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ABSTRACT

Sixty-nine School Journals, magazines for New Zealand students from 7 to 13 years old, were surveyed to examine the representation of ethnic groups and cultures. The magazine issues from 1979 and 1987-1990 featured 760 items (e.g., stories, articles, poems, songs, and plays) were analyzed for the activities, languages, roles, age, and gender of ethnic groups. The findings suggest that the use of Maori characters, language and concepts in non-stylized form has increased while non-Maori character representation has decreased over time, but the changes may be cosmetic and temporary. The majority of characters in the text (65%) and illustrations (63%) were Pakeha. Non-Pakeha characters were often represented in stereotypical formats and were more likely than Pakeha to appear in the non-fiction articles. Names of people, places, or objects were found to make up the majority of non-English language use. While Maori representation increased significantly in 1990, most of the representations were in a single issue from that year. While 20% of the school population is Maori and this percentage is expected to rise to 25% by the year 2000, Maori character representation in School Journals from 1979 through 1989 dropped from 11% to 6%. The findings suggest the need for the ethnic and cultural representation in School Journals to continue to be monitored. (Author/CK)

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ETHNIC AND CULTURAL REPRESENTATION IN SCHOOL JOURNALS

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ETHNIC AND CULTURAL REPRESENTATION IN SCHOOL JOURNALS

**Airini Caddick
Christchurch College of Education**

**Education Department
University of Canterbury
Research Report No. 92-4**

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ABSTRACT

Sixty-nine Part 1-4 School Journals (1979, 1987-1990) featuring 760 items were surveyed to determine ethnic and cultural representation. The activities, languages, roles age and gender of ethnic groups in the Journals were analysed. The findings suggest that the use of Maori characters, language and concepts in non-stylised forms has increased, while non-Maori character representation has decreased. However, these changes may be cosmetic and temporary. The majority of characters in the text (65%) and illustrations (63%) were Pakeha. Non-Pakeha characters were often represented in stereotypical formats, more likely than Pakeha to appear in the non-fiction articles, and it was found that names of people, places or objects made up the majority of non-English language use. While Maori representation increased significantly in 1990, most of the representations were in a single issue from that year. Given that 20% of the school population is Maori rising to about 25% by the year 2000, while Maori character representation in School Journals (1979-1989) dropped from 11% to 6%, the findings from this research suggest the need for the ethnic and cultural representation in School Journals to continue to be monitored.

1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study was to investigate the way in which ethnic groups and cultures have been represented in the School Journal¹. As a document that has been available to all New Zealand schools for over eighty years it has been significant in the primary education of three or four generations of New Zealand children. It is important then that such a readily available publication should positively reflect equity issues.

There has been little investigation into the contents of School Journals. A survey of sex-role stereotyping in School Journals (1969-1978) found that despite a move towards greater equality, males continued to represent the majority of Journal roles.² Beaglehole researched the nature of Maori content in School Journals.³ It was found that the amount of space allocated to "things Maori" has fluctuated. From 1907 to 1981, there was a definite swing away from stylised stereotypical European attitudes about Maori. In its place were contemporary Maori people and issues, presented by several Maori authors.

Culturally sensitive content is significant in terms of what is understood from the text. The inclusion of concepts that are unique to particular cultures can affect a reader's comprehension skills. [Reynolds, Taylor, Steffensen, Shirey, Anderson (1982), Steffensen, Joag-Dev, Anderson (1979)] Reynolds et al (1982) found that ambiguities arise for readers where assumptions of shared cultural schemata are made about particular words or phrases. While Reynolds suggested that such results support attempts to make reading materials free from cultural bias, it also supports the notion that reading materials should be made culturally specific. Comprehension ambiguities could be overcome by either requiring readers to recall their background knowledge of the world or to extend it.

This survey was an attempt to determine the ideas about ethnic groups that are being portrayed in School Journals since Beaglehole completed his study in 1981. By inference, what students would comprehend about the ethnicity and cultures represented was also being investigated. The ultimate intention is to identify further ways of improving the representation of ethnic groups and cultures in School Journals. It was the intention that this survey should take the basic structure of the above sex-role survey, and apply it to the question of the representation of ethnic groups and cultures. It is suspected that in the same way that one gender group continues to dominate Journals, so too does one ethnic group and its culture. By analysing recent Journals in this context, Beaglehole's investigation is being broadened in scope and brought up to date, although the same underlying issue remains of the representation of Maori, in particular, in School Journals.

2 METHOD

Sixty-nine School Journals from four years (1990,1989,1988,1987) were selected, along with 1979 Journals, to provide a ten year comparison. These contained 760 different 'items', such as stories, non-fiction articles, poems, songs and plays. Journals were examined for the following features:

1. The specific ethnic groups represented
2. The frequency of representation of regional ethnic groups
3. Activities in which ethnic groups were represented
4. Characteristics of Maori represented
5. Whether ethnic groups take a major, secondary or background role when represented
6. The use of languages other than English
7. The nature and frequency of ethnic representation in illustrations
8. The number of stories, articles, plays, poems and activities in which ethnic groups are represented
9. The age and gender of ethnic groups represented.

Where data was sought on language use, all non-English words were counted, whether or not they were attributable to a human 'voice'. However, where information regarding the characters was sought, only human characters were included. ⁴

In order to monitor ratings of ethnicity and cultural identification, character traits and activities, an outside rater (a practising primary school teacher) was asked to assess eight journals selected at random, two from each Part. In general, agreement on the activities and ethnicity of those taking part was satisfactory (86%). Compatibility in descriptions of character traits, particularly when unspecified in the text, was less apparent. Accordingly, less emphasis should be placed on the finding in this category. The definition of terms used in this survey was based upon definitions suggested by Joan Metge in *Te Kohao o Te Ngira: Culture and Learning*.⁵ While recognising the limitations of any definitions, they did provide the necessary basic understandings for this investigation.

