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PRESERVATION

A Comparative Study of  
the high proportion of  
maori admissions to  
Kohitere.

B. S. Alvis.

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## INTRODUCTION.

This survey attempts to investigate the reasons for the high proportion of Maori adolescents admitted to Kohitere, a proportion that has risen over the last few years and continues to rise. The study was made whilst the writer was on placement for two days each week at Kohitere from the Department of Social Administration and Sociology, Victoria University of Wellington, and is thus limited in its scope if not intent. The information gathered and upon which the results and interpretations are based was gleaned almost purely from individual Child Welfare Division files and thus the data available is limited to the extent to which the youth and his family are officially known to the Division, this varying from a period of a few months to many years. It is inevitable that some subjective material will be included in such files but an attempt has been made to filter out this material as far as possible.

## THE INSTITUTION.

Kohitere is a national training institution sited at Levin and administered by the Child Welfare Division of the Education Department. It provides for the education and training of those children and young people who are so seriously disturbed or delinquent that their retention in the community is not, for the time being, practicable or desirable. Some measure of security for the newly admitted is provided for as well close security (used for short periods of up to a month) for highly disturbed or difficult children who may do harm to themselves, to others, or to property of others if they were able to abscond. The centre is conducted on open lines with a minimum of set rules and regulations and a maximum of flexibility so that each boy can be considered as an individual and discipline can, where possible, be made meaningful to him. Through a system of progressively graded

privileges and increased trust and responsibility, boys are given the opportunity to work out their problems, and to test the progress made by being allowed into the local community.

Full-time schooling under specialist teachers is provided for those of school age and for those who wish to and should continue their education. In addition to being emotionally disturbed and delinquent, many of the children admitted are scholastically retarded and in need of remedial teaching. Comprehensive programmes are devised to train these young people in suitable work skills, in the creative and constructive use of leisure time, and generally to give them the utmost assistance towards adequate and responsible adult life.

The institution accomodates up to 111 adolescent boys aged from 14 to 17 years who have backgrounds of serious offences against the law. The average length of residence for 1968 was 12.8 months and there is a tendency for this average to drop because of a drop in the length of residence at Borstal institutions, and the fact that many of the boys at Kohitere have been involved with companions who were sent to Borstal, and tend to equate their length of institutional time with that of their friends.

At the time of preparing this report the population within the institution consisted of:

66 Maoris  
24 Europeans  
3 Pacific Islanders.

Thus, at that time, Maori youths formed 71% of the total inmate population of the centre and this, I am assured, is not a disproportionate representation at the present time. The following table shows the tendency for the rising proportion in the Maori population of Kohitere, the figures covering the years 1965-1967 inclusive. Obviously, there

has been a dramatic increase in the admission of Maori youths in the years 1968-1970 associated with a proportionate decline in the number of youths of European and other descent.

<u>TABLE I.</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>
Maori	29 (36.3%)	39 (42.4%)	48 (47.1%)
European	42 (52.5%)	44 (47.8%)	43 (42.2%)

Classification of Maoris and non-Maoris for this study was done on the basis of a Maori being considered as including half-castes and these youths of mixed blood between half-caste and pure descent - a definition employed by most official statistics. The Europeans were selected on the basis of pure descent as far as was possible involving little or no blood mixture.

#### THE SAMPLE.

For the purposes of this survey, the files of 50 Maori youths and 20 European youths were selected at random from the filing shelves at Kohitere, these forming the basis of the investigation. Information was gained mostly from Court reports prepared by Child Welfare officers, psychological and, in some cases, psychiatric reports and school reports. Because of the time factor there was little personal follow-up contact with the individual boys involved. As the survey was concerned primarily with the histories of youngsters prior to their admission to Kohitere, this report does not convey any information relating to the progress or response of the youths to the Kohitere training.

#### SAMPLE DATA.

The following chapters survey under convenient topics the material gained from the files, where applicable the information pertaining to Maori youths being compared with that of the European sample members and tentative conclusions being brought. Where appropriate, the latter will be related to

relevant material that has already been published.

1. Age on Admission.

Youths in the Maori sample varied in age on admission to Kohitere from 13 years 6 months to 16 years 4 months, the average age being 14 years 2 months. The Europeans in the sample ranged in age from 14 years 3 months to 16 years 3 months, the average age being 15 years.

2. Home Situation.

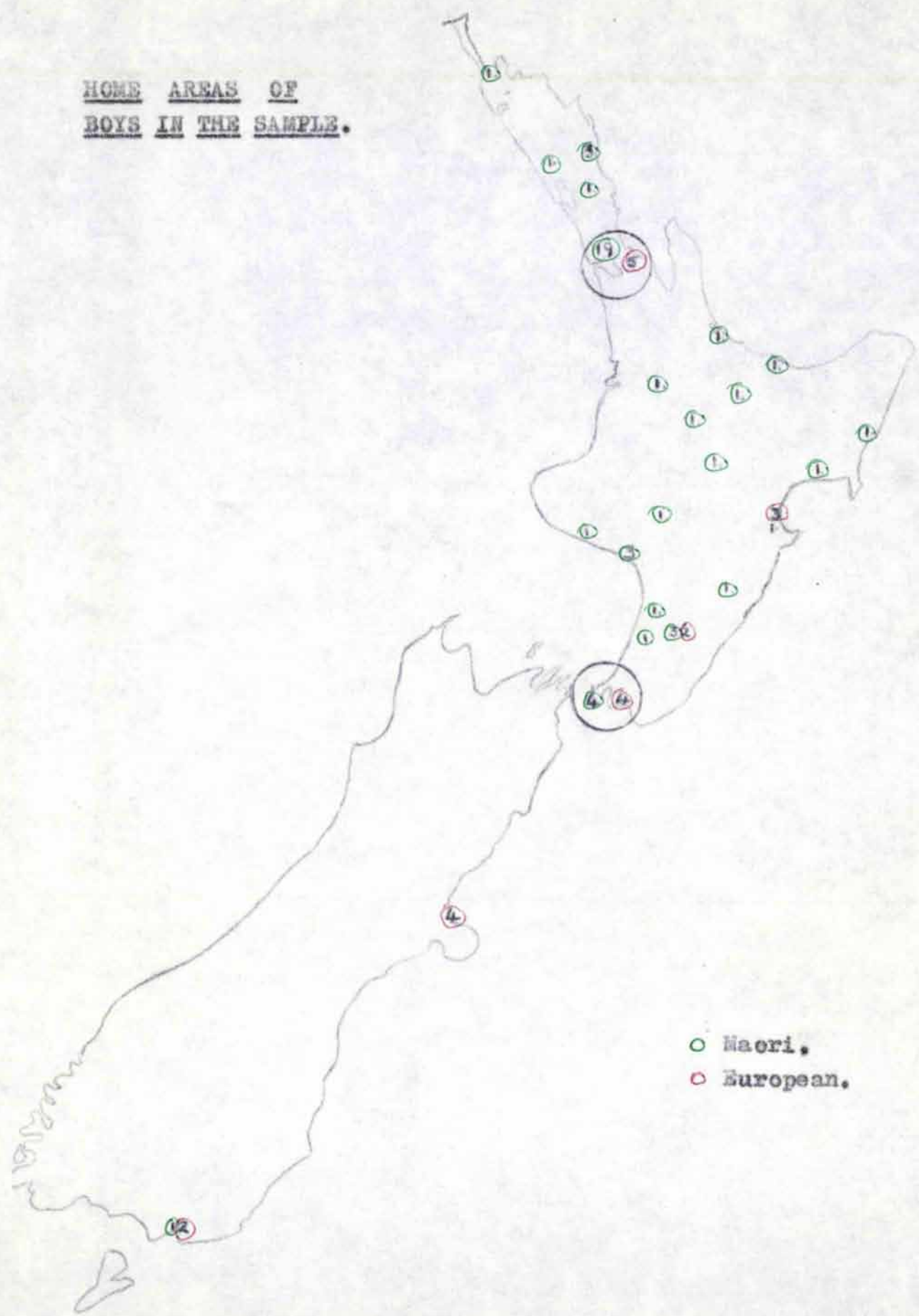
(a) Locality of home.

