

## CHAPTER 3

# MODERN WANANGA

### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we will briefly describe the origins of modern wananga. We will examine the principles upon which they have developed and devote some time to each of the three wananga in existence. By doing so, we hope to establish just how important wananga are for Maori, in particular, and for New Zealand.

Wananga form an integral part of the current Maori education system. Wananga are the Maori TEIS in existence today and follow on from kohanga reo (pre-schools), kura kaupapa Maori (primary schools), and whare kura (secondary schools) in the chain of Maori education. Wananga offer tertiary courses in a Maori-controlled environment; their core focus is the delivery of te reo and matauranga Maori to their pupils. Because of this, wananga play a critical role in the ongoing educational development of Maori.<sup>1</sup>

### 3.2 STATUTORY RECOGNITION OF WANANGA

Wananga are given statutory recognition under section 162 of the Education Act 1989 (as added by section 36 of the Education Amendment Act 1990). As such, wananga are regarded as the peers of universities, polytechnics, and colleges of education. Section 162(4)(b)(iv) states that:

A wananga is characterised by teaching and research that maintains, advances, and disseminates knowledge and develops intellectual independence, and assists the application of knowledge regarding ahuatanga Maori (Maori tradition) according to tikanga Maori (Maori custom).

This definition places a statutory responsibility upon wananga to teach and conduct research within traditional Maori social structures.

Three wananga are currently recognised as TEIS under the Education Act. Te Wananga o Raukawa and Te Wananga o Aotearoa were established in 1993, and Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi was given statutory recognition in 1997.

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1. Document A45, p 1

### 3.3 WHAKATUPURANGA RUA MANO

The Raukawa trustees, a body representing the tribal confederation of Te Ati Awa, Ngati Toarangatira, and Ngati Raukawa (the ART confederation), established Te Wananga o Raukawa in 1981, in response to an iwi-based experiment initiated six years earlier.

In 1975, the Raukawa trustees began a tribal planning experiment entitled Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, or Generation 2000. The purpose of this experiment was to prepare the ART confederation for the twenty-first century. The programme called for the establishment of a new TEI, a trustee for the Maori language, and an academy of Maori arts.<sup>2</sup>

The entire Whakatupuranga Rua Mano programme was underpinned by four key principles:

- (a) the principle that the Maori language is a taonga;
- (b) the principle that people are our greatest resource;
- (c) the principle that the marae is the principal home of the iwi; and
- (d) the principle of rangatiratanga.

These principles are discussed in more detail below.

- (a) *Te reo Maori*: In 1975, a census was conducted in the region occupied by the ART confederation revealing a seriously low number of speakers of te reo Maori under 30 years of age. This census found that no people in that age range had any significant knowledge of the Maori language. Whakatupuranga Rua Mano took heed of this alarming fact and took action to raise the number of speakers of te reo Maori.
- (b) *People*: Whakatupuranga Rua Mano signalled an intention by the ART confederation to improve the position of its people, and great effort has been expended in upskilling and educating the people of the confederation.
- (c) *Marae*: By locating the activities of Te Wananga o Raukawa and Whakatupuranga Rua Mano upon marae, the confederation was again locating the programmes in a unique paradigm. Locating activities at marae facilitated student access to education, the rejuvenation of marae through their redefinition as educational centres, and the revitalisation of knowledge and concepts related to marae, including management, conflict resolution, arts, whakapapa, and other matters.
- (d) *Rangatiratanga*: Whakatupuranga Rua Mano was an exercise in self-determination on the part of the ART confederation. According to the confederation, rangatiratanga relates to the responsibility of Maori to govern themselves and to take on the responsibility to improve their lives. Te Wananga o Raukawa represents the serious determination of the ART confederation to take on these responsibilities.

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2. Document A44, sec 4.1.1

### 3.4 TE WANANGA O RAUKAWA

The Raukawa trustees established Te Wananga o Raukawa as a vehicle to put into practical effect the ideas and the four principles articulated in Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. These principles continue to influence the work of Te Wananga o Raukawa today. The wananga was located on a property owned by the Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board just outside the boundary of the Otaki township. It pays a market rent to the trusts board to use this land. Through the dedication and drive of the trustees and the support of a committed group of unpaid tutors, the kaiawhina, Te Wananga o Raukawa was established and commenced its teaching programme in 1981.