Further details of the specific methods used for investigating each different feature of the study are given below in the relevant section.

3 RESULTS

3.1: ETHNIC GROUP REPRESENTATION

760 Journal items ⁶ were surveyed for the dominant ethnic and cultural orientation of their content and characters. Where more than one ethnic group featured strongly, affecting the tone or plot of the item, each ethnic group was counted once. In several items, ethnicity was unclear. If an ethnic group could not be identified specifically, a general grouping term was used, eg. "Polynesian". It is regrettable that the lack of information caused the need to group distinct ethnic peoples under headings that have the potential to neutralise the significant ethnic and cultural differences. Where an item could not be ethnically categorised because of the neutral subject matter (eg. a study of lichens), that item was entered under the "Not Included" heading.

Table 1: Number of Journal Items in which Different Ethnic Groups were Represented
(Parts 1-4, 1979-1990 Combined)

	1979	1987	1988	1989	1990	n=
Afghani	-	1	-	-	-	1
African	-	1	-	1	-	2
American	3	1	1	1	-	6
American Indian	-	-	1	-	-	1
Arabian	-	1	-	-	1	2
Australian	2	-	-	-	1	3
Australian Aborigine	1	-	-	1	-	2
Bhutanese	-	-	-	2	-	2
Cambodian	-	-	1	-	1	2
Chinese	1	1	2	2	3	9
Cook Island	-	-	-	1	-	1
Croatian	-	2	-	-	-	2
Cuban	1	-	-	-	-	1
Dalmatian	1	-	-	-	-	1
East African	-	-	1	-	-	1
English	-	2	2	2	-	6
European	2	1	9	1	4	17
German	1	-	-	-	-	1
Greek	1	-	-	-	-	1
Indian	2	1	1	1	3	8
Irish	-	-	-	-	1	1
Kenyan	-	1	-	1	-	2
Japanese	1	-	-	1	-	2
Malaysian	1	-	-	-	-	1
Maori	13	9	14	7	37	80
Melanesian	-	1	-	-	-	1
Nepali	-	-	-	1	-	1
Niuean	-	-	-	-	1	1
North African	-	-	-	1	-	1
Norwegian	1	-	1	1	-	3
Pakeha ⁷	79	65	113	88	72	417
Pakistani	-	1	-	-	-	1
Philippino	-	1	1	1	-	3
Polynesian	1	1	7	1	6	16
Russian	-	-	-	-	1	1
Samoan	-	-	-	1	-	1
Scottish	-	-	-	-	1	1
Singhalese	-	-	1	-	-	1
Swiss	-	1	-	-	-	1
Tongan	1	-	1	2	2	6
Vietnamese	-	-	-	1	-	1
Welsh	1	-	-	-	-	1
Zimbabwe	-	-	-	1	-	1
TOTAL	113	92	156	121	136	618
Items not included	15	19	52	14	42	142
TOTAL (All items)	128	111	208	135	178	760

Table 1 shows that from a total of 760 items surveyed, 42 non-Pakeha ethnic groups were represented in the text of 201 different items. Of all culture-identifiable items, 32.5% featured non-Pakeha cultures. That is, Pakeha culture, with 65% representation, dominated the Journal text. Relative to non-Pakeha ethnic groups, Maori culture had a high representation (10.5%, n=80), although one year (1990) contributed significantly to this total (46%, n=37). If 1990 figures were excluded the percentage for Maori representation would be only 7.4%.

While most Journals contained a variety of culture input, some contained little or no Maori material. Two Journals had no Maori characters in the text (1979,3:1; 1987,1:3). Nine Journals had no Maori content in either the text or illustrations (1987,4:1; 1988,1:1, 1:4, 1:5, 2:1, 4:1; 1989,1:1, 4:2, 4:3). Five Journals contained material that reflected the Pakeha culture only (1979,3:1; 1987,1:3; 1988 1:1, 2:1, 4:1).

3.2 FREQUENCY OF REPRESENTATION OF ETHNIC GROUPS

Each Journal item was assessed for its ethnic orientation, and grouped along with the ethnic groups in the same geographical region represented in the item, without specifying the number of characters from each ethnic group.

By grouping cultures regionally it is possible to determine the proportional representation of cultures in Journals and the frequency with which each culture appears.

Table 2: Representation of Regional Ethnic Groups in Journal Items
(Parts 1-4, 1979,1987-1990 Combined)

Group	1979		1987		1988		1989		1990	
	n=	%								
African	0	0	2	2	1	1	3	2	1	1
Asian	3	3	3	3	4	3	6	5	5	4
European	7	6	6	7	11	7	5	4	7	5
Maori	13	11	9	10	14	9	7	6	37	27
Pakeha	79	70	65	71	113	72	88	73	72	53
Polynesian	2	2	1	1	8	5	5	4	9	6
All Others	9	8	6	6	5	3	7	6	5	4
TOTAL	113	100	92	100	156	100	121	100	136	100

Table 2 shows that for every 100 Journal items in 1979, and 1987-1989, at least 70% of all items related primarily to aspects of the Pakeha culture. In 1990 the percentage of Maori items far exceeded previous years, increasing from 6% in 1989 to 27% of items in that year. In the ten year period before 1990, the journals were dominated by Pakeha culture, with the proportion of Pakeha items increasing slightly (70%-73%). During the same period Maori representation almost halved (11%-6%)

To simplify interpretation, all cultures represented in School Journals were grouped under three major headings: Maori, Pakeha, and All Other Ethnic Groups⁸. Results were then calculated according to the frequency with which each of these groups were represented in the ethnic and cultural identity of the characters.

