MAORI EDUCATION POLICY IN THE
NEW MILLENNIUM
Political Rationality & Government Mechanisms

Christopher W. R. Tooley

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WHAKAPAPA

Ka tangi te titi, ka tangi te kaka, ka tangi hoki ahau

Tihei Mauori Ora!

Ko Ngaati Kahungunu toku Iwi

Ko Ngati Whatuiapiti raua ko Ngai te Kikiri o Te Rangi oku hapu

Ko Takitimu te waka

Ko Takapau ahau raua ko Papatoetoe taku kainga

Ko Horohore to maunga

Ko Hatuma te wai

Ko Rakautatahi toku marae

Whatuiapiti te tangata

Ko William Tooley toku papa raua ko Susan Sharples toku whaea

Ko Christopher Wiremu Roy Tooley toku ingoa

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the contemporary political rationality and government mechanisms that develop and impact upon educational policy for Maori. In engaging in a critique of political ideology and operational exposition, this thesis examines and discloses the mechanisms and rationalities of government in New Zealand through state policy theory, gender, race and ethnic writings, critical theory and theories of difference. Of significance to this work is the incorporation of Kaupapa Maori theory, which provides a traditional and contemporary insight into Maori views and praxis of emancipation.

In realising the central interest and concern of Maori for real and effective intervention to address the crisis of schooling for Maori, analysis in this thesis examines the historical nature of Maori educational policy and critiques the contemporary educational political frameworks of the New Zealand Labour government. Furthermore, this research also examines government official's perspectives in discussing the primary contemporary political mechanisms and rationalities that operate in controlling and developing educational policy for Maori. It is argued, that although these contemporary policy frameworks, rationalities and mechanisms may appear to be vastly different from historical colonisation and assimilation practices, they are informed by the same underlying structures and are intersected by similar tendencies and movements. In disclosing the perpetuating ethos of state Pakeha dominant interests and the absence of structural and cultural reform from within political educational policy development for Maori, this thesis argues that state initiatives in the new millennium, under the guise of transformation, commitment and hope still remain ineffective and oppressive for Maori.

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INTRODUCTION

The primary objective of this thesis is to explore the contemporary political mechanisms and political rationalities that inform and develop educational policy for Maori; and to examine its encompassing transformative praxis and commitment to Maori. In an attempt to understand the complex nature of Maori educational policy development in New Zealand, this thesis critically discusses and identifies the central processors, mechanisms, assumptions and ideologies that influence and impact upon this operation; and attempts to distinguish the scope of Maori empowerment that prevails within state policy development.

Ever since the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840, Maori have become exploited, oppressed and positioned as the subordinate partner to the dominance of the Pakeha through colonial and assimilatory practices. These practices operate and subvert the educational system as schools function as mechanisms of social and economic control reproducing the wider power structures and relationships in society and maintaining the status quo. Education in New Zealand represents a eurocentric cultural enterprise continuous reproducing values, beliefs and traditions of the dominant Pakeha group. For Maori, participation and success in the education system have become an important site of struggle, aspiring to re-establish a thriving education and learning system that was powerful prior to European contact. The struggle exists as many Maori people occupy the lowest disparities of under-achievement and participation in New Zealand education. There is a distinct absence of effective and real intervention policy to address the crisis of schooling for Maori. The state educational policy continuously reproduces assimilatory and recolonisation practices, in which there is an inadequate commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi. However, after many educational reforms, state initiatives and changes in strategic policy direction, education and schooling have still not been responsive to Maori needs and aspirations.

So what is going on? Why isn't the government and educational policy-makers able to address arguable the most notable crisis in New Zealand schooling? Maori are the most researched and reviewed people of this country, and contemporarily the most consulted people – what is happening to this information? There is an overwhelming depth of research, critique and initiatives developed by Maori, how is this information informing and developing the educational policy process? Who is controlling and who is responsible for the outcomes of Maori education in

developing these policies? Why hasn't there been any serious intervention in education for Maori?

Earlier in my undergraduate degree, I attempted to answer these questions, to gain an insight beyond the surface level dynamics of educational policy development for Maori. I analysed and critiqued the 'Provision of Kaupapa Maori in the Health and Physical Education Curriculum'[1], which consequentially this thesis builds upon. This research examined the development process and content of the Health and Physical Education policy, from the initial stages of consultation and writing to the approval of the third draft by the Minister of Education. The inquiry involved a theoretical critique of the policy and document, but significantly centred on interviews conducted with curriculum writers, consultants, advisors, government officials, reference groups and lecturers. Each participant was positioned within the various development phases of the policy, which provided an ability to disclose how Kaupapa Maori was being interpreted, discussed and developed, and how it was being challenged and contested at each stage.

This under-graduate study identified that at the community and local school level of developing the new Health and Physical and Education Curriculum, there was a genuine concern, interest and attempts to address Maori under-achievement and Maori needs and aspirations. This existed in the form of Kaupapa Maori initiatives such as Te Reo Kori (tikanga) being positioned as a key area of learning, Hauroa (notion of holism) being recognised as a guiding framework and Te Reo Maori (language) being recognised as an integral forms of intervention and empowerment for Maori, and unique and special learning opportunities for non-Maori. However, as the government officials and encompassing rationality began to intercept, reform and develop this policy, forms and praxis of Kaupapa Maori were marginalised, expunged and recontextualised. The research disclosed that although there was a real commitment at the community and civil society sector of the policy development spectrum, political rationality and government mechanisms controlled and manipulated the educational policy for Maori. Through the discussions within the interviews, I was naively astonished at the power, efficiency and ease in which political officials and political agency captured and propagated the policy. Participants stated;

> "Te Reo Kori became a bargaining point with the Ministry. The Minister of Education sat on the draft for along time, due to political issues within parliament and society, and the draft was a political hot potato. In order for the draft to be released the Minister of

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[1] Tooley, C. (1998) The Provision of Kaupapa Maori in the new Health and Physical Education Curriculum; Unpublished under-graduate research, Auckland College of Education.

Education needed his cohorts to approve. The Associate Minister, Hon. Brian Donnelly would not sign off on the Draft and implement it into schools because Te Reo Kori was a key area of learning. His argument was that his wife could not teach it, and as it was a bargaining point, it was removed and the draft was signed and released".[2]

"The use of Maori words and Maori pedagogy was too much for the Ministry of Education's eyes, therefore we had to minimise the quantity of Maori words. Taha Whenua had to be removed – so formal, that a letter was written from the Ministry of Education saying that, by not removing taha Whenua, we (policy writers) are not complying with specifications, therefore we are in breech of the contract".[3]

"Within the writing process the relationship was not good enough, with the political climates, interference from governments, a strong health lobby and the Ministerial perspective. Ideally governments should facilitate, not control. The draft was controlled by the Ministry, ideology captured and promulgated by them".[4]

After studying the progress of the new Health and Physical Education Curriculum – critiquing the drafts, analysing the hundreds of Maori and non-Maori teachers, advisors, consultants and writers and interviewing many participants that were prominent in the development process, I was more confused about what was going on. In attempting to disclose the extent in which schools, educationalist and communities fail to incorporate Kaupapa Maori and addressing the crisis of schooling for Maori, the research identified that there was genuine and formal concern and commitment by Maori and non-Maori in recognising real cultural, structural and social praxis within educational policy development. However fundamentally disclosure existed, realising that ad hoc political mechanisms and rationality was the single and most determining intervention, disempowering Kaupapa Maori and controlling the rules, framework and capacity of educational policy development.

"Te Reo Kori was taken out after the redrafting of the draft as it was submitted to the Ministry of Education in late August 1997. It sat on Hon. Wyatt Creech's desk in which he did not release it for ages, awaiting advice from the Hon. Brian Donnelly and Hon. Tony Steel for feedback. Hon. Tony Steel said that a physical education curriculum does not need Maori, only needs to have a fitness activity each day so they can clear their head and concentrate on real studies – but since it is only a draft I'll sign it off. Then with Hon. Brian Donnelly, he rang Mary Chamberlain who was desperate to negotiate the draft's release, and said I'm off to Whangarei, if you want to discuss it, meet me in the Koru Lounge at Wellington Airport. Hon. Brian Donnelly said he didn't like the spiritual element, so it was reduced; 'I'm not having Te Reo Kori in the draft, because my wife cannot teach it'; there are also too many Maori words in it, 'so they were taken out'; then he agreed with the document and signed it off".[5]

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[2] ibid p.18. Participant II.
[3] Ibid p.19. Participant IV.
[4] ibid p.22. Participant X.
[5] ibid p.2.39

So after an extensive consultation and development process which involved many educationalists and communities throughout New Zealand over a three year period, Kaupapa Maori praxis were effectively marginalised and eliminated, on a Friday evening at a meeting in the Koru Lounge at Wellington airport.

So I ask my question again, what is going on? In learning from my experience and assuming that all policies experience forms of political intervention and expediency, I redeveloped the framework for this thesis. The importance of which is to examine the political rationalities and mechanisms that develop educational policy and disclose the expositions and ideologies that influence the Ministers of Education. Therefore, integral to understanding how continuously the government fails to develop effective educational policy for Maori, to address the under-achievement and schooling crisis of Maori and to what extent is there a commitment to Kaupapa Maori praxis and the Treaty of Waitangi, engagement must be positioned in the political epoch and sphere of educational policy development.

In exploring the contemporary political mechanisms and political rationality of educational policy development for Maori, and attempting to expose its encompassing praxis of emancipation and empowerment, this thesis proscribes major assumptions.

1. The primary site of struggle for Maori self-determination and empowerment is political educational policy development;
2. By concentrating on critiquing the political rationality and disclosing the political mechanisms, will provide a comprehensive analysis of educational policy development for Maori and the extent of transformation that exist within the state system;
3. By focussing on the political dynamics, ideologies and assumptions of the state system Maori can improve their strategies of developing Kaupapa Maori and asserting the Treaty of Waitangi;
4. Kaupapa Maori and the Treaty of Waitangi are valid and legitimate; and
5. The effective and positive policy framework of Te Kohanga Reo in addressing Maori needs and aspirations can be adopted by the state as a real commitment to Maori and achieve the same success.

Therefore, in examining and disclosing the political mechanisms and political rationalities of educational policy development for Maori, this thesis engages in two modes of inquiry. The first is a theoretical critique and analysis of contemporary political documents significant to educational policy development, NZ Labour's Educational Policy and The Budget 2000; and secondly a qualitative analysis conducting interviews with government officials who are significant within the state educational policy development operation.

In constructing a theoretical critique and a critical insight into political policy development and its encompassing ideologies, dynamics, expositions and assumptions, this work engages the theoretical discourses of Kaupapa Maori, Maori Education and Policy, State Policy Theory and Critical Theory.

In examining the Kaupapa Maori theory and praxis Chapter Two discusses the philosophies and principles of Kaupapa Maori, its capacity as a critical framework, what is referred to as Kaupapa Maori research methodology, and its relationship to developing educational policy for Maori. Kaupapa Maori is a distinctive and unique form of theorising within New Zealand, that allows focus and dialogue for directions, priorities and policies, practices of research and development of thought and action for Maori, by Maori and with Maori. It discloses and structures assumptions, values, concepts, orientations and priorities for Maori and their emancipatory goals – a theory of change.

Chapter Three provides a historical overview and critique of Maori education and policy that has been developed by the state. Discussion outlines the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi and its application to education policy for Maori, and the historical provision of education that Maori experienced in New Zealand. Of significance, this chapter analyses the policy classifications and terms of assimilation, integration, multiculturalism, biculturalism, taha Maori and new right discourse, critiquing their underlying rationalities and assumptions. In examining the educational policy development for Maori from a Kaupapa Maori perspective, this chapter also provides a space of conscientisation in exploring and acknowledging the work of Graham Smith and Patricia Johnston, who disclose the extent of transformation and commitment of government educational policy for Maori.

In examining the political rationality and mechanisms of educational policy development, Chapter Four explores and analyses the leading theoretical arguments associated with state policy

development. Integral to the argument of state policy theory is the notion of 'legitimation crisis' in which, British, American and New Zealand positions are discussed, exposing problems, contradictions, rationalities, mechanisms and politics of educational policy development. Furthermore, this chapter also highlights the progressive movement away from traditional state policy theory and discusses the emergence of game theory, as a Western theoretical attempt to provide a realist and practical theory in representing state policy development.

In comprehensively analysing and examining educational policy, it is essential to engage in critical theory and critical thought to disclose the historical and contemporary ideologies, mechanisms and expositions that are operating within the development praxis, which is the focus of Chapter Five. Not only is critical theory a theoretical commentary providing an effective mode of conscientisation, but also of importance for Maori is that critical theory is positioned along side Kaupapa Maori, as both frameworks engage in critique, resistance, struggle and emancipation. In representing the diverse theoretical positions within the paradigm of critical theory and its strengthening capability of Kaupapa Maori, this chapter discusses the theoretical responses and notions of emancipation, reproduction theory, theories of resistance, theories of difference and notions of race and ethnicity.

In providing a modern insight into the political rationalities and mechanism of contemporary policy development in New Zealand, Chapter Six critiques and examines the New Zealand Labour's 1999 Education Policy Document and the Budget 2000 Policy Statement. In applying the theoretical arguments discussed in the previous chapters, this contemporary analysis discloses the major issues and crisis relevant to educational policy development today and the political rationality and ideology that are being engaged. Of significance, in highlighting the primary mechanisms, assumptions and expositions in Labour's documents, this chapter critically examines to what extent the government is committed to Maori, the emancipatory capacity of Labours policies and the impacting relationship to Kaupapa Maori.

In strengthening theoretical critique of the contemporary political mechanism and political rationality that inform and develop educational policy for Maori, Chapter Seven discusses the major themes that emerged within research interviews conducted with four prominent government officials. In capturing an insight into the political mechanisms, ideologies and initiatives that impact upon the transformative praxis for Maori, distinct themes of the Closing the Gaps policy, the Labour party manifesto, rationales of social policy and structuralism, political

representation and political constraints consistently emerged as critical mechanisms of Maori education policy development. In critically examining these determining mechanisms, this final chapter comments on the extent of emancipatory exposition and the level of commitment the government has meeting the needs and aspirations of Maori. Furthermore, extensive critique of the assumptions, rationalities and ideologies that inform these positions, discloses the nature and responsiveness of educational policy for Maori.

Chapter 2

KAUPAPA MAORI THEORY & PRAXIS

Kaupapa Maori theory and praxis is related to being Maori; is connected to Maori philosophy and principles; takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of b Maori; the importance of Maori language and culture; and is concerned with the struggle for autonomy over own cultural well-being"[6].

Introduction

Kaupapa Maori theory and praxis is an attempt to retrieve space to allow focus and dialogue for directions, priorities and policies, practices of research, and development of thought and action for Maori, by Maori and with Maori. This is a unique and distinctive form of theorising from within New Zealand, which discloses and structures assumptions, values, concepts, orientations and priorities for Maori and their emancipatory goals. Although this term is recently coined, Kaupapa Maori theory is a phenomenon that has existed since colonisation as Maori assert their role and right as tangata whenua of New Zealand (Aotearoa). Integral to these struggles is the demand for the recognition and legitimation of Te Reo Maori and Tikanga Maori, thus importance is a given in discussing the term Kaupapa Maori and its encompassing ideologies in developing a theoretical framework as a tool of resistance and emancipation.[7]

Kaupapa Maori theory is a 'theory of change', a praxis that is malleable, transformative and very powerful in developing the needs and aspirations of Maori. In capturing the theoretical framework of Kaupapa Maori, this thesis highlights its fundamental elements, which serves as 'locus of control' for emancipatory initiatives and contextualising praxis of empowerment in various sites of Maori struggle and development. [8] In exploring the fundamental elements of Kaupapa Maori theory and praxis this chapter discloses its deriving philosophies and principles, and its critical process of conscientisation, deconstruction and empancipation. However, with regards to this writer's interests, Kaupapa Maori theory will be positioned upon an educational praxis, in which schooling issues and crisis, educational initiatives and policy and research methodology will be explored.

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[6] Smith, G. (1990) p.100
[7] Pihama, L. (1993) p.52
[8] Smith, G. (1990) p.100-102

Philosophy & Principles

Although Kaupapa Maori theory is commonly referred to as a collective vision or philosophy it is very complex in definition. Patricia Johnston[9] explains that what constitutes a 'Kaupapa' shifts considerably from one context to another, and is influenced by the dynamics and characteristics that specifically exist in that situation, therefore the implementation of Kaupapa Maori in any given context, will result in practices relevant and unique to that particular context. However, Wally Penitito describes Kaupapa Maori theory as,

> "Kaupapa Maori theory is the theorisation of Maori development, by Maori, for Maori about being Maori and which is in Maori"[10]

However, in a more comprehensive and stronger definition, Pita Sharples comments,

> "Kaupapa Maori has roots in other knowledge, that it belongs to another time and knowledge base which is Maori. Kaupapa Maori maintains the philosophy of Aho Matua, is housed in Maori language, delivered and written in Maori. Kaupapa Maori is whanau based, with Maori pedagogy base with spiritualism and traditionalism of the 'old' knowledge. Maori pedagogy is essential and encompassed by schools, not just in the classroom but which the koa of the school is Maori, responds to Maori lifestyle, tradition and etiquette". [11]

Sharples[12] explains that to comprehend Kaupapa Maori theory, it is important to understand the philosophical base and concepts of from which it derives,

(a)   That Maori knowledge and Maori pedagogy are legitimate and valid;

(b)   Responds to the Maori peoples desires to preserve the Maori language and culture;

(c)   That Kaupapa Maori theory and praxis produces bilingual children in two cultures;

(d)   Provides an education environment which is best suited to encourage all Maori children to strive for excellence in all subjects taught in either Maori or English languages;

(e)   Philosophical guidelines for Kaupapa Maori theory are contained in Aho Matua;

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[9] Johnston, P. (1998) p.58
[10] Penitito, W. (1994) p.21 in Carpenter, V. (1997) p.9
[11] Sharples, P. (1998) in Tooley, C. (1998) p.4
[12] ibid. p.5

(f)   To prepare children to provide a positive contribution to New Zealand society as Maori New Zealander's.

The implementation the realisation of Kaupapa Maori theory and praxis in lived reality can be comprehensively recognised within Maori educational initiatives. After a long history of New Zealand governments failing to seriously address Maori under-achievement and wider-societal issues, Maori independently established Te Kohanga Reo in 1982 and Kura Kuapapa Maori in 1985. These alternative schooling options were a positive and successful attempt to meet the needs and aspirations of Maori. Graham Smith[13] and Johnston[14] both explain that there are six key principles of Kaupapa Maori, which are integral to developing praxis of transformation. In relation to Kura Kaupapa Maori (and Te Kohanga Reo) the kaupapa (philosophy) of Kura Kaupapa Maori is such a powerful and all embracing force, through its emotional (ngakau) and spiritual (wairua) elements; it commits Maori communities to take seriously the schooling enterprise despite other social and economic impediments; it impacts at the ideological level; is able to assist in mediating a societal context of unequal power relations; and it makes schooling a priority consideration despite debilitating social and economic circumstances.[15]

In integrating the work of G.Smith,[16] this exploration examines the fundamental principles of Kaupapa Maori as they serve to control, define and develop actions of transformation for Maori. In establishing the relationship and significance of these principles as applied to this researchers interest of educational policy, the principles are discussed and positioned within an educational perspective.

Tino Rangatiratanga (Self Determination Principle)

Tino Rangatiratanga is concerned with rights, obtaining and exercising the power of choice in one's own life, to have control over outcomes and one's own destiny. Within an educational context, the alternative schooling option of Te Kohanga Reo (1982) and Kura Kaupapa Maori (1985) are distinct examples of the principle Tino Rangatiratanga in operation. These educational initiatives have been developed, maintained and controlled by Maori communities for Maori and non-Maori children in the successful attempt to control needs and aspirations of Maori. Unlike

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[13] Smith, G. (1997) p.247
[14] Johnston, P. (1998) p.58
[15] Smith, G. (1991) p.21
[16] Smith, G. (1997) p.247

these alternative schooling options, mainstream and conventional schools operated by the state are based on Pakeha 'norms' resulting in Pakeha dominance and the perpetuating assumption that Pakeha ideologies are the 'apex' of civilisation and progress. Within the mainstream schooling system, Maori complete and struggle against the interests of other groups in the schooling environment, forced to negotiate their interests from a subordinate position, where in the alternative schooling option Maori are able to make choices for themselves, Maori are in positions of decision-making and control.

Taonga Tuhu Iho (Cultural Aspirations and Principles)

In these alternative schooling options, being Maori, acting Maori, speaking Maori, learning in Maori and working with Maori are a taken for granted certainties. Within Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori, Maori language, culture, knowledge and values form the 'normal' everyday context within the operation of those institutions in which they are consistently, without prejudice reinforces, validated and legitimised. Therefore, fundamental to this principle is that Maori cultural aspirations are immersed within contexts that support, legitimate and endorse Maori as the 'norm'. Although the state has tried to incorporate parts or all of these elements into conventional mainstream schools,[17] Smith argues that the cultural aspirations and principles are never given meaningful consideration.

Ako Maori (Culturally Preferred Pedagogy)

Ako Maori refers to the learning and teaching environment, in which it exists as an extension of the cultural backgrounds and foundations, which are Maori. This is an 'associative' principle which in the alternative schooling option builds upon the experiences of Maori as whanau, Hapu and Iwi which is apart of experiences of Maori in the wider community, both in a historical and contemporary context. Therefore, because the learning contexts of the institutions closely emanate and connect to the lived realities of Maori communities, this principle accounts for wider circumstances in which Maori operate.

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[17] The incorporation of 'taha Maori' into conventional schools is critically examined in *Educational Policy for Maori* in Maori Education and Policy, p.39

Kia Piki Ake I Nga Raruraru o Nga Kainga (Mediation of Socio-Economic/Home Difficulties)

Maori communities throughout New Zealand have embraced and voluntarily financially supported their local Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori even though they face social and economic barriers. However, extraordinarily this initiative of alternative schooling has been highly successful especially being put into a context where it existed without any financial assistance from the state until with recent developments[18], which has come at cost in depleting financial resources from the Maori communities and has endured extreme stress, pressure and hardship. Maori communities have therefore carried the burden of funding their own educational initiatives which have impacted at every level, noticeably at an ideological level as Maori communities and concerned parents have become 'conscientised and politicised' through their struggles to survive. The rewards have not been monetary for Maori which have seen choices and opportunities restricted by economic conditions, however this recognition not only exists within the context of the whanau but also within the school where importance is given to account for the wider disparities within which Maori operate.

Whanau

The praxis of whanau in the alternative schooling option influences this initiative as primarily, it holds 'whanau members' responsible for the complete management and administration of Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori, in which accountability is uniquely held at both to the institution and to each other. Because whanau have a collective responsibility, networking is paramount which provides a substantial matrix of support, 'whanau members' who require assistance, advice or support are able to draw on this network to ascertain solutions or ideas which are available without cost or obligation, it is a 'given' that reciprocation within the network is to invest time, effort and support for other whanau members. Therefore, the principle whanau accounts for collective decision-making, accountability and responsibility to the whanau, parents, children and institution. If any individual or group is experiencing difficulties inside or outside the praxis, or are able to effective positive change, they have an avenue of support and network to call on.

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[18] Te Kohanga Reo has recently become funded by the State in which the State 'criterion' for funding was implemented in 1990 under the Education Amendment Act. See Johnston, P (1998) 'Te Kohanga Reo' p.304

Kaupapa

The final principle is concerned with the 'bigger picture', the visions, aspirations, interests that Maori have for their children in the alternative schooling option. Visions include fluency in Te Reo Maori, access to tikanga, pre-school education[19] etc. Te Reo Maori is arguably the most important vision argued by all Maori, as within contemporary trends for a majority of Maori including myself, have had an urban upbringing and through conventional schooling have had very little experiences or contacts with Hapu or Iwi networks. In Te Kohanga Reo, the visions form the basic rudiments by which its operates, cultural and structural policies are defined by and for Maori in which decision-making resides with each whanau unit at each institution as variations of visions and needs slightly differentiate from each Maori community. A primary example of this, would be that all Maori argue the necessity to develop Te Reo Maori, however each 'whanau unit' can decide the tribal dialectic in relation to their Hapu or Iwi.[20]

Kaupapa Maori as a Critical Framework

Kaupapa Maori aligns itself along critical dispositions as it deals with the theorisation and praxis of actions and phenomena associated with empowerment, emancipation, contextual development, strategies and modes of conscientisation. Te Reo Maori and Tikanga Maori have been positioned as either deficient or marginalized by dominant western discourses in attempting to establish cultural superiority, however it is from these 'focal points' from which the critical framework of Kaupapa Maori theory operates. G.Smith[21] argues that such a theory necessitates a stance in relation to Maori language, culture and worldviews where their validity and legitimation is taken for granted. However, the engagement of Kaupapa is often positioned within the theoretical framework of critical theory situated within an anti-positivist debate in relation to its encompassing praxis of critique, resistance, struggle and emancipation and in light of historical suppression. Leonie Pihama explains;

> "That intrinsic to Kaupapa Maori theory is an analysis of existing power structures and societal inequalities. Kaupapa Maori theory therefore aligns with critical theory in the act of exposing underlying assumptions that serve to conceal the power relations that exist

[19] For complete analysis of visions refer to Tapine, V and Waiti, D. (1997) New Zealand Council For Educational Research 'He Tirohanga ki mua: Visions for Maori Education'.
[20] Also, principles of 'Manakitanga, Arohatanga, Whakawhanaungatanga, Matauranga' are integral in Kaupapa Maori. See Rata, E (1994) Tribal Capitalism, PhD Thesis University of Auckland.
[21] Smith, G. (1990) p.75

within society and the ways in which dominant groups construct concepts of 'common sense' and 'facts' to provide *ad hoc* justification for the maintenance of inequalities and the continued oppression of Maori people".[22]

G.Smith[23] argues that in the insistence of bringing effective theory and critical praxis into Maori resistance and transformative activities, established the theoretical framework of Kaupapa Maori theory; which could understand theoretically Maori resistance, and create a space for the emergence of an organic Maori theory from Maori people themselves. The term 'theory' has been deliberately linked to the notions of Kaupapa Maori in the attempt to develop counter-hegemonic practices and disclose the mechanisms of cultural constraints that exist on various explicit and implicit levels within society. In the process of simply constructing the term 'Kaupapa Maori theory' G.Smith[24] explains that with the concept 'naming the word – naming the world'[25] becomes a significant political initiative to reclaim self-determination. It attempts to unlock and challenge Pakeha dominant interpretation of the 'common-sense' notion of theory as it is most often applied within various aspects of New Zealand education policy development. Kaupapa Maori theory as a critical notion has a number of dimensions, not only is it a theoretical position which embraces the various critical elements of conscientisation, resistance and praxis but also has an impetus that derives from an adherence to a utopian vision of emancipation. Kaupapa Maori theory is more than just validating and legitimating the 'Maori' view of the world, it also attempts to create moral and ethical considerations and outcomes which establish a basis for Maori to assert greater cultural, political, social, emotional and spiritual control over their own lives.

Furthermore, G.Smith[26] explains that as a result of unequal power relations between dominant Pakeha and subordinate Maori positioning, Kaupapa Maori theory encompasses these critical components;

(a)   The ability to make space for itself to exist within the context of dominant Pakeha relations;

(b)   The ability to sustain validity and legitimacy of the theory in the fact of challenges from traditional intellectuals;

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[22] Pihama, L. (1993) p.56
[23] Smith, G. (1997) p.454
[24] ibid. p.455
[25] Freire, P. (1971) 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' in Smith, G. (1997) p.455
[26] Smith, G (1997) p.456

(c)   The ability to be owned and accepted by Maori communities;

(d)   The ability to provide the potential to transform, for the better, Maori existence;

(e)   The ability to be reflective and reflexive.

Kaupapa Maori critiques the existing social relations of Pakeha social, cultural, political and economic dominance in which the emancipatory sites of struggle engaged by Maori must challenge the 'common-sense' understanding and 'taken for granted' assumptions of theory, and that theory itself is an important site of struggle. Smith[27] also argues that if Maori are to make ground in establishing the validity and legitimacy of Maori knowledge, language and culture, then dominant ideologies that construct the centrality and pervasiveness of western theoretical frameworks not only need to be critically reviewed and challenged, but in some cases overthrown.

However, in conclusively summarising the critical elements and praxis of Kaupapa Maori theory, Rex Gibson[28] argues that there are twelve theoretical features, which must be engaged in theorisation to be positioned within the paradigm of critical theory; this writer would like to propose the following model as a comparative juncture to highlight the equivalent features of critical theory and Kaupapa Maori theory.

Critical Theory	Kaupapa Maori Theory
Theory	Theorisation of Kaupapa Maori
Critique of Positivism	Positioned within the Anti-Positivist Debate
Enlightenment	Conscientisation
Emancipation	Tino Rangatiratanga (Self-Determination)
Marxism	Treaty of Waitangi
Critique of Instrumental Rationality	Critique of Western Ideology
Analysis of Culture	Tikanga Maori
Analysis of Relationships	Concept of Whanaungatanga
Centrality of Aesthetics	Tikanga Maori
Analysis of Psycholanalysis	Taha Wairua, Taha Tinana, Taha Whanau and Taha Hinengaro (Holism)

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[27] ibid.
[28] Gibson, R. (1983) p.3

Explaination	Notions of Whanau, Hapu, Iwi and Whakapapa
Language	The validation and legitimation of Te Reo Maori

Kaupapa Maori theory is a critical theory. A theoretical framework that is distinct and unique to Maori and a theory of change that is engaged in the transformative praxis and emancipatory goals of Maori. 'Without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement'.[29]

Kaupapa Maori Research Methodology

> "Kaupapa Maori research methodology weaves in and out of Maori cultural beliefs, values, western ways of knowing, Maori history and experience under colonialism, western forms of education, Maori aspirations and socio-economic needs, western economics and global politics"[30]

What is referred to as Kaupapa Maori research methodology is the contextualisation of Kaupapa Maori theory into a research framework. As Johnson[31] argued, what constitutes a 'Kaupapa' shifts considerably for one context to another, therefore it is important for the writer and readers engaged in this theoretical inquiry to examine the sites of struggles, methodologies and agencies of empowerment that specifically exist in this situation. Implementing Kaupapa Maori into the particular context of research methodology coins the term 'Kaupapa Maori research methodology' and results in highlighting practices relevant and unique to this exercise.

Historically, research has been implicated upon the production of western knowledge in which its nature or academic work and relativity of theorisation has subsequently dehumanised Maori and Maori forms of culture. Kaupapa Maori research is an attempt to retrieve space for Maori needs and aspirations, allow a dialogue of practices and research for, by and with Maori people and become a way of structuring notions of representation, values and ideologies within research.

Linda Smith[32] characterises the following terms as Kaupapa Maori Research;

(a)   It is culturally safe to Maori which involves mentorship of elders, which is culturally relevant and appropriate while satisfying the rigor of research;

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[29] Freire, P (1971,1972) p.76 cited in Smith, G. (1997) p.473
[30] Smith, L (1998) p.191
[31] Johnston, P. (1998) p.58
[32] Smith, L. (1998) p.183

(b)   Is undertaken by a Maori researcher, not a researcher that happens to be Maori;

(c)   Work that is grounded in a paradigm that stems from Maori world views, addresses prevailing ideology of cultural superiority – social, economic and political institutions;

(d)   Kaupapa Maori research is framed by discourses to the Treaty of Waitangi and the development of initiatives controlled by Maori;

(e)   Non-indigenous people have an obligation to genuinely support Maori researchers;

(f)   Issues of control are linked to 'goals of empowerment' that Maori people should gain control of investigations into Maori people's lives;

(g)   Importance of the concept of 'whanau' as a supervisory and organisational structure for handling research.

Furthermore, she argues that Kaupapa Maori Research in its most broadest sense has the responsibility to strive for determination, critique indigenous history, to reaffirm a valued epistemological tradition in framing the way Maori sees the world and to conceptualise Maori knowledge. Therefore, methodologies encompassing Kaupapa Maori theoretical framework are able to address different constructions of Maori, abstract the knowledge, reflect on it, engage with it and then develop and reinforce Maori ways of thinking which creates a space for validating and legitimating Maori and Maori forms of knowledge.[33]

Issues of Power & Control

Within international literature methodological approaches that attempt to address issues of self-determination are described as Participatory, Interaction Methodology, Feminist Interviewing or Polyphonic Research where issues of power and control are governed by the 'format' of what constitutes reality for other people, what constitutes legitimacy and validity and what constitutes the authority that is claimed for the text.[34] There is a strong tendency among researchers towards constructing a format (or recipe) upon quasi-positivistic ideologies that essentially locates the researcher to make sense of the research experiences in reference to criteria that is formulated and positioned outside the experience, outside the context of research participants and more importantly in relation emancipatory endeavours outside the praxis. Attempts to locate Kaupapa Maori within the broad framework of these international perspectives defeats the purpose of Kaupapa Maori. Kaupapa Maori research strategy reduces researcher imposition, where the

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[33] ibid. p.188
[34] Bishop, R. (1996) p.220

research participants determine within their own definitions issues of reality of experiences, legitimacy and validity and authority of the text.[35]

> "If I have one consistent message for my students I teach and researchers I train, it is that indigenous research is a humble and humbling activity"[36]

In addressing the issue of validity, Denzin and Lincoln[37] argues that it can be only understandable in terms of rules established within Maori cultural practices.

> "Research conducted on positivist or post-positivist frames of reference perpetuates problem of outsiders determining what is valid for Maori. This occurs by employing non-Maori methodological frameworks and conventions for writing about research processors and outcomes. Terms such as logical, construct, internal, ethnographic, external validity, text-based data, triangulation, trustworthiness, credibility, grounding, naturalistic indicators, fit, coherence, comprehensiveness, plausibility, truth and relevance [are] all attempts to authorise a text authority in the post-positivist movement and attempts the grounding of a text in the external empirical world".[38]

Russell Bishop[39] continues to explain that Kaupapa Maori is a critical approach that addresses control over the text construction, definitions of what is accurate, true and complete in a text, the interests, needs and concerns of the research and who determined the authority of the text. Kaupapa Maori therefore embodies an 'epistemological version of validity' where authority of the text is established through recourse to a set of rules concerning knowledge, production and representation. This approach to validity and legitimacy locates 'power and control' within Maori cultural practices, where what is acceptable and what is not acceptable research, text and processors is determined and defined by the research community itself. Furthermore, within Kaupapa Maori research methodology the importance of culture and cultural differences are key components in successful research practice and understandings. In disseminating literature and research from the same world-view which is one of the fundamental conceptualisations of traditional western thought, precludes the understanding that subjects of research might come from another world view, rather than from the world-view of the researchers which as most often perpetuated the hegemony of researchers interests and concerns. Therefore inherent in Kaupapa Maori methodology is the notion of 'whakawhanaungatanga' which proscribes Maori cultural

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[35] ibid. p.223
[36] Smith, L. (1998) p.5
[37] Denzin and Lincoln (1994) cited in Bishop, R. (1996) p.225
[38] ibid.
[39] Bishop, R (1996) p.225

practices, sets the pattern of research and locates the research praxis within the cultural frameworks and understandings of research participants.