The Tribunal was glad to receive evidence from claimant witnesses about the history of Te Wananga o Raukawa. Clearly, there were a number of dedicated, well-qualified, and far-sighted people who took responsibility for launching this ambitious initiative. Some original staff and their successors have steadfastly and loyally nurtured both the quantity and the quality of courses offered over the past 18 years. That their vision succeeded, and continues to expand and succeed, is, in great measure, a tribute to those founders and to the dedication and selfless support of a significant number of kaiawhina, who, without reward, have provided expert tuition to the students of Te Wananga o Raukawa ever since. It is abundantly clear from the evidence that, without that support (which has been replicated by the other claimant wananga), the wananga initiative would not have been the success time has proved it to be.

Today, Te Wananga o Raukawa offers one-year diplomas and three-year bachelor degrees in health studies, iwi and hapu studies, Maori laws and philosophy, administrative studies, design and art, hapu development, and matauranga Maori. Maori language studies are a compulsory aspect of every course at Te Wananga o Raukawa, which also runs masters programmes in Maori and management and matauranga Maori. In the case of the masters of matauranga Maori, all seminars are delivered in te reo Maori, and a thesis must be produced, exploring an aspect of matauranga Maori and written in Maori.<sup>3</sup>

Te Wananga o Raukawa was formally registered as a wananga in 1993, 12 years after the commencement of its education program.

### 3.5 TE WANANGA O AOTEAROA

Te Wananga o Aotearoa also has a long history of struggle from a humble beginning – located on the Te Awamutu College rubbish tip – to statutory recognition as a TEI. Rongo Wetere, of Ngati Maniapoto, conceived the idea for Te Wananga o Aotearoa in 1983, following a successful initiative to build a marae at Te Awamutu College. The success of this project, using unemployed former students of the college, led to the first incarnation of Te Wananga o Aotearoa as the Waipa Kokiri Arts Centre. The centre was built on the rubbish tip in 1984, using an \$80,000 kokiri centre grant from

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3. Document A74(b)

the Department of Maori Affairs. This site had been a last resort since opposition from local residents had foiled plans to build on other sites. Witnesses, such as Marie Panapa, gave evidence of that opposition, which was allegedly based on prejudice and lacked an understanding of what would ultimately be achieved on the unlikely site.<sup>4</sup>

Banks were reluctant to lend the organisation money for the project, forcing the centre to arrange an \$80,000 short-term loan through a finance house, at 27.5 percent interest. When the money ran out, some committed individuals mortgaged their houses to provide funds for the centre. The Tribunal expresses its admiration for their courage and conviction. In 1984, the Te Awamutu Borough Council provided a guarantee for a loan of up to \$30,000. Using the hard-won money, volunteer labour, and recycled materials from old demolished buildings, the staff and students of the Waipa Kokiri Arts Centre provided themselves with their own facilities. The Tribunal believes that this was an amazing achievement.

By 1987, the centre had plans to apply for TEI status. It then had a roll of 212 students, of whom 86 were Pakeha and 126 Maori. It was believed that full TEI status could facilitate the provision of the best education for the growing clientele. The centre's trustees wanted to create a TEI that had no entry barriers, was user friendly, and was accessible. The centre won building contracts within the community, as well as plumbing and drainlaying contracts. The carving and weaving module completed work on over 50 marae throughout New Zealand. A demolition team was set up that eventually pulled down about 18,580 square metres of buildings, the materials being recycled for the centre's building projects. Over time, the diversity of projects expanded to include an aluminium boat building module, which completed over 200 boats. These commercial projects, along with Government grants such as MACCESS (Maori Access) funding, effectively provided the finance to continue and expand.

A key element in the Waipa Kokiri Arts Centre's philosophy was to expand to meet demand for its services. The centre experienced such dramatic growth and demand that by 1988 it had opened campuses in Hamilton and Manukau, where it set up a waka-building module. The centre's expansion into other tribal areas led it to change its name to the Aotearoa Institute, a name that reflected its increasingly pan-tribal nature.

In 1988, the Aotearoa Institute lodged an application for TEI status as a polytechnic. This initial application was unsuccessful. Apparently, the Ministry of Education lost the application. From 1989, the Aotearoa Institute made further applications for TEI status. Finally, in late 1993, the then Minister of Education, Dr the Honourable Lockwood Smith, made a surprise announcement outlining the Government's decision to grant full wananga status to the Aotearoa Institute and Te Wananga o Raukawa. Today, the main campus of Te Wananga o Aotearoa is situated in Te Awamutu, with other campuses in Te Kuiti, Porirua, Hamilton, Manukau, Henderson, and Rotorua. At present, the campuses of the wananga operate predominantly on leased land.