By far the greatest number in the sample came from homes located in urban areas. 76% of the Maori homes and all but one (95%) of the European homes were in an urban locality. 62% of the Maoris and 25% of the Europeans came from the Northern half of the North Island, greater Auckland producing one-third of the Maori youths and one-quarter of the European youths. 2% of the Maoris and 30% of the Europeans had homes in the South Island.

All this would tend to confirm the commonly-held view that delinquency tends to be a product of urban living and that urbanisation would seem to provide considerable adjustment difficulties - for Maoris in particular. There has been much publicity recently as a result of a television Gallery programme which highlighted the existence of and problems presented by Maori youth gangs in the Auckland area. Auckland and its surrounds are well represented in the Maori sample indicating that this part of the country presents particular problems and produces a high proportion of Maori delinquents; although, of course, it is the most densely populated part of the country. More will be said later of the problems associated with urbanisation.



HOME AREAS OF  
BOYS IN THE SAMPLE.



(b) Home circumstances.

The Maori families in the sample are generally larger than their European counterparts, the average Maori family consisting of 8.4 children and Europeans 5.6 children. There does not seem to be any discernable pattern with regards to the place in the family that the youths take except that, with the Maoris, in 30% of the cases they were the eldest child at home at the time of their admission to kohitere and in 64% of the cases they were the eldest of the boys at home at the time. 35% of the Europeans were eldest at home and 52% were the eldest boy at home.

Ritchie and Ritchie comment that there are many reasons why Maoris want large families "... some comment on the need, in a sense, to repopulate a resurgent culture ... some say large families mean many hands for the important family and community events ... some mention the tribal significance of many offspring leading to many marriages, and thus by marriage links creating a tighter and wider network of bilateral kinship. Others note the community-like feeling of a large family ... At the widest level there is a fullness, an amplexness, a sense of large scaleness about the large family which, in terms of values, is characteristically Maori ... Continuity is an important value too. Large families fulfil continuity, providing against the accidents of circumstance, and in the succession of children repeat and make continuous the much valued pleasure in enjoying the vitality and freshness of youth and particularly babyhood ... any consideration of the whole cultural context surrounding Maori families forces us to realise that largeness is an ideal and a necessary basis to support preferred kinds of social experience." <sup>1</sup>.

A follow-up study done in 1968 on boys discharged from Kohitere indicated that more successes (success being measured in terms of post-release recidivism) came from smaller families

and that successes less often had delinquent siblings than did failures. Although this fact alone would not account for it, there may be some correlation with this and the significant finding that 72.5% of the successes in the sample studied were Europeans compared with exactly half of the failures.

In relation to upbringing, the factor that seemed to occur most in the reported backgrounds of the Maori youths was inconsistent control and impulsive and unsatisfactory discipline, often with one parent being overly strict and the other quite permissive. To understand this we need to look at cultural background. Ritchie and Ritchie indicate that, unlike the pakeha, there is little traditional early training provided for Maori children; the transition to childhood is more abrupt. "Parents do not sharply end infancy and initiate childhood by a sudden imposition of training practices because to do so is thought to have a moral virtue. Rather, children emerge into a new social status and set of relationships in which parents play a lesser role than do sisters and brothers. They become part of the world of children, first amongst their own brothers and sisters, almost at the same time part of the extended family or neighbouring play group of children, and later in more free-ranging groups of pre-school and school children." <sup>2</sup>. Hohepa uses the terms senior sibling and junior sibling and recognises that the relationship is not only one of parental allocation but also mutual liking. Thus from the senior, the junior receives not only training by word, command and act but also solace, comfort, consolation and companionship - ie, those facets of a relationship normally provided by the adult parent in European culture.

In his Rakau study, James Ritchie commented, in referring to the Maori child's latency period, "... the chief characteristics of the adult roles which the child sees being acted out around him are remoteness and capriciousness, a world

that from time to time offers again the previously known surfeit of affection and yet later, in apparently identical circumstances, capriciously denies access to these satisfactions. Punishments are firm and immediate but not so consistent, and rewards are equally chaotic, the same action receiving now the one, now the other." <sup>3</sup>.

The new social unit within the family, of child and child, is surrounded by a number of alternative or surrogate parents. Not only can the child seek a comfort from some other sibling, but he or she can also turn to a number of relatives. If he so chooses, or if he is feeling aggrieved, he may stay for a time, overnight or for some days, at the home of a grandparent or uncle or aunt. "Children of school age seem, compared with their Pakeha equivalents, rather loosely bound to their parents, though the appearance may be deceptive and their emotional need for parental love and response greater than they show ... The attitude is one of that the child will come to little harm in the surrounding environment and that independence, within rather wide bounds, is considered desirable ... It remains true for all, and particularly for boys, that it is locality as home rather than the home itself which becomes the locus of childhood security; that security is based on the stability of a wide human group rather than on the physical surroundings or exclusively on parents; that the sibling and play groups have an importance and a primacy for the Maori child that they rarely have for the pre-school Pakeha child; that sibling caretakers are presenting an approximation to adult values and standards, less complex, both more harsh and more responsive, emotional and warm than the parental model; that, particularly for boys again, identification with parents is less well-defined and certainly less exclusive." <sup>4</sup>.