Whakawhanaungatanga

In legitimating and validating Kaupapa Maori as a research strategy Bishop[40] argues that 'whakawhanaungatanga' is its central and underpinning concept; a methodological and theoretical position for a Kaupapa Maori approach to research and to which formulates a context of cultural aspirations, understandings and practices of Maori people which can be operationalised in a research process. Whakawhanaungatanga means extended family; are relatives, relations and those members of your whanau with whom you have an inextricable bodily link; is a mechanism used by Maori people to establish familial relationships, with whom one has inescapable links; is the process of establishing relationships by identifying through culturally appropriate means, by connectedness and unspoken commitment to other people.[41]

> "We are from the same bones and of the same people (Iwi); we are from the same pregnancies and are of the same sub-tribe (Hapu) we are of the same family the family into which we were born (Whanau); we are nurtured by the same land and by the same placenta (Whenua)".[42]

However in comprehending whakawhanaungatanga as a strong research strategy, there are three main interconnected elements:

1.   Whanau Relationships

      Establishing and maintaining whanau relationships among all participants is a
      fundamental, extensive and ongoing part of research.

2.   Participant-Driven Approaches to Power and Control

      Establishing relationships facilitates the sharing of power and control over the research
      process through participatory practices; in this context termed 'participant-driven
      research.

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[40] ibid. p.213
[41] ibid. p.216
[42] ibid.

3.   Research Involvement as a Lived Experience

> Researchers are somatically involved in the research process; not just concerned
> methodologically, but also physically, ethnically, morally and spiritually.

Establishing and maintaining whanau relationships (literally and metaphorically) is integral to Kaupapa Maori research strategy, in which this primary concept contains both cultural aspirations (values) and cultural practices (social processors). Historically the term has evolved over time as it has been reformulated, recontextualised and revalidated within different social and cultural circumstances and sites of struggle that Maori have experienced particularly with patterns of urban migration, however within contemporary references the term has become more widely used as common groups (kin-cluster) who regularly co-operate for common ends and establish a variety of kin or quasi-kin limits. Joan Megte[43] explains that these whanau attempt to develop relationships and organisations based on similar principles to those which order a traditional whanau, this is used to identify a series of rights and responsibilities, commitments and obligations and supports that are fundamental to the 'collective' and can be commonly referred to as the tikanga of whanau.

Furthermore, the term whanau in a research context refers to a connected, committed and culturally conscious positioned research, constituted by common interest goals – 'whanau of interests' which constitutes the process of whakawhanaungatanga. These positions fulfil different functions oriented towards the collaborative concern, interests and benefits of the whanau as a group, rather than the benefit of one person. Positions are constituted in ways that are generated by Maori cultural practices where qualities of leadership are not recognised in the sense of making all the decisions but rather by being a 'listener of voices' of all members of the whanau. By developing research within such culturally constituted practices, concerns of enabling voice and agency can be addressed. In a 'whanau of interest' there are a variety of hierarchically determined positions in which some are open to the researchers and some are not – the extent to which researchers can position themselves within a 'whanau of interest' is tied closely to who they are, more often than what they are. Positioning is not simply a matter of researchers choice, nor do they assume any position, positions are generated by the structure of the whanau and the control mechanisms constituted within the whanau.[44]

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[43] Metge, J. (1983) cited in Bishop, R (1996) p.218
[44] ibid.

Within the conceptualisation of 'whanau of interest' are not only the research whanau but also the research participant, and it is in this sense that Kaupapa Maori research can be best described as 'participant driven research' because the locus of power and control is within the cultural understanding of the research participants. The 'whanau of interest' is developed by a process of 'spiral discourse' a cultural constituted discursive practice, which is found in many Maori cultural practices. Because this form of research is culturally generated and located, researchers are positioned within the collective and the research process is reoriented from the fundamentally individualist focus of participatory research to the collectivistic orientation of Maori culture.

However, some theorists argue that in critiquing the concept of whakawhanaungatanga there is a line of thought that the notion of 'whanau of interest' operates in the collective and maybe recognised as a restricting and controlling network towards the behaviour of the individual. Therefore, in responding to the opportunity of individual agency Bishop suggests that;

> "The question is not then whether individuals can be said in any absolute sense to have or have not agency, but whether or not there is an awareness of the constitutive force of discursive practices and the means of resisting or changing unacceptable practices. It also depends on whether there is a choice amongst discursive practices and whether amongst these are practices which provide the possibility of that individual positioning themselves as agent – as one who chooses and carries through the chosen line of action". [45]

By engaging in individual agency researchers locate themselves within 'new storylines' that address the contradictory nature of the research. The relationship between the researcher and language is the key to new story lines; the imagery is located within the research participant's domain in which the researchers have become apart or shifted to this domain. The researchers have positioned themselves by the use of contextually constituted metaphor with the domain where they and others can constitute themselves as 'agentic' – within this domain there are discursive practices which provide the researchers with positions that enable them to carry through the negotiated lines of action.

However, Maori people have always had criteria for evaluating whether a product is valid or not. Just as Maori practices are epistemologically validated within Maori cultural contexts, so is Kaupapa Maori research practices and text. The use of the concepts and principles explained in this chapter are subject to same culturally determined processors of validation, knowledge, production and representation.

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[45] Bishop, R. (1996) p.220

"Taonga tuku iho are treasures from ancestors (collected wisdom of ages) which within these treasures are messages of kawa (principles) that guide the process of establishing relationships. Whakawhanaungatanga is based on time honoured and proven principles (tapu, mana, wairua, manaki, mauri, and noa) which forms vary in relation to tribe and hapu; local tikanga allows correct ways to address principles of kawa – tikanga is the ongoing fertile ground for debate, but all participants know that if the kawa is not observed then the event is invalid and does not have authority"[46]

The verification and authority of the text and the representation of experiences and perspectives of participants, is judged by criteria constructed and constituted within the culture. Repositioning of verification and authority is engaged by 'giving voice to others', 'empower others' and in 'emancipating others' rather than just listening and 'being said' by traditional constructions of positivist research methodologies where representation and interpretation are redefined in relation the researchers own experiences and own values of knowledge. This position challenges colonial and neo-colonial discourse that inscribes 'otherness', dismisses research that has marginalized or maintained control over the voice of others by the insistence on the imposition of researcher determined positivist and neo-positivist evaluation criteria. Therefore, a process of deconstruction is inherent in Kaupapa Maori research methodology.

A Process of Deconstruction

"For women interested in research and the emancipatory potential of research, there was considerable work to be done in terms of undoing or deconstructing the dominant paradigms by which most scientific research was bounded, and connecting the research enterprise to feminism and to social reality with which feminism connects. This had involved critique, the development of new methodologies and the possibility of alternative ways of knowing or epistemologies".[47]

Although this quote provides realisation that the process of deconstruction is an important element of feminist research, it also highlights the critical praxis of recovering and re-establishing own languages, cultural expressions and epistemological foundations and 'decolonising' dominant systematic ideologies and theories. Pihama[48] successfully repositions the process of deconstruction as an integral function of Maori conscientisation and empowerment arguing 'essential to Kaupapa Maori theorising is an act of deconstructing dominant constructions that have been imposed upon Maori people through processors of both overt and hegemonic

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[46] Bishop, R. (1996) p.228
[47] Smith, L. (1998) p.166
[48] Pihama, L. (1993) p.13

violence'. Furthermore she explains that deconstruction allows Maori people to move outside of dominant constructions to reconstruct Maori institutions within our own definitions and frameworks.

In the act of decolonising and deconstructing, L.Smith[49] comments that this process does not mean, and has not meant a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge, rather it is about centring concerns and worldviews, and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes. Therefore, in providing a space to recover and re-position Maori definitions, views and cultural representation and expose dominant rationalities and assumptions, a process of deconstruction is engaged.

A process of deconstruction within research methodology is established by identifying and critiquing both historically and contemporarily the methodological issues, epistemological concerns and underlying assumptions operating within research discourse.   L.Smith[50] argues that the term 'research' is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism, and when mentioned in an indigenous context permeates histories and experiences of distrust, misrepresentation and oppression. By analysis the specificities of positivist influence and its origins, it can explain and discern the differential sites of struggle of indigenous peoples[51] within research methodology and disclose the perpetuation of colonisation and practices of oppression.

Imperialism & Colonisation

The two terms of imperialism and colonisation are interconnected, governed by four key stands which were manifested in the early fifteenth century – economic expansion, the subjugation of 'others', an idea or spirit with many forms of realisation and as a discursive field of knowledge. Imperialism was an integral part of Europe's economic expansion, where there was a need to shift their capital to new markets that were secure – colonialism was the system of control which secured markets and capital investments in which it facilitated this expansion by ensuring that there was European control, which necessarily mean securing and subjugating indigenous populations.[52] These ideologies of imperialism are embedded as interventions into indigenous

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[49] Smith, L. (1998) p.39
[50] ibid. p.1
[51] In recognising Indigenous people as 'peoples' validates indigenous worldviews.
[52] Smith, L. (1998) p.21

histories such as discovery, conquest, exploitation, distribution and appropriation in which the assumption of cultural superiority and dissemination of judging civilisations. As Pihama states;

> "Colonial expansion is a growing structure of capitalism with the function to access resources, raw materials, and cheap labour. Colonial imperialism assumed colonies were open for their exploitation – a mechanism that provided the least expensive access to primary materials, whilst simultaneously relieving Britain of excess population. Ideologies of race provided the immigrant settlers with reasoning through which to justify the oppression of indigenous people throughout the world, in which New Zealand was articulated through the ideology of 'social Darwinism' that highlighted the notions of racial hierarchy that prevailed the dominant discourse of that time".[53]

Imperialism and social Darwinism was an integral part of the ideology of cultural superiority and hierarchical determinants of what is and what is not a civilisation and what it meant to be civilised. Forms of judgement, understanding, interpreting and representation where examined, argued, justified and conceptualised within the theoretical framework of imperialism. Stuart Hall[54] explains that traditionally within western and European though at that time, imperialism and positivism have functioned to characterise and classify society into categories; condense complex images of other societies through system of representation; provide a standard model of comparison; and provide criteria of evaluation against which other societies can be ranked. Hall[55] explains that the 'rules' and 'functions' of classification, framing and practice that are based upon imperialism and positivism are articulated within explicit regulations and implicit understandings in which power is expressed, and governs what knowledge is recognised and accounted for. By drawing from these systems of classification, representation and evaluation, these ideologies become a tool in which incurs misrepresentation, racism and oppression to which a dominant western epistemology is justified. L.Smith[56] argues that cultural formulation within imperialism perpetuates colonialist power in which its embodied ideologies that deems knowledge, 'other' than that of civilised, liberal and euro-centric origin to be insignificant and invalid. However, Michael Foucault's notion of 'cultural archive'[57] suggests that not only do notions of imperialism subjugates systems of people, knowledge, practices, values and language, but also that there is a philosophical operation which 'steals' and articulates different traditions of knowledge and reforms, transforms and legitimates as new colonialist ideas.

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[53] Pihama, L (1996) p.2
[54] Hall, S. (1992) p.137
[55] ibid.
[56] Smith, L. (1998) p.44
[57] Foucault, M. (1972) cited in Smith, L (1998) p.44

> "This storehouse contains fragment, the religions and levels of knowledge traditions, and the 'systems' which allow different and differentiated forms of knowledge to be retrieved, enunciated and represented in new contexts – indigenous experiences, histories, artefacts, idea's, texts, images and indigenous tradition of scholarship have simply been appropriated by western philosophy and redefined as western epistemology."[58]

David Theo Goldberg[59] further argues historically that consequences of difference within a positivist paradigm in relation to views, discussions and interaction with the world are intricately embedded in 'racialised discourse'. That is representation within research of indigenous peoples was constructed by a 'savage ideology', which became a psychological and moral space that required repression and gave justification of disciplinary restraint.

> "Images of awe, repulsion and fear, implied a threat to spiritual life and the political state, there was no category or space of thought for racial differentiation – however racism would assume, justify and transform indigenous image according to its own lights".[60]

Within colonialist and western philosophy, notions of imperialism informed ideas about textual orientation, views of science, rules of practice, human nature and notions of truth telling. Hall[61] argues that within each set of ideas are systems of classification and representation; epistemology, ontology, juridical, anthropology and ethics are 'coded' in such ways to recognise each other, 'mesh' together and establish a cultural force field which screens out competing and oppositional ideologies. In examining the relationships and phenomenon that existed between 'individuals and society' and 'time and space' reveals the detrimental and exploitive impact imperialist rationality had on Maori representation, notions of whakawhanaungatanga and Maori worldviews.

In conceptualising the relationship between individuals and society, western forms of cultural ideologies were only concerned about analysing the individual in abstract and analysing the individual's relationship within other individuals in which they associated with. Western ideology was based upon 'humanistic' discourse, which separated people out from the world around them and placed humanity on a different threshold – human nature was the primary concern of epistemology. This represented the 'other' to be measured and interpreted through cultural constructs such as 'cartesian dualism', a binary split of nature and culture where analysing human difference and variation occurs upon two distinct levels, the psychological level and physiological

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[58] ibid.
[59] Goldberg, T. (1993) cited in Smith, L (1998) p.45
[60] ibid.
[61] Hall, S. (1992) in Smith, L (1998) p.47

levels.[62] Therefore, within this paradigm the indigenous belief, particularly the Maori belief that mind, body and the environment are intertwined are dismissed as uncivilised and a quality which requires subordination. Imperialist thinking understands that human position exist as the most superior of life forms, and that for an individual or groups that position themselves on an equal threshold to other life forms are subordinate because they are not able to comprehend and value the mechanisms of capitalism and progress.[63]

Through the concept of time and space, western assumptions and discourse have justified the colonisation of indigenous space. The Maori term for time and space is the same, however western ideology recognise time and space are absolute categories which is encoded through language, philosophy, science and measurement only existing as parallel of elliptical phenomena. Therefore, in the attempt to conceptualise space and time, colonising methodologies recognise that indigenous space is static and divorced from time establishes justification in taming the land, bringing the land under control, altering nature and renaming the land.[64]

> "Through this notion of making sense of the world as a realm of stasis, well defined or fixed without politics has perpetuated colonisations".[65]

Representations, values and traditions of Maori in relation to time were misinterpreted and suppressed by imperialist and positivist notions by western researchers, writers, immigrants and colonialists. Links are made between time and social activity in which assumptions and evaluations could be discussed in terms of organised social life. In analysing time, western philosophers critiqued indigenous use and organisation of time – or rather lack of. Therefore, researchers were able to confer that native life was devoid of work habits; native people were lazy, indolent and had low attention spans. Through these dominant notions and assumptions gave justification of perpetuating a colonial process of exploitation and as Smith argues,

> "Allowed the belief that natives did not value work; have a sense of the time which provided ideological justification for exclusionary practices across education, land, development and employment".[66]

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[62] ibid p.88
[63] Smith, L. (1998) p.47
[64] ibid. p.51
[65] ibid.
[66] Smith, L. (1998) p.52

Notions of representation are determined and shaped by 'values', values that are located within the dominant discourse, predominantly the positivist middle-class Pakeha male domain. In the quest for knowledge, fact and inquiry, these values act as a 'gate-keeping' strategy to perpetuate current oppression over subordinate groups.[67]

> "Values do enter into inquiry, questions immediately arise to what values and who's values govern – a particular dominant value system, that of western liberal thought acts as a tool to empower and enfranchise their position while disempowering and disenfranchising 'others'. Inquiry thereby becomes a political act".[68]

What has passed, as 'neutral objective inquiry' is in fact not neutral at all, but subtly bias in favour of privileged groups. In educational policy development, intelligence tests were a tool of this process that 'discovered' the mental inferiority of women and racial minorities. Not only did 'values' shape notions of difference but also definitions of truth and validity, which implicitly depended on our experience of sense perception. Therefore, a feeling of certainty is actually that basis of theories of truths and research methodologies. In exploring the notions of 'sense perceptions' and 'certainty' that have predominantly establishing fact and value within traditional research discourse, it is important to examine the philosophical work of Edmund Husserl[69] who argues that the assumptions of western natural inquiry, that we do not see objects in visual perception, but rather a 'perspective' of the object. Husserl explains that a perspective not only has a 'foreground' as well as a 'background horizon' but are also are perceived with peripherals. The 'object' is then put together by the foreground, background and tacit anticipations when we start to analyse the object; also the horizon included retentions, in which the object is synthesised within our experience by unnoticed activity. Perceived objects do not just exist by perceiving it, because it does not account of 'synthetic' activities taking place to give us a sense of that object. Knowledge of existence is not given immediately through sense perception – all that we can be sure of is the experience of the perspective is not an 'object' but a phenomenon.

In extending the work of Hursserl, Jacques Derrida[70] shows that truth cannot be ensured from a 'feeling of certainty' that perceived phenomena bring, as it also facilitates drawing interpretation and judgement from self.

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[67] For extended discussions refer to Burrell and Morgan (1979) who argue that through the assumptions of ontology, epistemology and humanitarianism within the philosophical paradigm of social science, not only do values act as gate-keeping strategies, but also the assumptions themselves in controlling phenomena.
[68] Carspecken, F. (1996) p.8
[69] Husserl, E. (1962) cited by Carspecken, F. (1996) p.10
[70] Derrida, J. (1973) in Carspecken, F. (1996) p.15

"The moment your perception becomes knowledge, is not the same time your simply aware of the object – your attention has shifted from being aware, to being aware that your are aware. These two experiences can never be simultaneous, presence cannot give us certain knowledge, at the moment of knowledge of being aware that we are aware, we at best have an image or trace of the object given to us presumably just before, during a moment of simple awareness".[71]

Through a complex analysis, Derrida[72] argues theories of truth that have believed in 'presence' have failed because presence is nothing other than a 'belief' not a 'certainty' yet presence is the basis of phenomenology theory of truth, and the basis of many western theories of truth and justifications of judgement and subordination. Derrida challenges self-presence within western philosophy, he argues that its meaning is arbitrary in the quest for truth. Notions of self-presence cannot confer truth, because meaning is not intrinsic, and truth does not reside within itself, knowledge is constructed, self-presence is not a phenomenology theory of truth, but simply an interpretation or belief that is defined and constructed by wider societal power structures and forces. The scientific paradigm encompassing self-presence negates the pursuit truth, but operates as a tool of suppression as an 'apex' of civilisation. Derrida[73] suggests that there needs to be a shift in Western thought, out of binary oppositions and contestations, away from the belief of a universal and single determining truth, to an ideology that explores the possibility of affirming differences and recognises that there are many truths. These implications are devastating for traditional theories of truth, especially in research and policy development when applied to the idea of identity and presence as the basis of truth.

In reinforcing his argument Derrida highlights the methodological binary of 'signifiers' (signs and objects) and 'signified' (what they stand for) that establish notions of difference, which are based upon 'flawed' self-presence theories rather than that of neutral objectivity inquiry. Self-presence binary of inquiry – signifiers and signified are arbitrary and do not confer truth, but rather mediate dominant power relations in which notions of truth which are filtered through mainstream conceptions of validity, reliability and data interpretation in oppressing the 'other'.

"Power enters centrally into the theory of truth and validity, authority is culturally constructed, intertwined with personal identity, unequal power distorts 'truth' – power corrupts knowledge."[74]

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[71] ibid.
[72] ibid p.16
[73] ibid p.20
[74] Derrida, J. (1973) in Carspecken, F. (1996) p.21

Therefore, by engaging in conscientisation and deconstruction that is both positioned within and outside the theoretical framework of Kaupapa Maori theory in research discourse, we can now identify the origins and traditional notions of truth, representation, assumption and judgement and its transmitting ideologies. Research has actively been used by the western ideology as a tool of justifying oppression and appropriation of the 'other' and highlights the implications and conceptualisations of research that brings to bear on educational discourse in relation to inquiry, validity, knowledge, fact and practice.[75] In engaging in the process of deconstruction and decolonisation within the context of research methodology, this critical element of Kaupapa Maori discloses the ideologies, processors and assumptions that the dominant Pakeha impose upon Maori, and provide a space to recapture and reposition own definitions, beliefs and practices as a praxis of empowerment. Also, in contesting the assumption of 'total rejection' associated within deconstruction, this work has not only included Maori theories and inquiry, but also selectively examined the work of Western theorists who also have contributed to the discourse of critiquing research methodologies, which correspondingly serves Maori purposes.

Concluding Commentary

Kaupapa Maori theory and praxis is a living and empowering framework that provides a space for Maori to assert their right and role as tangata whenua and gain control and self-determination of their lives. In outlining Kaupapa Maori philosophy and principles; critical elements and its framework; its application to the context of research methodology; and its encompassing process of deconstruction, this chapter has provided a comprehensive insight into a unique and distinctive form of theorising by Maori. Kaupapa Maori is a theory of change, that is powerful, transformative and essential to meeting the needs and aspirations of Maori; a theory that provides a space to engage in discussion and action in developing thought, priorities and practices for Maori, by Maori and about being Maori; and a theory that establishes a real and effective intervention to policy development and reform, addressing the crisis and issues that exists for Maori. In relation to this thesis objective in disclosing the political rationalities and mechanisms of policy development and exploring the extent to which Maori emancipation exist, Kaupapa Maori theory and praxis argued in this chapter will be reapplied throughout this thesis as it

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[75] See Martin, B. (1998) p.220 for further discussion on 'Derridean deconstruction in philosophy', which explores structures of binary oppositions and notion of truth as a self-presence; Unpublished PhD thesis, Auckland University.

provides a traditional and contemporary insight into Maori views and praxis of empowerment and transformation.

Chapter 3

MAORI EDUCATION & POLICY

Introduction

The Treaty of Waitangi was signed on February 6th 1840, and was an agreement of partnership between Maori and Pakeha. However, over time Maori became exploited, oppressed and positioned as the subordinate partner to the dominance of the Pakeha. Education for Maori that had been established prior to European contact, was thriving for Maori as each tribe had their own independent learning system – Maori development was by Maori, about being Maori, for Maori and in Maori, but became slowly suppressed by colonial powers.[76] Maori participation and success in the education system has been a major issue and concern ever since the Treaty was signed, in which education had become a eurocentric cultural enterprise continuously reproducing values, beliefs and traditions of the dominant Pakeha group. The rights and provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi and later the Principles[77] in the Treaty of Waitangi Act (1975) towards education were not being addressed in which British and Western ideologies prevented Maori achieving development of identity and culture.

> "In consideration thereof Her Majesty, the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her royal protection and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British subjects".[78]

The principle of active protection in Article 3 of the Treaty was never achieved, it confirmed the obligation of the crown was to ensure that Maori would be educated equally and protection of interests would be given – in this context, educational interests of Maori. However, to understand the significance of this commitment for Maori education, the notion of protection not only represented national defence from international countries, but also emotional, spiritual, social and cultural security. Therefore, the Crown had an obligation within educational governance to establish policies that empowered Maori, allowed them to maintain their quality of life, provide the ability to sustain progress and develop own beliefs, traditions and practices and construct an educational framework where both Maori and Pakeha were equally valid and legitimate.

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[76] Penetito, W. (1994) p.50
[77] The notion of 'principles' is a Crown construction; arguments that 'principles' are more important than the Treaty because NZ domestic law (Court of Appeal) only recognise the 'principles' of Treaty rather than the Treaty itself. See NZ Government (1989) 'Principles for Crown Action on the Treaty of Waitangi' p.223
[78] English translation of Article 3, Treaty of Waitangi in Orange, C. (1989) The Story of a Treaty, p.31

Instead legislation such as the 1944 Native Trust Ordinance made Maori education a process of civilisation to that of the European population with educational policies of assimilation and integration. This was reinforced in schools by policies that not only recognised the use of English resources but developed knowledge and learning to be delivered in only the English language and constituted all expressions of Maori to be forbidden in schools.

Maori people since the beginning of early missionary schooling have always taken an active interest in the school curriculum and policies, and have challenged the kinds of knowledge being taught to their children. Maori were often subjugated to government policies of Pakeha orientated assimilationist schooling and when aspects of Maori culture were included after the 1930's, it served to foster and perpetuate Pakeha ideologies about Maori. The Hunn Report (1960) confirmed that the majority of Maori students in education have unequal school opportunities and outcomes, which has ensured the perpetuation of structural inequalities within wider society. Without 'real' recognition of the Treaty, the educational policies did not cater for Maori and in some cases Maori were punished for being Maori, in which by 1975, less that 5% of Maori children could speak Te Reo Maori.[79]

This led to growing mistrust and scepticism by Maori as they became and still remain frustrated towards the government educational agencies and the State with their inability to pay serious attention towards Maori needs.[80] The collective needs of Maori were being ignored; educational policies had positioned Maori within a cycle of oppression and appropriation in which the Maori culture was being structurally and ideologically suppressed. Maori in schools were achieving and participating less in the education system, and by 1983 only 37% of Maori students gained School Certificate, where 72% of non-Maori passed. This resulted in only 24% of Maori students going through to higher learning institutions, where 63% of non-Maori participate in tertiary academics.[81]

This caused Maori to take new initiatives towards creating a self-reliant education system in establishing Te Kohanga Reo in 1982 and Kura Kaupapa Maori in 1985. This provided an education system that not only developed Maori participation and success, but also served the objectives of Maori development of cultural enhancement, social equity, economic advancement

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[79] Waitangi Tribunal (1986) 'Te Reo Maori Report' p.359
[80] Smith, L (1992) p.219
[81] Waitangi Tribunal (1986) 'Te Reo Maori Report' p.380

and political empowerment. However, the struggle within the state education system still continues. There are arguments to why 'Maori' educational policies have been implemented in school curriculum's, but there is a consolidated strength of support by Maori, that these policies are just a continual process of oppression and illusory representation of Maori by the state. This is simply because, such policies have been created and sanctioned by a Pakeha dominated institution, resulting in a curriculum initiative that is defined and controlled with policies that serve the needs and interests of Pakeha people.[82] It entrenches the Pakeha position of social, cultural and political privilege within New Zealand society, education policies are a vehicle of assimilation, which is perpetuating the status quo within New Zealand schools and thereby maintaining the position of Pakeha dominance in relation to the control of education.

> "From a critical perspective there are three major underlying themes that 'Maori' policies promote – it primarily addresses needs of Pakeha society, it addresses Maori interests and needs indirectly and trivially, and it assists the acculturation of the Maori culture by subverting knowledge and aspirations."[83]

> "History reveals that hegemony – the imposition of one culture and its cultural values upon another culture and cultural reproduction; the inculcation and perpetuation of the dominant cultures cultural capital upon all members of society; assimilation; and the subsuming of an ethnic minority into the lifestyle of a controlling culture was to be the function of education".[84]

Landowners[85] formed the decision-making positions after the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, exercising social, economic and political dominance over other interest groups. New Zealand parliamentary debates reflected these attitudes, in which the 1877 Education Act was established upon four arguments:

1. Reduction of crime rate and social control;
2. The production of an enlightened and discerning society;
3. The future of prosperity of the country by the enhancement of its economic productivity;
4. Individual rights and benefits gained from education.

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[82] Smith, G (1994) p.183
[83] ibid. p.193
[84] Bourdieu, P. (1971) in Williams, T. (1999) p.7
[85] Under colonial law established by the Crown, landowners were predominantly Pakeha as Maori land ownership was held collectively by the Maori Chiefs. See Kawharu, I. (1989) 'Unique Relationship between Crown and Tangata Whenua p. 64-92.

However, Leonie Pihama[86] argues that primarily schooling in New Zealand was established explicitly as a means of social control, but also implicitly initiating an agency through which to 'civilise the natives'. Early education policies were constructed in order to attain social 'stability' and provide legislative framework through which the desired assimilation was achieved.

> "The traditional Maori lifestyle cannot be tolerated to continue, things have now come to a pass that it is necessary either to exterminate the natives or to civilise them – option of civilising Maori because the colony can not afford a full scale military exercise".[87]

Within state thinking, Maori children have been defined as the 'problem' in regards to educational policy development, solutions for which have on the whole been constructed and imposed upon Maori people by the dominant group through the justifiable provision and responsibility of state education. By 1880 and what would continue over the next fifty years Maori education was provided upon fundamental principle – to bring Maori into line with European civilisation by the thorough use of European models in schools.

Educational Policy for Maori

In civilising and imposing eurocentric cultural practices upon Maori, dominant Pakeha interests and beliefs of cultural superiority have engaged and developed distinct phases of educational policy development.

> "The history of policy can be seen in a number of clearly discernable phases: an 'assimilationist' approach to race relations up until the late 1950's; a focus on 'integration' implicitly based on a notion of cultural deprivation during the 1960's; followed by a transitional period, where finally an attempt to formulate a 'multicultural' policy with the attendant notions that 'cultural diversity' should be valued; most recently there have been signs that we are moving into a policy era of 'biculturalism', mostly as a result of Maori initiatives".[88]

Therefore, as Michael Peters and James Marshall refer to the schemes of assimilation, integration, multiculturalism and biculturalism as 'successive phases in the history of policy', it is important to examine how they have influenced educational policy for Maori and their underlying rationalities and assumptions they permeate. Furthermore, in critiquing the notion of biculturalism, this work critically analyses the education initiative of taha Maori.

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[86] Pihama, L. (1993) p.5
[87] Carlton (1880) in Carpenter, V. (1997) p.3
[88] Peters, M and Marshall, J (1988) in Johnston, P. (1998) p.80

Assimilation

Before and after the Treaty was signed in 1840 Pakeha themselves were the minority in which they successfully accommodated (not assimilated) within Maori society to trade and survive, however it wasn't too long before the 'mass migration' by British settlers changed the numerical domination of Maori over Pakeha and the need for Pakeha to accommodate into Maori society. Patricia Johnston[89] explains that this shift resulted in assimilation; a relationship characterised by the desire of the Pakeha to protect Maori from perceived undesirable influences of the European civilisations (a protective impulse) and a 'civilising impulse', which carried an idealist hope for the eventual amalgamation of the two races. However, Judith Simon[90] argues that the 'protective impulse' was an idealistic feature of the humanitarian approach to colonisation, which became overshadowed by the 'civilising impulse' concerned with Pakeha imperialist self-interests. In the process and act of civilising Maori, represented a means of asserting Pakeha world views over Maori, thus facilitating the replacement of Maori knowledge, cultural and social norms with those of Pakeha – in relation to the schooling of Maori, this civilising impulse was expressed in term of assimilation policy.

Most theorisation upon the practices of assimilation has argued that it functions as a process of amalgamation and homogenising as Maori and Pakeha attempt to form one race, however Johnston[91] argues that assimilation was not about the fusion of Maori and Pakeha cultures – assimilation required Maori to homogenise and blend with the Pakeha. In retrospect, it was a distinct one-way rather than a two-way process in which Maori where expected to assimilate culturally, economically and socially into a Pakeha defined and controlled society. Assimilation centred on civilising Maori and was about introducing them to the 'perceived' superior cultural and social norms of the British. Beliefs about 'civilising' Maori positioned their culture and language as 'simplistic', 'barbaric' and 'savage' particularly in comparison to the cultural, social and linguistic superiority of the colonisers and imposed the requisition from Maori the rejection of their own cultural, political, and social norms.

The nature of assimilation policy could be seen in the oppressive contradictions, with the incompatibility between the political and economical base rationalities to assimilate Maori, and

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[89] Johnston, P. (1998) p.84
[90] Simon, J. (1990) op cit.
[91] ibid p. 85

the underlying ideologies and discourses about races. In engaging political rationality that assimilated Maori, provided colonisers access to the resources Maori controlled and their market labour power; where the economic rationality was based on the assumption, that Maori would eventually die out as a race with the introduction of colonialist diseases (no immunity) or inter-racial marriages (dilution).

To summarise there were at least three different views of assimilation that appeared to be in operation.[92]

1.   The assimilation of Maori and Pakeha to form one race;
2.   The assimilation of Maori in terms of formal equality under the law; and
3.   The civilising of Maori into Pakeha cultural and social norms.

Integration

> "Integration is a more liberal and human version of facilitating the interaction of two cultures (Maori and Pakeha) which still has aspects of ethnocentric judgement and cultural superiority – integration is simply assimilation dressed up".[93]

The notion of integration was first argued in the Report of the Department of Maori Affairs released in August 1960, which is known as the Hunn Report. Within the report is was argued that evolutionary development of Maori and Pakeha was a process that clearly involved the integration of both races to form one – for this objective to be achieved an official end to the policy of assimilation was recommended with the introduction of integration as the new policy focus.

For the first time there was a quantitative analysis of the disparities experienced by Maori in the social service areas in which J. K. Hunn stated some recommendations to address these disparities notably the development of racial policy; in which he argues that the basis of such a policy would clearly integrate Maori and Pakeha and integrate Maori into a modern society. Johnston[94] argues that such beliefs were influenced by conceptions of anthropological evolutionary stages of racial

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[92] ibid, p.86
[93] Mullard, C. (1982) p.10
[94] Johnston, P. (1998) p. 103

hierarchies (social Darwinism) in which it was considered that there were three groups of Maori who were quite distinct and different from each other.

1.   A completely detribalised minority who's Maoritanga is only vestigial.
      A group that have assimilated and adopted Pakeha cultural norms and values

2.   The main body of Maori's [sic] pretty much at home in either society, who likes to partake in both – an ambivalence, however causes psychological stress to some of them.
      A group that have only adopted only certain aspects of Pakeha-ness

3.   Another minority complacently living backward life in primitive conditions.
      A group who have rejected completely any aspect of Pakeha-ness

The distinctions Hunn makes between the groups are based on notions of cultural superiority and inferiority at that time. Therefore, according to Hunn, the object of policy should presumably be to eliminate group three, by raising it to group two, and to leave it to the personal choice of group two members whether they stay there or join group one; in disclosing the implicit oppressive functions of policy, members of group two remain integrated whereas group one become assimilated.[95] As Hunn suggests that group 3 are 'backward and primitive' and his classification system implies the evolutionary development through predefined stages and notions to civilisation. The intent to integrate Maori, is the intent (and reattempt) to civilise them, and while the official focus of New Zealand policies for the future development of Maori was integration, according to Simon[96] although assimilation was no longer the official rhetoric, the Hunn Report's integration exposition represented an effort to continue assimilation by concealing the asymmetry in social relations of Maori and Pakeha. The existing frameworks, institutions and beliefs of New Zealand's social services were already entrenched within the beliefs and practices of the dominant Pakeha group and with the need to extensively exert integrative labour policy co-opting the rural to urban migration[97], in realty Maori have very limited choices.