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4. Document A30

### 3.6 TE WHARE WANANGA O AWANUIARANGI

The inspiration for the establishment of Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi came from Professor Hirini Moko Mead, who wanted a wananga to provide advanced education for the people of Ngati Awa and Mataatua. Professor Mead first mooted his desire in 1987. The provision of funding for a wananga was always of major concern to the founders of Awanuiarangi. Although established by 1992, Awanuiarangi did not attain wananga status until 1 January 1997. Between 1992 and 1997, Awanuiarangi accepted the Ministry of Education's advice to secure interim funding through two existing TEIS: the University of Waikato and Waiariki Polytechnic.

The site chosen for the wananga is shared with the Apanui Education Centre at Whakatane. There is a certain piquancy about that choice, since the Crown had confiscated the land from Ngati Awa and its return is sought as part of the redress for the Ngati Awa raupatu claim. The site was devoid of buildings or other facilities, but the Ministry of Education made a grant of \$64,000, which, together with 50 percent of the equivalent full-time student (EFTS) grant (see sec 4.7), was used to purchase and erect a toilet block and an administration building on the site. Claimant counsel stated in opening submissions that Awanuiarangi had earlier put forward an architecturally designed plan of proposed facilities but this was rejected by Ministry officials as being too ambitious.<sup>5</sup>

Awanuiarangi's struggle to obtain registration as a wananga, and thus TEI status, as opposed to private training establishment (PTE) status, continued until 1 January 1997. Because of the delay, full entitlement to EFTS funding was not secured until 1997. The Awanuiarangi claimants believe that this was 'unacceptable given the financial hardships already endured by Awanuiarangi in bearing the costs of establishment'.<sup>6</sup>

### 3.7 TE TAUHU O NGA WANANGA ASSOCIATION

Te Tauhu o nga Wananga Association was formed in 1993 to represent Te Wananga o Aotearoa, Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi, and Te Wananga o Raukawa. The association meets three times a year to coordinate and develop policies to benefit the members as a whole. In addition, it represents the three wananga on various committees dealing with matters of concern to all wananga and assists in the coordination of activities at a national level on behalf of the three wananga.<sup>7</sup>

### 3.8 STATUTORY RESPONSIBILITIES OF WANANGA

Under part xv of the Education Act 1989, wananga with TEI status are subject to several statutory requirements regarding structure and organisation. All TEIS are

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5. Document A69, para 13

6. Ibid, para 18

7. Document A13, para 2

governed by their own councils, established under section 165 of the Act. Councils are to comprise between 12 and 20 members. Four representatives are appointed by the Minister of Education, other positions being filled by representatives of the employers, unions, staff, and students. Councils are required by legislation to reflect both the ethnic and socio-economic diversity of the communities served by the TEI and a gender balance. Councils determine the strategic direction, policies, and programmes of TEIS, as well as managing the budget (including the setting of tuition fee levels), and appointing chief executive officers. The chief executive officer (who may be alternatively designated a vice-chancellor, director, principal, or Te Tumuaki) implements council policies and decisions and manages the academic and administrative affairs of the institution, including the employment of teaching and support staff.

Each TEI is required by legislation to have a written charter that expresses the goals and purposes of the institution. The charter provides the foundation for all the teaching, research, and learning that is carried on in the TEI. Charters must be approved each year by the Minister of Education, who determines what funding is available for each TEI, based on whether the annual statement of objectives submitted to the Secretary for Education is suitable for the implementation of the charter. The TEIS and their governing councils have the freedom and autonomy to act within the constraints of their functions, duties, and powers, as set out in legislation and as consistent with the objectives of their charter, in order to meet student demand and to respond to local educational needs.

Despite their relatively small size, wananga must fulfil the same statutory requirements with respect to governance (such as the membership, work, and accountabilities of the council) as any TEI. These statutory accountabilities carry compliance costs, which must be met from operational funds. Wananga are forced, therefore, to draw from either their administration grant or their EFTS funding to pay these costs. Wananga are disadvantaged by this, because they have a smaller pool of funds compared to those granted to larger institutions.