Figure 1: Percentage of Journal Characters in Ethnic Groups
(Parts 1-4, 1979, 1987-1990 Combined)

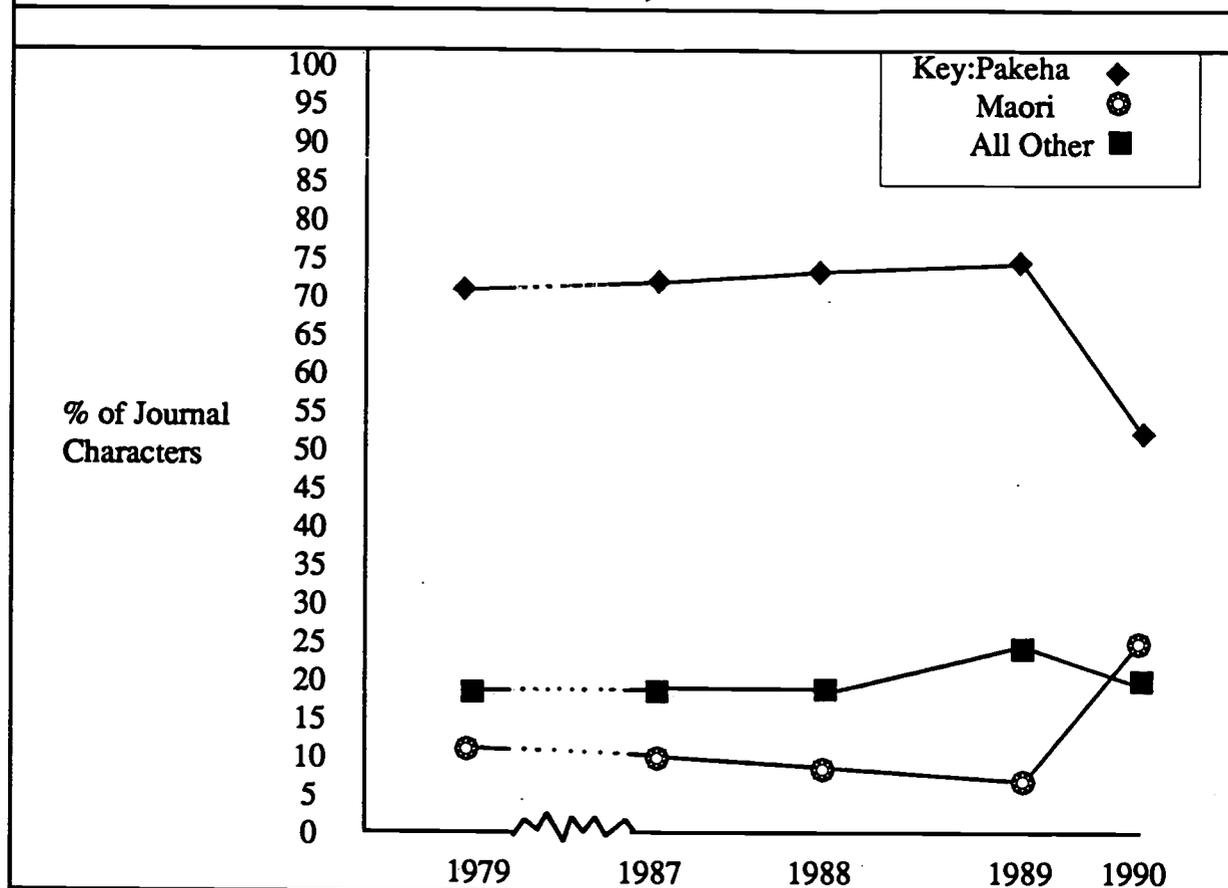


Figure 1 shows that the proportional representation of Maori rises dramatically in 1990. It should be noted that there was a large number of items in 1990. Items attributable to the Pakeha culture remained highest in 1990 although there was a proportional decline. The representation of All Other Ethnic groups was not prone to fluctuations, remaining remarkably constant in proportional representation during the survey period.

3.3 ACTIVITIES IN WHICH ETHNIC GROUPS ARE REPRESENTED

The Journals were analysed for the number and type of activities described for various ethnic groups. Particular emphasis was placed upon the activities of non-Pakeha ethnic groups. Activities ranged from forms of paid employment, to leisure pastimes, to mythical activities.

3.3.1. Activities Associated With Non-Pakeha Ethnic groups:

For Maori and All Other Ethnic groups, a total of 330 activity situations incorporating 140 different types of activities were identified in the survey period. Of these, 25% (n=82) were related to food - its preparation, gathering, hunting and sharing. Furthermore, of the 157 tasks identified for Maori specifically, 34% (n=53) were in this same category. Prior to 1990, no clear patterns were observed in the activities of ethnic groups.

3.3.2 Forms of Paid Employment:

Twenty-nine non-Pakeha characters were represented in twenty forms of paid employment⁹ and 60% of them ranked between 4-6 on the Elley-Irving Socio-Economic Index¹⁰. Of these, Maori were represented in 10 forms of paid employment, with 50% ranking between 4-6, the lower end of the Elley-Irving scale. and Pakeha were represented in 58 forms of paid employment¹¹. Of these 41% (n=24) were between 4-6 on the Elley-Irving scale; 59% (n=34) were between 1-3. Thus, Pakeha tended to be represented in higher ranking forms of paid employment than non-Pakeha during this survey period.

3.4 CHARACTER TRAITS OF MAORI REPRESENTED

Parts 1 and 4 Journals only were analysed to determine the character traits attributed to Maori in the text. Such judgements are more difficult and are subjective and therefore may be less accurate. However, an indication of trends in ethnic representation in School Journals was provided through the limited survey.

Character traits were divided into positive and negative categories and tabulated according to the age and gender of the character.