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[95] Johnston, P. (1998) p.104
[96] Simon, J. (1990) op cit.
[97] The new developing manufacturing industry required labourers, and Maori were perceived as an ideal labour force, in which the Maori Affairs department actively recruited and facilitated the rural shift to urban areas such as Otara and Mangere (Auckland) and Porirua (Wellington).

Integrating Maori was about integrating them into Pakeha society especially the labour force and the education system was still the best avenue to achieve than means.

> "One of the major functions of any education system is the reproduction of the cultural and social values of the dominant group which controls it. This dominant group is not the majority group pure and simple. Rather it is those with the most power within that group".[98]

David Person[99] argues that middle and upper class interests have controlled education policy and they have dominated decision-making. It is they who came to define what integration meant and the practices in schools associated with those meetings.

Multiculturalism

> "It needs to be made clear that a multicultural society is one in which, not only are there different cultural groups, but also groups retaining their own institutional structures for the ordering of their lives and these structures are recognised alternatives at the national level; it is clear from this that a society where a number of ethnic groups share a single political, economic and legal structure *of the dominant group* is not a multicultural one; at best it can be termed 'multi-ethnic' for unless alternative *equally valued* political economic, legal institutions are available, multiculturalism cannot be said to exist.[100]

The ideology of multiculturalism gained momentum in the early 1970's where New Zealand was adapting to international trends in Australia and Canada as a response to the changing ethnic make-up of the countries through immigration. In New Zealand there was a similar immigration from the Pacific Islands resulting in a society that was more diverse, culturally mosaic and multicultural. However, research has lead me to believe that rather than notions of 'diverse societies – diverse needs' multicultural policies were disseminated as a result of the changing political nature of ethnicity and the ethnic revolution that occurred in the 1960's. It was assumed and anticipated by industrialised societies of the western world that through policies of assimilation and integration ethnic identities would disappear and would be replaced by class or national identities. Instead an ethnic revolution (ethnogensis) provided new ethnic identities to be established, and developed the realisation that ethnicity was still very much a viable and

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[98] Person, D. (1990) p.15
[99] ibid.
[100] Harker, R (1984) p.252

important aspect of social life, and politically must be recognised with concerns of resources and equity.[101]

A policy to establish 'differences' more formally was promoted by the Minister of Maori Affairs, the Honourable Duncan MacIntrye, calling for multiculturalism as a policy initiative. However, the National government that was holding office failed to provide sanction and it was not until 1972 when Labour came to power that a shift towards multiculturalism occurred. Kathy Irwin[102] agues that multiculturalism established the premise for cultural diversity as a central observable feature of New Zealand's social structure, in which instead of requiring all cultural groups to adopt the ways of the dominant Pakeha group, multiculturalism fostered cultural diversity, cultural distinctiveness and cultural differences. However, Simon[103] explains that there was a lot of confusion about what the term multiculturalism actually meant, where it was misunderstood, misinterpreted and poorly articulated on both national and international levels. In referring to Rex Gibson[104] Brian Bullivant identifies five different approaches to multicultural education 'and for each delineates basic assumptions regarding underlying values, changing strategies, intended outcomes and target populations'.

> "The fifth approach stems from an anthropological perspective on both educational and culture and unlike the others does not equate education with schooling or view multicultural education as a type of formal education program. The other four approaches or models are (i) education of the cultural difference or benevolent multiculturalism; (ii) education about cultural differences or cultural understanding; (iii) education for cultural pluralism; and (iv) bicultural education".[105]

Pearson[106] argues theoretically that all members of a multicultural society would receive equal treatment – notion of equality of opportunity. While equality of opportunity was advocated under integration (but also served to disadvantage Maori) equality can also be recognised in terms of power – the key is that while multiculturalism is about recognising differences, it is also about empowering groups to be different in their own unique, specific and diverse ways.

> "The difficulty with this ideal (multiculturalism) is that it either assumes some overarching equity in the distribution of power, which means that no one ethnic group

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[101] Refer to Spoonley (1988) 'Critical Issues in New Zealand Society' p.36-63 for further reading.
[102] Irwin, K. (1989) in Johnston, J. (1998) p. 126
[103] Simon, J. (1990) opt cit.
[104] Gibson, R. (1983) opt cit.
[105] ibid.
[106] Pearson, D. (1990) opt cit. p. 128

can dominate other groups; or to be idealistic, in a situation of power imbalances the strong are prepared to support the weak. The former situation does not apply in NZ."[107]

Therefore, the roles of the dominant Pakeha group have a major influence over how multiculturalism as experienced by Maori, Pacific Island Peoples, Asian peoples and other minorities, where they contribute significantly to deciding what differences are recognised.[108] However, Barry Troyna[109] argues that multicultural policies are new malleable policies that do not shift away from the historic assimilationalist policies, which have impacted, significantly on Maori in the past. Although these policies represent a more progressive liberal variant of the assimilationalist model, multicultural education continues to draw its inspiration and rationale from white-middle class professional understanding of how the education system might best respond to the perceived and assumed needs and interests of minority groups.

Although the rhetoric of multiculturalism professed to recognise and support the cultural differences of all ethnic minorities, the reality was that the policies focused on cultural differences, were displaced from wider social conditions and did not account for the Pakeha controlled decision-making positions that support majority interests through unequal power relations.

Biculturalism

> "The policy of separate development means that we may bloom in our garden, it also means that I am tolerated in my difference as I conform with the established rules. Don't overstep the line. Considered both a dangerous species and an endangered species (suffering pathetically from a loss of authenticity), I am to remain behind the safety grille for the visitors security and marvel".[110]

Johnson[111] explains that ever since the Treaty was signed in 1840, Maori have been constantly engaged in working towards a 'real' bicultural relationship with Pakeha. The Treaty had fundamentally created two sets of rights; (1) the humanitarian approach to protect Maori from the onslaught of colonial settlement and ceding the rights of British citizenship; (2) Maori ceded governance and allowed settlers to reside in Aotearoa. However, settler's desires for Maori land and resources resulted in the humanitarian focus being largely ignored and settler interests

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[107] ibid.
[108] The notion of 'difference' in NZ educational policy is examined in Chapter 5.
[109] Troyna, B. (1987) in Johnston, P. (1998) p. 128
[110] Trinh, M. (1987) p.130 and in Johnston, P. (1998) p. 147
[111] Johnston, P. (1998) p.145

overpowered Maori expectations for autonomy and self-determination. The Treaty of Waitangi was largely ignored, relegated to the position of historical interest and perceived as having little relevance for New Zealanders at all.[112]

Johnston[113] explains that Ranginui Walker in 1973 first used the term 'biculturalism' discussing the under-achievement of Maori children in the education system as he was highlighting the importance of individual Maori children becoming familiar with their own culture and identity. Schools are sites of struggles reproducing existing social inequalities for Maori, in which the monocultural nature of an education system controlled by Pakeha had to be targeted by Maori. Therefore, Walker argues that both a cultural and structural examination of bicultural aspects needed to be explored in developing a political rationality that would establish an emphasis on sharing resources and power and a partnership between Maori and Pakeha, which was underpinned by the Treaty. The initial form of biculturalism was underpinned by the notion of 'culturalism', which was established upon Pakeha ideologies, and conceptions of difference, which specifically embraced a personal approach aiming to make individuals bicultural. Pearson[114] states that by personalising biculturalism it simply perpetuated most of the ingredients of the multicultural ideal, but is conceptualised and restricted to the relationship between New Zealand's charter groups, Pakeha and Maori.

Biculturalism within this context only focuses on the 'culture' by providing access to Maori culture as a means to reduce discrimination and prejudices towards matters Maori. In the education system, the focus on culture and creating a positive environment for Maori children was equally believed to be a means of facilitating educational achievement. It was assumed that by simply recognising Maori in the curriculum, theoretically this would provide positive self-images that would lead to greater educational performances. The development of taha Maori programmes was seen as an end to achieve this educative means, however, in remaining specifically culture-focussed, the personal aspect of biculturalism does not recognise the wider structural inequalities for Maori. The poor social, economic and political positions that Maori occupied were not addressed, in which the ability of biculturalism within this context to address

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[112] There is a range of extensive readings and arguments on the Treaty of Waitangi, refer to Orange, C. (1987) 'The Treaty of Waitangi' and Renwick, W (1990) 'The Treaty Now' for a summary of general historic and contemporary analysis and arguments.
[113] Johnston, P. (1998) p.148
[114] Pearson, D. (1990) in Johnston, P. (1998) p. 149

the under-achievement and aspirations of Maori children educationally was both limiting and improbable.[115]

Maori initially embraced the cultural concept of biculturalism, however quickly appropriated this conceptualisation to include a structural focus (inequalities), Kaupapa Maori and a political focus that included the unequal power-relations between Maori and Pakeha. With the induction of political rationality, biculturalism was also a focus of activism, contestation, resistance and protests that culminates in challenges by Maori to the State's ineptness in addressing Maori interests and aspirations in the education system. The political aspect encompasses Maori aspirations of autonomy and self-determination in which it does not see biculturalism as a progression to multiculturalism, but as a means to addressing Maori educational under-achievement and right as tangata whenua.[116] However, with the strong assertion of biculturalism by Maori within a multicultural society, it does not undermine the fact that Maori believe within this paradigm all cultures are held to be of equal worth. Other cultures of other ethnic groups are not denied, nor are the Pakeha and Maori cultures seen as being superior, but rather biculturalism discloses a certain priority that is ascribed to those two in terms of their relationship established by the Treaty of Waitangi.

The doctrine of biculturalism is discourse of distribution, just as the Treaty of Waitangi guaranteed Maori equal access to resources, so does biculturalism. Andrew Sharp[117] states that this doctrine of distribution of everything in New Zealand should be made primarily between Pakeha and Maori in which both are worthy of equal respect, therefore distribution should be equal between them – it is not numerical dominance that should determine the balance, it should be the equal value of each culture. Recognition of the Treaty and the equality of both Treaty partners meant that biculturalism was a viable policy option, because the Treaty recognised 'two treaty partners' just as biculturalism recognises Maori and Pakeha cultures.

Taha Maori

One of the major ways that biculturalism was practiced in education has been through the development of taha Maori programmes. Although a loose term of taha Maori had been operating

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[115] Johnston, P. (1998) p. 149
[116] ibid.
[117] Sharp, A. (1990) in Johnston, P. (1998) p.150

in schools previously, it was officially recognised in 1984 when the 'Review of the Core Curriculum for Schools' formally promoted the notion citing three grounds for priority to taha Maori;

1. Maori culture is unique to NZ and will maintain its validity only if fostered in this county;
2. It is a distinctive characteristic of the NZ identity; and
3. It is a model and springboard for the study of other cultures.

Taha Maori remained somewhat a very loose term as it had no set syllabus, objectives or frameworks like other curriculum areas; there were no structural guidelines or accountability for its implementation and its operation, instead the Education Department propositioned taha Maori as not just a structure of group lessons, it is apart of the philosophy of the school and an integral part of daily life; it will provide reflection of caring, sharing, understanding and love within ramifications from a Maori perspective and contribute to New Zealand's identity.[118] However, taha Maori became officially defined as;

> "In the education process taha Maori is the inclusion of aspects of Maori language and culture in the philosophy, the organisation and the content of the school. In the curriculum it is not a separated out compulsory element. Pupils should not go into the classroom to 'do' taha Maori. Aspects of Maori language and culture should be incorporated into the total life of the school – into its curriculum, buildings, grounds, attitudes and organisations. It should be a normal part of the school climate which all pupils and staff should feel comfortable and at ease."[119]

Graham Smith[120] explains that taha Maori was created, sanctioned and initiated by the 'state dominant Pakeha' institution of the Education Department which persevered the interests of Pakeha social, cultural, economic and political privilege. In being directed at 'all' pupils, taha Maori became co-opted into being more concerned with educating Pakeha – in its design, sanctioning, rationalising and implementation, taha Maori is dependent upon the co-operation and

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[118] Durie, A (1993) 'Maori Issues in Education – Taha Maori in Schools' Massey University Education Series 3, 1994 p. 207
[119] Taha Maori: 'Suggestions for Getting Started' (1984) Wellington, Department of Education Publication in Smith, G. (1990) p. 186
[120] ibid. p. 188

the endorsement of the Pakeha population in which the success of taha Maori will be dependent upon the development of bicultural understanding in 'all' pupils (mainly Pakeha).[121]

Taha Maori has been, and is dependent upon Pakeha endorsement and validation:[122]

1.   The majority of power positions within education are held by Pakeha personal;

2.   The Pakeha dominant population hold the power of veto over Maori decisions;

3.   Rationality has been deliberately couched in terms that appeal to Pakeha people; and

4.   Subject to the endorsement of Pakeha parents and pupils who have the option to withdraw from programmes if they so desire.

The rationale of taha Maori policy can be recognised as being constructed upon the premise and ideals of a cultural approach to biculturalism, a purpose to clearly produce learners who can operate successfully in two different cultures. Therefore, in examining this notion of biculturalism carefully, G.Smith[123] argues the curriculum thrust of taha Maori can be regarded as a 'two edged sword' for Maori aspirations; at one level the indigenising of Pakeha people needs to be supported, but at another level it appropriates already limited resources away from the priority concerns of Maori needs.

Instead, from a Maori perspective taha Maori should:[124]

1.   Be addressed to preserving the uniqueness of the Maori culture;

2.   Redress the cultural loss of Maori people;

3.   Develop and promote appropriate attitudes throughout society; and

4.   Accept cultural diversity for its own sake as distinct and worthwhile end in itself.

Within the New Zealand context, if there was a 'real' priority concern for the rights of the tangata whenua and the given recognition and support for indigenous people of NZ, taha Maori as a curriculum policy initiative would respond to the specific cultural needs of Maori pupils and therefore, reassert the validity and legitimacy of Maori language, knowledge and culture.

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[121] The term 'all pupils' can assumed to be 'mainly Pakeha' as in 1987, in combining all of primary and secondary school pupils only 18% of the population were Maori.

[122] Smith, G (1990) p.192

[123] ibid. p. 189

[124] ibid. p.195

However, unfortunately taha Maori represents a completely different agenda, serving 'state Pakeha dominant' interests; capturing the definitions of taha Maori; co-opting the taha Maori definition to preserve the status quo of Pakeha dominance; and proactively facilitating the malleable forms of policy that assimilate Maori language, knowledge and culture.[125]

It is an illusion of acting in support of Maori interests, taha Maori can be seen to be acting to the detriment of Maori aspirations by contributing to the 'acculturation of Maori culture'. Taha Maori enhances acculturation by allowing Pakeha uncontrolled and wholesale access to Maori knowledge, making available Maori cultural capital at the classroom level.

> "Taha Maori is really for the benefit of Pakeha children in which it entrenches the Pakeha position of social, cultural and political privilege in New Zealand society in which it maintains the position of Pakeha dominance and promotes the acculturation of Maori culture".[126]

By placing an emphasis on Maori culture through taha Maori subverted the interests and aspirations that Maori people hold for their own culture, it was widely initially recognised by Maori that with the inclusion of their language and culture in schools was a long overdue means of addressing Maori educational under-achievements, however taha Maori rather provided a forum for Pakeha children to learn about Maori. What was offered for Maori children under taha Maori was not new for them, if anything it trivialised what they already knew, because in this respect it can be argued that most Maori children are already bicultural, and it can be noticeably seen as an attempt to make Pakeha bicultural. Taha Maori and subsequent cultural forms of biculturalism is not about addressing Maori under-achievement in the state system, particularly when it is left up to Pakeha to decide how to implement taha Maori initiatives. There is a simple lack of commitment that indicates the absence of any 'real' recognition and importance that Maori people place on their own language and culture in both schooling and curriculum context.[127]

The struggle for political dominance over the tangata whenua has been a constant factor affecting relations between Maori and Pakeha since early contact. The role of the education system and schooling has facilitated and perpetuated Pakeha dominance in schools and society, as exemplified through analysis of taha Maori. In examining the successive phases of historical

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[125] Smith, G (1990) p. 186
[126] Smith, G. (1986) in Johnston, P. (1998) p. 158
[127] Johnston, P. (1998) p.160

educational policy development, this chapter provides disclosure in relation to exposing the operational dynamics of educational policy for Maori developed by the state. Through critiquing the policy schemes of assimilation, integration, multiculturalism and biculturalism, dominant Pakeha interests are perpetuated as dispositions of colonisation and assimilation reinforced and reproduced underlying structural rationalities, assumptions, systematic inequalities and wider power-relationships. Education for Maori has served to be a detrimental process, exploiting cultural beliefs, subverting identity and oppressing valid and legitimate strategies of self-determination.

Contemporary Political Rationale of Educational Policy

In providing an insight into contemporary political rationality of educational policy development this chapter shifts to exploring the new right ideology and its encompassing expositions that has emerged in the late 1980's. Examination will argue that although this is recognised as one of the significant structural reforms of education in New Zealand, it contemporarily reasserted colonial expressions and reproduces assimilatory practices for Maori.

New Right

Education reform in New Zealand has become a neo-liberal disposition, constructed by New Right discourse and ideology. This liberal paradigm shift replaced notions of welfarism, an embodiment of cultural and social contexts – through which many assumptions of this pedagogy toward equity, access and opportunity, has exposed and perpetuated the discursive and hegemonic effects of class and cultural position in relation to educational achievement in Aotearoa.

The Labour Government of 1984, initiated ideologies of individualism and devolution starting new right politics; however, this agenda was more aggressively implemented by the National government in 1991 as the Minister of Education commented;

> "New Zealand educational policies have an excessive focus on social issues, poor preparation for the competitive world and inadequate skilling in technology. Education is responsive to the business sector; therefore there will be a new culture of enterprise and competition in our curriculum; busnocratic fragmentation of principles, skills, learning areas and assessment".[128]

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[128] Hon. Lockwood Smith (1991) in O'Neil, A (1996) p. 36

Liberal policies create a market model of individuals, who view members of society as possessive individuals who either act as producers or consumers, who are not linked to social, gendered or cultural dispositions. The new right presumes we are passive individuals the education reproduces without conflict in which educational success or failure is determined by the personal traits and that each individual is in total control of the social world they live in.[129]

Paul Spoonley[130] also argues that the notion and dissemination of individualism in educational policy is a tool of racial expression. Stress is placed on the individual and responsibility for behaviour, failure and success resides with the individual and not the racial group. Equality of opportunity means that failure to compete successfully and gain forms of cultural capital is no ones fault other than that of the person concerned. This assumes European capitalism is universally desired system of values and that the other values and behaviours of other groups are dismissed as an 'absent site of conflict' – individualism does not even recognise social and cultural dispositions of class, race and gender, but holds the belief of anglo-conforminism.

Libertarianism & Authoritarianism

G.Smith[131] explains that there are two distinct and overlapping components of the new right:

1. An economic thrust (the libertarian right) concerned at overthrowing the Keynsian welfare state, and interventionalist economic approach with the notions of free-market;
2. A moral thrust (the authoritarian right) concerned at overthrowing liberal societies attitudes, behaviours and reinstate conservative values and moral standards.

The libertarian right is an economic approach based on the free market principles of freedom, competition, choice and notions of equality and opportunity. Therefore, in the capitalist logic of the free market, 'meritocratic' came to the fore, that every individual is regarded as being born with equal life chances and equal opportunities to participate and achieve what they so desire. Inequalities are explained in terms of individual failure and group interests related to race, gender and class dispositions are viewed as abnormalities. With interventionalist economic ideologies,

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[129] O'Neil, A (1996) p. 20
[130] Spoonley, P. (1988) p. 21
[131] Smith, G. (1991) p. 4

Smith argues that such insertions has developed and produced various 'schooling crisis' in New Zealand.

- A crisis of educational under-achievement;

  Schools are blamed for failing to adequately produce competent and appropriately credentialed students and therefore seen as being directly responsible to unemployment.

- A crisis of the instrumental view of schooling;

  The hegemony that 'good schooling' and 'good credentials' will get you a 'good job' has been undermined by unfolding reality where well qualified students also failed to get jobs as there were just not enough available.

- A crisis of knowledge in schools;

  The curriculum has been criticised as being irrelevant and therefore incompatible with the job market.

- A crisis of equality;

  Inequality has persisted as a significant outcome despite the belief and support for the egalitarian intentions of NZ schooling as prescribed in the 'Beeby' dictum extolling objectives aligned with equality.

- A crisis of declining societal standards;

  Schools are perceived as failing to adequately influence pupils with appropriate integrating behaviours such as 'citizenship', 'national pride' and 'moral' standards.

- A crisis of state responsibility;

  Boundaries governing state obligations in education have become blurred as the state attempts to divest itself of economic responsibility but at the same time maintain power and control; importance by educators to reconstruct the state's responsibility and to prevent the state from opting out of its obligations to protect and to maintain democratic principles for all of NZ citizens.

Under free market ideology, to advantage one group means to disadvantage another. New right insists everyone should be treated the same with the 'horizon equity' principle, however, also

effectively maintains the status quo in which groups in positions of privilege and power perpetuate advantage. Furthermore, the entrenchment of the corporate hegemony has enabled schooling to effectively perpetuate positions of dominant interest groups in sustaining social, political and economic advantage.[132] Both libertarian and authoritarian sectors of the new right have directly undermined Maori knowledge, language, values and culture dismissing its viability and legitimacy – capitalistic principles are unable or have no interest in dealing with notions of ethnicity.

Within a New Zealand contextualisation of new right reform two policy emphases have evolved specifically in respect for Maori:

1.   Policy emphasis to downplay and deny cultural differences as being significant and therefore emphasising assimilatory policy trends;
2.   Educational reform has ignored the development of policy specifically directed at Maori as a group.

The National government have advanced along the track with the intrusion of new right and neo-liberal ideology now permeating every aspect of schooling and all sectors of the education system. This 'business capture' has successful established corporate hegemony and with its economic reductionist mode of thinking and acting, people (and collective interests) are of minor consideration and importance.

> "New right philosophies systematically attack the validity of Maori language, culture and values, in which all these attacks have a common theme, attacking Maori people and their culture for their reluctance or inability to conform to the prescribed mould of Pakeha society. The structural imperative of new right ideology appears to discredit and destroy the anomalies presented by non-conformist to the new economic order such as Maori."[133]

New right policies contradicts Maori concepts of collectivism such as Iwi, hapu and whanau and Maori social practices such as utu (reciprocity) manaaki (hospitality) tiaki (nurture) hui (cooperative organisation) and aroha (respectfulness). Another response to the contradictions posed by G.Smith,[134] has been the growing emphasis toward the commodification of Maori cultural aspects. There is an attempt to quantify and package Maori cultural terms within Pakeha

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[132] ibid.
[133] ibid, p.6
[134] ibid. p.7

conditions and control in which they become susceptible to market forces as their value is determined by economic rather than cultural considerations. With free market principles, commodification is simply an expression and malleable form of assimilation.

Unless an analysis that can take into account Maori cultural aspirations in relation to language, knowledge and culture; it has evolved out of its own context, then there will be only a limited effect in adequately analysing or developing appropriate interventions for current Maori crisis – development of a New Zealand theory, Kaupapa Maori theory.[135]

Devolution

The policy of devolution forms a major platform for free market economics, where it was first initiated for Maori social, economic, cultural and political needs through the 1989 Te Urupare Rangapu document. G.Smith[136] argues that the government is abdicating its public responsibility to disadvantaged groups in schools by policies that diminish equity provisions, principles within school charters and by making the Treaty of Waitangi obligations optional. Therefore, Maori aspirations within this context have become reliant on the goodwill of the dominant Pakeha rather than the 1840 contractual obligations to protect Maori interests, identity and culture.

Peters and Marshall[137] also explain devolution is a distinct process of illusory responsibility; by shifting the responsibilities onto individuals and groups within local communities, such as Boards of Trustee's they have become accountable for the solutions and results of the education while the state maintains control through legislation and auditing agencies. Although there is an attempt to give responsibility and power to local community groups and individuals to make choices and decisions – the wider implications are that although devolution policies aim to redistribute the accountability and responsibility, whereas in reality the majority of control, power and decision-making still remain with government officials and agencies. Critically, devolution policies can only be understood as functioning to shift the responsibility of inequality, under-achievement and poor educational standards on to local individuals and groups. Notions of devolution only serve to

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[135] For extended discussions on the impact of 'new rightism' on indigenous peoples, refer to Harrison, B (1992) p. 96-113 in ACCESS Vol.11, No.2 'Critical Perspectives on Education Policy: Special Edition on Indigenous Education.
[136] ibid, p.10
[137] Peters, M and Marshall, J. (1996) in O'Neil, A. (1996) p.26

perpetuate the current inequalities within society; it is a process of exploitation and false representation and responsibility.

> "Devolution is a two edged sword for Maori, it gives the illusion of increased power and autonomy but also the abdication of the states responsibility to minority interest groups".[138]

New right and neo-liberal philosophies simply do not capture the complexities of class, race, ethnic and gendered dispositions. In analysing the New Zealand Poverty Management Project[139], which accounted for the induction and performance of new right restructuring shows that social inequality has continued for Maori. The incidence of poverty has doubled with 18.5% of households and 32.6% of all children are below the poverty threshold; from a 4.3% base rate in 1984 it has increased to 10.8%. This has degraded the presumption that efficiently functional markets and economic interventions can be expected to maximise opportunities and attend to inequalities within schooling and society.

Therefore, in analysing new right ideology and its encompassing expositions it discloses the functional ability, operational dynamics and ideology provides discernment of contemporary political rationality that controls the development of educational policy for Maori. In examining the components of new right thrusts, incumbent schooling crisis, free market values, contradictions and assumptions and notions of devolution, and although there is a strong rationale of economic capitalist assertions and free market values, experiences of oppression and reproduction of systematic equalities are still perpetuated as this contemporary political rationale fails to be responsive to the wider power relationships and underlying structural discourses. Through the implementation and development of this political rationale, the government discloses no real commitment to addressing the needs and aspirations of Maori and enforces dominant Pakeha interests in maintaining the status quo.

Maori Education Policy Conscientisation

Although this thesis has previously engaged in the work of Graham Smith and Patricia Johnston in acknowledging their work and their examination of educational policy development for Maori from a Kaupapa Maori perspective, they provide an important insight into the extent of

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[138] Smith, G (1991) p.10
[139] Statistics New Zealand (1991)New Zealand Poverty Management Project, p.15

transformation and disclose the determining expositions and assumptions in government educational policy.

G.Smith argues that educational policy and reforms have failed. Within educational policy development Maori have been excluded from meaningful reform which has had a disastrous impact on Maori children and their subsequent schooling options, not only culturally through loss of Maori language and culture, but also more importantly socially, economically and structurally with inequality, imposition and marginalisation in wider society. Ever since the Treaty was signed, education has been imposed and developed for Maori by Pakeha, which has resulted in abysmal failure as Maori pupils constantly remain after each reform arguably the most badly effected group. G.Smith[140] explains that there is an 'illusion' of meaningful reform of Maori education, Maori are disproportionately represented in most every crisis area of education, current reforms and education policies have or already are a dismal failure as contemporary theories and insertions of 'corporate economy' into NZ schooling have effected Maori needs and aspirations to marginalized and even excluded form policy considerations, Maori interests provide a contradiction to the corporate economic hegemony. Furthermore, an unfortunate failing of much of the past and present policy is directed at Maori as 'blanket policies' or 'universal policies', which are subsequently ineffective because Maori educational needs and aspirations are not homogenous. In summary, current reforms and policies are ineffective for Maori schooling crisis because of the absence of two fundamental policy strategies.

1.   Maori needs are not addressed to any meaningful degree either directly or specifically;
2.   Reforms suggested usually contain elements, which have been tried and previously failed.

There is no accountability for policy-makers and reformers, who have contributed to the process of ongoing assimilation of language, culture, knowledge and values and consequently the demise of Maori identity and cultural distinctiveness. Policy developers are faced with two urgent projects:

1.   Constitutional Reform – reconstruction of principles of democracy to allow democracy to work fairly for everyone.

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[140] ibid.

2.   The Protection of Personal and Group Entitlements – state responsibility needs to be re-instituted to guarantee protection for groups disadvantaged by meritocractic principles implicit in new right theories.

Education and schooling need to be seen as a 'public good', which is freely and equally available to all New Zealand citizens. Policy makers have an important role to alleviate the growing discontent within the Maori community by arguing strongly for these principles to be inserted in meaningful policies for Maori. Smith[141] argues that the only effective educational upheavel has been the emergence of Te Kohanga Reo in 1982 and Kura Kaupapa Maori in 1985, which has been educational policy, developed by Maori for Maori under the Kaupapa Maori theoretical and dialectic framework[142].

> "These schooling options were concerned with the survival and revival of spoken Maori language; they reinforce legitimacy and validity of Maori language, knowledge and culture and they employ culturally preferred methods of teaching and learning".[143]

It has been the reluctance of the mainstream schooling system to respond meaningfully to these needs that has led to the development of Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori as an alternative schooling option. As this praxis has been positioned outside the mainstream schooling system they have not only provided education outside the state schooling structures to merely resist existing school trends, but also has encompassed the ability of self-determination and empowerment by assuming greater control and autonomy over meaningful decision-making.

G.Smith[144] explains developments can be seen from a dual perspective:

1.   Represents conscious resistance initiatives to the structural impediments embedded within the state schooling and poor performance of the system.
2.   Represents a positive and radical initiative seeking to bring out fundamental structural change within schooling by altering the power relations (Maori is the 'norm' and changing ideological dimensions (Maori language and culture are legitimate and valid).

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[141] Smith, G (1991) p. 2
[142] Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori has been developed upon the theoretical and emancipatory framework of Kauapapa Maori theory as discussed in Chapter 2.
[143] ibid, (1990) p. 189
[144] ibid.

Furthermore, Smith represents the conflict of interests between Maori aspirations and the states agenda;

Pakeha Interests	Maori Interests
Pakeha culture, language and knowledge	Maori culture, language and knowledge
Acculturation and assimilation	Validity and legitimacy of things Maori
'We are one people'	'We are Maori'
Domination	Survival
Maintain status quo	Work for change
State schooling system	Kura Kaupapa Maori

Underpinning these interests, orientation is a fundamental structural and ideological contradiction between 'state Pakeha dominant' views on one hand and 'iwi Maori subordinate' on the other. In realising that in the context of analysing Maori educational policy and initiatives, it must be understood in relation to the conditions of wider social, political and economic influences, Maori culture struggle (oppression) is not separate from the economic struggle (exploitation). There is fundamental dialectic between the two positions.

In shifting to the work of Johnston[145] who investigates the relationship between educational policy and Maori under-achievement, she argues that under-achievement is framed within boundaries of changing recognitions and realisations of power difference, that conceptions of difference have influenced Maori education policy and Maori schooling practices. As we have already discussed in this chapter through sequential 'classification schemes' of assimilation, integration, multiculturalism, biculturalism (taha Maori) and new right ideology educational policy for Maori has historically failed, however Johnston explains that one of the primary and fundamental reasons of Maori under-achievement has been because of the unequal power relations in wider society informing conceptions of difference, in which the dominant perspective 'what counts and differences' (Pakeha conception) has prevailed.

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[145] Johnston, P. (1998) Education Policy and Maori Under-achievement, PhD Thesis, Auckland University.

Johnston[146] explains the unequal power-relations between Maori and Pakeha that are central to understanding how 'Pakeha conceptions of difference' domination can be disclosed through Lukes three-dimensional view of power:

1. Those who govern hold power and are able to influence the outcome of decision-making. (One dimensional view)

Pakeha held power because they had control over the education system and were thus able to influence Maori access to knowledge – under assimilation, Maori received particular forms of schooling that focussed on providing them with labouring and low-professional skills. Therefore, choices were limited as Pakeha controlled and modified life chances of Maori through a restricted curriculum process.

2. Those who are in control of the political agenda hold power. (Two-dimensional view)

Is the 'mobilisation of bias' whereby some issues are organised into politics while others are organised out. The ability to control the agenda is by respect of power. Pakeha had control over the agenda provided for cultural differences to be considered in the policy process, but not structural differences. The result is a 'Maori friendly' approach toward addressing Maori educational under-achievement and Maori interest in the policy process.

3. Participating in political processors favours the dominant group because they control the rules and regulations and underpin those processors. (Three-dimensional view)

Maori have lost control over decision-making through participating in the process through which power operates. Maori conceptions of difference were controlled by the rules and regulations of the policy process – the established rules that facilitated those processors themselves were premised on and rooted in 'Pakeha conceptions of difference'.

As Pakeha have had the control over the decision-making process in educational policy development, the governing relationship of power and difference has implicitly and explicitly contributed to Maori underachievement. With prevailing 'Pakeha conceptions of difference' their strategic response to Maori under-achievement has been the employment of policies that are

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[146] ibid. p.71-78

'Maori-friendly' approaches, which do not encompass the complex realities, and wider structural considerations that need to be incorporated in effective and positive educational policy development for Maori. In exploring the various policies over time, Johnston discloses the paramount and dominant assertion of Pakeha conceptions of difference and its prevailing Maori-friendly approaches, which have failed to resolve Maori under-achievement, but served to perpetuate status quo.

(i)   In 1960 The Hunn Report was the first policy to recognise Maori underachievement in which 'Pakeha conceptions of difference' emanated deficit policy that predominantly focussed on the Maori child as the 'problem' and assimilation was the solution.

(ii)   Taha Maori was developed upon the notion of cultural biculturalism in 1984, which is 'Maori-friendly' and based on 'Pakeha conceptions of difference', which aimed primarily at sensitising environments and individuals towards matters Maori. Education policy was overtly concerned at involving Maori in Pakeha defined culturally appropriate ways, however such approaches did not address unequal power- relations and resulted in subordination and marginalisation.

(iii) In 1987 Administering for Excellence policy was developed by the Department of Education, where a 'Maori-friendly' approach was achieved, although there was clearly Maori involvement and representation in all the aspects of formulation, 'Maori conceptions of difference' which related to structural considerations were marginalised and relatively ignored. Consequently the result for Maori was the maintenance of the status quo in which addressing Maori educational under-achievement was not a priority of this process. Maori were formally on agenda but had no control over any part of process especially the rules governing the policy.