### **3.9 THE NEW ZEALAND QUALIFICATIONS AUTHORITY**

Wananga had to attain the endorsement of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority in order to gain accreditation as TEIS under the Education Act 1989. The authority monitors wananga at regular intervals for academic audit purposes and also for degree programme accreditation. Several criteria must be met to attain degree accreditation. The criteria include having appropriate facilities (buildings, libraries, etc), financial resources to back the degree, qualified teaching staff, support for the degree, a commitment to research, transparent regulations, and no barriers to entry. The cost of accreditation and monitoring is met substantially by the wananga. Accreditation costs, for example, are \$10,000, plus travel and accommodation for an authority panel to attend the wananga and assess the degree in question. The

claimants told the Tribunal that this was a great burden, because wananga do not receive specific funding to pay for assessments.<sup>8</sup>

The Government requires wananga to achieve qualifications authority approval of their courses. The authority has accepted that all three wananga have the ability to deliver high-quality degree and education programmes. During questioning by the Tribunal, Professor Graham Smith, the chairperson of the council of Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi, told the Tribunal that many Maori education providers believe that authority accreditation has resulted in the over-standardisation of Maori courses. According to Professor Smith, this raises significant issues relating to the intellectual and cultural property of Maori in substantive course content. He feels that the qualifications authority is not qualified to audit wananga, particularly in relation to matauranga Maori. Te Wananga o Raukawa's post-masterate programme, entitled 'Te Kaurutanga', is an advanced programme of study in matauranga Maori.<sup>9</sup> Te Kaurutanga is a qualification awarded to validate the significance of matauranga Maori in today's society. Te Wananga o Raukawa is not seeking authority approval for this programme because Raukawa believes that such approval is neither necessary nor relevant to the programme.

### 3.10 THE DISTINCT NATURE OF WANANGA

Each wananga is distinctive in its own right. Nevertheless, some general observations may be said to apply to all. Wananga have characteristics that are not shared by any other current TEI, be it a university, polytechnic, or college of education. Pakake Winiata listed several factors that demonstrate the distinctive nature of wananga:

- (a) wananga have been established by iwi as independent institutions to meet the developmental needs of iwi and, through iwi, Maori generally;
- (b) each wananga enjoys the participation of all sectors of the iwi, from young members as students through to elders as teachers;
- (c) matauranga Maori, and its maintenance, development, and dissemination, are central to wananga activities;
- (d) each wananga operates according to the tikanga of the founding iwi, and is identifiably Maori in its environment and operations;
- (e) the majority of the wananga student body are described as being 'second chance' learners, whose experience of education prior to arriving at the wananga was not satisfactory;
- (f) the development of spiritual strength and depth among the students is an integral part of the wananga programme; and
- (g) the wananga, as a whole, is guided, directed, and controlled by Maori people.<sup>10</sup>

These distinctive characteristics cannot be legitimately claimed by any other type of TEI.

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8. Document A58, paras 19–20

9. Document A74(b)

10. Document A45, p 2

### 3.11 WANANGA EDUCATION

Education is a lifelong process. The processes of pre-school, primary, secondary, and tertiary education are all intimately connected. It is never too late to learn and it is never too late to find the desire to learn. The average age of wananga students is 35. Wananga are helping people who have not achieved in the compulsory education system to access higher learning. A key element to success in any educational process is an environment that is conducive to learning. When an individual feels comfortable and confident in a learning environment, their capacity and determination to learn is significantly heightened. Being comfortable within an environment may mean physically, mentally, emotionally, or spiritually. If an individual is uncomfortable or forced to learn in an environment where they feel alienated and uneasy, the learning process is made that much more difficult.

It was suggested to this Tribunal that wananga students, the majority of whom are Maori, succeed predominantly because wananga actively promote a positive Maori environment. Wananga strive to raise the self-esteem and mana of their students by teaching them about themselves and their heritage. When the students are at ease within themselves and within the learning culture of wananga, they are better equipped to learn and succeed.

Past and present students of each wananga presented evidence to the Tribunal. These students ranged in age from their early twenties to early seventies. Whetu Moataane gave the Tribunal an account of his successful educational history at Te Wananga o Aotearoa, after leaving school with no qualifications or 'future prospects'.<sup>11</sup> It was obvious to the Tribunal that Mr Moataane is a confident, intelligent young man, who benefited from attending Te Wananga o Aotearoa. Following success at the wananga, he was encouraged to undertake teacher training at Waikato University in 1997. Mr Moataane will graduate with a bachelor of education degree this year. Mr Moataane believed that the guidance he received at the wananga gave him direction in life, and made him the person he is today.