Thus, one can easily see how such traditional attitudes towards child upbringing carried over into the totally different

densely populated urban situation with its pressures to conform to European values and expectations can give rise to difficulties.

Few Maoris today are born at home in the security of social support which had (and probably still has, where practiced along with modern obstetrical techniques) so many advantages to the mother and child in the early relationship. Birth is complicated for many by fear, anxiety and ignorance. Few Maori babies are now breast fed. In the same way, child caretaking by other children as a suitable and sensible and thoroughly logical way of relieving the mother is not surviving as a cultural practice and is rarely seen in the city. Relatives are rarely close enough to provide the surrogate parents on whom rural Maori children could depend when they needed a change from their own parents. Siblings in a city are generally occupied by their own concerns and do not provide much relief for the Maori mother. Maoris in the town usually become either tenants of State houses or owners of their own house under State Advances Corporation or Maori Affairs Department or other building scheme. They enter into a personal ownership on the Pakeha model. They are subject to the conformity pressures of surrounding Pakeha householders - a new conception of privacy, invitations before visiting, closed parties, tidy lawns, hushed voices, etc. They are exposed to the 'one child per room' ideal and the Pakeha conception of individual privacy within the home. The Maori community as a cohesive unit does not now exist to add its weight in approving or disapproving behaviour.

On this basis it is not only possible to understand the apparent lack of conformity or consistency in the disciplining of the young as evidenced by the Maori youths in the sample but also to appreciate a little the difficulties and problems that beset the parents of these children. Ausubel, (5) in discussing Maori delinquency and crime, refers to a number of causative factors including abruptness of exposure to

pakeha ways, inexperience in coping with temptations to urban life, feelings of loneliness and homesickness in the city, segregation in urban slum areas, intense "generation conflict," loss of parental control, excessive permissiveness and neglect on the part of many Maori parents, lack of explicit and consistent ethical training in the home because of parental confusion regarding reasonable standards of discipline, and release from the restraining influence of village elders and community opinion.

A fairly high proportion of youths in both samples derive from 'broken' homes - that is, homes where the parents are separated, divorced, remarried or deceased or where the youngster concerned is living away from home for whatever reason. 40% of both Maoris and Europeans fall into this category. Exactly half of all Maori youths in the sample have at some time lived with relatives; 26% of them remaining away from the parental home for a period in excess of 12 months; 18% on a long term basis. Two youths spent a period in a children's home. The Europeans, on the other hand, have a much higher rate (40% in all) of children's home placements, early committals to the Superintendent of Child Welfare and foster home placement; relatives assuming responsibility in one case only and this for a period of 5 months only. It would seem from the above that, in the sample population, Maori relatives accepted responsibility for children parted from their parents much more readily than Europeans but, in the long run, this did not prove to be any more effective or successful in counteracting later delinquent behaviour.

Broken homes, then, would appear to be a positive factor in the anti-social behaviour of a large proportion of the sample group, for both Europeans and Maoris, although without a control group of non-delinquents to compare with, we cannot be certain of its statistical significance in relation to delinquency and admission to Kohitere.

The following table indicates the placements that youths in the sample had had away from their own homes at any time prior to admission to Kohitere. Percentages for each race are shown in parenthesis.

TABLE II. Placements away from own homes prior to Kohitere.

	<u>Maori.</u>	<u>European.</u>
Foster home.	12 (24%)	4 (20%)
Family home.	5 (10%)	4 (20%)
Boys home.	9 (18%)	7 (35%)
Children's home.	2 (4%)	2 (10%)
Hokio School.	4 (8%)	3 (15%)
Campbell Park School.	2 (4%)	-
Relatives.	25 (50%)	1 (5%)
Adopted.	2 (4%)	-

Two of the Maori youths were admitted to Kohitere directly from Hokio and two were admitted directly from Campbell Park School. 23 Maori youths (46%) and 7 European youths (35%) were living away from their homes at the time of their admission to Kohitere, the table following indicating the placements from which they came.

TABLE III. WHEREABOUTS OF THOSE WHO WERE NOT LIVING IN THEIR OWN HOME ON ADMISSION TO KOHITERE.

	<u>Maori</u>	<u>European.</u>
At work.	3 (6%)	1 (5%)
Boys home.	8 (16%)	3 (15%)
Family home.	1 (2%)	3 (15%)
Foster home.	1 (2%)	-
Hokio school.	2 (4%)	-
Campbell Park School	2 (4%)	-
Relatives	5 (10%)	-
Private board	1 (2%)	-

(c) Family Movements.

Child Welfare records indicate that only 36% of the Maori families had had any change of residence location, most of these being from rural to urban areas. However, I suspect, and experience would indicate, that a much higher proportion of Maori families had experienced moves and the possibility arises of a number of changes in location either not being recorded in Child Welfare files or alternatively not being known by them. 50% of the European families had experienced a change of location at some time.

(d) Father's Employment.

The table below shows the type of employment that the father's of the boys were engaged in, where this is known. The N.A. category indicates those fathers who are unable to work - because of invalidity, sickness benefit, etc. The majority of the fathers for both groups were engaged in unskilled employment whilst a higher proportion of Europeans occupied skilled positions.

TABLE IV. FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS.

	Unskilled.	Semi-skilled.	Skilled.	Self-Employed.	N.A.	D.K.
Maori	50%	6%	8%	2%	12%	22%
European	40%	-	20%	10%	-	30%

3. Schooling.

One can assume that associated with family movements will go changes of school but, unfortunately, save for a few cases., these are generally not recorded in the information available to me.

The table following indicates the stage reached in



schooling by the boys in the sample at the time of their admission to Kohitere. The numbers of boys in each category are shown together with the appropriate percentage figure indicated in parenthesis. P.S. refers to Primary School (in this case Form 1 and Form 2) and S.C. refers to Special Class.

TABLE V. STAGE REACHED IN SCHOOLING BY SAMPLE MEMBERS.