(iv)   In 1994 Education for the Twenty-First Century policy was developed with co-ordination between the Ministry of Education (MOE) and Te Puni Kokiri[147], however, also included in the process was a Maori Education Group (MEG) contracted to represent responses from Maori. Both TPK and MEG involved 'Maori-centred' approaches, but the MoE employed a 'Maori-friendly' approach that had control of final stages of process, and were able to 'rebuff' 'Maori-conceptions of difference'. Maori were formally on the

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[147] Ministry of Maori Affairs

agenda, but had no control over rules and regulations that underpinned the development of policy – outcome for Maori was maintenance of status quo.

(v)   Maori Affairs Select Committee (MASC) was an inquiry into Maori educational under-achievement, which represented optimal conditions; the committee and sub-missions were predominantly Maori in which a 'Maori centred approach' underpinned the process; MASC represented 'Maori conceptions of difference' in which Maori educational under-achievement was prime consideration. However, at the final stages of process, the government response incorporated a 'Maori-friendly' approach, in which the rules and regulations that underpinned parliamentary process allowed MASC recommendations to be overturned – maintenance of status quo.

In recognising the importance of 'Maori conceptions of difference' and 'Maori centred' approaches, Johnston argues that the educational initiative of Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori represents the epitome of addressing Maori under-achievement. This structural notion of biculturalism is the strongest possible example of effective policy development as it encompasses both cultural practices and structural considerations; it embraces 'Maori 'conceptions of difference' and aims at addressing Maori under-achievement by focussing on the unequal power-relations between Maori and Pakeha; aims to provide appropriate decision making forums for Maori in which Maori participation in Maori centred approaches was central to the process.[148] The unequal power relations between Maori and Pakeha have entrenched Pakeha in controlling the context of defining difference, that have historically sustained negative representations and forms of expression and now contemporarily, embraced expressions of difference as positive but only restricted to cultural considerations. Policy development needs to incorporate the praxis of the Maori alternative schooling options that recognise the pressing structural differences associated with decision-making, control of educational agenda's and educational under-achievement strategies that take into account Maori 'norms', Kaupapa Maori, 'Maori-centred' approaches and 'Maori conceptions of differences'.

The total immersion Maori language and culture school option has now became apart of the Education Amendment Act in 1989[149], however, there are still successful alternative schooling

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[148] Johnston, P. (1998) p.299

[149] As Te Kohanga Reo has become integrated into mainstream education, the new relationship is not faring well. Maori have lost power in controlling decision making and the state does not recognise 'Maori

systems remaining outside the mainstream established and operated by independent Maori communities, however, all schools recognise that 'to be Maori' is taken for granted and legitimacy of Maori language, knowledge, culture and values are assumed to be normal. That it is a successful conscious attempt to resist the inhibiting structural elements embedded within state schools that contribute to the poor performance of Maori. Parents have therefore, assumed greater control and autonomy over important educational decision-making related to schooling of their children – influence over the curriculum, administration, pedagogy and learning outcomes are able to be achieved through this medium. Schools provide both a total Maori language experience but also a holistic Maori cultural experience all day, every day. However, it develops not only excellence in Maori language and culture but also Pakeha as well, a truly authentic and real bicultural education system. In its wider implications, this structural praxis through whanau administrative structures has been successful in cutting across the deep-seated mistrust that many Maori parents have of schooling.

In summarising the objectives, reforms and policies of such an intervention, it discloses the positive praxis of achieving Maori educational needs and aspirations.

(a)   Controlling knowledge, increase control over curriculum and schooling environment;

(b)   Asserting the validity and legitimacy of Maori knowledge, language, culture and pedagogy as 'common sense' and 'taken for granted';

(c)   Assuming power and control over key educational decision making;

(d)   Restoration of mana (status and power) to the Maori learner in a meaningful way;

(e)   Commitment and support of parents is fundamental;

(f)   Students are competent speakers of both Maori and Pakeha;

(g)   The outcome is bilingualism and biculturalism;

(h)   Schooling is based on standards of excellence;

(i)   Concern to teach a modern, up to date and relevant curriculum;

(j)   Children are excited by learning, happy to attend and stay at school;

(k)   All parents contribute in the organisation, administration and teacher support;

(l)   Address general crisis affecting Maori pupils by addressing fundamental structural change.

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conceptions of difference' as related to structural considerations. TKR is experiencing contradictions as "Maori friendly' and 'Maori centred' approached collide. Refer to Johnston, P. (1998) p. 311

In discussing the work of Graham Smith and Patricia Johnston, they provide a Kaupapa Maori perspective to educational policy development by arguing from a Maori worldview. Through the arguments of blanket policies, structural and cultural reform, dual perspectives, unequal power relationships and conceptions of difference both disclose the multi-dynamic mechanisms and complex underlying processors that are detrimental and oppressive for Maori. In arguing the absence of addressing historical experiences and wider power structures, both comprehensively affirm the radical educational initiative of an alternative schooling option – Te Kohanga Reo. After examining political mechanisms and rationalities that development educational policy, the extent of real and effective emancipation and commitment to Maori does not exist.

Concluding Commentary

Prior to European contact Maori had a thriving and well established system of learning that developed their needs and aspirations, and empowered themselves as a strong culture. However, since the Treaty of Waitangi, Maori have continuously struggled against and within the education system, experiencing malleable expressions of colonisation, practices of assimilation and systematic inequality. In examining the successive policy schemes, contemporary political rationalities and political mechanisms that develop educational policy for Maori, there has been a poor attempt by governments to fulfil its obligation to the Treaty of Waitangi, no effective and positive policy intervention into addressing the schooling crisis that exists for Maori, and no real commitment in providing an emancipatory praxis. Although there have been various educational reforms and different strategic policy directions, the government has failed as there is a consistent neglect to address the historical experiences that Maori have endured; the underlying structural rationalities of colonialism and dominant Pakeha interests; Maori demands for cultural and structural reform; the wider unequal power relationships in society; and the systematic inequalities. This critique of education and policy developed by the state, establishes and continuous a history of oppression and exploitation for Maori, as the only real effective educational policy was the radical initiative in constructing the alternative schooling option of Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori, an initiative developed by Maori, for Maori and about being Maori.

Chapter 4

STATE POLICY THEORY

"State policy is negotiated in complicated ways, negative effects minimised, its positive possibilities heightened. Policy is never imposed on schools, it is always accepted on certain implicit or explicit conditions based largely on existing history, ideological structure, problems, contradictions and the nature of crisis. These functionaries of state policy disclose the 'politics' of education, which are not conservative by nature but serve, the interests of the state".[150]

Introduction

In discussing the construction of state policy any number of theorists would argue notions of hegemony, patriarchy and colonialism, position a critique that identified social and cultural ideologies of policy that oppresses particular groups within a historical or contemporary and others who could expose the various levels and modes of inequalities that state policies perpetuate. However, in engaging in an analysis on the political development of state policy within the context of education, Apple[151] argues inquiry should primarily concentrate on the problems, contradictions, crisis and demands the state has, and its corresponding relationship between the education system, which is the focus of this chapter. From this writer's position, it is already assumed and taken for granted that state policy development perpetuates inequalities and maintains the dominant groups interests, positions and privileges in society.

In comprehending this political mode of praxis, this analysis adopts the work of leading state policy theorists, Rodger Dale a British theorist; Michael Apple an American theorist; and John Codd a New Zealand theorist. Integral to these 'theorists' arguments of state policy is the notion of 'legitimation crisis', however each distinctly positions their arguments in relation to political context within which they are subsumed. Firstly, Dale discusses the sources, scope and patterning of legitimation crisis and state policies in exposing its problems, contradictions and political rationalities; secondly, Codd with the work of Gary McCullock positions the political praxis of state policy theory with in a New Zealand context of state policy development; and lastly, Apple builds upon the notion of legitimation crisis with notions of authoritarian populism, ideological rationality and the politics of education.

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[150] Apple, M. (1989) p.22
[151] ibid.

Legitimation Crisis

Dale[152] argues that in analysing and interpreting educational policy the key dimensions source, scope and patterning are essential in discovering the complete nature and extent of the functionaries of state policy in a historical and contemporary context. In adopting this mode this analysis can position a critique that identifies the origins of educational policy, a conception of what is desirable and possible for the education to achieve, and for this writer how educational policy is constructed and negotiated.

Problems, Contradictions & The State

However, before engaging in the structure of policy development, Dale suggests that it is important to understand and define the notion of the state and the corresponding problems and contradictions immersed within its policy discourse. Dale comments that the state is not reducible to government, it also encompasses publicly financed institutions such as departments of state (Ministries), the military and police, the judicial, legal, health and education systems – it includes central as well as local state apparatuses; the state is not a monolith.[153]

> "The state is a set of publicly financed institutions, neither separately nor collectively necessarily working in harmony, confronted by certain basic problems which derive from the states relationship with capitalism".[154]

Dale[155] continues to comment that these problems are:

1. The need to support the capital accumulation process;
2. The need to guarantee a context for its continued expansion;
3. The need to legitimate the capitalist mode of production, including the states own part in it.

Dale also argues that these problems do not appear in the same form but rather supporting processors will present it in very different forms, not only between the social formations but within them as well. It is also important not to assume that the overall problems are related to the

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[152] Dale, R. (1989) p.8
[153] ibid. p.9
[154] ibid.
[155] ibid. p.10

overall purpose and solutions must compliment each other, because problems are mutually contradictory and do not have to be pursued simultaneously. Furthermore in the attempt to take these core problems contradictions are permeated resulting in a complex and dynamic range of demands to be made on the education system. Dale argues:

> "The central contradiction is that while the capitalist mode of production is driven by the creation and realisation of surplus values, the conditions of its success and reproduction can only be guaranteed through the extraction of some part of that surplus value by the state and its diversion into non-commodity forms".[156]

Therefore, the education system is expected to contribute to acquiring economic, political and legitimatory needs of the state, constituting the schools to engage in the conflicts that emerge – contradictions can be found at all levels of the education system, not just policy making.

The Sources of Educational Policy

Dale comments that traditional views of educational policy have been based on classical democratic theory, Marxist approaches or state apparatus ideologies – these state centred or society centred theories are problematic in reducing complexities to a single dimension, and assumes sources will be equally dominant, valid and homogeneous. Dale proposes that each source should be considered as alternatives, in which dominance over others cannot be assumed. In recognising that means of analysis is the balance of forces between the sources he suggests this triangular form of praxis:

Civil Society

State   Economy
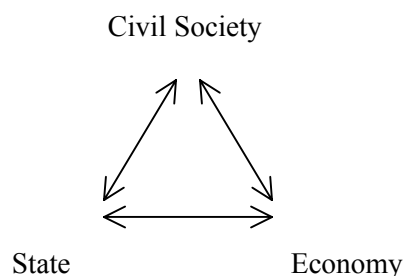
Dale explains each of these three sources as heterogeneous and that influence flows in both directions from each source – they are not permanently in balance, one is temporarily dominant over the others. Which source will be dominant is broadly a function of the form, intensity and

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[156] ibid.

nature of the international situation, national politics and educational politics.[157] In the attempt of achieving and maintaining balance and redistribution of prioritisation between sources, Dale argues that failure of this process incurs a 'legitimation crisis'. That is, the state is continuously struggling to meet the needs of the economic sector, the state and civil society. If unsuccessful any one of the sources can loose faith, become apprehensive and decrease and withdraw support from the state thus causing a legitimation crisis.

The Scope of Educational Policy

The scope of education is framed by conceptions, what is desirable (mandate) and possible (capacity) for educational systems to achieve, which are shaped by internal and external factors. To analyse the scope of education policy both historically and contemporarily, it is necessary to outline determining features and forms of state intervention that operate within educational discourse.

1.   State / Market Relationships

       Consideration of 'state of market' as providers of social policy, in which structural
       political rationality necessitiates revision of assumptions of educational policy and the
       role of the market.

2.   Political Rationality

       A mode of political rationality can be determined between shifts of conjunctural and
       structural policies:

       "Conjunctural policies seek to maximise the adequacy of policy responses to problems as
       they emerge and appear on the agenda – assumptions is that such problems and demands
       will remain within a range of manageability defined by existing capacities of state
       action".[158]

       "Structural policies become predominant mode of intervention, as soon as expectation is
       no longer supported by experience. Adopted in response to conditions of economic and
       institutional crisis – physical and economic parameters of production and institutional

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[157] ibid. p.13
[158] Offe, C. (1981) cited by Dale, R. (1989) p.15

parameters of interest representation (constitute nature of the problem) become subject to redesign".[159]

3.   Allocative and Productive State Policies

Allocative state policies, involves the use of state resources to secure the general framework of economic activity – providing general public services. Productive state policies are targeted at solving particular problems or achieving particular outcomes.

Therefore, Dale argues that in engaging in an analysis of state vs. market responsibility, structural vs. conjunctural modes of political rationality and allocative vs. productive forms of state policy collectively enable judgement, prediction and interpretation of state policy.[160]
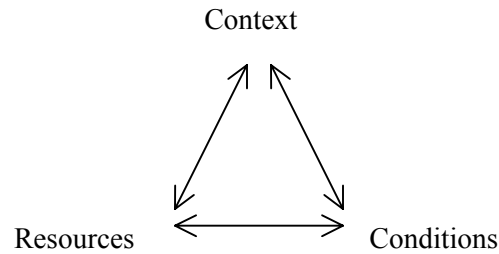
Patterning of Educational Policy

Fundamentally the source and scope of educational policy lay down three sets of parameters that 'pattern' educational policy. The parameters are context, conditions and resources within which educational policy (state) and educational practice (education system) relate to each other. Dale argues that four major discourses that are located within those parameters that disclose the nature and substance to the pattern of educational policy:

1.   Discourse of Curriculum
2.   Discourse of Pedagogy
3.   Discourse of Assessment
4.   Discourse of School Organisation

However, the context, resources and conditions through which policy and practice are related construct the patterning of educational policy. These structures act as selective filters on the relationship and can be represented in a corresponding triangular mode of interaction to that source of policy.

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[159] ibid.
[160] Dale, R. (1989) p.18

Context

Resources ← → Conditions

The context of educational policy is the state of politics of education, and of education politics. Although the source and scope are predetermining, the context is primarily predisposed by the existing context of practices and existing relations between policy and practice. Dale comments that this process acts as an 'ideological filter' through which all proposals are screened, because of the concern for 'how' rather than 'whether or not'. Context is not fixed, a crucial feature of the patterning of educational policy is that it always emerges from the interplay of external and internal, provider and practitioner and expert and client negotiation and mediation.[161] The conditions of patterning educational policy is the realisation of the conditions schools and teacher operate within which they have minimal control such as the compulsory nature of schooling, the pupil/teacher ratio or the space and time available for teaching. This process acts as a 'selective filter' on the responsibilities of organising and managing knowledge, which constrain and limit the main discourses of schooling – fundamentally it constitutes the basic set of problems. Lastly resources of patterning relate to the objective conditions of schools in relation to material and intellectual resources. Therefore this accounts for the availability of material resources and the implications on educational policy and practice as well as the intellectual knowledge of teachers and schools through professional development, experience and personal knowledge.

New Zealand Context

Codd and McCullock provide an overview of the active constructions, processors, ideologies and assumptions that operate in the development of educational policy at the state level in New Zealand. However both theorists successfully integrate the work of Dale within a New Zealand context in comprehending the construction of state policy with the critiques of the Currie Report (1960), Curriculum Review (1987) and Picot Report (1989).

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[161] ibid. p.20

McCullock[162] comments that a historical analysis has thus far made little impact upon the current debates of educational policy in New Zealand – for policy makers, history is in another country. Fundamentally structural changes are enacted solely by consideration of contemporary society on the perception of current disadvantaged groups and societal demands, ignoring an important dimension of historical guidance in the construction of new policies and the suggestion of alternatives. Policy is therefore 'ahistorical' in its general approach. Furthermore, McCullock argues that this 'ahistorical' approach is fundamental towards creating a 'hold of popular imagination' – a myth of common ideology which is similar to Dale's notion of legitimation crisis. 'Without a contemporary myth or ideology 'we' will inevitably stagger from one expedient to the next without direction of purpose'.[163] In realising the wider underlying ideologies of this quote, the terminology of 'we' represents the states actions and the belief of those actions by majority of society (popular imagination). Furthermore, it highlights the covert means of the hold of popular imagination in maintaining power with the avoidance of incorporating a historical analysis.

Currie Report (1960)

The significant myth of the Currie Report (1960) was that equality of opportunity for all was the central aspiration of New Zealand Education and community – Peter Fraser (Minister of Education) commented:

> "That every person, whatever level of academic ability, rich or poor, town or country has a right, as a citizen to a free education – to the fullest extent of his [sic] powers".[164]

This created confidence in the state; with egalitarian themes, avoidance of special privilege, uniformity and that the state welfare reform in the interest of social equity was widely accepted and regarded as distinctive of New Zealand's identity. The state succeeded in maintaining the 'hold of popular imagination' and the exercise of power. However to realise the 'ahistorical' nature of this myth, the Currie Report (1960) disregarded arithmetic inequality, the disadvantaged communities in rural areas, Maori people, handicapped students, effects of zoning, differentiation of ethnic groups, gender ideologies that had been evident in education prior to 1960.

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[162] McCullock, G. (1991) p.54
[163] ibid. p.62
[164] ibid. p.53

However, the egalitarian ethos of the Currie Report became increasingly criticised as economic, political and social difficulties and crisis arose in the 1970's, which sharpened a sense of social class division. Gender, ethnicity and Maori also became issues on the political agenda. The Currie Report became recognised as too complacent about the virtues of the system that had existed and that a shift in common thinking, that education was a placed of conflict and inequality – rather than the equality that was suggested. Criticism was based upon two arguments of concern, inequalities of education system (left-wing) and the effects of the state involvement (right-wing).

This created a hold of popular imagination to abandon the state in which a new ideology was needed to acquire the power again. This sanctioned the process of developing the Picot Report.

> "The Picot Report was to respond to and accommodate the radical criticisms that had developed since the 1970's and the failure of the 1987 Curriculum Review".[165]

McCullock's notion of 'hold of popular imagination' shows the concern for policy development to be 'ahistorical' and of 'contemporary character' to maintain and permeate power relations in society. In further extending the notion of 'hold of popular imagination', we can recognise the sites of power struggles within educational policy as it is continually reforming and repositioning itself to maintain the idea that the needs and aspirations of society are being delivered. The cycle is initiated when the state produces and enacts a report to gain a hold of popular imagination; once it is accepted and faith is developed then the state has successfully maintained power and control. However, once the report or system becomes under scrutiny and criticism 'a loss of popular imagination' occurs. In an attempt to gain back a 'hold of popular imagination' the state redefines, manipulates and conceptualised ideologies that appeals to society and dominant interest groups, by creating a myth and by perpetuating power relationships in the form of a new report or ideology.

In extending the limited argument of McCullock's notion of 'holding popular imagination' this researcher recognises that the struggle of power and control occurs at two distinct levels – conjunctural and structural rationalities. When problems, issues or crisis emerge 'within' an ideological discourse[166] conjunctural policies such as the Curriculum Review (1987) are established. However, when these problems, issues or crisis emerge 'outside' the ideological

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[165] ibid. p.61
[166] The crisis that existed during this time was the egalitarian ethos of the Currie Report (1960)

discourse, structural policies are initiated, such as the Picot Report (1989) to maintain the perception of delivery and hold of popular imagination.

In continuing the critique of educational policy development at the state level, within New Zealand, Codd build's upon Dale's theory with the adopting of his notion of legitimation crisis.

> "In contemporary social theory, legitimation crisis is the tendency of the state institutions to lose popular political support – legitimation is what persuades the mass of the population that the status quo is the common sense way to organise society; it converts power into authority".[167]

Curriculum Review (1987) and Picot Report (1989)

During the 1970's and 1980's the state was siege to a crisis of legitimation, brought about by failure of interventionalist policies and poor signs and optimism of economic growth – there were expressions about declining educational standards, poor curriculum development; gender and racial inequalities were being politicised and in general social unrest increased. In an attempt to reduce this crisis of legitimation the state released the Curriculum Review in 1987, but it failed to redress the concerns evident since 1970.[168]

However, in relation to policy development this served to be a valuable tool as it highlighted the roles and purposes of policy development and structure of the Picot Report (Administering for Excellence), which would succeed in reducing the legitimation crisis and replace the Curriculum Review.[169] To achieve these purposes and roles, the state released the Picot Report, which was constructed upon two central themes – devolution and efficiency. Policies that effectively reduced educational expenditure and increased capitalist accumulation, in which from 1984 fiscal constraints became imposed on all policy.

> "The treasury became the most powerful bureaucratic influence in policy development with the dominant ideology that a market place free from government intervention will benefit all and fiscal crisis of a 1.4 billion dollar budget deficit".[170]

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[167] Codd, J. (1991) p.191
[168] ibid. p.193
[169] Apart from a legitimation crisis, the other major role of Administering for Excellence policy was the insertion of 'new right' exposition; refer to *Contemporary Political Rationalities* in Maori Education and Policy, p.42
[170] Codd, J. (1991) p.195

Codd also argues, the Picot Report represented a strategic response to the crisis of the New Zealand state as it functioned as a structural policy, rather than as a conjunctural policy. Rather than developing policy responses to problems as they emerged, the state adopted to redesign physical and economic parameters, provide political input for economic supply and operate within conditions of institutional crisis.[171] Structural policies serve to purpose of shifting legitimation from the central governments whilst giving central agencies of the state more control. The Picot Report (1987) promoted this as responsibility and discretion of funds given to Boards of Trustee's, where the state maintained control over bulk grants and through the auditing agencies.

However, McCullock and Codd through there notions of 'hold of popular imagination', 'ahistorical' concepts and the incorporation of Dales's work, provide an insight to the malleable functionaries and considerations of state policy discourse within a New Zealand context. Such a specific analysis brings to the fore the primary concerns and methodologies of the state in minimising a legitimation crisis and exposing the forms of negotiation and contestation within conjunctural and structural rationality, productive and allocative intervention and the state and market relationships as 'binaries' of state policy. Apple extends Dale's theorisation in discussing the ideological rationalities that are also prominent in the construction and mediation of state policy.

Ideological Rationality

In building upon the work of Dale, Apple expands upon the term of legitimation crisis with notions of ideological rationality – property and personal rights, authoritarian populism and politics of education, which he argues are also 'functionaries' state policy. Earlier Dale argued that the three central modes of praxis, the civil society, the economy and state determined the source of educational policy. However, Apple[172] argues that within the context of economy is a reoccurring ideological conflict and tension between 'property rights' and 'personal rights'.

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[171] ibid, p.197
[172] Apple, M. (1989) p.3

Property & Personal Rights

Apple explains that property rights 'vest in individuals the power to enter into social relationships on the basis and extent of their property' and promotes;

(a)   Economic rights

(b)   Free contact

(c)   Voluntary exchange

(d)   Political rights of participation and influence

(e)   Cultural rights of access to the social means for the transmission of knowledge

(f)   Reproduction and transformation of consciousness

Whereas personal right 'vests in individuals the power to enter into social relationships on the basis of simple member in the social collectively and promotes;

(a)   Equal treatment of citizens

(b)   Freedom of expression and movement

(c)   Equal access to participation and decision making in social institutions

(d)   Reciprocity in relations of power and authority

Apple argues that historically ideological rationalities have been a site of contestation as dominant groups have defended the prerogatives of property while subordinate groups have sought to advance the prerogatives of the persons. However, as demonstrated by Codd the civil society with state unemployment, health, education and welfare programmes has become ideologically and economically expensive in which personal rights is unjustifiable. Therefore, educational policy has shifted from issues of employing the state to overcome disadvantage to ownership and responsibility upon individuals – property rights.

> "No longer is it linked to past groups oppression and disadvantage – but now a simple case of guaranteeing individual choice under the conditions of a 'free market'. An emphasis has shifted educational discourse so that underachievement is once again increasingly seen as largely the fault of the student. Students failure was located and interpreted within deficient and educational policies and practices, now it has shifted to results of the biological and economic market place".[173]

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[173] ibid. p.22

This ideological rationality assumes by expanding the capitalist market into the education system, schools will compensate for decades of economic and educational neglect experienced by the communities, in which those schools are positioned. Apple comments that this ideological rationale has been instrumental in shifting the debates, negotiations and mediation of educational policy over to the right. McCullock strengthens the notion of ideological rationality as educational policies within New Zealand have cultivated this form of ideology;

(a)   Government raising standards of curricula goals and knowledge

(b)   Critiques of anti-family / anti-free enterprise bias

(c)   Business and industrial goals into education system

(d)   Voucher plans and tax credits to make schools like free market economy

Authoritarian Populism

Apple also argues that there is an ideological movement away from social democratic principles to an acceptance of more right wing positions in social and educational policy. However, Apple challenges McCullock's notion of 'ahistorical policy development' as he argues these important ideological shifts are not only because of powerful interest groups 'substitute one, whole, new conception of the word for another', these shifts occur through the representation of novel combinations of old and new elements.[174] The corresponding educational policies of Rodgernomics (Thatcherism in Britain and Reganism in United States) have shifted the terms of political, economic and cultural debate onto 'terrain' favoured by the capital and the right, which are strategies, based upon 'authoritarian populism'. The new right works in creative ways, modernising them and synthesising their varied elements and linking them to current fears – therefore the right has re-articulated traditional and cultural themes and effectively mobilising mass support and minimised a legitimation crisis.[175]

However, beneath the operations of the new right, the restoration of authoritarian populism is implicitly reinforced. Although it successfully highlighted redefined equality and responsibility upon the individual it also acted as a strategic tool in disseminating the welfare state and the benefits of working people, people of colour and worn who have struggled over many years for. The ideological rationality in shifting to the right, advocated policies that would 'struggle' in

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[174] Apple, M. (1991) p.25
[175] ibid. p.88

many areas at once, therefore educational policies became economic policies as well – economic dominance must be associated to 'political, moral and intellectual contexts' in the adherence of true restructuring of social formation. Apple argues, policy is regarded as a 'war position' to win the state you must win civil society.

> "It takes place where the whole relation of the state to civil society, to the people and to popular struggles, to the individual and to the economic life of society has been thoroughly recognised, where all the elements change".[176]

Apple comments that the 'rights' task to create truly organic ideology that spreads throughout society, and to create a new form of 'national popular will'. This seeks to intervene on the 'terrain' of ordinary, contradictory common sense, to interrupt, renovate and transform in a more systematic direction, people's practical consciousnesses. Cultural battles in the restructuring of common sense connects with perceived needs, fears and hopes of people and groups who felt threatened by problems associated with crisis in the economy and political areas. Therefore a successful translation of experiences, moral imperative and common sense – free market ethic combined with populist politics in the introduction of thematic themes such as self-interest, competitive individualism and anti-statism.[177]

> "The sphere of education was a successful area of transition and ideological shift. In education equality of opportunity has lost its potency, violence in schools, decreasing literacy standards, destruction of family values have all had the effect; combined with fears – economic future of children, low wages, unemployment and insecurity; rightist discourse connects with many experiences of working and middle class people".[178]

Politics of Education

Apple also argues that early instrumentalist theories of state policy are simplistic and uni-dimensional, objects of modern politics are multi-faceted where schooling, sexuality, race and ethnicity, the family and cultural institutions are no longer margnialised but brought to the fore. In discussing the work of Dale and Apple, their positions suggest the states primary role is to act as an agent of capital; however, more extensively discloses the interacting relationships and dimensions that are being negotiated within this context. Within the state role as an agent of capital and its connections to the structure of class relations and economy, the state reproduces

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[176] Gramsic, A. (1985) cited by Apple, M. (1991) p.91
[177] Apple, M. (1991) p.95
[178] ibid.

conditions necessary for social class stratification through policy, not because of the interest groups who hold positions in the state, but because structurally it has no choice. However, Apple[179] challenges theories of state policy existing within a 'apparatus ideology' because the state is active with a multitude of functions that are not only reducible to economic necessities, but also educational, formal and moral justifying a new 'hegemonic bloc' be gaining active consent.

Furthermore, Apple works upon Dale's notion of legitimation crisis, arguing that another dimension in avoiding a legitimation crisis within the realm of ideology is the process of 'negative selection' in state policy. The states role in negative selection is that it is not necessarily geared towards winning approval for the status quo but rather preventing rejection in 'checking the excesses' was needed to preserve power and hegemony. The battle over ideology, the politics of common sense and the politics of acceptance play a significant part in the maintenance of exercising power and building alliances to support it.[180]

In continuing to expand on the work of Dale, Apple comments that control of schools is remarkably difficult to achieve as the education system has developed ways of mediating (deliberate / unintended) ways the aspirations, policies, interventions and pressure of any and all groups.

> "Rather than being simple correspondence between the economic needs and what happens in the schools the educational state system has an independence effect on the pattern, process and practice of education an effect not simply irreducible to the demands of capital accumulation".[181]

Therefore, within the realisation of 'negative selection' state policy and functionalism is not only aimed and worked out at the provisional demands of education (as part of civil society) and the economy, but also the relationship between the wider societal politics and education politics and the different levels within the education system and the school itself. Within educational policy a shift from 'value-based' educational politics to a 'sense-based' politics – interprets a profound change in ideological rationale of state policy with the fiscal crisis of the state and the belief of economic formula and authoritarian populism. Therefore, educational policy 'shape and channel' demands to make them satisfiable instead of satisfying demands – new politics called 'dominant

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[179] Apple, M. (1989) p.20
[180] ibid. p.21
[181] ibid. p.22

vocabularies of motives' that have been institutionalised within the education system. These vocabularies stress the vocational rather than the intrinsic, the instrumental rather than the expressive and the extrinsic rather than the intrinsic, such ideological positions represent power structures within educational policy and its encompassing theorisation and practice as a tool of control.[182]

In analysing the ideological rationalities, Apple highlights the ideological complexities and forms of arbitration that operate within framework of state policy construction. However, as Dale, Codd and McCullock, and Apple comprehensively argue the primary 'functionaries' of state policy negotiation, which are critical in the disclosure of state policy praxis, there is no 'space' within their arguments of accounting for the 'individual agency' and the *ad hoc* complexities that also exist in policy praxis. My researcher has led me to consider that, not only do sites of struggle and negotiation occur between 'sources' and their encompassing internal ideologies, but also in a dimension where specific groups and even individuals who inform and negotiate state policy in serving their own personal or undefined interests.

In rationalising this absent functionary of state policy development this thesis explores the work of American theorists William Firestone, Anthony Clement and Albert Scribner who argue the notion of game theory, which not only locates and examines modes of policy development between the main sources and interest groups at a universalised societal level, but more critically highlight the sites of struggles that exists within and between individuals and specific groups positioned throughout the policy development praxis.

Game Theory

> "Educational policy can be considered as a set of overlapping games, each has its own winners and losers, but each feeds and is fed by others. Game theory identifies some of the functions and dysfunctions of the policy process in which no-one sees the whole picture and discloses that viewing the policy process as a series of multiple games".[183]

From the turn of century there has been a progressive movement away from the view that policy is the outcome of rational calculation to achieve specific goals by unitary government mechanisms. Game theory is a 'treatment' of how rational individuals will act in situations of

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[182] ibid. p.23
[183] Firestone, W. (1989) p.18

conflict and compromise to achieve their preferred objectives, and within New Zealand contemporary policy development under MMP, game theory also is a source of theories that clarifies and provides a space of interpretation and analysis of how coalitions formulate and pass bills in legislation. In a sense, within each games position throughout the development of policy 'players play with numerous balls, with numerous goals in which anyone player can declare a score that will develop their insightful theory of loosely couples systems'.[184]

Although, game theory is somewhat a realist and practical theory in representing a link that is normally absent in traditional policy theory, between the irrationality of life in schools and praxis of policy development game theory has one major limitation – in the attempt to clarify the policy process, the theorisation can only focus on a single arena or sector and is unable to draw conclusions to the whole process of policy from grassroots to government. However, this writer suggests that although state theory and game theory both have their limitations and specific levels of engagement, they each compliment each other; as one theory reaches its limitations and the extent of its capabilities the other provides a framework that allows the further examination and exploration of policy development that is required – state theory provides the ability to analyse formal structures, respondent and progressive ideologies and concrete determinants; whereas game theory is concerned with informal and flexible structures, ad hoc development and sites of manipulation and contestation. In examining and applying both state policy theories provides the ability to disclose a critical and comprehensive critique of the political rationalities and mechanisms that develop educational policy for Maori.

Therefore, within this theory the praxis of policy development is divided up into a series of games, one for government, one for government agencies, one for education, one for business/economy, one for social interest groups where individuals compete in one or more of the available games. Each game is a structured competition with its own rules, its own winners and losers, and its own audience that keeps the score and responds to particular adept or in-adept play. Because of the competition within each game, it can lead to specialisation and development of 'special niches', in some cases mutual non-involvement in the same game replaces competition and in some circumstances co-operation is also possible in symbiotic relationships. Firestone introduced the term 'ecology game theory'[185] as it represents the ability to understand the relationship among the individual and complex social systems, but also because each game

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[184] ibid.
[185] Firestone, W. (1989) p.18-25

requires input from others in which each game is played upon terms and conditions set out from the previous game, and each game is won or lost on there own terms. As a relatively new phenomena in policy development analysis where there are many forms and locations of games positioned at various levels through the process, Clement offers a 'point of control' where he argues that there are six distinct games in operation in the governing, constructing and negotiating of state policy. Clement suggests this six-tier model in which state policy is formulates and to which game theory can be successfully engaged.[186]

Model of Game Theory

Game 1: Cabinet and Ministers of Parliament

Clement suggests that within this game negotiation and interests centre around, the dominant political party agenda, Ministers of Parliament with their specific assigned portfolio's and Members of Parliament on the relative government committees. The key deliberation in relation to educational policy, is between the Minister of Education, the Cabinet and other interests represented by oppositional and coalition members of parliament. This game is the most powerful game, influencing the negotiations in the proceeding games and determining and parameters and restrictions within which those negotiations take place.

Game 2: Government Agencies

This game involves various forms of manipulation, subtle implicit insertions and eliminations. People and Groups playing within this game are Chief Executive Officers and Chairpersons, Treasury Department, Agency Group Managers, Policy Advisors, Analysts and Researchers within the various government departments. This game is initiated primarily from directives given from the particular Minister responsible for the agency, which is delivered by the CEO or Chairperson of the Agency. Discussion and negotiation is can only occur between the defined specifications passed on from game one and often occurs on the conjunctural level.