Arana Collett, a former student who now teaches Maori at Te Wananga o Aotearoa, gave an account of his association with Aotearoa (then the Waipa Kokiri Arts Centre).<sup>12</sup> In 1986, as an unemployed father of four with an unsuccessful educational background, he enrolled in a Maori language course, attaining fluency in te reo Maori. His skills became so developed that the chief executive officer, Rongo Wetere, asked him to be part of a team to develop the first accelerated learning programme in te reo Maori. Tutors from this programme began teaching Government departments in 1990. Mr Collett began teaching in schools and taking cultural safety lectures at, among other places, Waikato Polytechnic, the Waikato Business Development Board, the Children and Young Persons Service, the Justice Department in Hamilton, and Tokanui Hospital. In giving his evidence to the Tribunal, Mr Collett spoke entirely in te reo Maori. Mr Collett is Pakeha and testified to the inclusive nature of Te Wananga o Aotearoa.

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11. Document A31

12. Document A36

Jim MacGregor gave evidence for Te Wananga o Raukawa.<sup>13</sup> He was one of the speakers on the paepae and had greeted the Tribunal and guests of Ngati Raukawa on the marae atea at the powhiri preceding the start of the hearing. Mr MacGregor explained that he was close to 60 years of age at the time that he began to learn te reo Maori, and he appeared as a representative of much older students of te reo Maori.

Jo Waerehu, a student of Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi, gave testimony of the excellence of her bachelor of Maori studies degree.<sup>14</sup> She believed her decision to attend Awanuiarangi was one of the most positive moves she had ever made in her life. Yet, she also explained her frustration as a student, owing to what she perceived as a lack of funding received by the wananga. Ms Waerehu told the Tribunal of the lack of classroom space and classroom resources. She revealed how the 180 students had to make do with five toilets and two showers. She believed that, because the wananga was deprived of establishment funding, students had to study in cramped conditions and make do with an under-resourced library. Despite these impediments to study, Ms Waerehu believed Awanuiarangi provided an environment that was culturally comfortable and made her proud to be Maori. She stated that no other institution she knew of could offer this, as well as the traditional values that she had grown up with.

The above are a few brief examples of the kind of evidence given to the Tribunal during the course of the hearing. This evidence illustrated to the Tribunal that wananga instilled in their students a spirit of commitment, self-worth, and determination to succeed.

### 3.12 WANANGA OUTPOSTS

One of the key strategies of wananga, and of Te Wananga o Aotearoa in particular, is to provide access to tertiary education through multi-campus sites, as opposed to a centralised campus. The management of the wananga strongly believes that a centralised large campus will not attract the same number of students because of the lack of mobility and resistance to relocating the target Maori population. The multi-campus sites encourage and motivate students to study without leaving their tribal roots or places of residence.

### 3.13 DIVERSITY IN EDUCATION

The Crown stated that, as at July 1997, less than 5 percent of Maori tertiary students were enrolled in wananga. Almost 70 percent are enrolled in universities, polytechnics, and colleges of education, while the remaining Maori students are enrolled at PTES. The Crown submitted that, while wananga play an important part in addressing the tertiary education needs and aspirations of Maori, they are not the sole

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13. Document A71

14. Document A54

provider, and the Government supports the participation and achievement of Maori in a number of other ways in the mainstream education system.<sup>15</sup>

Wananga are fully aware that many Maori choose to pursue an education at a mainstream TEI. Te Wananga o Aotearoa, for example, has actively encouraged several graduate students to continue further study at institutions such as the University of Waikato. Wananga realise that they are not the sole provider of tertiary education for Maori, and at no time in the course of this inquiry did they suggest otherwise. Perhaps one of the strongest points highlighted by both the Crown and the claimants during the course of this inquiry was the need for options in tertiary education to exist, and for all options to be adequately resourced.