		<u>Maori.</u>	<u>European.</u>
<u>Attending</u> <u>School.</u>	P.S.	7 (14)	2 (10)
	S.C.	2 (4)	-
	F.3.	16 (32)	6 (30)
	F.4.	15 (30)	4 (20)
	F.5.	2 (4)	1 (5)
<u>Left</u> <u>School</u>	P.S.	-	-
	S.C.	1 (2)	-
	F.3.	3 (6)	1 (5)
	F.4.	4 (8)	5 (25)
	F.5.	-	1 (5)
		50	20

When working from a variety of school reports, reliable and comparative qualitative assessments are indeed very difficult but it is quite clear that the bulk of both Maori and European youths were making or had made only limited progress at school. The main difference between the two groups seemed to be that the Maori students suffered from academic difficulty and lack of achievement associated with varying degrees of intellectual retardation whilst the European boys appeared to offer more in the way of behavioural and disciplinary problems linked with distinct disinterest and lack of effort. However, a number of Maori youths, approximately 30%, gave evidence of being quite disinterested also although this did not necessarily reflect in any particular behavioural difficulties. Disinterest, too, was not significantly related to any specific I.Q. level. Six Maori youths (12%) and six European youths (30%) were

exempted, suspended or expelled from school, these figures tending to confirm the greater behavioural problems offered by European youngsters.

Truancy was positively identified in 60% of the Maori cases and in 65% of the Europeans indicating an apparent link between this and delinquency. Ausubel found a greater irregularity of attendance with Maori pupils than was typical of their Pakeha classmates, his results being based on research with an urban sample however. He attributed the high rate of absenteeism among Maori pupils in part to "undue laxness on the part of Maori parents, school authorities and other Government officials. In the first place, many parents did not know (or were not sufficiently interested in their children's education to make it their business to find out) whether they were attending school regularly. But even when irregularities were brought to their attention, they often did not care enough or lacked sufficient control over their children to remedy the situation. Secondly, school authorities were much too lackadaisical about investigating reasons for absences, about promptly notifying visiting teachers regarding serious cases of truancy, and about initiating the necessary steps leading to the prosecution of parents of truant pupils." <sup>6</sup> There is nothing in the material from which I was working which could allow me to either confirm or negate the above observations relative to the situation under investigation. There did, however, seem to be a significant correlation between truancy and disinterest in schoolwork.

In the follow-up study of Kohitere boys previously referred to, it was found that the 'failures' (in terms of recidivism) generally showed more signs of serious truancy and that Maori 'failures' displayed much more truancy than did Maori 'successes.'

It will be noted from the table that none of the Maori

school leavers reached the fifth form whilst only one of the Europeans reached that level. On the other hand, amongst those still at school at the time of their admission to Kohitere, two Maoris and one European were in Form 5. Ausubel states that the percentage of Maori boys who leave school after completing Form 3 is almost three times as great as the corresponding figure for Pakeha boys although this must be qualified by the fact that the Maori boys in his sample were on the average seven months older than their Pakeha classmates and, hence, were more likely to reach their fifteenth birthdays before the end of the school year. As his book was published in 1961 however, there is likely to be a noticeable and significant change in these figures. Holst says that "the Maori people are not making full use of the opportunities for education that exist" <sup>7</sup> and I think that this still applies today to a significant extent although there is a tendency for Maori pupils to make more extensive use of the educational avenues open to them.

Schwimmer indicates that the Maori youngster has had considerable experience prior to attending ~~to attending~~ school but that these experiences are of a kind that do not fit readily into a standard classroom and school curriculum - hence the tendency for the primary school complaint that the Maori child 'lacks experience.' He suggests that "the child entering school finds that the already internalised elements of his own system are regarded as invalid whereas he knows little about the system in which the other children are being socialised. It is not a matter of cultural poverty but of cultural musical chairs." <sup>8</sup>

#### 4. Employment.

Because of the age factor, few boys were in employment immediately prior to admission to Kohitere. 9 Maori youths (18%) and 7 European youths (35%) are involved, the higher

European proportion perhaps being reflected in their slightly higher average admission age. The following tables indicate the number and types of jobs held by these 16 youths. Where there is more than one job involved, the preferred and consistent type is indicated if this is apparent (eg, a number of dairy farm jobs), otherwise the classification 'various' is used.

TABLE VI. TYPES OF JOBS HELD.

	<u>Maori.</u>	<u>European.</u>
Land	5.	2.
Apprenticeship	-	2.
Factory	1.	1.
Labourer	1.	1.
Various	1.	1.
Unemployed	1.	-
	9.	7.

TABLE VII. NUMBER OF JOBS HELD.

	One	Two	More than two.	N.K.	Totals.
Maori.	2.	2.	4.	1.	9.
European.	1.	1.	5.	-	7.
	3.	3.	9.	1.	16.

The tendency for both Maori and European youths to have numerous job changes will be noted and the records indicate that it is normal for the period of employment in any one job to be of very short duration - a matter of a few weeks in a number of instances. Maori youths seemed to prefer unskilled employment and a trend for them to seek (or to be placed in) work on the land is also apparent, the jobs involving dairy farms (3), a poultry farm and shearing (1); this interest being shared to some extent by the European youths although there is a strong preference by them for semi-skilled or skilled employment as indicated by their swing to apprenticeships.

One cannot help speculating here as to the extent to which the adolescent is influenced in his vocational aspirations by his family's socio-economic background and the employment type and pattern of his father in particular. In a paper entitled 'The Crisis of Adolescence in Family Life,' Frances Scherz says: "If the parents are especially dissatisfied and unhappy about their own achievements, their conflicts may be expressed in marital disharmony or they may be lived out through the adolescent. For example, the adolescent may get the message that he must not outstrip his father educationally and vocationally, and, out of his unconscious fear of competition, he may either settle for less than he can achieve or fail completely ... In the lower-class family, in which merely holding a job is a vital matter, the adolescent may identify with his parents' sense of failure and despair, and, accordingly, accept failure in school work as a matter of course."

In attempting to explain an apparent discrepancy between the aspirations of Maori pupils on the one hand and their motivations, supportive traits and perceived pressures for achievement on the other hand, Ausubel saw that "their aspirations, while genuine, were neither firmly internalised nor stood much chance of realisation because of the absence of suitable family, cultural and peer group pressures ... Because of inadequate communication between Maori parents and children, the latter tended to perceive parent attitudes regarding achievement that were consonant with their own (ie. the pupils') aspirations rather than attitudes that parents actually manifested ..." <sup>9</sup>. Ausubel felt that it was "patently clear that significant intercultural differences prevail between the two groups (ie. Maori and Pakeha) with respect to factors affecting the implementation of aspirations, ie. underlying needs and motivations for achievement, supportive traits, and perceived opportunities and pressures for achievement." He identified a number of factors in the Maori home environment that contributed to the

less favourable outlook for the realisation of Maori than of Pakeha pupils' vocational aspirations, including: (a) lack of vocational sophistication (b) inadequate parent-child communication (c) permissiveness, neglect, disinterest on the part of Maori parents (d) the values held and examples set by Maori parents tending to discourage the child from implementing his own vocational aspirations (e) ambivalence by the parents about their children leaving home, and (f) the peer group generally offering little encouragement. Further, "paralleling and supplementing parental and peer group influences on the implementation of Maori vocational aspirations are factors stemming from the culture at large of which the former influences are idiosyncratic expressions. They include cultural values and other personality traits affecting achievement, Maori attitudes towards work, the current vocational status of the Maori people, and personal and social morale." 10.