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[186] Clement, A. (1991) 'Model of Game Theory' p.134-142

Game 3: Specific Non-Government Personal

Within this game, the first forms of conflict are distinguishable as both structural and conjunctural modes of development are contested and debated and there is limited power of change. Within this process are specific advisory personal, consultants, researchers, academics, policy writers who do not work for the government, but are directly involved with the policy development process. The type of people involved within this game depends on the type of policy being developed – most commonly they are recognised as 'experts' in the policies particular field. This game is controlled and regulated by the previous game, outlining and establishing the boundaries to which advice and negotiation is conducted.

Game 4: Specific Interest Groups

Apart from game three, this is where the most conflict and contestation occurs as arguments are supported or criticised extensively and policy is interpreted and manipulated to serve particular interests. Although this game has a limited power over a wider-context, it has a powerful influence of the policies provision within the local community. People holding positions within this game are Principles Associations, PPTA, Tertiary Institutions, Education Forums, Social Agencies and Maori Authorities. At this level the most frustration occurs, as people within this game must inform, the people within the previous game of change and solutions, but in saying that they also realise that those players do not have the necessary power to achieve the perceived and required change. Also more importantly, these people negotiate and develop policy not only within the defined parameters constructed by the previous games, but also outside the praxis of development, in the attempt to lobby, create space and effect change in which particular policy is to be developed within.

Game 5: Schools and Local Community

Players within this game such as Principals, Boards of Trustee's, Heads of Departments, Local Councils and Committees and local interest groups interpret and manipulate policy which serves there own interests. Games played at this end of the spectrum have very minimal control and power over the wider implications of the policy, however empowerment and forms of power are expressed through positioning individuals and groups as agents of change in serving their interests. Although this group is controlled by the previous games specifications and informs the

next, players within this game work the closest – in relation to all the other games, with the proceeding game.

Game 6: Students and Teachers

The final game outlined by Clement, where the policy or curriculum content is delivered, interpreted and negotiated by the teachers and students – this is where the 'true' essence of policy can be found. Within this game the students and teachers simply play the game and do their best within the confined restrictions and objectives outlined by the previous games. Any control or modes of individual or group agency – which is minimal compared to the wider-context of the policy exists conjuncturally within the specifications of the policy, for negotiation, influence and control of power as a structural mode is achieved outside the state's praxis.

As Clement has shown, educational policy has a downward flow of control, decision making, resources and regulation from legislation to classroom, and the upward flow of demands from educators and the general public – discontinuities arise because what flows into any given game comes from a number of sources and sub-games, as a result policies take on different meanings in different arena's. However, as Firestone, Clement and Scribner argue the notion of game theory and its importance to state policy development, it is assumed and taken for granted that games exist. Central to their arguments is that these games are not defined or constructed, but simply emerge from praxis of interaction, contestation and compromise between individuals and groups that are positioned or position themselves within the process of developing policy. Games can be informal or formal, positioned internally or externally, have various numbers of participants and be positioned at any level. Game theory is a very board framework, that provides the capability to examine relationships between phenomena, identify formal and ad hoc development and disclose the multiple sites of struggle and contestation that exists for groups such as Maori.

Although this notion of theory is ambiguous and indiscernible, through the process of deconstruction[187] it provides a 'space of capture' for Maori as game theory can be repositioned and redefined by Kaupapa Maori in its praxis of contesting and dispute the validity of the state, in recognising that for Maori these are not simply games, but 'battlefields of war'. This capture for

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[187] The process of deconstruction is a critical element of Kaupapa Maori theory; refer to *Process of Deconstruction* in Kaupapa Maori Theory, p.21

Maori entails the possibility of engaging in a 'war of position', as Gramsci[188] argues that theory and praxis of 'political trench warfare' is essential because of the nature of modern state power.

> "It is a struggle which engages in a wide range of fronts in which the state is normally defined is only one aspect. Involving all aspects of society, it is the only form of engagement, not least because it is the form in which bourgeois power is exercised. It involves a wide-ranging social organisation and cultural influence, and it only victory on these fronts which makes possible or conclusive a frontal attack or war of movement."[189]

Therefore, through the framework of game theory, Maori can engage this as a 'theory of war' disclosing the all the sites of struggles, battlefields, confrontations and enemies that exist within society and influence development of educational policy for Maori.

Political Mechanisms

In the building upon the work of Firestone and Clement, Scribner provides a more political perspective and function of game theory in relation to comprehending policy development. Game theory, not only accounts for individual and group sites of struggles positioned along the spectrum of policy development between grassroots and legislation, but also highlights the 'nature of political culture', the ability to identify political winners and losers and disclose Political Sociology. In theorising game theory from within a political praxis, Scribner argues against the classical paradigm of bureaucratic view, with precisely defined problems, boundaries and conforming to strictly enforced rules.

> "Policy games are constantly played on changing playing fields – they are highly contested, continuous in motion, played of fields where boundaries are obscured and rules blurred by the exigencies of social change. Such a position supports theoretical and methodological pluralism in the politics of education, a stance that embraces a holistic approach inclusive of various theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches which have been largely overlooked in inquires into politics of education".[190]

Scribner explains that playing fields are characterised simultaneously by relative stable government jurisdictions, by establishing communities and other similar territorial dimensions and by consistently shifting cultural traditions, norms, expectations and values. Reforms are tentative despite institutional continuity because of changing playing conditions resulting from

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[188] Gramsci, A. (1971) in Smith, G. (1997) p.160
[189] ibid.
[190] Scribner, A. (1994) p.201

recurring conflicts over fundamental values in schools and society – it is only the 'knowledge of conditions' under which the game of educational politics is played assists inquiry and comprehension of understanding the focus of educational policy and reform.[191]

Within our political culture there are sites of struggle of contemporary issues developing within political arenas, yet historically a 'relative common set of rules' for interpreting and successfully playing the politics of education game passes from one generation to the next, ideologies are consistently reproduced in varying forms were conservative and liberal values appear, reappear and appear again.

Ideological Belief Patterns

Scribner argues that there are two distinct political arenas governed by either conservative or liberal values in which individuals move in and out of in developing policy;

1.   When conservative values dominate

-       Players concern themselves with academic standards
-       Orderliness
-       Efficiency and productivity

2.   When liberal values dominate

-       Issues concerning equity
-       Students access to programmes
-       Linking schools to work in the community
-       Reducing academic achievement gaps between student groups

One of the principle conflicts generated by individuals within the game of policy development is their 'ideological belief pattern' which is expressed in terms of how they apply their personal experience to the decisions and policies made in the political arenas. The periodic shifts of values and ideologies are energised by dramatic events such as new leadership, media attention, bullying, the manipulation of playing fields as individuals move in and out of the game with

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[191] ibid. p.202

varying degrees of power and the personal experiences and interests each individual brings which shapes their agenda and the nature of the game they wish to play.

> "Therefore, this position argues that education officials, legislators, government leaders, community elites, interest group leaders bring their own disposition, visions and values to the political arena as they seek to control agenda's and determine outcomes, manage bureaucratic myths and their own images, gain control of real and symbolic resources and manipulate the policy development process".[192]

The prevailing ideological preferences are the most influential mechanism in influencing the modes of negotiation and sites of contestation of the various playfields positioned throughout the spectrum of policy development praxis. Though educational policy officials and even politicians representing the different ideologies and easily be distinguished between those advocating conservative or liberal qualities, such distinctions and awareness in recent years has endangered politicised policy-orientated research and academic think tanks. In the endeavour of prescribing to represent the dominant value, educational policy officials[193] use their political resources to influence what is studies and how public opinion is to be manipulated by deliberately slanted research in maintaining their power and legitimation to continue play the game.

Education policy emanates from persisting conflicts over unresolved values, understanding how playing fields and political arenas are consistently shifting boundaries where governing powers between national and local units emanate from cultural, historical and technological changes. There is an inception of politics of education field policy efforts have oscillated between two perspectives that can be based on a equity (liberal) and efficiency (conservative) continuum, hence the recognition of winners and losers.[194]

Winners & Losers

> "Competing social values, demands and dilemma require political negotiation and compromise among policy makers and interest groups – there is no solution, there are only political trade offs'.[195]

These conflicts and political trade offs make it difficult to determine winners and losers, however the outcome or 'macro-political games' can be decided in relation to the accuracy and

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[192] ibid.
[193] Educational policy officials are positioned in game one and two outlined by Clement, A. (1991) p.137
[194] Scribner, A. (1994) p.203
[195] ibid.

thoroughness of the information available to players in the game. To win, essentially policy elites must control information. As players are fewer in number within the 'macro-political games', but hold greater positions of power they must become active in many areas as possible with the primary strategy to control agenda's to manage the flow of information and minimise outside influence.

> "The outcome of marco-political games are in the hands of the players at the apex of political control (Prime Minister and Cabinet Ministers) who control, sanction and reward information – all politicians and government officials use strategies of every description to protect their turf and avert sanctions and contentious exchanges that threaten traditional power relationships. Depending on how the game is played, politicians and government officials will either withdraw form the playing field or collaborate, compromise and form positively directed coalitions in the political arena".[196]

In conceptualising New Zealand's conditions, the shift towards privatisation of public schooling, where chartered schools and school choice movements which are gaining increased momentum, traditional winners are the private organisations that have taken over the responsibility for schooling in which the potential losers are school professionals and a large-segment of low income families. The distinction between 'public' and 'private' has traditionally occupied an important place in our political and legal notions. During Raganism in America, Rodgernomics in New Zealand and Thatcherism in England, the public and private distinction became less well defined and in a sense inverted, as there was a concerted attempt to make a profitable business out of social problems previously thought to be in the public domain.[197]

The appropriation of public goals by private enterprises suggests that state power via the policy praxis is to be expanded in which their will be an obscured common centre. However macro-political games have to consider possibilities of site based management and decentralisation, which are ostensibly offered as tools to provide more local control and freedom of choice to individual schools, have produced opposite effects and only serve to strengthen involvement of state in local affairs as these policies fail to produce results for student outcomes. Also it serves another purpose as it provides justification for further and direct involvement of state control and contracting out educational services to private-sector firms. Therefore the winners in this policy game which are the business and elite interests which has come at the expense of the losers who are the uninformed and under-educated public.

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[196] ibid. p.204
[197] ibid.

In contrast to the privatisation game, in analysing the shift toward the integration of social services into schools, players have increasing recognise this policy as a critical element in the overall improvement of education. The emphasis on treating the whole child (holism or holistic) coupled with the increasing variety of problems effecting youth, suggest multiple services offered through a co-ordinated delivery system needs to replace the current patchwork of support services. However, with the most frequent barriers found in the creation of collaborative service or holistic approaches is the struggle for power over the nature, direction and control of such initiatives. Conflicts arising from the development of such partnerships frequently stem from conflicts over competing values and ideologies; these conflicts over competing values and ideologies are the principle threats to the creation, implementation and success of such partnerships. Change is ultimately stimulated by conflicts serving to compromise and build coalitions of support and mutual accommodation through the exploration of differences.[198]

Political Sociology

Theorists of game theory argue that the majority of state policy theories lack the conceptual clarity and multidisciplinary perspective that is apparent in politics of education. Instead of providing a broad stroke of interpretation its is necessary to sift through the multiple entangled and malleable threads that are engaged within the process. In understanding these dynamics we cannot only recognise the types of political mechanisms that influence change, but also identify the source, its interests and its supporting network which are so important to disclose the complete nature of praxis being developed.

Scribner argues that in adopting game theory, contemporary analysts have the ability to bring to the fore, political sociology which has been a fundamental element missing in analysis of educational policy and reform. Traditional and even most contemporary analysis of educational reform ignores the history of education and takes its rhetoric the definition of change. Scholars and policy makers alike, initiate educational policy interpretation and development respectively, assuming that intervention is progress and that a better world results from new programs, technologies and organisations, which increase efficiency, economy and effectiveness. The perspective of political sociology provides a space to analyse education reform and policy as a

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[198] ibid. p.205

social and political practice, in which there are two major issues – social regulation and social epistemology.[199]

Within contemporary policy reforms and development, macro-politics has articulated and conceived as a process of social regulation. Scribner[200] explains the work of Popkewitz who asserts that 'reform' has no essential meaning or definition and that it does not signify process in the absolute sense – reform does not entail a consideration of social power relations and therefore reform is conceived as social regulation. Social regulation is a critical concept of education policy and reform as schools are social regulatory institutions that construct realities and knowledge for other and that school's are heavily regulated by the state.

The other major construct of political sociology perspective is social epistemology, which provides a context in which to consider the rules and standards by which knowledge about the world is formed; the distinctions and categorisations that organise perceptions and ways of responding to the world; takes the knowledge constituted as objects of schooling and defines them as elements of institutional practice historically formed patterns of power relationships at provided structure and coherence of everyday life. Therefore, in interpreting policy this position assumes that knowledge within the schooling process is manipulated and informed by the social relationships knowledge is embedded in the implicit and explicit practices of power structures. Furthermore, social epistemology not only highlights the political and conceptual nature of reforms and policy development, but as Foucault[201] explains also captures the institutional practices and regimes of truth as they change over time. Scribner argues that regimes of truth are the rules and standards by which individuals define what is good and bad, reasonable and unreasonable. Social epistemology defines phenomena and social relations of schooling to be objects of reform, the conditions of power in these constructions and embedded in continuities and discontinuities. Therefore, social epistemology equals power relations in which task of inquiry is to understand which particular players maintain their positions of dominance and power as well as the mechanisms which position them in power and the elements by which such inequalities in power may be eliminated.

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[199] ibid. p.208
[200] ibid.
[201] Foucault, M. (1980) cited by Scribner, A. (1994) p.209

Concluding Commentary

In critically examining state policy theory this chapter has theoretically discloses the fundamental rationalities and mechanisms that develop educational policy. This discussion has focussed upon two distinct frameworks of engagement; the traditional exposition of state policy theory, as argued from American, British and New Zealand perspectives which disclosed the modes of political and ideological rationality and rights, sources of policy and encompassing policy responses; and the new and complex notion of game theory which discerns the ability to recognise the various sites of contestation and operational relationships that exist in developing policy.

Each theory compliments each other; as state theory is a formal, structured framework examining rationalities, strategies, concerns and crisis, whereas game theory is an informal and ad hoc theory representing irrationality and all positional phenomena that develops educational policy. For Maori, this chapter has commented on the primary frameworks that state government's employ, and has provided an insight into the political rationalities and mechanisms that develop educational policy for Maori.

Chapter 5

CRITICAL THEORY

"Critical theory engages in the real world, challenging conventional practices, ideas and ideals, develops understanding of how we rationally justify education and action, explains and theorises, enabling more control over our lives – emancipatory endeavour is the prime characteristic; critical theorists of education have three things in common, a concern to map the inequalities and injustices of education, claim to trace those inequalities and injustices to source and seek to propose remedies to those injustices".[202]

Introduction

Critical theory initially derived from the writings of Karl Marx and the work of the Frankfurt School, where theorists such as Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Herbert Marcuse and Jurgen Habermas steeped in German intellectual tradition, were occupied with issues of freedom and justice. To improve the understandings of education policy development it is essential to engage in critical theory and critical thought to analyse and critique the historical and contemporary expositions, mechanisms and ideologies educational policy is developed upon.

Rex Gibson[203] argues that to initiate negotiation, development and analysis of educational discourse, features of critical theory(s) must be engaged; therefore he suggests that educational policy development be located within this critical paradigm:

1.   Theory – non-theoretical vs. atheoretical

2.   Critique of positivism

3.   Enlightenment – discourse of true interests

4.   Emancipation – power to control own life

5.   Marxism – developing notions of 'base' and 'superstructure'

6.   Critique of instrumental rationality

7.   Analysis of culture – high culture, popular culture, youth culture and nature vs. culture

8.   Analysis of relationships – individual and society

9.   Centrality of aesthetics

10.   Analysis of psychoanalysis – work of Freud

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[202] Gibson, R. (1983) p.44
[203] ibid. p.3

11.   Explanation – personal / interpersonal level, institutional level and structural level

12.   Language – central to social life

A central focus within critical theory is 'human agency, liberation, emancipation, self-determination' in which individual(s) or group(s) are actively involved in the construction of facts and they way they see the world. These facts are not objective (claimed within a positivist framework) but are constructed in relation to theories that are developed by people and which benefit particular interest groups in society. There is diversity within the paradigm of critical theory; theoretical positions such as (i) reproduction theories, (ii) resistant theories and (iii) kaupapa Maori theories. These theoretical responses in which there is an engagement of critical analysis and a positioning that challenges the perpetuations of inequality and status quo.[204]

Emancipation

The most important aspect of critical theory is emancipation – with the absence of this praxis its positioning cannot be validated within the paradigm of critical theory. In examining critical theory further, there is a fundamental dialectical relationship, that theory and practice are indivisible. In focussing emancipation within the context of education, the praxis operates and assumes there is no neutral education and that the process of emancipation is transformative through which oppressed groups operate to free themselves from the imposition of the dominant ideologies and hegemony.[205] Leonie Pihama explains that Paulo Freire considers development of liberation is essential to the emancipation of oppressed groups from the implicit and explicit control mechanisms of the dominant group. In order for emancipation to be realised, theory and practice must be positioned in a dialectical relationship where each is dependent on the other.

> "Cut off from practice, theory becomes simple verbalism. Separated from theory, practice is nothing but blind activism. That is why there is no authentic praxis outside the dialectical unity, action-reflection, and practice-theory. In the same way there is no theoretical context if it is not in a dialectical unity with the concrete context".[206]

Emancipation is formulated through a process of conscientisation within which the oppressed identify the contradictions that exist socially, politically and economically and engage and develop action against those oppressive elements that perpetuate their positioning and lived

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[204] Pihama, L. (1993) p.33
[205] ibid.
[206] Freire, P. (1985) p.156 cited by Pihama, L. (1993) p.40

realities. Conscientisation is a means of 'understanding and awareness' that allows the oppressed or discriminated to identify and locate unequal power and resource distribution that exists and initiate a praxis to transform conditions and a create space for emancipation.[207]

However, Patti Lather[208] argues that emancipatory reasoning is vulnerable to interrogation in which there is tendency to separate the true from false and through this reasoning a need for those involved within its praxis to shift emphasis from 'interpretive validity' to a form that explores the 'contextual locations' within which meanings are (re)produced. Audience's seeking emancipation cannot be considered homogeneous, rather their production for meaning can be multiple and fragmented. Furthermore, Friedrich Nietzsche[209] and Luce Irigaray[210] also argue that in the realisation of emancipation, it is essential to recognise that emancipation itself must be negotiated upon many truths and cannot be reduced to a single pole of praxis. In engaging in transformation in determining the complexities of difference and notions of equality, exists outside the current patriarchal and hegemonic relationships in society. That in the innate ability of current egalitarian thought to provide a space of social liberation and celebration, reconstruction, representation and repositioning for oppressed indigenous and social groups, emancipation must instead occur outside and beyond the reaches of current patriarchal and hegemonic practices.

However, as Habermas comments, this approach is uncertain as engagements of emancipation outside the praxis can often perpetuate existing discourses and relationships as there is no measure, model of comparison or direction. In the process of dialectical thought and emancipation there needs to be a guiding framework to which current patriarchal and hegemonic structures cannot be complemented.[211] For Habermas in reasserting the validity of critical theory, he argues that the three key terms of incremental change, utopianism (utopian transfiguration) and hegemony are relevant in engaging in transformative praxis.

Incremental Change

In Habermas' earlier work (1973, 1974) in the endeavour to work out a critical theory of society, he built upon Marx's original ideas with an emphasis of transformative means for oppressed

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[207] ibid. p.41
[208] Lather, P. (1986) in Irigaray, L. (1992) p.8
[209] Nietzsche, F (1992) in Martin, B. (1998) p.66
[210] Irigaray, L. (1992) p.11
[211] Habermas, J. (1974) p.59 and Giroux, H. (1983) p.183

groups with the notion of 'incremental process'. In assuming that not all people are free citizens but however entitled to freedom from coercive and hegemonic control, the realisation of dialectical (theory and practice) emancipation is dependent on emphasising and celebrating small victories – incremental changes. For Habermas the notion of incremental changes recognises that emancipation occurs in myriad sites on the way to developing much larger and more extensive social change, but also reconciles the gap between espoused visions of self-determination and emancipation and the reality of slow progress towards the realisations of such ideals. He also argues, that in engaging emancipation within a mode of incremental changes, positions emancipators and critical theorists within rather that outside the transformative activity, and provides opportunity to interact within the reflexive – reflective momentum of emancipation.[212]

Furthermore, Lather[213] supports Habermas' process of incremental changes and comments that 'emancipatory critical social science' is premised upon the construction of approaches which are reciprocal and which create space for those involved in the process to promote transformations through their own understandings and views of the world. Emancipatory praxis is not something that may be done 'to' or 'for' individual(s) or group(s) – therefore, a challenge for those involved in emancipatory critical social science is to ensure against positioning 'emancipatory desires' in the very cultural domains they are opposing'. Therefore the struggle for transformation and emancipation must be controlled by the oppressed themselves in order for them to resolve the contradictions which are apart of there own understandings and experiences of the world.[214]

Utopianism & Utopian Transfiguration

Recently in post-modern critique critical theory has been criticised for being overtly utopian and idealistic to emancipatory aims in engaging in constructions of homogenous meta-narratives against the complexities of the day-to-day lived experiences. Utopianism, within emancipatory discourse is over generalised, romantic and unattainable – rhetorical idealism in which such visions create false hope and emancipatory praxis that are counter-productive. However, Habermas makes the riposte that utopian idealism performs an important function in mobilising and focussing people around emancipatory vision and that utopianism can form emancipatory ideals and vision, which gives impetus to significant and emancipatory actions. A key element in

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[212] Habermas, J. (1973) in Smith, G. (1997) p.136
[213] Lather, P. (1986) in Irigaray, L. (1992) p.18
[214] Freire, P (1972) in Pihama, L. (1993) p.42

the reconstruction of emancipatory tasks of critical theory, particular utopian ideas is the notion of 'utopian transfiguration'. That is emancipation is won with the act of struggle itself, the praxis of emancipation in the individuals consciousness is an important struggle – creates a collective vision, identifies qualitatively new needs, social relations, modes of association and furthermore opens up utopian potential as condition of emancipation.[215]

Hegemony

In extending the critique of utopian transfiguration, individual(s) or group(s) consciousness is a primary site of struggle and initial focal point of emancipatory praxis and resistance. Antonio Gramsci[216] expands upon Habermas' notion of hegemony and argues that it represents the states dominating position and ideology on individual's consciousness. Hegemony is a struggle for and the incorporation of people's consciousness, it is how beliefs of subordinate groups are controlled, shaped and manipulated to ensure the status quo. His basic thesis is that dominant ideology is only concerned with promoting and distorting an illusory view of reality – the distortion of reality is a drug, the drug is a condition where subordinates believe in something, hold something to be true, to be common sense, but when in fact common sense is acting against their best interests.

Furthermore, Gramsci[217] argues that the state exercises hegemony through schooling, where the subversive and exploitative nature of hegemony operates in gaining active consent from subordinates. Within current dominant beliefs, hegemony is practiced and imposed upon notions of social mobility, democracy and happiness, where in lived reality, achievements are not based upon amount of effort given, individuals and groups in society have more freedom than others and that dominant means of satisfaction and fulfilment are not universal. However hegemony psychologically suppresses the emancipatory praxis and resistant behaviours through creating a space of illusory choices because such beliefs are not valid in capitalist states.

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[215] Smith, G. (1997) p.156
[216] Gramsci, A. (1971) in Smith, G. (1997) p.158-160
[217] ibid.

Reproduction Theory

Reproduction theory is a theoretical position within the paradigm of critical theory, and although it neglects to explore modes of individual agency and examine praxis of empowerment it discloses that systematic constraints, inequalities and practices of oppression are inescapable, it provides a 'space of conscientisation' that exposes the mechanisms and processes that dominant Pakeha perpetuate in reproducing positions of privilege and maintaining the status quo.

In using the work of Bob Connell, Rex Gibson and Leonie Pihama I seek to explain that reproduction theories are based on the perpetuation of economic relationships and positioning, within which the education system has an integral role – therefore schooling is instrumental in the maintenance of structural inequalities. The reproduction approach operates at a structural level, society is economically stratified and such stratification reproduced by institutions and agencies that operate within that system.

In effect, schools are portrayed as reproductive in three senses;

1.   Schools provide different classes and social groups with the knowledge and skills they need to occupy their respective places in a labour force stratified by class, race and gender.
2.   Schools are seen as reproductive in the cultural sense, functioning in part to distribute and legitimate forms of knowledge, values, language and modes of style that constitute the dominant cultures and its interest.
3.   Schools are viewed as part of a state apparatus that produce and legitimate the economic and ideological imperatives that underlie the state political power.[218]

Theories of reproduction argue that schools are instrumental through which dominant interest groups maintain, reinforce and legitimate the stratification of society through both economic and ideological reproduction – this structure is viewed as 'corresponding' to the structure of society and that schools simply reflect the community or society in which they are located.[219]

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[218] Aronowitz, S & Giroux, H. 1985 cited by Pihama, L. 1993: 42
[219] Gibson, R, (1986) p.48

In analysing the work of Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis and Pierre Bourdieu, we can recognise that although these theorists argue and highlight the implicit and explicit economic and cultural mechanisms that perpetuate inequality and maintenance of status quo, it is important to realise that they do not provide a space for deconstruction or emancipation in which critical thought is also responsible for and therefore can only be positioned within praxis of conscientisation.

> "The economic system is unequal and unfair (power, wealth and opportunity); schools and policy mirror this system, are subordinate to it, are determined by it and therefore function to reproduce it".[220]

Bowles and Gintis[221] argue that schools fail to eradicate inequality because economic structures of society require the education system to ensure those outcomes. The structure of social relations of schools imposed by educational policy, accustom school pupils to act or assume roles of dominance or subordination that corresponds with their current social class identification. 'The education system helps integrate youth into the economic system, we believe through a structural correspondence between its social relations and those of production – specifically the social relationships of education; the relationships between administrators and teacher; teachers and students; students and students; and students and their work; these relationships replicate the hierarchial division of labour'.

Gibson[222] argues that the work of Bowles and Gintis is based upon two claims:

1.   Schooling reflects labour force structure, particularly factory floor work.
2.   Schools supply the labour force, equipped with suitable personalities and attitudes to the economy.

Like the labour force schools perpetuate a 'hierarchical division of labour' through various means such as work ethics, imposition of rules governing punctuality, conformity, attendance and acceptable modes of behaviour. Furthermore, Gibson also explains that although they bring to the fore modes of economic correspondence that is constructed upon social class patterning that

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[220] ibid. p.50
[221] ibid. Also in Bowles, S and Gintis, H. (1976) p.131
[222] Gibson, R. (1983) p.51

sustains social inequality in society, they fail to provide a site of human action and account for the capacity of individuals or groups to challenge and resist.

> "The work of Bowles and Gintis on 'schools as reflective of social structures' fail to provide any room for human agency, pupils are seen as passive participants in a system which produces and reproduces workers according to the needs of the labour market. There is a 'debilitating neglect of human action, of individual and group to challenge and resist".[223]

Bourdieu, a leading theorist in cultural reproduction theory, claims that schools are instrumental in the transmission and reproduction of particular forms of culture and by doing so are a vehicle for the reproduction of the social class stratification. In the relationship between class culture and school culture, Bourdieu[224] maintains that the schools culture is defined by the dominant groups interests within the class structure – cultural capital.

> "Cultural capital is a 'value systems, practices, expectations, styles, strategies, beliefs and worldviews … this can be interpreted as existing in three forms, (1) embodied as a deposition of the mind and body, (2) objectified as cultural goods and (3) in its institutional status".[225]

The concept of cultural capital may be viewed in contrast to economic capital, in that not all people hold economic capital whereas all people possess cultural capital, which according to Gibson[226] includes language, meanings, styles of thought behaviour, values, and human qualities. However the education system places value on particular forms of cultural capital, which has been defined and legitimated by the dominant group.[227]

The education system is constructed upon dominant cultural arbitrations, which when students enter and negotiate within the schooling system those whose cultural capital correspond with the schools culture have greater access to the credentials, therefore success. Those pupils that enter and attempt to negotiate the schooling system with a different cultural capital, that which is defined and regulated by the dominant group are less likely to have the access and opportunity to obtain credentials. Therefore, differential school success is not a consequence of cultural differences but as a result of the way success is connected to familiarity with the dominant

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[223] Gibson, R. (1983) p.47
[224] Bourdieu, P. (1977) in Nash, R (1993) p.20
[225] ibid.
[226] Gibson, R. (1983) p.48
[227] Pihama, L. (1993) p.45

cultural capital.[228] The habitus – an 'embodied or internalised cultural capital' of the dominant classes is legitimated and justified through agencies (school) controlled by dominant groups in order to effectively reproduce existing power relations – which is referred to by Bourdieu as the 'social reproduction function of cultural reproduction'.[229]

> "Habitus is a system of embodied dispositions which generate practice in accordance with the structural principles of the social world … habitus exists in three forms, (1) the collective, (2) dispositional and (3) manifest – which are constructed by principles and structures that are encoded and shaped into relation to practices of a families class position, ethnicity and gendered identity.[230]

Dominant classes legitimate their own cultural norms, cultural capital and habitus through a process of symbolic violence through which occurs the 'imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power' and is embodied within societal power relations. Symbolic violence refers to the imposition and legitimation of meanings by the dominant group, whilst simultaneously concealing the power relations, which are the basis of its force.

> "Symbolic violence may be identified as the covert practices imposed by the dominant groups that serve ultimately and often indirectly to preserve the power relationships that exist and reproduce dominant definitions and constructions of habitus the maintain the status quo".[231]

As Bourdieu[232] has explained that success is dependent upon the acquisition and exertion of cultural norms as controlled and defined by the dominant group. For individuals entering the schooling system with a cultural capital (and habitus) that is different or does not correlate with the schools, then for Bourdieu, failure occurs and the only means of success is achieved through the process of assimilation. However, as Rex Gibson and Giroux[233] argue this deterministic notion of power and domination implied that subordinate classes are constructed as passive recipients. Human agency is disregarded, in which Giroux terms a 'reductionist view of human nature' that located subordinate groups and classes in a position of hopelessness – reductionism contributed in part to the notion of habitus, which stifles the potential for struggle and social change. Furthermore, Bourdieu fails to acknowledge the complexity of schooling and schooling activities thereby neglecting to recognise the multiple intentions, purposes and results of what

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[228] Jones, A. (1990) cited by Pihama, L. (1993) p.46
[229] ibid.
[230] Nash, R. (1993) p.28
[231] Pihama, L. (1993) p.47
[232] Bourdieu, P. (1971) in Nash, R. (1993) p.25
[233] Gibson, R (1983) p.45

happens in schools.[234] He also ignores the influence that curriculum content and knowledge can have on the emancipation of subordinate classes or groups; most noticeable criticism aimed at cultural reproduction is that of the neglect of the concepts of resistance – which serves to deny the ways in which subordinate groups struggle and contest the imposition of dominant culture.[235]

Theories of Resistance

Pihama[236] states resistance theory as an approach which seeks to counter the determinism inherent in radicalist reproduction approaches; Gibson identifies resistant theories as drawing on distinctive bodies of work, concerning the reproduction of inequality and based has four common characteristics;

1.   That reproduction is never completed; oppressed individuals and groups in society actively and passively resist and challenge the state dominant ideologies and practices.
2.   Individuals and groups that resist, sustain their oppression by drawing on their culture as a resource.
3.   That the act of opposition and resistance itself contributes to reproduction and maintenance of inequality.
4.   In the praxis of emancipation, values are detected within oppositional groups.

Gibson notes the enterprise work of Henry Giroux[237] a leading resistance theorist who directly challenges the reproduction theories and argues how human agency accommodates, mediates and resists the logic of capital and its dominating practices. He explains that in combining ethnographic and critical theory, along with culture, power, domination and reproduction, human agency can be accounted for; human agency is the possibility of emancipation.

Giroux established resistant theory as an approach that undermines the over-socialised deterministic paradigm of reproduction theories that attempt to provide a justifiable corresponding relationship between school and labour force. This theory allows for the active participation of subordinate groups in emancipatory behaviour, acknowledging that what happens

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[234] ibid.
[235] Also from post-modern critique, the notions of 'habitus' have been argued as a 'magic bullet' in representing social theory, as there is no engagement of objective structures. See Nash, R. (1993) p.26-29
[236] Pihama, L. (1993) p.48
[237] Giroux, H. (1980) cited by Gibson, R. (1988) p.63

in the schools and classrooms is not entirely dependent on or totally reflective of the hierarchical structuring of the labour forces. Central to resistance theory is a notion of critical human agency and a rejection of the conceptualisation of dominant ideologies as all encompassing, instead dominant ideologies are viewed as complex and at time contradictory. Therefore, the underpinning concept of resistant theories must have a revealing function that seeks not only to critique domination (conscientisation) but also provides a space for the process of self-reflection and emancipatory practices.[238]

However, for Giroux the notion of resistance theory critically needs further development:

1.   That there is a lack of analysis of the conditions that promotes and reinforces a range of resistance behaviours including contradictory oppositional behaviour. Resistance cannot be viewed homogenously, neither can class groupings be viewed as single entities – there exists complex ways in which subordinate groups resist, oppose or accommodate dominant ideologies and express or embody a range of ideological positioning.

2.   Resistant theories have on the whole failed to incorporate gender or race analysis; implications have neglected to accommodate how these factors mediate the sexual and social divisions of labour in the education system.

3.   A third criticism is the failure of resistance theorist to reach into the structure of the personality; the ways in which understanding and action can be contradictory – such an analysis requires a notion of how un-freedom reproduces itself within the psyche of the human being. A notion which Giroux terms 'alienation' the investigation of which necessitates a questioning of peoples needs and desires than focussing solely on ideology and consciousness.

The value of resistance theory lies in its critical function – the ability to define resistances and identify behaviours and/or actions that are engaged in the process of resistance. Therefore, a theory of resistance must incorporate a concept of real power that is both exercised on and by people in a range of contexts that 'structure interacting relations of dominance and autonomy'.[239] Giroux[240] argues that the centrality of original critical theory and the insights it provides and

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[238] ibid., also Pihama, L. (1993) p.49-51
[239] Pihama, L. (1993) p.51
[240] Giroux, H. (1984) p.154

facilitates a foundation for a theory of radical pedagogy, to appropriate discourses and ideas of the Frankfurt School without sacrificing the emancipatory effort that generated them.