TRAIT	Child			Adult		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Brave	1	1	2	3	2	5
Curious	2	-	2	-	-	0
Fit	1	-	1	4	2	6
Happy	6	4	10	1	2	3
Hardworking	2	4	6	4	7	11
Loving	3	14	17	2	11	13
Mana(Has standing)	2	-	2	3	3	6
Patience	-	-	0	3	2	5
Positive	4	3	7	1	2	3
Pride	2	-	2	3	1	4
Quiet	2	1	3	1	-	1
Respectful	2	4	6	1	2	3
Trustworthy	-	-	0	1	1	2
Wise	1	-	1	5	2	7
TOTAL	28	30	58	32	38	70

As the above table shows, female Maori children characters were most commonly loving, respectful and hardworking. Maori male children characters were more often than girls to be shown to be happy, curious, proud people with mana. A similar pattern was also apparent for major male and female adult characters. While both genders were portrayed as hardworking, women were more likely to be in a loving role than men, and men more likely to be portrayed as fit and wise. There is little here to suggest that Maori representation is moving beyond stereotypical gender representation.

Table 4: Negative Character Maori Traits for all Years Combined.

Trait	Child			Adult		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Bossy	3	-	3	-	3	3
Cheating	1	-	1	1	-	1
Crying	-	1	1	1	1	2
Envious	-	-	0	1	-	1
Forgetful	-	1	1	-	-	0
Immature	-	-	0	1	-	1
Nervous	-	1	1	1	-	1
Passive	-	-	0	-	1	1
Poor	-	-	0	-	1	1
Shy	-	1	1	-	-	0
Violent	-	-	0	2	-	2
TOTAL	4	4	8	7	6	13

Fewer negative than positive traits were attributed to Maori characters and no clear patterns regarding negative traits were apparent from the above figures.

3.5 CHARACTER ROLES IN WHICH ETHNIC GROUPS ARE REPRESENTED

The number of human characters in the text of Journals was counted. Groups of an unspecified number were not included in this analysis.

Table 5: Ethnic Groups Represented in Human Characters in Journal Text (Parts 1-4 Combined, 1979, 1987-1990)

	1979	% of Yr	1987	% of Yr	1988	% of Yr	1989	% of Yr	1990	% of Yr	Total	% of Total
		3.5		6.7		8.9		6.9		1.9		
Pakeha	108	60	117	74	189	71	162	69	158	53	734	65
Maori	30	17	17	11	20	8	23	10	84	28	174	15
Other	40	23	23	15	56	21	50	21	55	19	224	20
TOTAL	178	100	157	100	265	100	235	100	297	100	1132	100

Table 5 shows that during the survey period, the majority of Journal text characters were Pakeha, although there was a steady decline from 74% in 1987 to 53% in 1990. As an individual ethnic group, Maori ranks second in representation. However, apart from 1990, Maori representation fluctuated at about 10-15%. As shown earlier, 1990 saw a reversal of a former decline in the proportional representation for Maori Journal characters. No other single ethnic group featured significantly in overall representation figures.

The characters were further divided into Pakeha, Maori and Other Ethnic groupings in the following categories of character roles: Major, Secondary, Background.¹² The results are presented in Tables 6-8.

Table 6: Ethnic Groups Represented in Major Character Roles

Part	Pakeha		Maori		Other		TOTAL	
	n=	%	n=	%	n=	%	n=	%
1	56	64	5	6	26	30	87	100
2	45	61	11	15	18	24	74	100
3	67	68	15	15	17	17	99	100
4	119	77	22	14	14	9	155	100
TOTAL	287	69	53	13	75	18	415	100

It is clear from Table 6 that most major characters were Pakeha (69%), with 13% Maori. This represents a slight increase for Pakeha representation from Table 5 (65%) and a corresponding decrease for Maori representation on the overall ethnic representation figures. This decrease is more apparent for Maori representation in Part 1 Journals where Maori characters are half as likely to be represented in major roles than in Parts 2-4. However the Other Ethnic grouping is represented in one third of all the Part 1 major roles.

Table 7: Ethnic Groups Represented in Secondary Roles

Part	Pakeha		Maori		Other		Total	
	n=	%	n=	%	n=	%	n=	%
1	42	71	6	10	11	19	59	100
2	42	54	15	19	21	27	78	100
3	68	53	36	28	25	19	129	100
4	91	73	15	12	18	15	124	100
Total	243	62	72	19	75	19	390	100

In secondary roles, [Table 7] ethnic representation closely reflects the proportional representation figures [See Table 5]. Maori characters are least likely to be present in secondary roles in Part 1 and 4 Journals, while Pakeha characters are most strongly represented in these Parts.

Table 8: Ethnic Groups Represented in Background Roles:

Part	Pakeha		Maori		Other		Total	
	n=	%	n=	%	n=	%	n=	%
1	26	59	6	14	12	27	44	100
2	26	55	10	21	11	24	47	100
3	59	65	12	13	20	22	91	100
4	93	65	21	15	29	20	143	100
Total	204	63	49	15	72	22	325	100

As shown in Tables 8 and 5, the number of Maori and Other Ethnic groups in background roles reflects their proportional representation figures. The number of Pakeha characters in background roles is less than those in major roles. Furthermore Maori representation never reaches the more balanced representation in 1990 character numbers [See Table 5].

Tables 6-8 seem to suggest only a slight and insignificant (Chi Square = 0.72) tendency towards a disproportionate number of major roles featuring Pakeha characters.

3.6 THE USE OF NON ENGLISH LANGUAGES

All Journals were surveyed for non-English words or phrases. Each non-English word was counted once regardless of either the number of times it occurred or whether it was spoken by human or non-human characters. The results were combined for all Journals. Where a language was not specifically identified for its ethnic origin, the word was placed within a corporate heading matching the context of the item, eg. Africa. In most cases this 'grouping' process was necessary as the cultural and ethnic origins had not been included. This lack of information indicated a culturally unsympathetic trend towards non-specificity in ethnic identity.