In an attempt to relate what I have said concerning the adolescent's choice of a job being possibly influenced by the occupation of his father to the sample, the table following compares the occupations of youths in the sample to that of their fathers, where this is known. In some instances the parents are separated, and where the boy has remained with his mother, contact has often been lost with the father.

The results are generally inconclusive except that the Maori youngsters tend to perpetuate unskilled/semi-skilled employment and that there is a little more variation with the Europeans although this category provides the only instance of a son's occupation following that of his father - in this case both being labourers.

TABLE VIII. COMPARISON BETWEEN OCCUPATIONS OF BOYS AND THEIR FATHERS.

<u>Maori.</u>		<u>European.</u>	
<u>Boy.</u>	<u>Father.</u>	<u>Boy.</u>	<u>Father.</u>
Forestry	Tanker driver.	Various	Painter
Shearing	Freezing works	Dairy farm	N.K.
Dairy farm	Linesman	Poultry farm	N.K.
Unemployed	Crane driver	Labourer	Labourer
Labourer	Furniture	Engineering factory	Taxi/Milk bar.
Dairy farm	Track layer (Railways)	Apprentice	Bus driver.
Dairy farm	County Council	Apprentice	N.K.
Various	Factory		
Laundry	N.K.		

Schwimmer sees the traditional group life of the Maori as being a key factor, and maybe a restraining factor, in the types of occupation taken up by Maori people generally. "The kind of Maori group life which is, in some fortunate cases, a by-product of industrial employment is easiest to maintain in jobs requiring comparatively formal training and not overly competitive." <sup>11</sup> However, the Maori is participating in a wider range of occupations and this ~~xxxxxxx~~ need to belong to a group does not necessarily have to be sacrificed for the sake of adaptation and growth. The setting up of Maori hostels and the Maori Affairs Trade Training Scheme has done much to encourage young Maoris to enter into skilled and semi-skilled occupations and one of the latter's strengths, as identified by Schwimmer, is that "it keeps a group of Maori apprentices living together, so that being a satisfactory

apprentice becomes one of the standard qualifications for continuing group membership." 12. There must be some significance attached to the recent statement by the Minister of Maori and Island Affairs that Maori apprentices in the Trade Training Scheme topped three of the apprenticeship exams and that the Maori drop-out rate for apprenticeships was 6% compared with the European rate of 25%!

## 5. Offences.

### (a) Number and Type of Offences.

By far the greatest number of offences recorded for both groups were offences against property, involving 88% of the Maori sample members and 90% of the Europeans. In all the remaining cases involving offences against the person, property offences were also included; ie, not one boy 'specialised' in offences against the person.

The table on the following page indicates the type and total number of offences committed by the boys of each race. The figures in parenthesis indicate the average number of offences committed by each offender in each category.

Burglary, theft, bicycle theft, interfering with a motor car, unlawfully taking a motor car, and breaking and entering were the most frequently occurring offences (in that order) for Maori youths. European rates exceeded those of the Maoris for burglary, theft, unlawfully taking motor cars, breaking and entering, interfering with a motor car (slightly above), but were less for bicycle theft and receiving. The rates for wilful damage were the same for both Maori and Pakeha.



TABLE IX. TYPES AND NUMBER OF OFFENCES COMMITTED BY RACE.

	<u>Maori</u>		<u>European.</u>	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Average.</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Average.</u>
Theft	154	3.6	81	4.8
Burglary	132	3.8	80	5.3
Car conversion	49	2.4	56	5.1
Taking bicycle	39	3.5	7	1.4
Breaking/ Entering	37	2.2	29	4.1
Interfering with Motor car	10	2.5	8	2.6
Wilful damage	7	1.75	14	1.75
Receiving	13	1.2	1	1.0
Taking motor cycle	6	1.5	-	
Assault	4	1.0	2.	1.0
Getting into motor car	2	1.0	4	4.0
Attempted burglary	2	1.0	1	1.0
Possession of firearm	1	1.0	1	1.0
False pretences	1	1.0	1	1.0
Unlawfully on premises	1	1.0	1	1.0
Unlawful sexual intercourse	2	1.0	-	
Obscene exposure	1	1.0	-	
Obscene language	1	1.0	-	
Robbery with violence	1	1.0	-	
Taking a horse	1	1.0	-	
Taking tractor	1	1.0	-	
Forgery	1	1.0	-	
Driving whilst disqualified	-		3	3.0
On enclosed premises	1	1.0	-	

(Cont.)

(Cont.)

	<u>Maori</u>		<u>European</u>	
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Average.</u>
Aiding and abetting	-	-	2	1.0
Threatening behaviour	-	-	1	1.0
Rogue and vagabond	-	-	1	1.0
False fire alarm	-	-	1	1.0

These offences that were exclusively the domain of Maoris included the taking of a horse, the taking of a tractor, being found on enclosed premises, forgery, and obscene language, plus offences against the person involving unlawful sexual intercourse, obscene exposure, and robbery with violence. There was one offence only of each of these except for two incidents of unlawful sexual intercourse.

Offences committed solely by Europeans included aiding and abetting (2 incidents), threatening behaviour (1), being a rogue and a vagabond (1), making a false fire alarm (1), and driving whilst disqualified (3 offences by the one person).

(b) Number of Appearances.

The Maori youths in the sample made a total of 160 appearances in the Children's Court with an average of 3.2 appearances each; whilst the Europeans with a total of 78 appearances made an average of 3.9 appearances each. The table which follows gives selected background information on the 28 Maoris and 15 Europeans in the sample who have made three or more Children's Court appearances.

TABLE X. HOME BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF MOST FREQUENT OFFENDERS.

	Urban	Rural	Parents Sep/Div	Lived away from home	Family moved	Totals
European	14	1	8	10	9	42
Maori	23	8	12	22	12	67
	37	9	20	32	21	

A high proportion of both races come from urban areas, have parents who are divorced or separated and who have lived away from home. The Maori figure for the latter category is significantly higher than that for the Europeans.

TABLE XI. SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT AND INTELLIGENCE OF MOST FREQUENT OFFENDERS.