> "Dialectical thought must be accounted for in educational discourse to develop historical, relational, normative dimensions of social inquiry and knowledge that replace the logic of predictability, variability, transferability and operationalism".[241]

Giroux (1984) shows that educational policy should encompass tenants of 'dialectical thought' a space of self-critique and meta-theorising, to reformulate ideas, values and beliefs. Dialectical thought is a form of human agency, which recognises and creates emancipatory models – this can be seen in the reflexive-reflective framework of the 'action research model', which is used, as a tool to create emancipation by teachers in classrooms.

Notions of Difference

> "Difference is the division in the understanding of many, it is a tool of self-defence and conquest … the very theme of difference, what ever the differences are represented to be, is useful to the oppressing group is used to imprison the group … to demand the right of difference is to take an effective weapon away from the enemy, to demand the right of difference without social character is to give back the enemy that weapon".[242]

The term and discourse associated with difference has been a primary concern for many oppressed groups, it is a tool that has continued to justify oppression of subordinate and minority cultures and groups such as Maori. In positioning an analysis that comments on the term difference and its encompassing ideologies, discloses its oppressive nature and practices that acts as a power tool to justify and legitimate implicit and explicit forms of exploitation and subjugation. This thesis will argue that difference is not just simply a set of binary oppositions that act as a system of classification, representation and model of inquiry, but an active ideological force that influences values, beliefs, policy, and human relations on a level that reproduces dominant forms of culture and successfully maintain the oppressed positions indigenous people, Maori and the 'other' have in society.

In engaging with difference, this analysis uses the work of a French philosopher Jacques Derrida and is notions of 'difference' and differance' to ground this argument. Derrida[243] comments that

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[241] ibid.
[242] Trinh, M. (1987) p.80
[243] Derrida, J. (1973) p.127

the notion of 'difference' as only referring to 'to differ', indicating difference as a distinction, inequality and discernibility. However the term 'difference' originates from the verb 'differ', which incorporates two significations' 'to differ' and 'to defer', which expresses the interposition of delay, the interval of spacing and temporalisation. Betsan Martin[244] reinforces Derrida's argument in explaining that the 'point of difference' is a demarcation of between inside and out, same and 'other', master and slave as the interstice provides a space – a temporalisation in which meaning is dislodged for its enclosure in 'being'. Derrida describes the two distinctions as:

> "To differ – is the most common and most identifiable, the sense of not being identical, of being 'other', of being discernible – in 'differents' whether referring to the alterity of dissimilarity".[245]

> "To defer – action until postponing until later, taking into account, accounting of time and forces is a operation, a delay, a representation – all summed up with word – temporalising".[246]

Furthermore, the two significations of temporalisation and dissociation are only inscribed in the term 'differance' whereas 'difference' only accounts for dissociation. Therefore it is with an 'a', differance more properly refers to origin or production of differences and the differences between differences. Difference is neither a word, nor concept. However, it is a juncture and summation of what has been inscribed in thought – our epoch.[247] From this, Derrida argues for the notion and thought of difference with an 'e' as a theme of strategy:

> "Strategically the theme of difference can be held in relation with structural limits of mastery (master/slave binary) in what is most characteristic of our epoch. It is always the basis of difference and its history that we can claim to know who and where 'we' are and what limits of our epoch can be".[248]

Therefore, by recognising difference as a strategic theme rather than a word or concept we can recognise it as a tool of oppression and domination in governing our epoch. In adopting Derrida's line of thought, the principle concern of this thesis is to analyse difference with an 'e' by means of dissociation and as a 'strategic theme' within educational policy discourse.

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[244] Martin, B. (1998) p.221
[245] Derrida, J. (1973) p.129
[246] ibid.
[247] ibid. p.130
[248] ibid.

Trinh Minh-ha[249] argues that difference is not difference in some ears – but awkwardness or incompleteness. The difference (dissimilarity), many have come to tolerate and suspend their judgements when the 'other' is concerned, which is a progress – however there is a perceived danger of speaking for the 'other' in consciousness. Historically in the absence of silence or suppression of 'other' judgements and representation were assumed and passed over the 'other' by the 'many'.

> "The humiliation of falsifying your own reality, your voice – you know. And often you cannot say it. You try to keep on trying to say it, for if you don't they will not fail to fill in the blanks on your behalf and you will be said".[250]

Therefore Minh-ha comments that there is an awareness of difference and the need to engage in differential discourse, however under notions of 'absence' and 'silence' reforms ideologies of justification and assumption in practices and opportunity.

bell hooks[251] explains how conservative liberal ideologies of difference through means of 'absence' and 'silence' continues to perpetuate oppression of subordinate groups. Traditional forms of feminism were governed on the basis of 'universalism' where middle-class woman made their interests the primary focus by employing rhetoric of commonality of oppression. Privileged woman wanted social equity with men, but co-opted within ruling capitalist patriarchy because they were not opposed to capitalism, classism or racism – and with the belief and gate-keeping strategies of 'absence' and 'silence' of other women who were struggling with the realities and complexities of racism, classism, religion and sexuality – were able to justify themselves as 'feminists' and representing the struggle of feminism.

Therefore notions of difference within various contexts including educational policy discourse recognised 'gendered differences' as only encompassing notions of equal opportunity and access, rather than racial, sexual, religious and social class sites of struggle as well.

> "A universal ideology is inadequate because there is no reflection of values or experiences outside the middle class sphere – the difference of class, race, wealth, religious belief and sexual preference need to be recognised in the gendered group".[252]

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[249] Trinh, M. (1989) p.130
[250] ibid. p.131
[251] hooks, b. (1983) p.7
[252] ibid. p.126

Furthermore hooks comments that it was not simply because of 'absence' or 'silence' of indigenous and working-class women that white middle-class women claimed to represent feminism – because there was a strong voice. It was because from within a notion of difference indigenous and working-class women's voice and struggle were deemed not to be of rationale thought, nor of academic standard and that in the inept ability of reaching a level of 'civilised' and 'formal' argument were judged to be 'silent' or 'absent'.

> "In conservative liberal feminist thought, racism is inherently an impossibility from the white female opportunitist. Racism assures white privilege is an accepted way of life – it serves to mask the refined racist tone of their discourse, reinforcing pretensions to universality".[253]

> "Feminism is the political theory and practice that struggles to free all women … anything less than this vision of total freedom is not feminism, but merely female self-aggrandisement".[254]

> "Crossed fears continue to breed wars, for they feed endlessly on each other until no conversation can be possible without a heaping up misunderstandings. It is much easier to dismiss or eliminate on the pretext of difference than to live fearless with and within difference(s)".[255]

hooks[256] argues the need to adopt a 'collective ideology' is essential in educational policy discourse to account for not only women that struggle for equal access and opportunity, but also women who struggle against racism, classism and sexuality. In turn this collective ideology reshapes the notion of difference in educational policy discourse to not only account for difference between men and woman as simply access and opportunity, but also differences such as culturalism, racism, classism and sexuality. In analysing contemporary notions of difference in educational policy discourse, Minh-ha through common practices of 'special care', 'separate development' and 'levelling differences' argues that notions of difference will continue to act as a suppressive tool 'as the masters tools will never dismantle the masters house'.[257]

Policy of separate development is a suppressive practice in which the operators work toward the 'others' erasure while urging the 'other' to keep way of life and ethical values. It is under the western liberal thought of difference – we will give you freedom through the masters tools – grant you autonomy, but not complete autonomy. The policies of separate development, especially in

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[253] Trinh, M. (1987) p.1
[254] ibid. p.7
[255] ibid. p.9
[256] hooks, b. (1983) p.8
[257] Audre Lorde cited in Trinh, M. (1987) p.130

educational policy discourse, means that 'everyone may bloom in the masters garden', but also means 'I am tolerated in my difference as long as I conform with the established rules'. Therefore, this notion of separate development pertains of a form of 'specialness' an illusory emancipation that acts as psychological drug to the exiles of society, but at the same time anaesthetises of justice and proceeds to reproduce cycle of oppression. With complaints of exclusory practices, based on notions of difference 'special care' is taken in notifying minority organisations and women of colour of conferences, workshops and programmes – in which 'special care' becomes confused with the consciousness of difference. It is from this context that 'special care' is an award rather than a human right, which creates both a distance and division in enjoying privilege and prepare way for the 'unfortunate other'.[258]

Rodger Dale[259] offers another implication of Minh-ha's notion of 'special care' within education, in the form of 'conservative restoration' in policy development. That policies aimed at 'difference' is facilitated from the thought of the 'other' as inferior and 'needs help', rather that unique and justifiable in its own right of humanity. Therefore behind policies of 'conservative restoration' is a loss of control, economic, personal, security, knowledge, and values of 'other' as it reproduces the binary of 'we' and 'they'. That 'we' are hard working, decent, virtuous and homogeneous and that 'they' are lazy, immoral, permissive and heterogeneous.

> "There is a separatism of colour, women, gay and 'others' from the community of 'worthy individuals'. The subjects of discrimination are no longer groups who get something for nothing, sapping away life, economic resources and government control. The ability to identify a range of 'others' as enemies as the source of problem is significant".[260]

In extending the argument of difference through 'special care', difference as uniqueness and special identity Minh-ha explains that,

> "The notion of difference undermines the very idea of identity; it subverts the foundations of any affirmation or vindication of value, and cannot thereby ever bear itself an absolute value. The difference between 'difference' and 'identity' has been ignored".[261]

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[258] ibid.
[259] Dale, R. (1989) in Trinh, M. (1989) p.6
[260] ibid.
[261] Trinh, M. (1989) p.8

Minh-ha comments that the current notions of difference have contextualised notions of identity to act as a suppressive tool rather than an emancipatory one. Notions of difference have shaped identity to exist only within the 'masters' context, however when identity exists outside it is recognised not as identity but as difference or 'other'. Therefore identity can refer no more than a constant pattern of sameness than to an insequencial process of 'otherness'.[262]

In further examining the work of Minh-ha on difference, not only do practices of separate policy, special care and concepts of identity sustain a role of oppression, but also educational policies with the logic of levelling differences. Levelling differences is resisting the very notion of difference, which is hegemony and patriarchy defined. Claims that men, sexes, races are equal signal denial for real phenomenon in which it is ever too clear that there is no equity of wealth and equal rights to culture. Themes of egalitarianism continue the cycle of oppression and poverty for many oppressed groups – to fall back on 'neutrality' is to deny people the right of whom they are and what social and cultural rights they have. In continuing this line of thought in levelling differences, Irigaray explains that difference is used to argue against equality on the basis that equality is about 'you become the same as me'. Equality is proven in a context of 'him and west', that is provision and acquisition of equality is constituted by patriarchal and hegemonic practices. Irigaray argues that there needs to be a space for distinctiveness and a shift away from a universal paradigm. Both Martin[263] and Irigarary argue that there need to be a shift in the structural of 'binary oppositions' to create repositioning of the terms so that they are not governed by opposition, but by difference.

> "To fall back on a position of neutrality is impossible, impossible in our languages, in doing this a women denies her sex and gender in doing this … most women's experience tells them on a cultural and social level that they are foremost 'asextual' or 'neuter'.[264]

However, in returning to Mihn-ha she suggests within educational policy, difference should not give rise to separatism; there are differences and similarities within the notion of difference. There is a common ideology that difference is a tool of segregation, and to exert power on the basis of racial and sexual essence rather than becoming a tool of creativity.[265]

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[262] ibid. p.15
[263] Martin, B. (1998) p.66
[264] Irigaray, L. (1992) p.21
[265] Trinh, M. (1991) p.191

Therefore, in critiquing the term, epoch and discourse of difference and the encompassing notions of conservative liberalism, separate development, specialcare and the logic of levelling differences, imparts a tool and 'political agency' that continues to construct systematic inequality and expressions of acculturation. In positioning difference as a strategic theme of 'discernable dissimilarity' within policy maintains notions of absence, silence, inferior and impartiality for Maori, while reproducing assumptions of cultural superiority, goodwill and eurocentric liberation for Pakeha. Instead of celebrating difference, differences are defined upon grounds of opposition that perpetuate segregation and cultural subjugation for Maori. In deconstructing difference toward liberating it and celebrating it, educational policy discourse needs to develop a space to; [266]

(a)   Develop understanding of difference as a shared responsibility, which requires a willingness that reaches the unknown.

(b)   To engage in a historical analysis.

(c)   To examine and critique social and cultural tenants of difference.

(d)   That difference is not 'otherness'.

(e)   Policy involves history.

(f)   Policy that acknowledges difference between lives experience and representation.

(g)   Policy that does not turn learning or struggle into object of consumption.

(h)   Policy makers, as well as teachers and schools assume responsibility.

The notion of difference is a remains primary concern for Maori and must be engaged in critiquing, developing and analysing policy to disclose the wider power structures, issues of representation and philosophical mechanisms of oppression. In shifting from a feminist examination of difference to explore complexities of race and ethnicity, this critique engages in notions of race, individualism, self-determination, binaries opperations and the re-presentation of other, in critically disclosing the contemporary expressions of difference and expanding upon the fundamental elements required in effective transformation.

Race and Ethnicity

Paul Spoonley, a leading New Zealand theorist in this field, provides an insight to the racial and ethnic tenants of difference that have historically and contemporarily shaped educational policy

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[266] ibid.

discourse and act and justify continued oppression of 'other', in particular Maori. Through analysing the tendencies and movements within difference, race and ethnicity, provides an insight into the malleable rationalities and expositions that reproduce and reconstruct policies that maintain experiences of cultural exploitation. Of interest, in this examination is the strategic association between the agencies of 'difference' and 'race', forms of positive discrimination, proletariat contestation and assertions of mastery which significantly impact on the development of education policy.

Race

Race originates from a period of colonial expansion when classifying people according to their appearance allowed the British the ability to make sense of human diversity and difference. It also gave rise to ideological justification to argue colonial exploitation, advanced civilisation and inferiority of the 'other', but more importantly for educational policy discourse – two other contemporary matters:

1.   The first development of biological sciences, the classification of people into racial groups was legitimated by evolution of a body of scientific knowledge that confirmed and produced educational policy practices of social and cultural difference.
2.   The second matter helped popular the idea about race, justifying prejudices and racial arguments in educational, social and legal context of society.

> "The idea of race was in colonial and expansionism terms used in understanding and structuring social relationships – notions of difference, however it is important to reject this concept as oppressive and scientifically invalid. Race has been used to allocate groups, intellect and abilities and is of an ideological nature that has acted as a medium to understand, construct and make sense of social relationships".[267]

Spoonley[268] argues that race as a determining factor is classifying physical differences of social groups and other characteristics, interpreting and recognising behaviour, making judgements, accounting for social variation and establishing ideologies of superiority and justification of practices and policies. Racism is a tool of oppression that is based on the degree of incorrect information combined with negative beliefs and attitudes towards a particular group and suggests that in discussing difference, two forms of thought should be examined, (i) racism as a concept

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[267] Spoonley, P. (1988) p.2
[268] ibid. p.5

itself and (ii) the beliefs that accompany the notion of race. In examining contemporary ideological expressions of race and difference in educational policy discourse, Spoonley argues that they exist in the manifestation of nationalism, self-determination and individualism. For Maori this discloses how strategic themes encapsulated within dominant notions of 'difference' and 'race' are reconstructed and reproduced within modern education rationales perpetuating dominant Pakeha interests and maintaining the status quo.

Nationalism

Nationalism is a position adopted to claim that 'we are all New Zealanders' and the ethnic politics and educational policy is diverse, represents nationality – which is legally and cultural defined and has the justifications and legitimation of acting in the 'common good'. Nationalist arguments focus on racial considerations and differences being irrelevant – where it denies that racism and ethnicity are major considerations in NZ society, that racial distinctions are still made and undermines inequalities and radical conflict between Maori and Pakeha. Therefore the lived reality contradicts the sediments of this view.[269] Nationalist ideologies are a direct manifestation of Minh-ha's notion of 'leveling differences', which reproduce policies to oppress and appropriate minority groups, rather than distinctively and uniquely acknowledge 'differences' and human diversity.

Conservative Self-Determination

The notion of self-determination expressed as separate development, is a distortion of reality where educational policies through positive discrimination, reinforce the division between ethnic differences, as minority groups are 'advantaged' in areas of education, welfare and political representation – policy and practice of what Minh-ha terms 'specialcare'.

> "The distribution of resources and funding to 'restore' equity is parodied by the attempt to link the pejorative content of apartheid ideology … Pakeha are portrayed as passive participants, but play the dominant role".[270]

Educational policy discourse within this difference ideology promotes the division of groups through designating differential resources between racial and ethnic groups – highlighting

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[269] ibid. p.8
[270] ibid.

differential treatment causing minorities to complete against one another for distinction and gain 'privilege'.

Individualism

Spoonley[271] argues that a notion of individualism contained in educational policy is a tool of racial expression rather than distinctive difference expression. Stress is placed on the individual and responsibility for behaviour, failure and success lies with the individual – not social dispositions such as race, class and gender. Equality of opportunity means that failure to compete and gain material possessions is no ones fault other than that of the personal concerned. This assumes that eurocentric capitalism are universally desired values and that no other values, behaviours or differences of the 'other' are considered sites of conflict. Individualism is a policy practice of what hooks identifies as conservative liberal thought that adheres to the notions of difference ascending in anglo-conformist belief rather than that of social dispositions and difference.

Dale who is also very critical of the notion of individualism and its encompassing ideologies of difference argues that no longer is policy linked to past groups oppressions and disadvantaged – but now it's a simple case of 'guaranteeing' individual choice under the conditions of a 'free' market instead of accounting for racial, class and gendered dispositions. An emphasis on excellence, efficiency and competition has shifted educational policy discourse so that underachievement is once again increasingly seen as largely the fault of the student. Student failure was located and interpreted within deficient educational policies and practices, now it has shifted to results of the biological and economic market place – evidence of forms of 'social Darwinist' thinking in educational and public policy.[272]

However, Spoonley[273] argues that educational policy discourse must engage in 'notions of difference' from a cultural and social context as difference between human relations , behaviour and diversity will always be evident and practised. Ideologies such as 'nationalism', 'levelling differences' and 'conservative liberalism' will only continue to reproduce and appropriate oppressive policies in education.

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[271] ibid. p.21
[272] Dale, R. (1989) in Trinh, M. (1989) p.135
[273] Spoonley, P. (1991) p.25

> "It was anticipated as industrialised societies of the western world, ethnic identities and differences would disappear and be replaced by class or national identities – thoughts that the 'other' would abandon their ethnic and differences in favour of a new national identity in a capitalist regime. However the ethnic revival (ethnogensis) has shown that ethnicity and difference is extremely malleable and continually changes according to circumstances and requirements".[274]

Binaries of Difference

Binaries of difference maintain and reproduce negative notions of indigenous people and the 'other', not through its content alone, but because of the context within which it is located. Martin[275] explains that binary oppositions represent the adversarial contest for the assertion of dominance or mastery in which this structure of two poles constitute a totality – an enclosed system in which privilege of one term is achieved through the repression of the other term. Indigenous representation by Pakeha policy makers has been influenced by dominant difference discourse, which have constructed limited notions of who the 'other' are. Pihama[276] explains that these discourses can be expressed in three paradigms:

1. The native / inferior Other
2. The deficient / deprived / negative Other
3. The activist / radical / excessive Other

The native inferior 'other' derives from colonial notions of 'social Darwinism'. These notions provided foundation for the construction of deficit /deprived / negative Other in that the position of 'language' and 'practices' were inferior to the value of Pakeha worldviews. In turn this validated the denial of indigenous worldviews and tradition through acculturating processes of educational policies. The activist / racial / excessive Other is a reaction to indigenous assertions of sovereignty which through notions of difference creates a space to justify confining and condemning such actions.[277]

Policy and notions of difference is particularly problematic because it is not located within historical realities of 'native' land – issues raised are not read in light of wider realities and

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[274] ibid.
[275] Martin, B. (1998) p.63
[276] Pihama, L. (1996) p.191
[277] ibid.

experiences of colonisation and the impact upon indigenous peoples. Educational policy must be developed in order to provide the people with knowledge about the histories of this land and move beyond the sanitised versions delivered through the education system.

Representation of 'Other'

The representation of the 'other' and the process of policy have been sites of contestation for many years – contestation has been multi-levelled and operated within a range of institutions. Struggle has occurred in both the structural and cultural arenas; therefore analysis of policy is more complex than the act of solely deconstruction ' notions of difference'. Complexities require interrogation that position indigenous people and their re-presentation within the context in which they are located and the types of power relationships that are embodied in that context.[278] The term policy is taken for granted, encompassing notions of 'scattering widely' and of dissemination. Policy is a key vehicle through which representations of knowledge, language and culture are suppressed – the whole institution, process and everyone within it play a role in the validations and legitimation of knowledge, whose language and whose culture is reaffirmed. Within this process are structural gate-keeping mechanisms that are established to ensure that only particular types of knowledge are validated and the ways in which they themselves participate in those processors. Maori people and voices within policy development have acted as 'policy-guards' for Maori, challenging the ways in which Pakeha focus upon the negative portrayals of Maori and denied Maori access to the resources and tools necessary to take control of our own 'difference'.[279]

> "Maori are aware of how negatively we are portrayed in notions of difference and are becoming increasingly aware that at some stage in this policy game, we must take control of our own unique difference. And the reason that, that is important is because only when we do that only when we have some measure of self-determination about how we appear in the 'policy development' will the truth be told about us. Only when we have control of our 'differences' in policy we will be able to portray the positive differences that are ourselves, that are us".[280]

A key assumption of policies established by notions of difference was the notion of the existence of a hierarchy of knowledge, within which knowledge of the coloniser is superior. The coloniser when established in the position as the dominant group, then control what is defined as valid

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[278] Pihama, L. (1996a) p.1
[279] ibid. p.2
[280] Mita, M.(1992) cited by Pihama, L. (1996) p.2

knowledge and ultimately the control and ownership of knowledge, the development and implementation of selection processors to:

(a)   Define what is acceptable indigenous knowledge
(b)   Establish structure, which act as gate-keeping mechanisms to ensure only selected knowledge is accessible.

The education system has been instrumental in the process – constructed to facilitate the maintenance and reproduction of selected knowledge and notions of difference. Dominant belief that 'good policy' provides a range of arguments for students to engage with – however this must be also taken in the context of the existing power relations and impact of dominant discourses. Policy is not simply 'detached' but consequently shape society by deciding what is important and what is not, and by telling people how differences should be seen.[281]

Therefore the term and ideology associated with difference is still a primary concern for indigenous groups, Maori and the 'other' – difference is not just simply a passive mode of binaries and dualisms but a powerful ideological transmission of dominant beliefs and representation that governs methods, facts, rules and knowledge in educational policy. By engaging with difference within a policy context we can recognise it origins, methodology and justification of colonisation, oppression and exploitation that have existed and continued to guide modern educational policy. In this extensive and introductory analysis of difference from feminist thought and racial and ethnic positions, has shown the contemporary expressions and new formulations of difference that are present in educational policy discourse that has continued the pattern oppression and appropriation of 'other'. Without social intervention within the notion of difference and upon its enforcing ideologies, it will continue to strengthen as a tool of conquest, exploitation, oppression and appropriation within educational policy discourse.

Concluding Commentary

Critical theory is an essential part of theoretical analysis as it engages in the 'real world', challenges conventional practices and ideas, contests the status quo, develops understanding and explains rational actions establishing the ability to take more control of own lives. Integral to critical theory is the focus on human agency, liberation and emancipation, which is central to

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[281] Pihama. L. (1996) p.10

Kaupapa Maori theory and praxis. In exploring the concepts and theoretical positions of emancipation, reproduction theory, theories of resistance, notions of difference and complexities of race and ethnicity with the paradigm of critical theory has disclosed the underlying assumptions, systematic inequalities, wider power relationships that exist within New Zealand society and educational policy development. Furthermore, it has also provided enlightenment in disclosing the fundamental features and mechanism necessary in the process of developing positive transformation for Maori. Critical theory for Maori is a realisation in developing Kaupapa Maori to initiate, develop and proactively assert roles and rights as tangata whenua and expose the extent of commitment and liberation that exists within state education policy.

Chapter 6

CONTEMPORARY ANALYSIS

Introduction

In an attempt to understand contemporary policy development in New Zealand and disclose political policy ideologies and issues, this chapter will explore the 'strategic policy direction' of the Labour government. Applying the theoretical frameworks of state policy theory, political rationality, critical theory and theories of difference, provides an insight into the 'major' themes, issues and provisions in the 1999 New Zealand Labour Policy Document and the New Zealand Budget 2000. From such an analysis we will be able to highlight the issues and crisis relevant to education policy, the political exposition and its encompassing ideologies, and the extent to which the Labour Government, is developing policy to meet the needs and aspirations of Maori. In determining New Zealand Labour's political rationality, government mechanisms and strategic direction in developing educational policy in this new millennium, discussion will centre upon the analysis of the following documents.

New Zealand Labour Educational Policy 1999[282]

(i)   'We Will Deliver' which is the Labour Party overview and positioning of all policy across the whole provisional spectrum;

(ii)   'Labour On Schools Outline' which briefly comments on the areas of policy direction in education;

(iii)   'Labour on Schools' which outlines and describes areas and their specific schemes of educational policy.

New Zealand Labour Budget 2000[283]

(iv)   Budget Speech & Fiscal Strategy Report;

(v)   Budget Economic & Fiscal Update;

(vi)   Estimates of Appropriations & Supplementary Estimates of Appropriations.

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[282] Labour Educational Policy was released on May 8th 1999 at the Labour Party Convention in Wellington.
[283] The Budget 2000 Documents was released on June 15th 2000 from The Office of the Treasurer, Parliament Buildings, Wellington.

<u>Labour, Maori Education & State Policy Theory</u>

In critically examining state policy theory within Labour's Education Policy and Budget 2000 this discussion highlights the primary mechanisms of political exposition, legitimation crisis, ideological belief patterns, and multiculturalism as significantly informing and developing educational policy for Maori. Of interest, is the political agency of the Labour government attempting to operate a neo-liberal agenda, under the guise of liberalism and humanistic values in developing educational policy.

The document 'We Will Deliver', states seven commitments[284] that outlines the overall perspective and political position of Labour's intentions and policy direction.

(i)   Create jobs through promoting New Zealand industries and better support for exporters and small businesses;

(ii)   Focus on patients not profit and cut waiting times for surgery;

(iii)   Cut the cost to students of tertiary education, starting with a fairer loan scheme;

(iv)   Reverse the 1999 cuts to superannuation rates. Guarantee superannuation in the future by putting a proportion of all income tax into a separate fund which cannot be used for any other purpose;

(v)   Restore income related rents for state housing so that low income tenants pay no more than 25 per cent of their income in rent;

(vi)   Crack down on burglary and youth crime;

(vii)   No rise in income tax for the 95 per cent of taxpayers earning under $60,000 a year. No increases in GST or company tax.

In appropriating the argument of source analysis[285], there is recognition that all seven commitments are state controlled; five of which are economically based and two are focused at civil society. Therefore, it reasonable to interpret that Labour has positioned their policies to the centre-right of the political spectrum. In transcribing the notion of triangular configuration, Labour's commitments can be positioned within the 'state' and 'economic' domains of policy provision, in achieving the demands and needs of the New Zealand public. In examining Labours educational policy, the strength of state provision is indoctrinated upon assumption that economic intervention will liberate everyone, as the majority of 'commitments' aim to reproduce or insert

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[284] Labour 2000 Policy Card (2000) 'We Will Deliver' p.1-2.
[285] Dale, R (1989) refer to *Sources, Scope & Patterning* in State Policy Theory and Praxis, p.58

free market values and economic rationality in government policies of transformation. Furthermore, analyse also discloses that the government is centralising control as the 'state source' of policy provision is just as strong as the economic rationale. This represents that there is an attempt by the Labour government in its role of provision and delivery to be 'silent' in avoiding a legitimation crisis and accountability. This 'silence' is conferred through many mediums, in which adhering to conjunctural policies where the illusory notion of devolution, performs this mode of operation. Therefore, Labour governments strategic response to crisis and issues relevant to New Zealand contemporarily is fundamentally governed by conjunctural and 'ahistorical' exposition, a form of political rationality that attempts to develop educational policy in response to problems as they emerge.[286] In the absence of structural initiatives, the government has perpetuated the strategic direction of the Administering for Excellence policy, which emanates strong new right ideologies.

In the 'Labour On Schools Outline' the structural rationale of the Picot Report (1989) is maintained, as the development of conjunctural policies co-ordinate and operate within the parameters and conditions of new right discourse.

> "Labour will improve quality and standards of education, close the gap with market intervention and upgrade facilities and technology".[287]

The notion of legitimation crisis in state policy theory, successfully highlights the constructions and ideologies of policy development by the Labour Government. In comparing to a statement made by Honourable Lockwood Smith, Minister of Education in 1991, there is a significant similarity in political rationality which suggests that Labour has not attempted to move beyond the strategic direction that National adopted, and its encompassing inequalities and detrimental assumptions. Lockwood Smith stated;

> "New Zealand educational policies have an excessive focus on social issues, poor preparation for the competitive world and inadequate skilling in technology. Education is responsive to the business sector, therefore there will be a new culture of enterprise and competition in our curriculum".[288]

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[286] Offe, C. (1981) cited by Dale, R. (1989) refer to *Legitimation Crisis* in State Policy Theory, p60
[287] Labour on Schools Outline (1999) p1-3;
[288] Dr. Lockwood Smith (1991) refer to *New Right* in Maori Education and Policy p.44

Policy development within a state context does not provide space for Maori in their endeavour of emancipation, but rather focuses on the 'status quo' and continuation of the inequalities and oppressive constraints that suppress Maori in New Zealand.[289] The New Zealand Labour party needs to proscribe a structural rationality and position the strength of policies within civil society domain (social and cultural policies), to be genuinely concerned to address the needs of Maori and their aspirations. Instead the nature of the document from this critical perspective is continuing the suppressive and appropriating practices that have been imposed upon Maori historically.

In extending the critique of state policy development within the paradigm of game theory, engaging in ideological belief patterns provides the opportunity to disclose the periodic shifts of values that contextually shape the development of educational policy and affect Maori.[290] Within the document 'Labour on Schools' and the 'Budget 2000' there is a strong emphasis on issues concerning equity, student access to programmes, linking schools with the community and reducing academic gaps between student groups, which suggests that policy development within this political arena is governed by liberal values. Liberal values, with themes of egalitarianism have been common in the past especially during the 1960's when the Currie Report was released, however this writer argues that although the Labour government has successfully appear to be re-producing these liberal values, they have implicitly maintained an aggressive neo-liberal agenda.

Neo-liberalism was prominent during the early 1990's when the National Party held office, extending and building upon the policies of the Picot Report that was implemented in 1989. Values of strong academic standards, orderliness, efficiency and productivity were developed and systematically imposed through education policies. It was assumed that by incorporating free-market values and commodification within the education sector, the economy was the 'answer' to inequalities and 'weaknesses' in society, and projected a 'healthy' environment, where all students had the opportunity to achieve. However, arguably because of the widening of the gaps, the strong notions of individualism and competition, and the free market values penetrating public services such as health and education, the New Zealand public were unable to absorb the aggressive nature of Nationals neo-liberal rationale, and therefore elected Labour upon their advocation and promise of change.

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[289] For extended discussion refer to Johnston, P. (1998) 'Towards Tomorrow's Schools' p.199
[290] Scribner (1994) refer to *Ideological Belief Patterns* in State Policy Theory and Praxis p.76

"Schools are increasingly being divided into winners and losers, with poorer communities being disadvantaged by that, gaps are also widening the achievement level of school students; We need to bring together Maori educators and community leaders to plan for long-term progress in Maori education; establish parent advocacy service; trial initiatives such as homework centres to address low achievement".[291]

At a superficial level, the Labour government is attempting to develop educational policy upon notions of liberalism, however under this guise with notions of equity, access, community and closing the gaps, they are maintaining the dynamics of efficiency, productivity, marketisation and individualism.

"All New Zealanders depend on a thriving economy. It delivers the incomes needed for personal development and fulfilment, and for active participation in society. Within the economy, markets are vital channels through which individuals make choices about employment, production, saving and consumption. The liberating power of the market mechanism must be recognised"[292]

There is almost an implicit attempt by the Labour government to 'humanise' neo-liberalism, in which there is strong emphasis on 'Closing the Gaps' while at the same time there is an effort to distance strong economic mechanisms from within housing, employment, welfare, health and education and repositioning them under social 'banners'. They are successfully maintaining neo-liberal values in the belief that the economy, free market values and employment will provide the necessary means for Maori to meet their needs and aspirations. In recognising the manipulation and regeneration of 'periodic shifts of values'[293] we can successfully highlight Labours political framework in developing and disseminating educational policy and how distinctions and values are consistently being contested within shifting boundaries as political parties and players attempt to regain control. In extending the argument of humanistic agency and repositioning, the exposition of multiculturalism as a major theme under the notion of social commitment, discloses a further attempt by the Labour government to dissolve Maori aspirations of biculturalism and bilingualism, and mitigate distinct cultural praxis of empowerment.

Multiculturalism emerged in the 1970's with the notion that it would develop cultural diversity, distinctiveness and understanding of differences within New Zealand society, facilitating the idea (and assumption) of equal opportunity. However, without negotiating or recognising the wider power-relationships that existed in society, the dominant Pakeha define and control the type of

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[291] Labour on Schools Outline (1999) p.1-3
[292] Budget Speech (2000) p. B.2/1
[293] Scribner, A. (1994) refer to *Ideological Belief Patterns* in State Policy Theory, p.76

multiculturalism that is experienced by minority groups and Maori.[294] Furthermore, reproducing the multicultural rationale within the framework of social delivery, reaffirms the argument of cultural detachment and the underlying theme of redefining and reconstructing political agency. Within Labour's Budget 2000, the multicultural approach is articulated in the homogenisation of 'Maori and Pacific Peoples' within the Closing the Gaps discourse. For example;

> "And 'we' will provide $12 million over the same period to improve the participation of Maori and other groups currently under-represented at 'our' universities and polytechnics; additional funding will be provided to attract Maori and Pacific peoples into teaching; the budget dedicates $114 million over the next four years to build the capacity of Maori and Pacific peoples to design and deliver their own initiatives"[295]

The Labour government had perpetuated suppressive and detrimental conditions, which fail to address realities of Maori peoples needs. Some of the inherent dangers in a multicultural approach as seen in this quote, are as follows; firstly, the Labour government had created an environment where minority groups and Maori have to compete against each other to gain the 'spoils of the master'.[296] Therefore, instead of Pacific Islands peoples and Maori working together and understand and learning differences, they have an underlying agenda in competing and beating each other, in the attempt to obtain the putea (funding). Secondly, the dominant Pakeha government is able to define what are acceptable differences and what are acceptable cultural practices when disseminating the funding and imposing guidelines to which the funds are to be utilised. Thirdly, by identifying Maori as an area of concern alongside other 'minority groups' and therefore position Maori under the minority banner, ignores and undermines Maori's right and position as tangata whenua, indigenous peoples of Aotearoa which serves to implicitly deconstruct the foundations of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Within Labour Budget 2000 there needs to be a distinction between Maori as indigenous peoples of Aotearoa and other minority groups within society where there should be separate funding for each. In distributing funding, agencies or community groups should be established where there is shared decision-making and representation between Maori for Maori initiatives and programmes. Multicultural policies are detrimental for Maori, and until governments and decision-makers address the wider power-relationships they will only continue to serve in oppressing Maori.