Language or Country of Origin.	Number of Words	% of Total
Africa	2	< 1
Aust. Aboriginal	6	1
Bhutan	23	3
Borneo	1	< 1
China	9	1
Cook Is.	4	< 1
Egypt	2	< 1
French	11	1
Germany	2	< 1
Greek	4	< 1
Hawaiian	1	< 1
Hong Kong	1	< 1
Indian	10	1
Indonesia	1	< 1
Japan	5	1
Kampuchea	10	1
Kenya	13	2
Maori	541	70
Melanesia	2	< 1
Mexican	1	< 1
Nepal	1	< 1
Norse	1	< 1
Nuiean	5	1
Pacific Islands	30	4
Pakistan	4	< 1
Peru	6	1
Philippines	4	< 1
Samoan	24	3
Scotland	4	< 1
Spanish	1	< 1
Sri Lanka	6	1
Tongan	31	4
Vietnam	10	1
Zimbabwe	1	< 1
TOTAL	777	

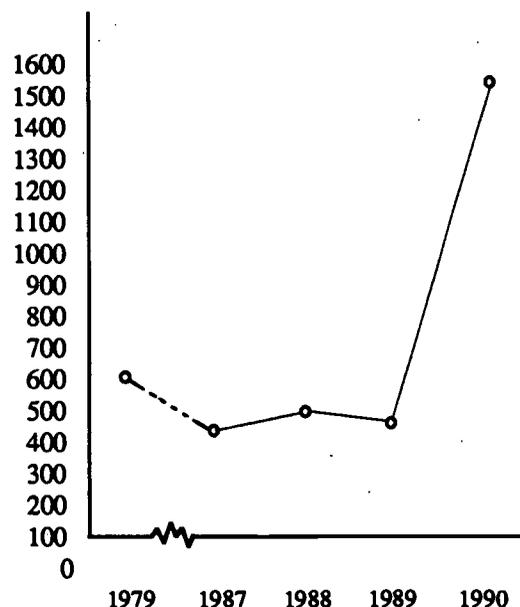
As Table 9 shows, words from 34 non-English groups were recorded. Maori words made up the majority (70%) of non-English words in the Journals surveyed. Pacific Island words are next most frequent and when grouped together, make up 12% (n=97) of the non-English words in this survey period.

3.6.1: The Use of Te Reo Maori in Journals:

541 different Maori words were found to have been used in the Journals surveyed. Over one third of these words (n=196, 36%) were names¹³. Occasionally characters were given Maori names (with supporting illustrations of Maori-like characters), without including Maori social concepts in the text. Where the narrative was specifically about things Maori, Maori words and phrases were not translated into English, although italics may have been used to highlight the word.

As Figure 2 shows, the frequency (that is, counting every Maori word each time it occurs, even where that word has occurred before), with which Maori words feature in school Journals increased dramatically in 1990. The sudden increase in the usage of te reo Maori coincided with a national emphasis upon culture and national identity in 1990.

Figure 2: Frequency of Maori Words in School Journals (1979, 1987-1990):



3.6.2: The Use of Non-English, Non-Maori Languages in Journals:

If Maori and English were excluded, and the remaining languages grouped in order to provide an indication of regional language trends, Pacific Island languages were strongly represented. Forty one per cent (n=97) of non-English, non-Maori Journal words were in Pacific Island languages. In the same category, 27% of the words could be attributed to Asian groups.

Of the 236 non-Maori, non-English words recorded in this survey, more than half (56%, n=132) were names of people, places and objects.

3.6.3: Maori Concepts:

Seventeen Maori social and cultural concepts were identified in the Journals surveyed. These ranged from the importance of the elderly and the way that is expressed in Maori culture, to Maori understandings of land, ancestors, nature and the way these understandings are expressed on marae, in the home and in Maori lifeways in general. Concepts were presented in both contemporary and historical plots. All but one of the identified concepts were used in the English narrative¹⁴. Frequently used Maori words were typically not translated (eg. karanga, hui, awhi, marae) but may have been italicised.

3.7 THE REPRESENTATION OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN JOURNAL ILLUSTRATIONS

The illustrations in all the Journals (1979, 1987-1990) were examined and where possible the number of human characters from different ethnic groups in each illustration was recorded. Where the number present could not be determined accurately, as in crowd scenes, such illustrations were not included in the tally. However, if the crowd was a part of the backdrop scene for an illustration including major, secondary or background characters, those specific characters were counted.

	Pakeha		Maori		Other		Total	
	n=	%	n=	%	n=	%	n=	%
1979	445	61	104	14	184	25	733	100
1987	325	71	49	11	85	18	459	100
1988	577	74	86	11	117	15	780	100
1989	364	59	51	8	205	33	620	100
1990	425	52	259	32	127	16	811	100
1987-89	1266	68	186	10	407	22	1859	100
1979-90	2136	63	549	16	718	21	3403	100

Table 10 shows that prior to 1990, for every 100 characters illustrated in Journals (1987-1989), Pakeha characters dominated, with 68 being Pakeha, 10 Maori and 22 from Other Ethnic groups. When ethnic representation in illustrations is compared with that in text characters, it seems that Pakeha dominance is slightly over-emphasised in the illustrations. Overall, illustrations show three per cent more Pakeha characters and one percent fewer Maori characters than their respective text figures [See Table 5].

Between 1979 and 1989 the number of Maori in illustrations halved, while the representation of Other Ethnic groups in illustrations increased. However, in 1990 alone, the number of Maori in Journal illustrations increased dramatically from 51 (1989) to 259 (1990).

Illustrations were further categorised according to whether they were photographic or non-photographic¹⁵.

	Photographic							Non-Photographic						
	P	%	M	%	O	%	Total	P	%	M	%	O	%	Total
1979	148	84	19	11	10	5	177	297	61	85	17	106	22	488
1987	121	64	16	8	54	28	191	204	76	33	12	31	12	268
1988	164	71	25	11	43	18	232	413	75	61	11	74	14	548
1989	50	32	19	12	88	56	157	239	62	32	8	117	30	388
1990	156	60	79	31	23	9	258	269	48	180	32	113	20	562
Total	639		158		218		1015	1422		391		441		2254
%	63		16		21		31	63		17		20		69

Total number of illustration characters: n=3269

According to the data in Table 11, the percentage of characters in photographs who were identifiable as Maori (M) remained reasonably constant 1979-1989. During the same period Maori representation in non-photographic illustrations halved. Other Ethnic group (O) representation in illustrations, particularly photographs, showed considerable growth 1979-1989. The percentage of Maori characters in all illustrations exceeds that of Other Ethnic groups in 1990 only.