	<u>Class at Admission</u>					Poor school progress.	Intelligence Dull-borderline
	S.C.	P.S.	F.3.	F.4.	F.5.		
European	-	1	6	6	2	13	3
Maori	1	5	13	10	2	23	17
	1	6	19	16	4	36	20

Confirming a tendency indicated in a previous table relating to schooling (Table V, page 12), most of this group of youths (80% of Europeans and 82% of Maoris) are represented in the F.3 and F.4 groups and poor school progress is a feature of 87% of the Europeans and 82% of the Maoris. 61% of the Maori youths in this category of 3 or more Court appearances were of stated dull-borderline intelligence (ie IQ 90 or less) whilst only 20% of the Europeans were in the same category. More will be said about I.Q. later.

(c) Age at First Offence.

The table which follows shows the ages at which the sample members first committed an offence and first came to notice. The latter category includes Child Welfare complaints, referrals received by Child Welfare, etc., each of these youths involved offending later. The figures in parenthesis represent the percentages of the race sample in each age group.

TABLE XII. AGE AT FIRST OFFENCE AND WHEN FIRST CAME TO NOTICE.

<u>Age</u>	<u>First Offence</u>		<u>First Came to Notice.</u>	
	<u>Maori</u>	<u>European</u>	<u>Maori</u>	<u>European</u>
2.	-	-	1.(2%)	-
3.	-	-	-	-
4.	-	-	2 (4%)	-
5.	-	-	-	-
6.	-	-	1 (2%)	1 (5%)
7.	-	1 (5%)	-	-
8.	3 (6%)	-	-	-
9.	3 (6%)	-	-	-
10.	3 (6%)	2 (10%)	2 (4%)	-
11.	9 (18%)	5 (25%)	-	1 (5%)
12.	12 (24%)	4 (20%)	-	-
13.	10 (20%)	3 (15%)	2 (4%)	-
14.	5 (10%)	3 (15%)	2 (4%)	-
15.	3 (6%)	1 (5%)	-	-
D.K.	2 (4%)	1 (5%)	-	-
	50	20	10	2

The average age at first offence for the Maoris was 11.7 years and that for the Europeans was 11.3 years. There was a tendency for the Maoris to start offending at an earlier age than Europeans, this being reflected also in the ages at which the Maori youths first came to notice.

In the Kohitere follow-up study previously referred to, it was found that the 'successes' tended to be older at first offence than did the 'failures'; 68% of the 'successes' being 13 years or older at first offence compared with 53% of the 'Failures.' If these results are applied to the current study one finds that 60% of both Maoris and Europeans are under 13 years of age at first offence and, therefore, on the basis of the earlier study the prognosis for a potential success rate of the current sample is not encouraging.

(d) Associates in Offences.

The greatest tendency with the European youths is to be a member of a group of various ages when committing offences whilst Maori offenders clearly prefer the peer group. The table below gives a breakdown of associates in offences.

TABLE XIII. ASSOCIATES IN OFFENCES.

	Alone.	Peer Group.	Older.	Younger.	*Mixed Ages.	Totals.
European	2 (10%)	1 (5%)	2 (10%)	5 (25%)	10 (50%)	20
Maori.	11 (22%)	21 (42%)	5 (10%)	3 (6%)	10 (20%)	50
	13	22	7	8	20	70

A further breakdown of the associations in the mixed age group once again points to the preference of the Maori youths for peer group companionship, a preference reflected in this table by the Europeans also, interestingly enough.

TABLE XIV \*BREAKDOWN OF MIXED AGE GROUP RELATIONSHIPS.

	Peer & mixed.	Peer & younger.	Peer & older.	Peer & alone.	Alone & younger	Younger & older.	Alone & older.
European	3	3	-	1	1	2	-
Maori	1	-	4	4	-	-	1

Maori boys display little interest in the companionship of younger youths although this is much more common with Europeans. There is also a greater tendency for Maori youths to 'operate' alone when offending and one can only guess as to whether this is the result of impromptu offending or a deliberate choice - in view of the generally clear preference for peer group friendship, the likelihood is that impromptu offending is indicated. (For example, such offences as taking a horse and taking a tractor would seem to confirm this presumption.) However, to qualify this, 7 of the Maori youths who committed offences whilst alone lived in rural or semi-rural areas where, probably, access to companions in leisure time may have been difficult; whilst none of the European boys who offended by themselves lived in a rural locality. Both Maoris and Europeans experienced a very high degree of relationship difficulties (according to psychological and other reports) involving immaturity, insecurity and defensive patterns of behaviour plus a high incidence of aggression and bullying. The bulk of the Maori sole offenders, too, are of below average intelligence whilst all of the European youths who offended alone have IQ's over 100.

I have commented earlier in this report of the tendency for Maori youths to have a cultural dependency on the peer group which probably goes a long way toward explaining the frequency of their offending with associates of the same age. I quote Ritchie: "... by the middle years the family (as composed of parents and siblings) has been replaced as the most significant group by the wider, explicit, reference group of age-peers ... For the Maori child the family occupies second place ... The middle years child has gained a striking autonomy so far as home is concerned but not so far as his peer group is concerned." <sup>13</sup>. Considerable pressures are exerted on the individual members for conformity with special pressures directed against 'achievers' in order to direct them back on to a

course of non-achievement. Ritchie sees a continual striving to maintain psychological security in the group and that while the individual is learning the new certainties of role and role expectation, anxiety dominates the individual. However, as long as the group is there and so long as the member limits his demands on it and meets its demands on him, he need not be anxious. The Maori child can be seen, then, to be 'other-directed' in that he is continually watching others for leads to direct his own behaviour. Ritchie sees the main differences between Maori and Pakeha children at this stage as being that, for the Pakeha child, first loyalty, first identification and first reference group continues to be the family - for the Maori child the family occupies second place.

## 6. IQ and Personality.

### (a) IQ.

Most of the youths admitted to Kohitere had been intellectually tested by the psychological service and/or their school and an IQ result was generally available. Here a full scale range was given, the mid-point of the range has been taken in order to determine the classification in terms of the following table. A large number of youths were given a performance rating only and as this by itself can be deceptive, particularly with Maori youths, those involved are indicated in each category by an asterisk.

TABLE XV. IQ'S OF BOYS ADMITTED TO KOHITERE.