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[294] Johnston, P. (1998) and Simon, J. (1990) refer to *Multiculturalism* in Maori Education and Policy, p.36
[295] Budget Speech (2000) p. B.2/6-7
[296] Trinh, M. (1991) refer to *Notions of Difference* in Critical Theory, p.92

In discussing the mechanisms of political rationality, legitimation crisis, ideological belief patterns and multiculturalism exposes that there has not been a real attempt by the Labour government in developing positive and effective policy for Maori. It has instead disclosed the complex and implicit practice of maintaining 'illusory empowerment' and 'systematic subjugation' for Maori in repositioning, articulating and disguising policies under 'neutral' banners. Of significance, was Labours contradictory paradox, a form of negative selection[297]; in the purpose of perpetuating assumptions of economic capitalist liberation and the need to address cultural and social inequalities, Labour has attempted to redesign political parameters and manipulate periodic shifts in values to maintain an aggressive economy and to meet the social demands of society. If Labour were genuine in its 'commitment' to the Treaty[298] and to Maori needs and aspirations, then interventions of structural policy would be developed, where policies of economic, social and cultural sustainability would be initiated upon intersections of liberal values.

Labour, Maori Education & Contemporary Political Rationality

In examining contemporary political rationality within Labours Education Policy and Budget 2000 mechanisms of new right, devolution, libertarianism and equity exposes the contradictory nature of their policy developments. It is argued that in maintaining an aggressive neo-liberal rationale, Labour continues to reproduce experiences of cultural acculturation and systematic subjugation for Maori.

New right education reform was first implemented by the Labour government of 1984, which was aggressively developed by subsequent National governments. Within Labours contemporary educational rationale ideologies of individualism and have been extended beyond its comfortable limits imposing strong neo-liberal beliefs. These policies have created free market values within educational provisions of access and opportunity; individuals were explicitly recognised as independent individuals, who either acted as producers and consumers not linked to social, gendered or cultural dispositions.[299] The strategic direction of education policy has shifted from 'teaching the child' to 'teaching the skill' to improve the competitive nature of New Zealand workforce and capitalist market values. Labours doctrine assumes that all students are 'passive'

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[297] Apple, M. (1989) refer to *Ideological Rationality* in State Policy Theory, p.66
[298] Budget Speech (2000) p. B.2/2
[299] O'Neil, A. (1996) refer to *New Right* in Maori Education and Policy, p.44

individuals, where education reproduces the required skills without conflict – therefore, success and failure are determinant upon the personal commitment, traits and behaviour of each student. Within cultural and ethnic rationales, policies of individualism in their agency of introducing market values without real or adequate provision of social and cultural policies, only succeeds in developing contemporary racial expressions.[300] The responsibility of success or failure is completely placed upon each individual, and does not account for any wider-societal power relationships that exist and are imposed upon students. Not only does this assume that eurocentric capitalism are universally desired values in which social and cultural sites of struggle for Maori are not recognised, but also successfully subtly regenerates the notion of 'deficit theory'. An ideology that locates 'all' problems and issues exist at the individual levels, and that redemption or the ability to achieve must be found in the action to disregarding all dispositions and ideologies foreign to dominant Pakeha values.

Notions of individualism a very prominent in Labours education policy, with provisions of policy aimed at individual students and their skills – or rather lack of skills. There is no connection between the interacting social traits inherently embodied within an individual and how those conflicts that are negotiated. Instead of Labour accounting for class, racial and gendered sites of struggle Maori have, they locate the 'problem' areas within personal behaviours and traits of Maori students. Therefore, they have developed policies that improve teaching quality, address homework styles, and monitoring strategies of individual performance.

> "Work with Boards and staff organisations to develop a scheme to provide incentives for teachers to be seconded to 'hard to staff' schools; trial initiatives such as homework centres to address low achievement; establish a central database of school age children, to ensure that students no longer simply drop out of the system".[301]

This is further exemplified within the Labours Budget 2000, as there are strong connotations and underlying assumptions expressed within the notion of individualism.

> "Successful students need good study habits. We are providing up to $2 million a year for primary schools in poorer socio-economic areas to help develop homework centres so that all children have an appropriate environment in which to study; reduce the number of pupils who leave school without basic literacy and numeracy skills; additional funding will be provided to attract more Maori and Pacific peoples into teaching and to provide

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[300] Spoonley, P. (1991) refer to *Race* in Critical Theory, p.98
[301] Labour On Schools Outline (1999) p. 2

more resources for the development of Maori and Pacific people's language and culture"[302]

Within the provisions of the Budget 2000, Labour identifies the sites of struggle towards emancipation and successful participation in society is the study habits of individuals, their need for students and families acquire financial capital, the ability to read and write and the inclusion of cultural capital in the form of teachers and resources.[303] Therefore, it can be assumed that in the absence of structural and cultural educational policy initiatives for Maori, the Labour government with there assertions of individualism have extended upon their beliefs of deficit theory, in which inequality will be overcome and liberation will prevail if policies attend to the provision that students access dominant Pakeha financial and cultural capital, and assimilate to their study behaviours and learning strategies. These underlying assumptions of individualism highlight its oppressive nature towards Maori, they attack and attempt to deconstruct the very essence of Maori education principles and strategies such as Ako Maori and Whakawhanaungatanga[304], which are significant in alternative Maori schooling options. Until these wider power-relationships and lived contextual dispositions students, families and communities experience are given real attention, then educational policies will continue to fail and exploit Maori.

Devolution[305] is another illusory notion of access and opportunity, encapsulated within new right policy. The Labour government has attempted to shift the responsibility of educational crisis and outcomes onto individuals, groups and local community (Boards of Trustee's) while the state still remains in control through legislation and auditing agencies. Devolution policies that were initiated by the Picot Report (1989) have been aggressively reproduced as the Labour government as there is a substantial focus on advisory and training agencies, teachers, schools, parents and local communities.

> "Improve pre-service training and require ongoing professional development of teachers; establish a staffing working party to develop a long term staffing formula; work with boards and staff organisations; establish parent advocacy service".[306]

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[302] Budget Speech (2000) p. B.2/5
[303] ibid.
[304] Refer to Smith, G (1991) and Johnston, P (1998) *Philosophies and Principles* and Bishop, R (1998) *Whakawhanaungatanga* in Kaupapa Maori Theory p.9, 17.
[305] Smith, G. (1991) refer to *Devolution* in Maori Education and Policy, p.47
[306] Labour On Schools (1999) p.1-2.

Devolution policy is also perpetuated in the Budget 2000 as notions of 'illusory control' and 'illusory power distribution' attempting to shift responsibility and 'humanise' and submerge government rationality with local and 'reality' contexts in serving the purpose of maintaining positions of control redistributing political accountability.

> "To put further impetus behind the need to raise Maori achievement, a Hui Taumata of experts and elders will be held in October to develop a path forward; Te Puni Kokiri will receive an extra $12 million over the next four years to monitor the effectiveness of social policy programmes for Maori; the government will provide financial support to help communities through the process of developing their plans; CEO's are required to disclose in annual reports what steps they are taking to closing the gaps".[307]

Therefore, in disclosing the 'illusory' mechanism of devolution policies within this quote, we can recognise at a superficial level, it appears that the government is redistributing responsibility and control to the community, where in reality the state is maintaining control. Firstly, even though experts and elders will provide a Maori voice at Hui Taumata, what is decided upon will be understood and analysed in relation to dominant Pakeha interpretations and the scope of development will be defined and restricted upon dominant Pakeha rules and guidelines. However, the government will be seen as giving Maori an opportunity to develop initiatives, and if there is any failure the responsibility will rest with them; secondly, by repositioning the responsibility of monitoring social programmes for Maori with the addition of extra funding, the government has attempted to shift the responsibility for social programmes to Te Puni Kokiri. That if social programmes fail Maori, it is not because it was a poor ineffective programme, but because Te Puni Kokiri failed in its monitoring capacity. A monitoring capacity that has no power to demand change and is governed by strict 'monitoring' rules, regulations and procedures that are implemented and controlled by the government itself; thirdly, in the provision of funding of community plans, Labour can successfully claim that they are giving the community the ability to address their needs, provide real solutions and control over funding, where implicitly they control funding decisions through defined frameworks and regulate the process by setting up auditing agencies; and finally by shifting the responsibility of closing the gaps on to Chief Executive Officers the government has attempted to redistribute power of decision-making, where it has become the CEO's role to develop programmes and initiatives for Maori, if failure occurs it can be recognised the responsibility lies with them and not the government. However, CEO's and Ministries are controlled by guidelines, rules, procedures and decisions imposed by the Ministers and Cabinet.

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[307] ibid. p. B.2/5-6

Although, there is an attempt to give responsibility and power to local community agencies to make choices and decisions – and to some extent it does provide a voice and vote of power within the local community. However, through Lukes three-dimenstional view of power[308] the wider implications are that devolution policies redistribute the accountability and responsibility onto these local agencies and groups, where in fact the majority of control and power still remain with the state and unequal power-relations govern choices and extent of control Maori experience. Despite the governments aim to make Maori more 'inclusive' within the development of policy, they still maintain the power to influence the outcome of decision-making; control the political agenda; and control the rules and regulations that underpin those processors. Therefore, in being recognised in making space for the 'unfortunate other'[309] and extending beyond the 'love your brother and sister' values of humanity, the government operating on dominant Pakeha interests – Pakeha conceptions of difference are able to overturn, interpret and appropriate the Maori voice within a 'Maori-friendly' rationale, and maintain the positions of power and control. Critically it must be realised that within political educational policy development, the primary function of devolution policy is to shift the responsibility on inequality, under-achievement and low educational standards onto local individuals and groups. This is 'a crisis of state responsibility'[310] where boundaries governing states obligations in educational have become blurred as the state attempts to divest itself of accountability. Notions of devolution only serve to perpetuate the current inequalities within society, Maori are not making the decisions that are required to be made by Maori, and it is a process of false representation and illusory responsibility.

Since the early 1980's New Zealand governments have been asserting economic thrusts into education, primarily exercising the 'libertarian'[311] belief and its ancillary notions of equality that an interventionalist economic approach based on free-market principles, choice, competition and opportunity will successfully reform education. In reproducing this logic through the notion of 'horizontal equity distribution'[312] discloses an underlying assumption that individuals are born with equal life chances, and equal opportunities to participate and achieve what they so desire. Inequalities are viewed in terms of individual failure where gender, race, and class dispositions are ignored. In the assertion of 'economic liberation' this interventionalist ideology has developed

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[308] Johnston, P (1998) refer to *Maori Conscientisation* in Maori Education and Policy p.52
[309] Trinh, M. (1987) refer to *Notions of Difference* in Critical Theory p.94
[310] Smith, G (1991) refer to *New Right* in Maori Education and Policy p.47
[311] ibid. p.43
[312] ibid. p.44

'a crisis of equality'[313] in which belief and support for egalitarian intentions still perpetuate inequality. Within Labours Budget document of free-market ideology and notions of libertarianism confers that everyone should be treated the same with the notion of 'horizontal equity' which effectively maintains the status quo, in which the dominant Pakeha in positions of privilege and power perpetuate advantage.

> "Spending on education increases by almost $300 million next year for pre-election levels, including $200 million on new initiatives; the redistribution of the associated funds makes a small contribution of the ideal that opportunity in early life should not be determined by who or how well the child's parent are."[314]

In critically examining this statement Labour makes a number of assumptions. Firstly, Labour assumes that by inserting financial capital and resources into schooling, will provide the 'less fortunate' more opportunity to achieve; secondly, the government also assumes the dominant Pakeha schooling system will be able to effectively redistribute the funds amongst their students; and thirdly this statement assumes that schooling is a arbitrary and neutral site of learning, where there is no cultural, social or class conflict, but only financial differentiation. This rationality of cultural reconstruction is further exemplified; that in adopting the notions of the 'simon chappel' debate,[315] Rt. Hon Helen Clark announced that 'Closing the Gaps' policy framework will be dissolved, and replaced by 'Reducing Inequalities' mandate. This signifies that government ideology has shifted from developing policy upon dispositions of race, to dispositions of class that aims to include 'all people who experience disparities and that are disadvantaged'.[316] This rationality reinforcing 'conservative liberalism' will be come relatively determined by 'poor Pakeha men' dominating engagement of this policy with concerns of 'equal opportunity and access'. As financially disadvantaged Pakeha men are positioned within this framework, they will control the extent of empowerment of this new mandate, as they already have access to dominant 'eurocentric culturalism' and 'social mastery' dispositions. Financially disadvantaged Maori women will be further neglected, as systematic articulation and structural oppression will minimise the engagement of all sites of struggles that exists in the forms of cultural, social and class dispositions. [317]

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[313] ibid.
[314] Budget Speech (2000) p. B.2/5
[315] For further discussion refer to Chapel, S. (1997) 'Maori Participation and Performance in Education' Ministry of Education, Wellington.
[316] Espiner, G. (2000) *Gaps Policy now a Pariah* in New Zealand Herald, December 10th, Section C, p.2
[317] For extended discussion on 'conservative liberalism' surrounding the American feminist movement in the 1960's which was based on class conflict and not race or ethnic site of struggle. Refer to hooks, b

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Libertarian and horizontal principles of equity directly undermine Maori, as these capitalistic principles are unable to deal with notions of race, ethnicity or with wider-systematic inequalities. By only recognising one site of struggle at a superficial level, serves to maintain the status quo and assimilatory policy trends. If there was a real and genuine attempt by the Labour government to resolve differences and close the gap then policies would be based upon 'vertical equity' principles, where the distribution of resources, capital and policies would recognise the class, race, gendered, ethnic dispositions that exist in for Maori. In examining Labour's contemporary political rationality of new right ideology, devolution, libertarianism and equity provided an insight into the underlying assumptions, perpetuation of systematic inequalities, and articulation of cultural subordination for Maori. In discussing notions of individualism, economic liberation and assumptions of cultural values, the Labour government clearly holds the rationality of economic capital accumulation and its power of transformation. However, in also disclosing the absence of cultural and structural exposition and vertical notions of redistribution, reinforces assumptions of Pakeha cultural superiority, notions of deficit theory, ethnogensis of racism and 'state Pakeha dominant' control. For this writer, of interest thus far, is Labours agency of authoritarian populism,[318] attempting to submerge and humanise their political exposition and agenda with strategies of 'illusory responsibility' encompassed in devolution policy and assumptions based on 'horizontal equity' and cultural empowerment within 'neutral' economic liberation. Without addressing the wider unequal power relationships, underlying structures and assumptions of eurocentric conformity, attempts to reposition, redefine and recultivate policies of economic and new right rationality will only continue to perpetuate forms of cultural acculturation for Maori.

Labour, Maori Education & Critical Theory

In engaging in critical theory, mechanisms of homo economicus, cultural reproduction, hegemony and utopian transfiguration within Labours Educational Policy and Budget 2000, reveals the responsiveness of government political rationality to Maori. Of interest, are the notions of correspondence, cultural capital, and distortions of reality, which significantly impact upon

(1983) 'Feminist Theory from Margin to Centre'. Also, refer to *Notions of Difference* in Critical Theory, p.92
[318] Apple, M. (1989) refer to *Authoritarian Populism* in State Policy Theory, p.67

educational policy development and expose the underlying assumptions and contradictions that perpetuate dominant Pakeha interests.

The structure of social relations of schooling outlined in the Labour education policy accustoms schools pupils to act or assume roles of dominance or subordination that corresponds with their current social class identification. In implicitly functioning to meet the necessary requirements of market capitalism, Labours educational policy encompasses a 'corresponding notion' constructed upon social class patterning that sustains current social inequality in society. [319] It is reasonable to presume that any provision in 'Closing the Gaps' in regards to socio-economic status without changing the structural demands of capitalist stratification within society, is false and illusory acclamation. In Labour's document there is an attempt to eradicate inequality by targeting the socio-economic status of Maori.

> "Schools are increasingly being divided into winners and losers, with poorer communities being disadvantaged; that a major contributor to Maori under-achievement in education is the low socio-economic status of Maori". [320]

This systematic inequality is further reinforced, as there are fundamental contradictions between the primary goals[321] outlined in the Budget 2000 policy statement.

- Develop an innovative economy which creates jobs and provides opportunities for 'all' New Zealanders;
- Foster education and skills;
- Close the gaps that now divide our society.

By examining the contradictions that exist within educational policy development, discloses that these goals reproduce dominant Pakeha interests and positions of privilege. One of the fundamental roles of schooling is to provide a stratified labour market to maintain a productive, competitive and efficient economy, which supports the capital accumulation process, continued expansion and the legitimation of capitalist mode of production. Contradictions arise where Labour while advocating the development of an innovative economy within a capitalist market, implicitly facilitates the process of stratification in which opportunities are limited and

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[319] Bowles and Gintis (1976) refer to *Reproduction Theory* in Critical Theory p.86
[320] Labour On Schools (1999) p.16
[321] See Labour Budget Policy Statement (2000) p. B.2/2

predetermined by schemes and practices social, class and cultural identification. Furthermore, in fostering education and skills – opposed to the educating the child, reflects the role of schooling to reproduce 'individual market models'[322] to act and participate as either consumers or producers in a complex tier of controlled systems and opportunities.

The contradiction that exists is that although Labour aim to 'Close the Gaps', they are correspondingly disseminating policies such as innovative economy and fostering skills which depend on schools to stratify students and facilitate gaps in society. Without negotiating the wider implications and structures that bring to bear the inequalities of Maori, emancipation and equal opportunity cannot be achieved by conjunctually focusing on the education system or the 'liberating' mechanism of the economy. An ideology applied to policy alone without alterations to structural framework simply become policies of reproduction that perpetuate and reinforce current power relationships and inequalities within wider society.

Cultural values and practices are evident in Labours education policy in which schools maintain the status quo and reduce the space for emancipation for Maori and other minority groups. The New Zealand Labour education document entails a 'habitus' and 'cultural capital'[323] that is located within the white middle-class male paradigm, causing other social and cultural groups to assimilate to achieve success or fail. Labours policies are defined and positioned within a discourse that is constructed by western liberal thought, masculine ideology and bourgeois dominance.

> "Need to provide high quality education; ability to succeed in economy becomes more reliant on the overall education levels; work in partnership with business to provide interactive education; ensure teachers and students training in use of information technology".[324]

These themes of aggressive competition, individualism, technological advancement, notions of liberalism and market interventions are all dispositions of dominant ideology that continues to oppress and appropriate Maori people. It is clearly demonstrated Labour is only interested in developing skills, not the child, creating 'healthy' competition between students, not co-operating and only concerned at controlling, owning and manipulating knowledge and environments. It is evident the government is perpetuating the habitus and cultural capital of the middle-class

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[322] O'Neil, A (1996) refer to *New Right* in Maori Education and Policy, p.44
[323] Bourdieu, P. (1971) refer to *Reproduction Theory* in Critical Theory, p.88
[324] Labour On Schools (1999) p.3

Pakeha, as there is a distinct absence of structural and cultural initiatives that could act as liberating force in reconstructing the system of cultural values schools operate upon.

Labours educational policy is developed upon 'capitalist liberal democracy' that promotes and distorts an illusory view of reality. It attempts to control, shape and manipulate subordinate groups to ensure the status quo and notions of the 'common good' – an implicit struggle of utopian transfiguration; the appropriation of beliefs and perpetuation systematic acculturation. Hegemony is a powerful tool that has been used historically to oppress and colonise minority groups in which it is an important concept that is critical to the praxis of emancipation. For Maori development utopian concepts of 'biculuturalism' and 'tino rangatiratanga'[325] have shaped Maori consciousnesses towards actions of self-determination and aspirations of self-control. However, there is no mention or expression of 'biculturalism' or 'tino rangatiratanga' in Labour's education policy, in which the Treaty of Waitangi is only referred to once. Instead such notions of individualism, nationalism, devolution, competition, liberalism, egalitarianism, and specialcare have all acted in providing an illusory belief and representation of emancipation for Maori in education. Although, Labour has promised to 'help' Maori in a number of ways, the inherent danger of manipulating and controlling Maori consciousnesses is of concern.[326] Implicitly there is an operation to co-opt Maori people through 'illusory tactics' to shift or stagnate momentum from concepts of 'Kaupapa Maori' and 'tino rangatiratanga' to government initiatives such as Closing the Gaps, notions of social commitment and economic liberation. Although, underlying assumptions, contradictions and structures that reinforce the status quo intersects these initiatives, the impetus of faith and possibility captured by these 'illusory tactics' minimises possibilities of legitimation crisis as structural empowerment is denied.

This position is further exemplified in the Budget 2000, as the recognition of the Treaty is only superficially referenced as one of six goals contextualised within the framework of 'national identity' and marginalised alongside notions of identity, arts and cultural heritage.[327] Furthermore, as each goal is discussed in detail, the Treaty is nowhere to be mentioned. Initially, this seems to be 'just another superficial acknowledgement' and a justifiable position that perpetuates the convenient belief by recent governments that the Treaty is a 'living spirit', integral to the 'fabric of New Zealand society' in which it should not be defined or captured, but

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[325] Smith, G (1991) refer to *Kaupapa Maori as a Critical Framework* in Kaupapa Maori Theory, p.12
[326] Habermas, J. (1973) refer to *Hegemony* in Critical Theory, p.85
[327] Budget Speech (2000) p. B.2/2

become immersed and acknowledged at a individual and community level.[328] However, at a critical level it highlights Labours contradictions and discloses a 'real' government position towards their 'commitment' to the Treaty of Waitangi and Maori. From both Labours Educational Policy and Budget 2000 Statements there is overwhelming evidence and argument that Labour enforces a political rationale that emancipation and liberation primarily arises from strong free-market values and new right ideologies where the effective production and distribution of financial capital is the States central concern.

> "Spending from education increases by almost $300 million; this is the largest ever schools works property programme; the liberating power of market must be recognised; we do want to help businesses find new markets and become winners; develop an innovative economy which creates jobs and provides opportunities for all New Zealanders".[329]

Therefore, from within the Budget 2000 - a statement outlining the applications of financial capital, we can assume that in the absence of Treaty of Waitangi policies, guidelines or commitments, the government perceives this as a framework where emancipation and liberation are not relevant, important, economical or productive considerations. In extending this argument further, we can also question the governments 'commitment' to Maori, because in the omission of financial capital assigned to the liberation ideals of the Treaty, we can also assume Labours policies of emancipation for Maori entail realisation through social and cultural praxis - modes of praxis, to which the government themselves have placed a low priority. It is clearly conclusive, that a government that advocates 'commitment' to the Treaty of Waitangi upon a free market values and new right political rationality, while at same time dismissing financial responsiveness facilitates an illusory praxis of empowerment in which psychologically, causes a site of contestation for Maori.

Labour through tokenistic gestures, policies of illusory responsibility and empowerment, and 'dressed up' social and cultural engagements, have successfully established a 'point of distress' within utopian transfiguration where Maori contest between positioning themselves 'unilaterally', 'within' or 'outside' the system. This conflict arises as Maori continually reassess and network

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[328] See Durie, M (1993) and Smith, G (1990) *Taha Maori* in Maori Education and Policy, p.39 The same detrimental ideology that encapsulated the implementation of taha Maori is regenerated; where Maori language, culture and Treaty should be incorporated into the 'total life' of school and society – no frameworks, no structural guidelines or forms of accountability or commitment. The contradiction is that in advocating liberation upon free market-values and positivist rationale, when it comes to the Treaty there is a convenient 'respect' and inability to establish measurement, responsibility and fragmentation.
[329] Budget Speech (2000) p. B.2/2-5

their ideas, deliberating upon the 'benefits' and 'notions' of government commitments or radical independent initiatives in which they control. Labour cannot deliver the needs and aspirations of Maori from these documents but through hegemonic practices have successfully minimised a legitimation crisis by Maori.

Therefore, examining the critical elements of homo economicus, cultural capital, hegemony and utopian transfiguration exposes the underlying contradictions, rationalities and assumptions within Labours educational policy development. In discussing the contradiction between capitalist stratification and closing the gaps policy, correspondence of social class patterning, reinforcing middle-class Pakeha habitus and cultural capital and permeating illusory views of responsibility discloses a complex matrix of disfunctionalism. In critically engaging the various levels of Labours political agency, discloses the conflicting and contradictory political rationality within policy development. Although, the strategic directions and exposition of educational policy development externally provide promise and hope for Maori, internally praxis of transformation are being undermined by fundamental entrenched assumptions and contradictions that act against and subjugate Maori. External 'window dressing' is inadequate, as policy development must address cultural and structural praxis of empowerment.[330]

Labour, Maori Education & Theories of Difference

In examining theories of difference within this critique, provides and insight into the cultural dynamics, and systematic dualisms and inequalities that operate within Labour's political rationality. Through discussing notions of conservative liberalism, nationalism, separate development and binary oppositions reveals the extent to which transformation exists within the educational policy development for Maori. It is argued that although new initiatives and policy directions have been constructed, underlying structural frameworks and intersections of dominant Pakeha interests continue to critically impact and articulate these expositions.

The Labour governments education policy sustains notions of universalism and conservative liberalism[331] through 'blanket policies'[332] by only recognising Maori as a universal group and assumes that equity can be achieved by focussing on cultural modes of access and opportunity

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[330] Smith, G. (1991) refer to *Maori Conscientisation* in Maori Education and Policy, p.49
[331] hooks, b. (1983) refer to *Notions of Difference* in Critical Theory, p.92
[332] Smith, G. (1991) refer to *Conscientisation* in Maori Educational Policy, p.49

alone. There is no distinction or differentiation between the demographic location of Maori, gendered dispositions of Maori, Maori tribes, Maori socio-economic status and social-class positioning. The Labour educational policy assumes Maori 'is one big homogenous group' in which there are no sites of struggle within the praxis of Maori development. In distinguishing this notion of universalism and conservative liberalism, it is almost tenable to simply state an absence of collective ideology. However, we can still identify implicit aspects of universalism within the policy.

> "Maori are under-represented and have lower levels of achievement; Maori have recognised this and developed their own solutions; Maori have struggles for recognition; Kohanga Reo programmes have proved their worth as a valuable addition to the choices available to Maori."[333]

These aspects of Labours educational policy prescribes a provision of policy that focuses only on Maori as a universal group – the reality is that not all Maori have low levels of achievement, not all Maori are immersed within or have developed solutions, some Maori do not support other Maori's solutions, not all Maori have to struggle for recognition; and not all Maori have the choice to send their children to Kohanga Reo. This notion simply perpetuates common hegemonic and patriarchal oppressive practices – by not accounting for the many differences within which Maori are positioned. Not only do the access and opportunity concerns of middle-class need attention, but also just as importantly the concerns and issues related to Maori that are exploited and oppressed upon practices and conditions relating to race, ethnic and social-class. Policy development needs not only to look beyond the first impositions inequalities, but also the subsequent underlying layers of dispositions, because by only recognising one site of struggle simply limits and even subverts the action of liberation that was intended.

In extending the notions of universalism and liberal conservatism, policies and statements adopt to claim that 'we are all New Zealanders', and although ethnic politics and educational policy is diverse, represents nationalism[334] – a legally and culturally defined ideology, that has the justification of acting in the 'common good'. Such nationalist arguments and assumptions recognise racial considerations as being irrelevant, denying that issues of racism and ethnicity are prominent in New Zealand society, whereas in reality such distinctions are still explicitly and implicitly operating between Maori and Pakeha. This contemporary, yet historically subtle form

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[333] Labour On Schools (1999) p.17
[334] Spoonley, P. (1991) refer to *Nationalism* in Critical Theory, p.98

of racial expression is evident in Labours education policy, prescribing all policies developed upon a political manifesto to be aimed at 'all New Zealanders'.

> "Labour sees quality education as a basic right, which must be available to all students. If New Zealanders are better educated the whole society will benefit, both socially and economically."[335]

> "The government's goal is to ensure that all New Zealanders have the best possible chance to develop their potential, and to equip themselves to meet the demands of a fast changing world"[336]

This line of nationalist thought advocates that all people in New Zealand consider themselves as New Zealander's and assumes that there are no sites of struggle within New Zealand society, that everyone's actions, interests and aspirations are aimed at a macro-level state of 'well-being'. However, New Zealand is a multi-cultural society with many social groups and expressions – notions of nationalism deny these different aspirations and interests that different social and cultural groups possess. Nationalist sediments are constructed upon 'status quo' definitions, selective and relevant knowledge as determined my dominant interest groups, which reinforce the privilege, access and opportunity of middle-class Pakeha men. By positioning all social and cultural groups under a united banner and neutralise all dispositions and beliefs foreign to the dominant Pakeha, deny Maori who they are, deny modes of emancipation, and continue that malleable and perpetuating expressions of assimilation and re-colonisation.

In examining the initiative of 'Closing the Gaps' policy, discloses the ideological agency of 'everyone may bloom in the masters garden – I am tolerated in my difference as long as I conform with the established rules'.[337] Within political rationality of educational policy development state initiatives and policies of Maori transformation confer notions of separate development and specialness, which sanctions the praxis of conjunctural policy development and empowerment that must exist and progress within wider and more power structural framework that are controlled by the government. Notions of difference as determined by 'binary dualisms' in educational policy discourse brings to bear cultural suppression and praxis of acculturation for the 'other', indigenous groups, minorities and Maori – in which the Labour education policy is no exception, with there flagship policy of Closing the Gaps.

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[335] Labour On Schools Outline (1999) p.1
[336] Budget Speech (2000) p. B.2/5
[337] Mihn-ha, T (1987) refer to *Notions of Difference* in Critical Theory p.92

"Closing the Gaps – Maori education; improving Maori education at all levels; only achieved by strengthening specific Maori education initiatives, along with improving mainstream opportunities; ensure that successful programmes receive the recognition and resources they deserve; develop a long-term action plan for Maori education".[338]

Such a policy results in a 'magic bullet' for Maori; firstly, in attempting to provide a policy that creates space and action of emancipation for Maori, dominant groups still maintain control in disseminating and manipulating structural polices which limit, encapsulates and govern the scope of liberation Maori may achieve; secondly, the policy becomes confused with the consciousness and positive value of Maori difference in which within this context is seen as an 'award' rather than a human right, which creates a both a distance and division in enjoying privilege and holds the ideal that dominant groups are 'humane' and possess high morality in preparing the way for 'unfortunate Maori'; thirdly policies of specialcare succeed in shifting the mode of responsibility from the government and dominant interest groups on to the 'oppressed groups', because at a superficial level provides the illusory representation that the government have provided a space for Maori to have a 'real' chance to transform themselves and also successfully shifted the burden of failure upon Maori; and finally the Closing the Gaps policy within this context is also recognised as a form of 'conservative restoration', [339] in which instead of policy for Maori being delivered as tangata whenua and a unique and justifiable right of humanity, is actually facilitated from the thought that Maori are inferior and need help – therefore, behind this conservative restoration is a loss of control, economic and personal security, knowledge and values of Maori as it reproduces a binary of 'we' and 'they'; that 'we' are hard working, decent, virtuous and homogenous and that 'they' are lazy, immoral, permissive and heterogeneous.

Policies of separatism, specialness and conservative restoration are implicit in Labour education policy perpetuating historical beliefs of Maori as inferior people, inclusion and representation of Maori is a privilege, that Maori are dependent and need help – by positioning Maori education under the 'banner' of Closing the Gaps' perpetuates this ideology.

Notions of 'levelling differences'[340] and 'neutrality' have perpetuated and evolved the themes of egalitarianism that emerged in the early nineteenth century, which were explicitly realised in policies such as the Currie Report (1960), and now implicitly operate within educational ideology

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[338] Labour On Schools (1999) p.16
[339] Dale, R (1989) refer to *Notions of Difference* in Critical Theory p.96
[340] Trinh, M. (1983) opt cit.

continuing cycles of oppression and poverty. It is for many indigenous and minority groups that levelling differences serve to deny the people the right of who they are and what social, cultural and political rights they have. In the modest attempt to acknowledge difference, the Labour education document does not take into perceiving difference to be positive, unique or valid as it excludes the social, cultural or political praxis of Maori difference, and instead formulates notions of Maori difference based on market ideology and eurocentric enterprise.

> "There is substantial evidence that demonstrates that a major contributor to Maori under achievement in education is the low socio-economic status of Maori; proper consideration to schools decile and workload issues; develop support systems to encourage more Maori to train as teachers at all levels of education; develop professional education programmes which support all teachers at all levels of education to work constructively with Maori students." [341]

In analysing this document there is an underlying emerging pattern that is constantly being reinforced by theories of difference, that this government is neglecting the wider structural issues of Maori. These superficial and tokenistic policies aimed at 'surface' problems are not adequate enough but invariably perpetuate current oppressive conditions of Maori, in denying real representation and modes of emancipation. Labour has failed to provide any policy that recognises Maori distinct identity, their policies are subsumed in the belief that by redistributing funding and establishing support agencies, will result in Maori being able to progressively and controllably be able to achieve success and praxis of self-determination. There is only an illusory representation, illusory modes of emancipation – as forms of policies are still embodied within a dominating political rationality of Pakeha belief systems. In reinforcing the eurocentric logic of levelling differences within educational policy, sustains a role of oppression and perpetuate practices of assimilation. In abstaining the belief of levelling differences is to resist and ignore the value and unique difference Maori possess and celebrate, it signals a denial of real phenomena and personal disposition that exists outside the dominant sphere.

In constructing 'binary dualisms'[342] associated with difference, Labour continues to justify oppression of subordinate minority and indigenous cultures as fiscal and economic distribution is governed by oppositions, and not upon difference. Differences outlined in policies and statements are not just simply a set of binary oppositions of classification and comparison, but an 'ideological' active process that influences values, beliefs and human relations on the a level that

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[341] Labour on Schools (1999) p.17
[342] Martin, B. (1998) refer to *Binaries of Difference* in Critical Theory, p.102

reproduces dominant forms of culture and maintain oppressed positions of indigenous people, Maori and the 'other'.