In 1990 the number of Maori in photographs and non-photographs increased four times from the previous year's figures. However, the theme of Pakeha (P) dominance remained constant. In 1990 Pakeha representation in illustrations also increased. In photographs Pakeha representation trebled in number and showed an increase in 1989 figures for representation in non-photographs.

3.7.3 Maori and Other Ethnic Group Activities in Journal Illustrations (1979, 1987-1990):

Stereotypical activities featured in the illustration of non-Pakeha ethnic groups. Maori characters in both photographs and non-photographs were frequently represented in a food related task- hunting, gathering, preparation, eating, or choosing. Twenty per cent (n=110) of all Maori characters in illustrations were involved in this way. Seven per cent (n=38) of Maori in illustrations were depicted in some form of paid employment. Where the occupations were bus driving, sales or service, Pakeha were represented in superior roles (Bus inspector, cashier, paying guest) to Maori in the same photographs. Forty-eight per cent (n=64) of all Asian characters in illustrations were dressed in traditional clothing.

3.8: THE TYPE OF ITEM IN WHICH ETHNIC GROUPS ARE REPRESENTED

The contents of all Journals (1979, 1987-1990) were surveyed and the number of stories, articles, plays, poems and activities attributable to an ethnic group was recorded. Where the ethnic or cultural orientation of an item could not be reasonably assessed it was not included in the tally.

	Story	Article	Play	Poem/Song	Activity	Total
Part 1	78	45	19	38	1	181
Part 2	67	34	11	39	0	151
Part 3	60	33	9	18	1	121
Part 4	82	51	12	31	1	177
Total ¹⁶	287	163	51	126	3	630
%	45.5	26	8	20	0.5	100

As the above table shows, most Journal items in this survey are stories (45.5%).

	Story	Article	Play	Poem/Song	Activity
Part 1	50	37	17	36	1
Part 2	41	17	7	27	0
Part 3	43	16	4	12	1
Part 4	57	30	11	28	0
Total n=435	191	100	39	103	2
%	43.5	23	9	24	0.5

Table 13 shows that relative to the total number of types of items surveyed, Pakeha are well represented in all Journal items, particularly poetry.

	Story	Article	Play	Poem/Song	Activity
Part 1	6	2	0	2	0
Part 2	12	7	0	5	0
Part 3	11	8	2	5	0
Part 4	12	10	0	2	1
Total					
n=85	41	27	2	14	1
%	48	32	2	17	1

As indicated in the above Table, Maori items like those of Pakeha are predominantly stories. Relative to the overall distribution of item types however [see Table 12], a larger proportion of Maori items are articles. Furthermore, of the fifty one plays in the overall survey of items, two only could be identified as culturally representative of Maori.

	Story	Article	Play	Poem/Song	Article
Part 1	22	6	2	0	0
Part 2	14	10	4	7	0
Part 3	6	9	3	1	0
Part 4	13	11	1	1	0
Total					
n= 110	55	36	10	9	0
%	50	33	9	8	0

Table 15 shows that although most of the Other Ethnic Group characters feature in stories, a disproportionately large percentage (33%) are presented in articles and a small percentage (8%) in poems or songs.

However, Chi-Square analysis of Tables 13-15 shows no significant difference between the representation of ethnic groups in the various categories of Journal items (Chi Square = 0.004).

3.9: THE AGE AND GENDER OF ETHNIC GROUPS REPRESENTED IN SCHOOL JOURNALS (1979, 1987-1990)

All human Journal characters were divided according to age (under or over 16 years old) and gender. Where it was not possible to determine from the text whether a character was a child or an adult, supporting illustrations were used to assist in classifying characters. Characters were further divided into the following racial groupings: Pakeha, Maori, Other Ethnic Groups.

Table 16: Child and Adult Characters in Journals (1979, 1987-1990):

	Child							Adult						
	P	%	M	%	O	%	Total	P	%	M	%	O	%	Total
Pt 1	50	68	7	10	16	22	73	74	63	10	9	33	28	117
Pt 2	48	55	23	26	17	19	88	65	58	13	2	34	30	112
Pt 3	94	67	29	21	18	13	141	100	56	34	19	45	25	179
Pt 4	130	73	28	16	19	11	177	171	71	30	12	42	17	243
Total	322	67	87	18	70	15	479	410	63	87	13	154	24	651
	100							100						

n=1130

During the survey period there were more adult than child characters in the Journals. (58%, n=651, 42% n = 479 respectively). The overall number of Maori child and adult characters closely reflected the overall proportional representation figures [See Table 5]. However, in Part 2, Maori adult characters were slightly underrepresented. There tended to be a proportionately higher percentage of characters as Maori children, than as Maori adults.

Relative to the proportional representation figures, Other Ethnic Groups were underrepresented in child characters and overrepresented in adult characters.

Table 17: Yearly Analysis of the Ethnicity of Child and Adult Characters Featuring in Journals (1979, 1987-1990):

Year	Child								Adult							
	P	%	M	%	O	%	Total	%	P	%	M	%	O	%	Total	%
1979	41	68	13	2	6	10	60	100	66	56	17	15	34	19	117	100
1987	56	79	7	10	8	11	71	100	61	71	10	12	15	17	86	100
1988	91	75	9	7	21	17	121	100	98	68	11	8	35	24	144	100
1989	73	72	15	15	13	13	101	100	89	66	8	6	37	28	134	100
1990	61	48	43	34	22	18	126	100	96	56	41	24	33	20	170	100
Total	322	67	87	18	70	15	479	100	410	63	87	13	154	24	651	100
%		28		8		6		42		36		8		14		58

n=1130

As the above table shows, prior to 1990 there seemed to be a significant negative trend in the proportional representation of Maori adult characters so that by 1989 just 6 percent of all adult Journal characters were Maori. Between 1979-1989 Maori representation in child characters increased significantly from 2% of all child characters to 15%.