The Crown outlined several of its initiatives developed to target people at risk of high unemployment, and those traditionally under-represented in tertiary education. While these initiatives were not specifically aimed at Maori, they do benefit Maori students. Among these initiatives are student loans and allowances, the training opportunity programme, the equal educational opportunity requirements on TEIS, the rangatahi maia (skill advancement) and Te Ararau programmes, and Manaaki Tauira scholarship funding.<sup>16</sup>

The Tribunal supports the training-based initiatives. We also endorse Dr Norman Kingsbury's commonsense approach to the provision of tertiary education. Dr Kingsbury has had 40 years' national and international experience in tertiary education administration. He is currently the chair of the board of the New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit and the New Zealand Polytechnic Programmes Committee. From 1988 to 1990, Dr Kingsbury was seconded by the University Grants Committee to work full time on some funding issues of the 'Learning for Life' programme. Since 1990, he has worked on a number of funding issues for the Ministry of Education. In regard to wananga, Dr Kingsbury stated:

The rapid increase in Maori participation in tertiary education requires a variety of strategies. That there is not only one strategy to be followed, nor only one type of provider to be involved. However, the three wananga are important elements in any strategy. They are different from other providers and different from each other. This diversity is to be welcomed. All three wananga need agreed programmes for rapid development.<sup>17</sup>

We strongly support the expert opinion of Dr Kingsbury.

### 3.14 TIKANGA MAORI AND TIKANGA PAKEHA

Although wananga are iwi-based, and iwi-initiated institutions, wananga are open to everybody, regardless of ethnicity. Wananga, like their cousins – universities, polytechnics, and colleges of education – are providers of education that teach all who

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15. Document A48, para 31

16. Document C6, para 21

17. Document A29, para 6

wish to learn. The difference between these institutions lies not only in what they teach but also in how they teach it. In other words, the difference lies in the system or 'cultural mindset' of delivery.

Whereas universities could be described as 'tikanga Pakeha' institutions, delivering education in a Pakeha cultural paradigm, wananga seek to deliver education in a Maori cultural paradigm. The evidence of Charles Royal perhaps best illustrated this point when he spoke of 'Matauranga Maori versus Maori Studies'. While Mr Royal in no way challenged the contribution Maori studies departments have made in educating Maori people at the tertiary level, he stated that this field of study was more likely to be within a Pakeha intellectual framework. He explained that, ultimately, 'Maori Studies represents the position that the western paradigm of knowledge has created for it'. Mr Royal went on to say that:

as Maori Studies is located within a western university, it is subject to the western paradigm of knowledge which has severely hindered its growth. Such a circumstance is not tolerated for western science nor should it be tolerated for matauranga Maori.<sup>18</sup>

Put simply, Maori studies focuses on studying Maori society from a Pakeha perspective, while matauranga Maori is about studying the universe from a Maori perspective. If we may again quote Dr Kingsbury, 'This diversity is to be welcomed'.<sup>19</sup>

### 3.15 CONCLUSION

Wananga are a significant Maori tertiary education initiative based on an ancient Maori system of advanced learning. The process of giving life to modern wananga has involved a great deal of hard work and sacrifice by many dedicated people who share a common vision of improving the status of Maori.

Educational programmes available at wananga include iwi and hapu studies, studies in matauranga Maori, business administration, performing and practical arts, and teacher training. Inherent to wananga studies is the Maori language. Te reo Maori is the language of instruction for many courses and is actively promoted and taught at wananga. The protection, maintenance, and promotion of te reo Maori form one of the primary aspirations of wananga, along with upskilling and educating Maori.

That which most impresses the Tribunal about wananga is that it was Maori who established these institutions out of a desire to address Maori needs. The inception and eventual operation of wananga as PTES is an excellent example of dedicated Maori working to improve their own situation. The eventual granting of TEI status to wananga was recognition that the vision and hard work of wananga had been realised and appreciated by the Government. Wananga have worked hard within the current system, despite being denied the benefits of the earlier capital funding policy. It is only

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18. Document A44, sec 4.2.1

19. Document A29, para 6

now, when the system is clearly prejudicing wananga, that they seek from the Government a measure of equality with the other TEIS.

In 1986, the Waitangi Tribunal's *Report on the Te Reo Maori Claim* concluded that Maori children were not being adequately educated owing to prolonged systemic failure.<sup>20</sup> As stated in chapter 2 (see sec 2.6), despite Government attempts to stem the tide of Maori underachievement in education and under-representation at the tertiary level, this trend has, on the whole, continued.

The Government has acknowledged the important work that wananga are undertaking in regard to improving Maori education. The following chapter provides an illustration of how the Crown has supported wananga from their establishment as TEIS to the present.

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20. Waitangi Tribunal, *Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Te Reo Maori Claim*, 3rd ed, Wellington, Brooker's Ltd, 1993, sec 6.3