	Borderline (under 79)	Dull (80-90)	Average (91-110)	High Average (111-119)	Superior (120+)	Totals
European	-	3(*1)	11(*3)	4	2	20
Maori	5	21(*5)	21(*13)	2(*2)	1	50
	5	24	32	6	3	70

84% of the Maori sample are included in the dull and average ranges, this same category containing 70% of the Europeans. There are no Europeans in the borderline category which contains 10% of the Maoris whilst the ~~whilst~~ the high average and superior categories contain 30% of the Europeans and only 6% of the Maoris. Generally, then, the Europeans tend to be of higher IQ, 85% of them being of average or higher IQ compared with 48% of the Maoris. The 5 Maori youths contained in the borderline category (one of whom has been in Campbell Park School) could well offer special difficulties to such an institution as Kohitere.

(b) Personality Assessment.

The factors mentioned most often in the psychological reports on Maori youngsters are aggressiveness, hostility, deprivation (cultural, moral, social and environmental), resentmentfulness and resistance, rigidity, general immaturity, withdrawal/reticence/shyness, detachment, and lack of conscience or remorse, together with some degree of impulsivity, insecurity and poor concentration span.

The factors mentioned most often for Europeans are immaturity, aggressiveness and hostility, impulsivity, resentmentfulness and resistance, the fact of being easily influenced by others, instability, casual or careless attitude, and a general inability to relate.

A number of reports for boys from the Auckland area (25 of the 70 youths in the sample) were prepared by the same psychologist and a certain pattern in the reports is noticeable, as one could expect.

Aggression is the most frequently occurring trait in both races, being evident in 42% of the Maoris and 45% of the Europeans. Anna Freud, in discussing aggression and delinquency,



states: "... the pathological factor in these cases is not to be found in the aggressive tendencies themselves, but in a lack of fusion between them and libidinal (erotic) urges ... emotional development . . . has been held up through adverse external or internal conditions, such as the absence of love objects, lack of emotional response from the adult environment, breaking of emotional ties as soon as they are formed ... Owing to the defects on the emotional side, the aggressive urges are not brought into fusion and thereby bound and partially neutralised, but remain free and seek expression in life in the form of pure, unadulterated, independent destructiveness." 14.  
Implied in this is a lack of neutralisation of aggression.

A study carried out by Bandura and Walters 15. introduced the importance of dependency with the proposition that antisocial aggressive behaviour originates largely from a disturbance of a child's dependency relationship to his parents. In the aggressive group under study the boys had been allowed to become dependent on their parents but had then been subjected to repeated frustrations or actual punishment for continuing to seek these dependent relationships ( a parallel can be seen in traditional Maori child rearing practices - refer pages 6 and 7). Particular attention was paid to the boy's relationships to their fathers, marked in the aggressive group by rejection, lack of warmth, and lack of positive responses to the boys' attempts to become emotionally dependent on the father. The mothers of the aggressive boys were warmer than their husbands but still showed more evidence of rejecting and punishing their son's dependent strivings than did the mothers of the control group. The results of this study would seem to indicate that a boy's relationship to his father and, more specifically, a disruption of it in his early life is of primary importance in the development of a disturbed, antisocially aggressive behaviour.

Bennett, in investigating hostility and provocative behaviour, found that "the delinquent child's relationship with his parents was usually resentful and of a sado-masochistic type, ie. one involving an arrest of libidinal development and a regression to the anal-sadistic stage of emotional life. This produces either fixation or regression to hostile attitudes, hatred and cruelty to others, and extremes of provocation and sado-masochistic interchanges with the parental partner. This type of relationship is later transferred from the parents on to the child's elders and to society in general, and may be so skilfully and subtly provocative that he invariably arouses similar responses from teachers, foster-parents, probation officers, other children, the police, or wardens of hostels and remand homes. There are many varieties of this relationship and we found substantial evidence that inconsistent handling of the child's early emotional and instinctual manifestations is aetiologically linked with the delinquent's repetition-compulsion to form, with striking regularity throughout his later life, a type of intense, quarrelsome and tormenting relationship from which he derives power and perverse satisfaction." <sup>16.</sup>

Feelings of inadequacy, an inability to tolerate frustration and the lack of a sense of guilt or shame plus poor impulse control seemed to be associated more with the Maori youths than Europeans. Ivy Bennett, who carried out a study on delinquent and neurotic children, may be able to point to a reason for this: "The conscience development remains at a level similar to that of the small child. (It) is faulty because it fails to arouse guilt or shame, and does not lead the child to adapt his behaviour to the demands of reality. This condition may be expected to develop where the child's education has been carried out with great inconsistency and where he has been alternately over-stimulated and harshly rejected. Such treatment leads to confusion in his values

and standards of behaviour so that he cannot judge what is the right thing to do. Didactic moral training has no meaning for him, since it is not rooted in imitation and emotional identification with a person to whom he is attached by reciprocally deep and loving emotions ... His emotional attachments tend to be shallow because they have been frequently interrupted and mishandled ... For this reason he genuinely does not care, or even resents, what others think or say, and it is often impossible to influence him by ordinary methods ... He seeks chiefly for direct gratification of his wishes without thought of the consequences." <sup>17</sup> It is probably no coincidence that Ritchie sees the Maori personality structure as being "oriented around safe paths to immediate gratification ... the emphasis is on consummatory behaviour rather than exploratory or anticipatory delays. Thus learning tends to be learning of goals familiar and easily achieved rather than the assessment of the whole field for paths towards more durable or more intrinsically satisfying goals." <sup>18</sup>

Bennett further came to the conclusion that "the delinquent's emotional education ... has been typically carried out with the greatest inconsistency, extremes of impatience and harsh frustration alternating with indulgence and spoiling. The parents' own emotional life frequently sets the child a bad example and this, allied to the insecurity and interruptions in his relationship with his parents, leads to faulty and incomplete identification with them, or to an arrest at infantile, narcissistic levels of emotional development. Thus he has not been able to develop a strong character, an independent and reliable conscience, or the capacity for making friends." <sup>19</sup> Much of the above can be identified in a large proportion of the sample and is, no doubt, associated with their emotional maladjustment.

7. Peer Group Relationships.

TABLE XVI. PEER GROUP RELATIONSHIPS ( by percentages).

	<u>Maori</u>	<u>European.</u>
Accepted readily	40%	20%
Reserved/Timid	6%	20%
Aggressive/Bully	26%	25%
Doesn't mix readily	16%	10%
Leader	4%	-
Anti-social friends	18%	20%
Easily influenced	4%	5%
Not accepted	6%	5%

The assessments above were based upon psychological reports for the most part. The percentage figures for each race do not total 100% because I have, in some instances, included an individual in 2 categories where this appeared desirable and necessary (eg, a boy who is both a bully and not accepted readily).