In the same period (1979-1989) the percentage of non-Maori representation increased in both the child and adult categories, with Pakeha representation tending to be at least three times that of any other group. By 1989 Other Ethnic groups were strongly represented in adult characters, relative to the proportional representation figures for the ethnicity of all journal characters [See Table 5].

Once again, in 1990 the percentage of Maori journal characters, both child and adult increased significantly. This was most notable in the representation of adult characters which increased from 6% (1989) to 24% (1990).

Table 18: Ethnic Representation in Male and Female Journal Characters (1979, 1987-1990)

	Male								Female							
	P	%	M	%	O	%	Total	%	P	%	M	%	O	%	Total	%
Pt 1	54	61	7	8	28	31	89	100	70	69	10	10	21	21	101	100
Pt 2	50	49	24	24	28	27	102	100	63	64	12	12	23	24	98	100
Pt 3	90	57	36	23	31	20	157	100	104	64	27	17	32	19	163	100
Pt 4	163	71	27	12	39	17	229	100	138	72	31	16	22	12	191	100
Total	357	62	94	16	126	22	577	100	375	68	80	14	98	18	553	100
n=1130																
% of n		32		8		11		51		33		7		9		49

As Table 18 shows there was a reasonably even distribution of male and female representation in the Journal characters surveyed. The total distribution of gender closely reflected the proportional representation of all ethnic groups [See Table 5]. Pakeha characters dominated particularly in Part 4 Journals. In all Parts, the percentage of characters identifiable as Pakeha females exceeded that of Pakeha males. This trend is reversed for non-Pakeha characters. In Parts 2 and 3 for Maori characters and all Parts for Other Ethnic groups, the percentage of male characters is greater than that of females. This suggests slight tendency towards male predominancy in the representation of non-Pakeha Journal characters and female predominance in Pakeha characters.

4 DISCUSSION

This survey attempted to identify the way in which ethnic groups are represented in a sample of School Journals. The results indicate that since the Beaglehole study an increasingly positive and sensitive approach to ethnicity and cultural issues has been developed in the compilation of School Journals. Several areas in which there needs to be further improvement have emerged from this study.

The majority of characters in the surveyed Journals were Pakeha. More Pakeha characters were present in more activities, illustrations and items than any other ethnic group. The question is whether this amounts to messages of social and cultural dominance being offered to Journal readers.

While a wide range of ethnic groups was represented in the activities and aspects surveyed, non-Pakeha cultures featured in just one third of the total number of items surveyed. In other words, for two thirds of all Journal items, the Pakeha culture alone featured. The inclusion of non-Pakeha peoples was neutralised to a certain extent by the failure to specify the ethnicity of the people or language base being used in 18% of those Journal items that were non-Pakeha. Such an approach ignored the crucial differences between ethnic groups, combining ethnic groups into convenient labels that promote cultural anonymity. The absence of identification could lead to stereotypical, over simplistic understandings.

Non-Pakeha were underrepresented in positions of authority, power and social recognition. Examples of equity in action were sparse (1979-1989) and non-Pakeha groups continued to be portrayed in a small range of activities that verged on the stereotypical. An example of this is that over one third of the activities in which Maori are represented involved food in some way. One area in which there appeared to be equality was that of gender representation.

This study confirms Beaglehole's finding of an acceptance of Maori as a language in its own right, one that does not always need to be translated into English in Journals. A wide range of languages was found to be present, with several instances of conversational language and cultural concepts playing a crucial role in the plot of a story. However, a striking proportion of non-English words were simply proper nouns. These added a cultural dimension to a story, but did little to affect any further development of a reader's understanding of an ethnic group or their culture.

Maori were represented with predominantly positive character traits. In some items te reo Maori was incorporated conversationally into everyday matters, along with Maori concepts. While these developments are to be commended, an analysis of overall trends in character representation shows that the actual number of Maori characters had declined in the ten year period 1979-1989, (from 11% to 6%) while non-Maori groups had increased. This is disturbing when

it is now suggested that 20% of the New Zealand school population currently identified as Maori. It is expected that this will increase to about 25% by the year 2000¹³. When character representation in illustrations is considered, the negative trend is more pronounced with Maori characters in illustrations declining from 104 in 1979 to 51 in 1989. The fact that the number of Maori in illustrations dramatically increased to 259 in the culturally significant year of 1990 suggests an increased awareness of the need for an equitable representation of Maori. However, the benefit of this surge was tempered by the findings that Pakeha representation also increased in 1990. Indeed the number of Pakeha in photographs trebled 1989-1990, and most of the bicultural input was contained in a single Journal edition¹⁷. Whether there has been genuine, long-term policy change will need to be monitored and encouraged.

While every attempt was made to address weaknesses in this survey, some still remained that were inherent to the nature of the investigation. Firstly, the definition of ethnicity and the application of those definitions to the various aspects of this survey posed difficulties. Secondly, the survey primarily highlighted trends in ethnic representation 1979-1989. The significant boost in Maori representation in 1990 reversed the predominantly negative trends in the frequency of representation and boosted the positive trends in the nature, context and content of the representation. A further survey of post-1990 Journals is needed in order to determine the genuine long-term outcomes of the 1990 ethnic representation figures.

