As noted in (1) above, there are many doors through which teachers can enter PPTA. Where people gather and feel acknowledged, they join and participate.

- 3.1.7. *Does it acknowledge and allow for the development of the different processes Māori may follow in reaching decisions, formulating policy, ensuring accountability or undertaking analysis?*

Yes, but within the context of the political realities that inevitably constrain unions. Issues are complex and compromise may be required. Compromise goes both ways; there must be acceptance of the validity of a majority decision made according to the correct process, but there can also be compromise around the edges of that decision if, by so doing, the needs of the union are better served. For example, on rare occasions, in special circumstances, a member may be excused from following a strike directive.

- 3.1.8. *Does it accept that Māori rights in decision-making or policy development are applicable to all matters, and that the core business of the organisation is “Treaty business?”*

All members must be given the opportunity to contribute to the debate. A fair process is critical but in all settings, including on a marae, the final decision binds everyone. On issues like bulk funding and charter schools, some Māori (usually outside the union) did not agree with the PPTA opposition but within the union Māori members were staunch and successful opponents.

The unity demonstrated in the bulk funding struggle has been noted previously. Similarly, credit must be given to Māori members in Northland for their brave and principled opposition to charter schools. This was very difficult because the fault lines on this issue ran through whānau and friends.

The loss, in 2004, of the 20 study awards reserved for Māori was an example of political realities overtaking PPTA goals. While no one was happy about the concession, the political realities meant that there was no alternative. The negative publicity around the “closing the gaps” policy was such that the government was unwilling to put its re-election chances at risk by continuing with any policies that looked like affirmative action. Undeterred, PPTA called upon the skill and dedication of its representatives on the study award panel to ensure that at least 20 of the study awards went to Māori applicants; they were successful.

3.1.9. *Does it provide Māori with an appropriate level of professional and management education that acknowledges the past inequality of such training?*

There are rich opportunities for leadership development at all levels of PPTA.

3.1.10. *Does it accept that rights in decision-making or policy development include the right to seek independent advice according to the priorities and resources of each party?*

This has been the practice and will continue. It is invariably useful to reach outside the organisation for an alternative view. That view may not wholly align with PPTA positions but will help clarify the discussions. In 2006 executive and Te Huarahi held a joint meeting at Tapu Te Ranga Marae to reconcile concerns about research that had been commissioned into the PLD programme, Te Kotahitanga. The conclusion was an acceptance that PPTA may commission research on any topic but may not necessarily agree with all aspects of the findings.

3.1.11. *Does it accept that Māori rights in decision-making or policy development need to be recognised at the beginning of any programme or policy development?*

The rule of effective decision-making is that all those affected by a decision should be consulted about it and the earlier in the process the better. A sound process demands that Māori be consulted.

3.1.12. *Does it have reasonable and reciprocal processes for resolving disputes between Treaty parties?*

Yes - the Totara Wahi Rua process, but the goal is to avoid allowing disagreements to reach the stage where people have taken up adversarial stances.

3.1.13. *Does it recognise that the Treaty relationship necessarily involves good faith compromise and a reasonable balancing of interests, provided that such reconciliation is based on a process of equitable negotiation rather than proactive response or majoritarian dictate?*

Kneejerk reactions and riding roughshod over minority views are not acceptable processes in an organisation committed to good faith dealings.

3.1.14. *Does it accept the need for review and change based in the living nature of Te Tiriti and acknowledge the right of Māori or non-Māori to independently action such review as they see necessary?*

Again, there should always be acceptance of an alternative view providing that process is one of respect and good faith.

3.1.15. *Does it acknowledge that the Treaty relationship is between iwi and hapū and the Crown and that any other arrangements which non-Māori may wish to make with other groups in an organisation flow from that?*

It's more complex than that for a union; the prime relationship is with members who, by paying their subscriptions, generate rights and entitlements that are legally enforceable. Unions must always be mindful of that reality. For PPTA to be designated part of the Crown House, with all the responsibilities implied in that, though without the power to tax and legislate that the Crown has, would render the union non-viable. Once again the answer probably lies in accepting the complexity and building positive relationships rather than relying on abstract rules.

An issue that PPTA has not really given consideration to is the prospect of the successful iwi education initiatives leading to a desire for iwi-based collective agreements. Given the expectations sometimes placed on teachers in these schools – that they must serve the needs of iwi first – the result could be a derogation of employment conditions.

3.1.16. Does it have appropriate constitutional and structural arrangements that ensure Treaty compliance in practice as well as theory?

The word “compliance” with its connotations of pass/fail judgements is probably not the best descriptor for this process. Te Tiriti is now part of the PPTA Strategic Plan which means it is subject to regular review and re-evaluation.

3.1.17. Does it provide for ongoing dialogue and education to ensure that all members of the organisation are aware of the historical, political and social context of Te Tiriti and thus able to participate meaningfully in Treaty-based change?

Membership education is an ongoing project for a union.

3.1.18. Does it provide Māori with the skills and training to adequately discharge their obligations as members of the organisation and the profession?

As noted earlier, the opportunities are there. As for all unions, indeed all organisations, moving people from passive membership to active engagement is a perpetual challenge.

3.1.19. Does it provide a culturally-safe environment for all members of the organisation?

PPTA endeavours to build professional, collegial relationships in all aspects of its operations.

3.1.20. Is it just and is it seen to be just?

It should be, and is open to challenge from members should it behave in ways that are unfair or dishonest.

4. CONCLUSION

- 4.1. The last Treaty audit looked mainly at structures and policies and not so much at the practices, people and relationships that animate those structures. This paper has focussed on the questions posed in section 3.1 of the 2018 PPTA conference paper, *Time to Review and Strengthen PPTA's Treaty Relationships*, namely:
- What is (PPTA) doing in its relationship with Māori members?
 - What (does) a Treaty relationship mean for both Māori and Pākehā members of the PPTA?
 - What (does) it mean when we talk about a Tiriti relationship rather than a Tiriti partnership?
 - How (can) the PPTA continue to explore and give effect to our Treaty goals, aspirations and obligations to build collaborative relationships and mana-enhancing partnerships?
- 4.2. While it would have been possible to write a report that stressed the frustration, conflict, challenges and failures that the union has experienced in its efforts to become bicultural, that would have been to disregard the very real progress that has been made and to dismiss the many activists, Māori, Pākehā and Pasifika who have reliably and patiently shown the way forward. One individual who stands out as being ever-present in the debate, solution-focussed and active in building consensus was the previous general secretary, Kevin Bunker. In this context, we should acknowledge his leadership.
- 4.3. It is possible to discern a new and more positive spirit within the membership about Tiriti relationships. This is unsurprising given the work over the last four decades but it also reflects generational change and the role of other government agencies (e.g. ERO and the Teaching Council) in affirming and advancing Te Tiriti in education. In 1984 PPTA was one of the few largely Pākehā organisations prepared to engage with these issues; today no public or private entity can afford not to.
- 4.4. It is not the task of this paper to make recommendations, instead it has attempted to provide a response to the question about what the difference there is between a Tiriti partnership and a Tiriti relationship; a Tiriti partnership is where the road starts, a Tiriti relationship is the shared growth that happens along the way.

He taonga rongonui te aroha ki te tangata: Good will towards others is a precious treasure.

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