Maori youths seemed to have least problems in being accepted and fitting readily into a group although a slightly higher proportion of Maoris failed to mix readily with others. The greatest number of Europeans tended to be aggressive and bullies and it is interesting that not one of them was described as possessing leadership qualities. A little over one-quarter of the Maori sample also were aggressive in their relationships with peers. A significant proportion of each race had friends who were anti-social in outlook and who were considered poor influences. A greater proportion of Europeans than Maoris proved to be reserved and timid and found it difficult to make friends.

8. Attitude Towards Authority.TABLE XVII. ATTITUDE TOWARDS AUTHORITY (by percentages).

	<u>Maori</u>	<u>European.</u>
Accepting	22%	15%
Superficial acceptance	8%	10%
Ambivalent	4%	15%
Conforms under supervision	18%	20%
Indifferent	4%	5%
Resistant	44%	35%

Once again assessments were based mainly on Psychological reports. It will be seen that the highest percentages of both Europeans and Maoris were classified as being resistant to authority at the time of their admission to Kohitere. One-fifth of the Europeans responded to supervision whilst 15% were ambivalent. A similar number were accepting of authority and discipline. Only a small proportion of the Maoris wavered between acceptance and non-acceptance - it seemed that they generally either conformed (either willingly or in response to oversight) or resisted.

CONCLUSIONS.

In attempting to summarise the foregoing it may be now possible, taking into account the limitations of the study, to draw up a profile of the Maori delinquent as he presented at the time of his admission to Kohitere, based on the information and data that seems to be significant.

He will be approximately 14 years of age living in an urban locality, most likely from the northern half of the

North Island and from Auckland city and surrounding area in particular. He will be a member of a large family (by European standards) and most likely the eldest boy living at home at the time, although not necessarily the eldest of the family. The youth will be subject to few parental restraints, the parents tending to be divided as to control methods, disciplining and guidance; any discipline received being generally inconsistent and ineffective. The father is likely to show only passing interest in his son, is engaged in unskilled or semi-skilled employment and is likely to be a regular attender at the hotel. There is a strong likelihood of the boy having experienced an unstable home life, the parents having been or currently are separated or divorced, and he has probably spent some period living with relatives.

He is making only limited progress at school where he is in either Form 3 or Form 4 and has a history of truancy.

The youth has made 3 appearances in the Children's Court, first appearing at 11 years of age, and it is possible that he came to Child Welfare notice prior to his first Court appearance as the result of some outside referral. He has indulged in offences of theft, burglary and the taking of bicycles and has probably also interfered with or taken a motor car. Most of his offences were committed in the company of other Maori youths of similar age, and, to a considerable extent, he is dependent upon and conforms to the peer group. He has few positive interests and is unable or unwilling to use his leisure time constructively.

His IQ will be in the dull - average range and he will generally be an aggressive, hostile, resentful, rigid, immature, withdrawn and deprived youngster with strong dependency needs and generally resistant towards authority although he does respond under supervision and close oversight.

Much of the foregoing will apply to the 'typical' pre-admission European except that his family of origin will be smaller and there is less likelihood of his being the eldest boy at home at the time. The European youngster is also likely to come from a 'broken' home but rather than being placed with relatives, he is more likely to have had a history of children's home or foster home placements. He, too, will be in Form 3 or Form 4, offers behavioural and control problems to his teachers and truants. If he works he will have a history of numerous job changes with a tendency to take up semi-skilled or skilled employment. He first appeared in the Children's Court at 11 years of age and has made three Court appearances. His preference for offences centre around car conversion, burglary, theft, breaking and entering, and getting into a motor car plus, maybe, driving whilst disqualified. He will have offended with a mixed age group, although there is a tendency for him, too, to prefer group members of a similar age. However, he doesn't seem to share his Maori counterpart's group dependency need to the same extent.

His IQ level is likely to be in the average range with a tendency towards high average, and he will present as an aggressive, resentful, unstable, casual youth; easily influenced by others, displaying an inability to relate to others and also being resistant to authority.

All of this doesn't solve the problem of why there is such a high proportion of Maori youths at Kohitere, however. In the absence of a control group it is impossible to come to any reliable conclusions but it might be possible, and I may be excused for this, to point to some indicators.

For example, the most significant fact to which I have earlier referred at some length seems to be the tendency for

Maori youngsters to be rejected by parents at a fairly early age and thrust into the peer and familial group relationships which may not provide for the emotional needs of the individual. "Emotional deprivation in childhood can be assumed; this has resulted in constriction, insecurity and an unsatisfied need for affection. A need for immediate gratification is also evidenced." <sup>20</sup>. This gives rise to some anxiety and a tendency to meet any social demands as the price which must be paid for protection from further (social) rejection. The unpredictable, inconsistent and capricious attention received from parents leads to consequent wariness and vigilance, self-doubt and distrust of the adult world. Ritchie <sup>21</sup>. also identifies depression as a result of "patterns of defence by extra-punitive processes, or by withdrawal of an affective rather than a cognitive form (token participation without emotional involvement)." He also suggests that "Under the impact of acculturative agencies and consequent upon social disorganisation which might otherwise provide support there has been an increase in the level of manifest anxiety revealing an anxiety prone personality structure."

Urbanisation and its consequent problems involves not only the parents in the new pressures, values and standards to which they are expected to conform and the subsequent emotional, financial and other difficulties that effect the parents' resources to cope which are, in turn, reflected in family relationships, but also the situations which face the children in a new, densely populated, accessible environment. The formation of Maori gangs in Auckland points to the adjustment and maybe defensive measures that are being adopted by Maori youngsters and, indeed, the Maori race itself is becoming concerned about this problem as evinced by the New Zealand Maori Council attempting to bring some pressure on to the Government for the formation of an independent committee of enquiry into the whole matter. This, then, really becomes a community matter.



As a consequence of urbanisation, the family (as I have already mentioned) finds itself removed from the kinship ties and the support formerly received from the extended family. Thus the Maori child, rejected by the parents following a period of permissiveness and lavish, close affection, finds little security from older siblings, relatives or other surrogate parents as would have usually been the case had the family been in a rural, pa-type setting. Security is found amongst age peers, a security which is limited and harsh.

The tendency for Maori youngsters to be placed with relatives, sometimes at an early age, must have some effect on their later personality development and seems to be a significant factor in the backgrounds of the Maori sample members. However, I have no way of knowing whether this is, in fact, common to a large proportion of all Maori youths and not merely to those boys admitted to Kohitere.

These, then are some of the factors that seem to me to be significant and relevant in explaining the rising Proportion of Maori admissions to Kohitere. However, much uncertainty surrounds the degree of significance that can be attached, and obviously these are matters that could form the basis of a much more comprehensive study.

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