A magazine such as the School Journal is restricted to a certain extent by the material the writers themselves make available to editorial staff. It remains, however, that the School Journal is a Government publication that is sent to every school in New Zealand. As such, the journals represent an important indicator and purveyor of attitudes towards culture and ethnicity. Furthermore, as the research into culture and reading comprehension suggests, these attitudes, whether obvious or not, will impact upon the ethnicity and culture of its readers. Consequently, the representation of ethnic groups and culture in School Journals must be fair and equitable, seeking to further positive trends and redress the negative.

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¹ **School Journals**: A magazine for New Zealand students, published by the Ministry of Education and distributed free to all New Zealand schools. Issues are divided into "Parts" that present material suitable to the interests of four age groups:

Part 1 : 7 - 8 years

Part 2 : 8 - 9 years

Part 3 : 9 -11 years

Part 4 : 11 -13 years

It describes itself as: "... A magazine which children can read for their own interest and enjoyment, and it is a classroom resource, used not only in the teaching of reading, social studies, science and other subjects, but also as a reference source for teachers and pupils." [School Journal Catalogue 1974-1989, Ministry of Education, p3]

² **Sex-Role Stereotyping in School Journals** (1980) Research and Statistics Division, Department of Education, Wellington, New Zealand.

³ **Beaglehole, D. (1981) The Maori Content of the School Journal**, cited in Pere, R.R. (1982) **Ako: Concepts and Learning in the Maori Tradition: Working Paper No.17**, Department of Sociology, University of Waikato, New Zealand.

⁴ The criteria according to which data was collected is fully explained in each of the Results sections.

⁵ **Metge, J. (1990) Te Kohao o Te Ngira: Culture and Learning: Education for a Multicultural Society**, Learning Media, Ministry of Education, Wellington. The definitions are as follows:

*Culture: "A system of symbols and meanings in terms of which a particular group of people make sense of their worlds, communicate with each other, and plan and live their lives". [*ibid*, p6]

* Ethnic Group: "...a group of people who regard themselves and are regarded (how accurately does not matter) as sharing a common origin, culture, and history. Typically there is a degree of social separateness, whether imposed or chosen." [*ibid*, p12]

*Social system: "...is made up of social relations, not only between actual people with names and personal histories, but between types of persons - such as mother and child, teacher and student, employer and employee...Analysis of a social system is particularly concerned with power..., its sources and forms, the positions it is vested in, the pathways it follows, and the extent to which it is accepted or imposed on people." [*ibid*, p10]

⁶ **'Item'**: A story, article, play, song, poem or activity as categorised in the Contents section of each Journal.

⁷ **"Pakeha"**: Human characters who are of European ethnic and/or cultural heritage and not of Maori ethnic and/or cultural heritage. A pakeha appears to relate primarily to the Western styled understanding, interpretation and experience of life in New Zealand.

⁸ **Maori**: Human character that appears to relate primarily to Maori understanding, interpretation and experience .

Pakeha: Human characters who are of European ethnic and/or cultural heritage and not of Maori ethnic and/or cultural heritage. A pakeha appears to relate primarily to the Western styled understanding, interpretation and experience of life in New Zealand.

All Other Ethnic Groups: Human, non-Maori, non-Pakeha characters.

⁹ **Non-Pakeha Forms of Paid Employment in School Journals (1979, 1987-1990)**: Baker, Bank Officer, Bus driver, Captain(Marine), Carver, Constable, Diver, Farmer, Fisheries Officer, Gas Cutter, Gold Miner, Minister of Religion, Scientist, Seamster, Selling Produce, Shopowner, Stall Sales, Soldier, Teacher, Traffic Officer.

¹⁰ The Elley-Irving Socio-Economic Index distinguishes New Zealand occupations according to levels of education and income. Occupations are given a rating from 1-6, with 1 being at the 'top' end of the scale. Where the occupation of a Journal character was not in the Elley-irving index, the closest possible match was made, eg. 'Bin Hire Driver' was assigned the Level 5 ranking of 'Lorry Driver'.

For a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of this index see Buttle, F. (1980) **The Elley-Irving Socio-Economic Indices: Practical Problems in their Use**.

¹¹ **Pakeha Forms of Paid Employment in School Journals (1979, 1987-1990)**: Ambulance Driver, Archologist, Baker, Bin Hire Driver, Builder, Bus Inspector, Cafe Manager, Cashier, Coach Business Operator, Department of Conservation Officer, Diver/Photographer, Doctor, Editor, Entomologist, Farm Labourer, Farmer (Owner), Field Studies Scientist, Fire Officer, Fishperson, Freezing Worker, Gravedigger, Gum digger, Hydro-power Technician, Inspector of Schools, Juggler, Laboratory Technician, Librarian, Lighthouse Keeper, Mayor, Moss Collector, Musician, MustererNurse, Nursery Worker, Painter and Paper Hanger, Paper Delivery person, Parachute Jumpmaster, Photographer, Pilot, Port Agriculture Officer, Principal, Professional Stilt Walker, Prospector, Refuse Disposal Officer, Reporter, Sawmill Owner, Scientist, Signwriter, Soil Scientist, Soldier, Store Owner, Teacher, Traffic Officer, Truck Driver, Veterinary Officer, Veterinarian.

¹² **Character Roles:**

* **Major:** Having great or primary importance to the content or plot of the item in which the character features. In some items, particularly articles, it is possible to have more than one major role character.

* **Secondary:** Subordinate to the major role in importance. Not a background character.

* **Background:** Little seen or noticed, but contributing to the overall plot or content in some way.

¹³ Proper nouns only were counted as 'names'. This included the names of places, people, food, stars, plants, days of the week and boats.

¹⁴ See Journal 1990, 4:4, pp40-42.

¹⁵ Non-photographic illustrations included drawings, paintings and prints.

¹⁶ 72 items were excluded because they could not be ethnically or culturally identified.

¹⁷ School Journal 1990:3,3.

¹⁸ Waite, J. (1992) Aotearoa : Speaking For Ourselves, Ministry of Education, Wellington

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