Within Labours Budget 2000, are a number of binary oppositions (dualisms) positioned within the context of 'Closing the Gaps'[343] which although outlines target areas of concern but also represents and implicitly identifies areas and groups of 'awkwardness or incompleteness'.

Skilled	Unskilled
Employment-Rich	Employment-Poor
Cities	Provinces
Other Communities	Maori Communities
Traditional Delivery Channels	Maori Controlled Organisations

Therefore, as Labour has identified 'problem areas' that they need to address, in a context of 'closing the gaps' has constructed a juncture and summation of thought – our epoch, that presumes that 'Maori Communities are unskilled, employment-poor, rural and that Maori controlled organisations have failed' whereas to 'Close this Gap' they must assimilate to 'non-Maori and Pacific Communities, who are urbanised, skilled, employment-rich and attend successful traditional delivery channels'. However, more importantly for this writer is that it provides our first real insight at an ideological level the governments 'praxis of action' in relation to how they define 'the Gap' and what it means – that Maori Peoples (iwi Maori subordinate) need to develop the values, practices and behaviours of the dominant Pakeha (state Pakeha dominant)[344]. By appropriating and contextualising areas of concern within binaries of opposition, the Budget 2000 has propagated difference as a tool of segregation and exploitation by resisting the very notion of difference itself and denying people the right of who and what social and cultural rights they have. Instead of affirming and celebrating differences, and contextualising the 'praxis of action' of 'Closing the Gaps' upon the histories of colonisation and experiences of systematic oppression Maori and Pacific Communities have endured, [345] the Labour government have perpetuated positivist ideologies of representation and 'social Darwinist' classifications of difference, which serves to ameliorate positivist ideologies and values of re-colonisation and assimilation.[346]

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[343] Budget Speech (2000) p. B.2/7
[344] Smith, G (1991) refer to *Maori Conscientisation* in Maori Education and Policy p.49
[345] Smith, L (1999) refer to *Kaupapa Maori Research Methodology* in Kaupapa Maori Theory p.14
[346] Also see Pihama, L (1996) refer to *Kaupapa Maori and Deconstruction* in Kaupapa Maori Theory, p.21

In exploring the major notions of difference within Labours educational policy has highlighted the nature of the political rationality and government mechanisms that influence educational policy development. In examining the conservative liberal nature of universalism and blanket policies; nationalism as a contemporary racial expression; the magic bullet theory of separate development; dominant Pakeha defined notions of 'neutrality' in levelling differences; and binary oppositions perpetuating dualisms of cultural hierarchy, discloses that within Labours educational development are constructions of eurocentric cultural superiority reaffirming dominant Pakeha interests. In the absence of identifying Maori as the tangata whenua, a culture exploited upon histories of colonisation, and lived experiences suppressed by systematic inequality, Maori are positioned as inferior, need help and immoral. For Maori, real and effective policies of transformation need to celebrate differences and dispositions and engage in addressing past histories and underlying structures.

Concluding Commentary

In analysing and examining the 1999 New Zealand Labour Educational Policy and the Budget 2000 Statement this chapter has critically disclosed the major themes, political mechanisms and rationalities that develop educational policy for Maori. In applying and engaging in the theoretical discourses of state policy theory, political rationality, critical theory and theories of difference this critique has exposed the expositions, underlying assumptions and mechanisms that contribute and construct dominant Pakeha interests and perpetuate and reproduce policies of oppression for Maori. In assuming that both these documents provide a comprehensive indication of Labours educational rationality and political intent, this theoretical analysis has revealed that there is continued systematic and ideological failure to address the needs and aspirations of Maori. Through maintaining assumptions of eurocentric cultural superiority, themes of assimilation and reproducing the systematic inequalities and wider power structures, Labour reinforces and manipulates experience and conditions of exploitation maintaining dominant Pakeha interests. Of interest in this chapter was the disclosure to Labours political agency in redesigning political parameters and manipulating periodic shifts in values to develop conservative humanistic values in addressing social demands and inequalites of society while aggressively maintaining liberal economic strategies. Although, there are new initiatives, differences in strategic policy directions and Maori friendly policies, the extent of transformation and concern exists only at a superficial

and tokenistic level as there is a distinct absence of cultural and structural educational reform, vertical equity, recognition as tangata whenua and Kaupapa Maori initiatives and praxis.

Chapter 7

DISCUSSION OF THEMES

Introduction

In exploring and disclosing the contemporary educational issues, concerns and frameworks of the New Zealand government and its encompassing political rationality, this research conducted interviews with four prominent government officials,[347] to gain an insight into the political mechanisms, ideologies and initiatives that influence and shape education policy development for Maori in the new millennium. Each interview lasted approximately one hour, where each participant discussed their personal perspective on Maori educational policy development, Labour educational policy development for Maori, and the critical issues that exist for both New Zealand education and Maori. In maintaining confidentiality, each participant cannot be named or associated to any agency or organisation, however it can be stated that these participants have very important roles in developing Maori education within the state system.

Throughout the interviews distinct themes consistently emerged as critical issues for development of Maori education policy. These themes discussed in this chapter will provide a comprehensive insight into the extent of space and commitment the New Zealand state has towards Maori needs and aspirations, and builds upon the theoretical rationalities argued in the previous chapter.

The major themes and issues discussed in the interviews:

(a)   The Closing the Gaps Policy;
(b)   New Zealand Labour Party Manifesto;
(c)   Rationales of Social Policy and Structuralism;
(d)   Political Representation;
(e)   Political Constraints.

Furthermore, these major themes successfully disclose the political rationalities and government mechanisms that influence educational policy development for Maori.

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[347] All participants identify themselves as Maori and have key roles in developing education policy for Maori.

<u>The Closing the Gaps Policy</u>

The Closing of the Gaps Policy has become recognised as Labour's flagship policy, as it is constantly reinforced by government officials as a genuine commitment to Maori and a positive initiative to reduce the inequalities that Maori experience. Labour further strengthens this argument stating that the Prime Minister chairs the committee along side senior cabinet ministers.

> "Rt. Hon Helen Clark says she has thrown 'the full weight of the government' behind efforts to create a better future for Maori – determined to Close the Gaps between Maori and non-Maori".[348]

> "The GAPS committee is headed by the PM, I think in terms of political intention that there is a clear desire that the committee and its responsibilities are taken seriously because the PM chairs it, all the key Ministers are there, I think one of the first things they initiated is the effectiveness report that TPK has the ability to go into other Ministers portfolio's and monitor how effective there department is responding to Maori".[349]

Initially, what was enigmatic about the 'Closing the Gaps' policy is the ability to define and recognising what it actually represents and the scope it encompasses. From Labours education manifesto to the government's legislation committee manual there is no elucidation to the capacity or operational mechanisms it governs or aims to develop. However, Te Puni Kokiri in its executive summary best defines what Closing the Gaps policy is;

> "Governments strategic objective for Maori development is to make a significant progress towards developing policies and processors that lead towards closing the economic and social gaps between Maori and non-Maori'.[350]

Furthermore, it can be distinguished that strategies of action are contextualised within six critical areas of development and concern.

(i)   Education

(ii)   Labour Force

(iii)   Income

(iv)   Housing

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[348] Rt. Hon. Helen Clark (2000) *Prime Minister Entrusts Te Puni Kokiri with Process to Help Close the Gaps* in Ministry of Maori Development Newsletter (2000). March Issue No.56 p.1
[349] Participant IV.
[350] Ministry of Maori Development, Report to the Minister of Maori Affairs (2000) p.6

(v)   Criminal Justice

(vi)   Health

Treaty of Waitangi & The Closing the Gaps Policy

> "At the end of the day there are two quite clear aspects for me, Closing the Gaps is
> fundamentally about being apart of an overarching importance to Maori development,
> you see the same as the Treaty".[351]

In discussing the importance of the Closing the Gaps policy, there was critical debate surrounding it's positioning and praxis in relation to the Treaty of Waitangi. Advocates of the Gaps policy argued that it reflected a strong government initiative that represented a 'modern' and 'going forward' effort to develop effective outcomes for Maori. Furthermore, because of the absence of other government or contemporary frameworks, this policy direction is an opportunity for Maori that must be engaged and developed upon.

> "In the practicality of operationalising efforts and development for our people in the
> modern day, we need to make sure that we have operational functions, processors and
> activities that make a difference for our people; we have to be very clear, very quick and
> strong in relation to going forward".[352]

> "The Gaps will be there, but we have to move it forward from being a negative
> connotation, to an explicit, expressive, effective and positive going forward
> connotation".[353]

Another government official commented that the Gaps policy influences their work a lot about how they think about developing policy for Maori. In terms of Labour's strategic business plan in education, the Ministries mission has two elements, to reduce disparity and raise achievement, which is also positioned within the Treaty of Waitangi framework. Therefore, there is a presumption that not only does the Gaps policy initiative and framework fulfil the government's obligation to the Treaty, but provides a contemporary and practical responsiveness to the concerns and issues relating to Maori development.

> "That (Closing the Gaps) influences a lot of how we think about policy and how we
> might think about implementing policy, but an integral part of that (Closing the Gaps) is
> the Treaty framework, and the kinds of opportunities that are available for the

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[351] Participant I.
[352] ibid.
[353] ibid.

government to look at in terms of the core relationship with Maori through Treaty obligations and that (Closing the Gaps) has a whole lot of practical dimensions".[354]

The Gaps policy is recognised as the governments attempt to engage in the Treaty in modern times.

"The Treaty is a document between two partners, how it is interpreted and enacted in modern times…I don't think by any means or anything generally overshadows the principles of the Treaty".[355]

However, other government officials and this writer express strong concerns. There is a substantial theme, that although the Gaps policy has been positioned as a Treaty obligation by the Labour government, it marginalises and devalues the living strength and praxis of empowerment the Treaty encompasses. Already the Treaty document has been appropriated by Crown defined Treaty Principles[356] and now within modern times it is not recognised by the government as a legitimate framework to position Maori development upon.

There is a distinctive belief that the Gaps policy 'drags' the Treaty into the new century and provides a grounding to develop 'positive' and 'effective' government policy that is appropriate and relevant for Maori. While at the same time disregarding 'Kaupapa Maori Theory and Praxis' a modern theoretical framework developed by Maori,[357] the government by engaging in Gaps policy have implicitly redefined what the Treaty represents and maintained control through determining what is 'appropriate' and 'relevant' policy, and policy frameworks for Maori development.

The argument of Closing the Gaps as a modern Treaty obligation implicitly attacks the foundations of Kaupapa Maori, because Kaupapa Maori is developed on first principle arguments and principles and praxis of Tino Rangatiratanga are asserted upon Treaty constitutions. In the attempt to reposition praxis of empowerment upon the Closing the Gaps policy, a Pakeha defined and developed framework, directly contests Kaupapa Maori and the Treaty of Waitangi as valid and legitimate framework of Maori development. Furthermore, in a monetarist political rationale, it also successfully acts as a justifiable tool, for reclaiming and retracting funds from previous

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[354] Participant II.
[355] Participant I.
[356] Treaty of Waitangi Act (1975) see Bookfield, R. (1999) p.151
[357] See Smith, G (1997) Kaupapa Maori Theory and Praxis; Phd Thesis, Auckland University for further discussion.

Maori commitments in developing educational policy as Closing the Gaps policy is prioritised imperiously. In challenging the Closing the Gaps policy, participants hypothesised the need to adopt another 'plank' of development.

An Alternative Plank

> "Gaps only focuses on negative things and you think 'hell, how can we do that – how can we make the figures do that', I think strategically it is a wrong move, what do you do next? What do you do when in fact it is going to take a generation for the Gap to close, what do you do in the meantime?"[358]

There needs to be an alternative plank. An official argued that there are many useful planks that exist in both state and Maori praxis, but there needs to be something more positive, a plank that extends beyond the gaps of disparity, a plank that celebrates the cultural differences and expressions of the tangata whenua, as well as address the Treaty of Waitangi and systematic inequalities that exist for Maori. There should be a policy framework that focuses on an issue like leadership, thinking about the ways to increase Maori leadership in different organisations, because that is where change starts.[359]

> "I mean lets say the Gaps in Health does decrease, but it doesn't in Housing, Education or Employment – so what? It's a confession, because you can see the types of issues arise and what our development is restricted to…I think Gaps is just a tool".[360]

Another alternative plank argued, was a strategy based on the initiatives of 'Kaupapa Maori Theory' in which it was recognised that Maori academics and intellectuals are developing positive and innovative work. Universities need to be incorporated and government should not be fearful of that, and say 'how can we tie them into the one big master plan in providing more effective, relevant policies for Maori at the community and global levels'.[361]

Kaupapa Maori as a plank provides an opportunity to embrace learning about Maori, being Maori and values the Treaty and not just being confined to working on the negative statistics that Maori occupy. In further extending this argument, Closing the Gaps is determined by positivist rationales of development, informed by empirical interpretation and judgement whereas Kaupapa

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[358] Participant III.
[359] ibid.
[360] ibid.
[361] Participant IV.

Maori is a critical framework positioned in the anti-positivist debate exploring all forms of empowering phenomena.

> "New Zealand as a whole is always looking forward, and not prepared to look back, and not learning from Maori paradigm, which is put your past in front of you and actually walk towards it, and embrace it and saying 'it is great to be a New Zealander' because I value my past and the Treaty and everything that goes with it and I value the language, because what makes me a New Zealander makes me special; and that what happens when you begin to focus on Gaps because you don't get to concentrate on what I think is especially important".[362]

The Gaps does not have anything positive about it, there is an underlying recognition that Maori are the problem – that 'we' need help and 'our' view of the world is to blame. Gaps policy distinctively negates philosophical foundations of Kaupapa Maori as contemporary Maori educationalists argue that critical to Maori development is the engagement of deconstruction and re-presentation;[363] that these policies of specialcare and separate development[364] are not only obligations of the Treaty, but because of histories of colonial oppression and systematic inequalities. However, in the absence of this process, Gaps rationale reaffirms the rhetoric of binary oppositions that Maori are an unfortunate and inferior people, and that Pakeha must help them upon grounds of morality and acting civilised.

This writer also argues there is a fundamental contradiction that exists towards realising this government's commitment to Closing the Gaps. When advocates of Gaps policy commented its seriousness towards Maori development in modern times, they also explained that it was not an 'end all and be all'.

> "Well, I think it's a conjugant that creates a start and entry point into a better way forward for us, you know, there was nothing else, I think the connotation that it's the end all and be all is also not a wise assumption because I can assure you, in the role I have I am not conceited that it is one of those".[365]

Although there is failure to recognise that Kaupapa Maori or the Treaty of Waitangi as a strong 'entry point' for Maori development, any notions of 'strength' and 'seriousness' cannot be

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[362] Participant III.
[363] Pihama, L (1996) refer to *Race and Ethnicity* in Critical Theory, p.98
[364] Minh-ha, T (1987) refer to *Notions of Difference* in Critical Theory, p.92
[365] Participant I.

validated, as such interventions must encompass structural and cultural rationality to exist and formulate positive and effective educational policy for Maori.[366]

New Zealand Labour Party Manifesto

> "The manifesto is governed by the parties networks and connections throughout the country that feed the priorities in; that influences what the government of day might be doing, and also influences the overall philosophy about what they might see the government development."[367]

Internal Dynamics

A strong theme that was debated in the interviews in which was a determining mechanism in developing educational policy for Maori, was the government's manifesto and its encompassing political rationality.[368] In attempting to disclose 'who' develops the manifesto, which operates in providing a philosophical and theoretical framework to develop government policy upon, it was recognised and debated that the 'large party infrastructure' and 'political network' constructs this governing foundation. However, officials commented that importantly for Maori development it is a progressive and malleable agenda, in which internal contesting and negotiation is always influenced policy direction.

> "I would suggest you look at the internal dynamics of the political parties, and see how decision-making takes place, amongst parties because you will always find there are ways in which membership can influence the direction that they are taking – but you have to secure it".[369]

Furthermore, it was explained that individual agency or alternative status-quo initiatives, which were mainly Maori, were contested upon the manifesto, in which officials were constantly negotiating and defending their position within the 'bigger picture'. Sites of contestation existed not only at the strategic level at parliament but filtered down into mechanical and operation functions of the agencies. An underlying theme that emerged throughout the interviews was that although internal dynamics or individual agency is governed by the praxis of the government

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[366] Smith, G (1991) refer to *Maori Conscientisation* in Maori Education and Policy, p.49
[367] Participant II.
[368] These arguments build upon the theoretical analysis of the Labour Educational Policy (Manifesto for Education) and Budget 2000 (Political Rationality) discussed in the previous chapter.
[369] Participant IV.

manifesto it served to operate as an integral disposition of Maori education development. Policy approaches and thinking that reflected the manifesto, is largely endorsed throughout parliament by majority-coalition members, and subsequently developed though the systematic policy process uncontested.

Most of the government officials acknowledged that the agenda and positioning of the manifesto in providing a basis of development for policy, was very inconsistent and constantly being redefined all the time, largely by cabinet. Officials commented that for new Maori initiatives or alternative ideologies are most of the time impossible to develop, because in the attempt of facilitating new legislation and associating it to the manifesto as a means of legitimation, the manifesto while in theory provided a 'strong' basis of support, in political reality it was an indistinct and unresponsive framework of Maori educational development.

This point of conflict discloses that the space of Maori development only exists ideologically, as Maori development is defined by Pakeha conceptions of difference. As Maori introduce alternative initiatives, particularly those that are developed outside the defined praxis[370] resulted in political contestations and systematic constraints being imposed, as it does not correspond with dominant Pakeha interpretations.[371]

> "I think now there is more and more blurring of political boundaries than ever before, we are facing a whole lot of issues that are effecting us economically, that lead us to respond politically in ways where traditional centre-left parties would not have responded".[372]

In extending the discussion on internal dynamics within the government, although Maori development within the government is confined to specific frameworks and political agendas in which Maori still need to be 'politically organised' to make gains in politics, there is a strong representation of Maori development 'underneath the seats' that are also working to secure the Maori peoples future.

> "We got Maori who are in and outside government in key areas of decision making, in our universities, who are able to influence the direction of policy change, we can draw on that information now, whereas before what we used to have are basically Maori members

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[370] The defined praxis for Maori development by the Labour government exists within the frameworks of 'Closing the Gaps' or 'Treaty Obligations'.
[371] Johnston, P. (1999) refer to *Maori Conscientisation:* Maori Education and Policy p.52
[372] Participant IV

of parliament who tried to do the best they could do with what limited resources they had".[373]

However, instead of contesting the 'space' of Maori development encapsulated within the manifesto, officials were complacent in arguing that the major site of struggle for Maori, educational empowerment exists through the actions of individual agency by Maori, upon the manifesto. Therefore, underlying this rationale is a conjecture that the manifesto and the 'party infrastructure' are not responsive to Kaupapa Maori and do not embrace 'real' structural provisions for Maori development. Furthermore, it discloses the functionalism of Maori development within the government, that empowerment comes from individual agency performed by Maori officials manipulating temporary allies of support, in the attempt of legitimising substantial policy upon the manifesto to meet the needs and aspirations of Maori.

Although empowerment through individual agency is a critical element of Kaupapa Maori,[374] it discloses the praxis of Maori development being marginalised and existing as ad hoc, not only by the actions of Maori government officials and reflection on praxis beneath Parliament structure, but also through their taken-for-granted assumptions and importance placed of developing Maori educational policy upon the manifesto, instead of within. Furthermore, there is a distinct realisation there is a 'crisis of democracy' for Maori, as democracy in New Zealand that is based on numeric domination, dispositions of empirical ideology. This 'theory of numbers' ensures and justifies Pakeha interests dominating and controlling the manifesto, condensing Maori development and resisting Maori agency performed 'upon' the manifesto and maintaining status quo.

Legitimation Crisis

In maintaining control and power in developing policy for Maori upon the government manifesto's, the Ministers have two major objectives; (a) can it be done, and how it can be implemented effectively; and (b) politically what are the impacts of the interest groups will be that primary effected by the policy changes. 'Here the Minister makes the call, and decides to approve or initiate the process to develop the policy'.[375]

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[373] ibid.
[374] Pihama, L (1993) and Smith, G (1997) refer to *Kaupapa Maori as Critical Framework* in Kaupapa Maori, p.12
[375] Participant II.

> "Working out the details of that policy, our role is to implement that policy that is going to benefit, its going to perform the intent of what was promised without creating a whole lot of other problems somewhere else. You have got a risk management side that looks at maximising the opportunities".[376]

The participants commented that, in developing and passing policy and legislation that was in the manifesto when elected to office, there are no problems enforcing those provisions such as the Bulk Funding policy or the Student Loan Interest policy.[377] However, in cultivating something subsequent to what had not been talked about in the manifesto in terms of Maori policy, a primary legitimation issue is that although operational features of the policy, such as the nuts and bolts of things require fiscal responsibilities, the more significant national kind of policies that cover the whole of the education system in which there is a strong Maori focus, the Ministers would not move very far without a comprehensive and complete consultation phased with all key interest groups.

> "One of the things that would influence him (Minister of Maori Education) is whether he could deliver, at the end of the day if he signs up to a policy like that, then he has to make sure he can deliver the goods; Minister consults and engages with 'relevant' stakeholder groups to ensure that there was some kind of ownership for what the government wanted to do".[378]

It was identified by participants that papers that go to the Minister, 'ought to have done the rounds' and have received input from other agencies who have been part of the development. There needs to be a 'relative agreement' before the Minister even considers a policy. However, in achieving this stage an implicit theme that the participants conveyed was that within Maori education policy development, things change all the time, and that there will always be some recommendation or amendment that your are not happy with.

> "It's a hard job though, because you're always between a rock and hard place carrying out the governments solutions; there are often inconsistencies in the messages or inconsistencies in the policy which they (government) have caused".[379]

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[376] ibid.
[377] Labour On Schools (1999) p.2
[378] Participant II.
[379] Participant III.

Furthermore, in extending the notion of legitimation within the manifesto, officials argued that Maori policy development was largely determined by the 'economical and liberal' ideologies that are strong themes in Labour's manifesto.

> "We are in a new environment now, a lot of that has got to do with the economy, a lot of that is not governed solely by New Zealand, because we are apart of a global infrastructure of economies".[380]

This successfully maintains the status quo as dominant Pakeha have perpetuated the economic expositions of legitimation, as notions of individualism; competition, commodification, free-market values and privatisation govern educational policy development for Maori. There is no 'space' for Maori principles of Whakawhanaungatanga, Taonga Tuhu Iho, Ako Maori or Kaupapa Maori strategies to be recognised and formulate real Maori emancipation, instead they are devalued, subverted and trivialised by liberal ideologies and monetarist agenda's.[381]

Rationales of Social, Economic, Cultural and Structural Policy

In exploring the mechanisms of educational policy development, a major theme that emerged was the operational dynamics and nature of government policy in relation to the exercise and implementation of 'social policy' and 'structural and strategic policy' in meeting the needs and aspiration of Maori.

Social Policy

All officials commented to some degree that 'social policy' had been redefined by contemporary political rationality in which the term 'social' now encapsulates so many different types policy, distinctly governs relationships between policy phenomena and acts as a 'plank' that complements the 'Closing the Gaps' policy.

> "You can't look at policies through its own square box anymore, you can't deal with educational policy in isolation without looking at health, housing and employment policy. So what we are trying to do is get a better blend of policies across the board, and get a better relationship working, like an intersectional relationship amongst agencies to basically deal with issues through a different lens you know, because they had there

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[380] Participant IV.
[381] Smith, G (1991) refer to *New Right* in Maori Education Policy, p.43 and Smith, G (1997) *Philosophies & Principles* in Kaupapa Maori Theory p.9

square lens before and we are saying 'hey we should use curved lenses and see where the relationships are now.'"[382]

In discussing social policy, key terms such as 'holistic approach', 'chemical reaction', 'interplay' and 'interdisciplinary development' kept resurfacing. Throughout the interviews, there was recognition that there had been a radical shift in relation to the political position and function of social commitment. No longer does it concentrate on developing specific policy for crisis of health and welfare schemes, but its fundamental concern is developing 'relationships in action' and 'acting as a plank' from which 'social fragmented subsidiaries' such as education, housing, employment, welfare, housing, health and crime and justice are developed upon.

In universalising these social subsidiaries under a common discourse limits the operational scope and restricts engagement to the issues and sites of struggles as perceived by the status quo, who control the information and determine what issues are valid in each social disposition. These themes of conservative liberalism are detrimental for Maori and Indigenous peoples and perpetuate dominant Pakeha interests.[383] Furthermore, within this contemporary political rationale, notions of devolution theories are being appropriated to not only attempt to redistribute power, but also redistribute political accountability, as social policy frameworks and their specific characteristics are being redefined and repressed under one universalised scheme. This further extends the argument under liberalism that there is a 'crisis of the state'.[384]

What was also determining was that, although social policy provided an operational plank to develop social subsidiaries and recently repositioned subsidiaries, it primarily implemented economic and liberal values and coextensively represented fiscal responsibilities. There was realisation that the social policy plank was no longer a 'safety net' for the 'problems' that developed as a result of a particular political rationale, but has become itself determined and restructured in relation to economic and fiscal agendas.

"Social policies are impacted by economic policies; there is an interplay between economic and social policy which is vital and I think this government has; you can't borrow to support a social policy agenda, you have to earn and pay for that because what tends to happen is that borrowing to do that you actually tend to cut into the integrity of your social policy agenda; so it's a really fine balancing act, ensuring that your economic

[382] Participant IV.
[383] hooks, b (1983) refer to *Notions of Difference:* Critical Theory, p.92
[384] Smith, G. (1991) refer to *Maori Conscientisation:* Maori Education and Policy, p.49

policy is having a good effect and enable you to use the rewards from that to actually support social policy".[385]

"I think certainly a stronger economy under a government like we have got now, they have made a commitment to support Closing the Gaps, that has actually enhanced that, a very weak economy, or stagnant economy will effect there ability to influence social indicators".[386]

This further exemplifies the notion that contemporary political expositions of the New Zealand government are attempting to humanise liberalism.[387] Administering for Excellence (1989) policy first implemented neo-liberal rationality into the education system, in which it was recognised as too aggressive and increasing inequality within society. But, neo-liberalism under the disguise of social policy has extended beyond the scope of the economic sector, the state and civil society, penetrating the contradictory 'safety nets' that engage and address the problems and crisis, that such agendas permeate.

The following contradictions highlight the 'illusory' commitment to effective and positive policy development for Maori.

(a)   The contradiction of equality; liberal ideals advocate that everyone can empower themselves through free-market values and economic rationales – while at the same time implementing frameworks (social policy and welfare system) to deal with individuals who are unable to achieve this outcome.

(b)   The contradiction of socialism; liberal ideology within social policy encompass notions of individualism, competition, fragmentation and commodification – while at the same time within the social policy framework advocating inter-connectiveness, relationships and interdisciplinary development.

(c)   The contradiction of specialcare; neo-liberal rationality encompasses specialcare policies that address the unfortunate outcomes that it emanates – however, specialcare policies are also governed by the same political rationality that it attempts to counteract.

Traditional assertions of liberal and neo-liberal ideologies have consistently had historical and contradictory safeguards that address the 'systematic problems' and 'deficit outcomes', which

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[385] Participant II.
[386] ibid.
[387] Refer to *State Policy Theory* in Contemporary Analysis p.109

also acts to justify the perpetuation and legitimation of such rationalities.[388] However, Labour has reformatted and appropriated the liberal variants in reconstructing a neo-liberal genesis that not only governs political policy development, but also governs the safeguards (welfare system, social policy and Closing the Gaps policy) that primarily exists, to address the undesired circumstances that neo-liberal ideology generates. Therefore, in disclosing these contradictions, Maori development within these 'safeguards' can only be recognised as an implicit form of exploitation, as these modes of empowerment are sanctioned and operated by the very ideologies and rationales that initially oppressed them.

In expanding upon the parameters of social policy, officials also argued that the level of engagement had also shifted. Within discussions and development of social policy, initiatives were developed not only upon issues and crisis that existed in the 'practical realities of society' but more importantly upon the notion of capacity building. There is an attempt by the government to meets the needs and fix the problems in civil society through reinforcing infrastructural capacity, a praxis of conjunctural rationality instead of developing specific-related policy which was the function of traditional social policy development, that had structural identification.[389]

As a result of aiming social policy development through notions of capacity building, participants argue that it has disclosed the primary government outcomes for Maori development within the social paradigm – mana and money. By concentrating on 'mana and money' upon a capacity building framework within a social policy discourse, will provide positive and effective development for Maori against the 'matrix of disfunctionalism'.

> "Maori whanau are struggling, that they are unhoused, uneducated, unhealthy, unemployed – altogether is a matrix of disfunctionalism."[390]

However, the emancipatory scope of mana and money is defined upon dominant Pakeha conceptions of difference. Within Kaupapa Maori, mana and monetarist values cannot correspondingly exist as mana encompasses ideals of collectivism, whanau, relationships between phenomenon, and notions of self-determination, whereas monetarist beliefs enforce notions of privatisation, consumerism, corporatisation, stratification, globalisation and free-market values.

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[388] Hall, S (1986) Refer to *Triumphs and Limits of Liberalism* in Politics & Ideology: Variants of Liberalism, p.96
[389] Dale, R. (1991) Refer to *Sources, Scope & Patterning* in State Policy Theory & Praxis, p.58
[390] Participant I.

Furthermore, dominant Pakeha conceptions of difference have appropriated the parameters of culturalism, as cultural policies have become encapsulated within the framework of social policy.

Although, notions of mana and money guide Maori developments and cultural policies are identified within social commitments, it must be realised that these integral and illusory forms of empowerment are governed and appropriated by dominant Pakeha definitions, conceptions of differences and 'friendly approaches' to policy.[391] Critically, this serves the maintenance of the status quo, that perpetuate the cycles of oppression as notions of mana, money and culturalism not only provides an illusory inclination of emancipation, but operates in trivialising and devaluing the spirit of Kaupapa Maori

Structuralism

As a young researcher interviewing these prominent government officials, it was very discerning when discussion progressed upon notions of structural rationality as a mechanism of Maori educational development.[392] The common response was 'Well, I'm not to clear by what you mean by structural policy, that's a new one for me' was unexpected, especially as Kaupapa Maori strategies and theory argue that integral to effective amelioration of the Maori educational crisis are initiatives established upon structural interventions and rationalities.[393] However, after further discussion it became evident that structural rationality was operating within government ideology, but at a Pakeha redefined and moderate level within policy development.

There was a clear distinction between what is recognised as structural policy outside the government system, and what is accepted as structural policy within the government system. In recognising the parameters of structural policy in relation to Maori education policy developed by Maori communities, the participants identified that Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kuapapa Maori had been the most effective and positive form of intervention.

> "Structural policy is the structure of an organisation and its kaupapa. Basic Kura Kaupapa Maori as Maori social, cultural and economic intervention; Kura Kaupapa Maori and Te Kohanga Reo; it's a Maori kind of policy that Maori have brought into, it has come along side to support, to empower Maori, to allow them to take control of their education".[394]

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[391] Johnston, P. (1999) Refer to *Maori Conscientisation* in Maori Education and Policy, p.52
[392] Dale, R (1986) Refer to *Legitimation Crisis* in State Policy Theory and Praxis, p 58
[393] Smith, G (1991) Refer to *Maori Conscientisation* in Maori Education and Policy, p.49
[394] Participant II.

However, in accounting for the structural realities within the government praxis, the rationale was redefined as existing within the operational modes and ideological directions of government and upon materialist interventions. In relation to operational modes of structuralism, instead of engaging policy upon the frameworks of development and intervention as represented by Te Kohanga Reo, structuralism has been confined and reduced to legislative and program initiatives.

> "For Maori interventions, Te Aho Matua is a really good example, because what the last government agreed to is, not only saying that Te Aho Matua is an important part of Kura Kaupapa Maori philosophy and teaching, it was also agreed the National Curriculum Framework can be more inclusive of Maori things and so that is at the heart of education in the governments curriculum policy; In 1998 we made a decision in the Ministry that we would develop the Nga Toi Maori medium curriculum document differently, take it from grounded Maori pedagogy and Maori things".[395]

Structuralism had been appropriated as a form of conjunctural rationality, because Maori policy development only impacted at the 'operational level', concerned with programmes and legislative initiatives that were inclusive within other frameworks – whereas the primary strength and functions of structural intervention is to create space and modify the actual framework. The only 'real' structural intervention or rationality the participants recognised within the state system would be the development of a 'Maori Education Authority'.[396] Furthermore, government officials also discussed how structural policy was functioning as 'strategic policy' and 'strategic directions', which aimed at the ideological level of educational policy development.

> "Notion is strategic policy, government is actually starting to come to grips with that now, is that actually have to be more strategic in your approach, how issues whether education or health, you have to have a strategy, it gives Maori more ownership of the policy, of any policy really that is developed for Maori control."[397]
>
> "I mean you have to take a strategic role, to think long term, to engage everybody in planning right from the word go, and to be clear about what you want to do and I think speaking four or five years ago there was a huge amount of ad hoc development of Maori

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[395] ibid.
[396] The notion of a Maori Education Authority was briefly discussed during the interviews, where there were mixed ideas about the possibilities of such an initiative. Participants argued that it was a good idea in theory, but there needs to be an infrastructure developed first, that provides communication and links with the government. There was overwhelming support to reintroduce the Maori Education Commission established by the former Maori Affairs Minister, Hon. Tau Henare as a structural initiative as a 'work in progress' to developing a Maori Education Authority.
[397] Participant III.

education; I think it's a relatively new phenomena for us to think more strategically, also in terms of inputs and outputs or outcomes to actually think about those".[398]

Although, officials clearly argue that notions of strategic development encompasses concepts of 'ownership', 'control', 'long-term planning' and operated in contesting ad hoc development of Maori, which are all incumbent within structural discourse, it is representative of a praxis that exists in a marginalised state. Excluded from notions of strategy, are mechanisms that reflect accountability, responsibility, defined frameworks of development and specific forms of emancipation – it simply encapsulates a belief or process towards meeting set goals, which is therefore invalidated within Kaupapa Maori structural praxis of transformation.

It also distinctly represents the unequal power-relationships that exist not only within society, but operate within the parliament sphere of policy legislation as dominant Pakeha interests define and control the different dualisms of structuralism that exist for Maori. Strategic vs. ad hoc for Maori, and conjunctural vs. structural for Pakeha. In constructing educational policy for Maori, structuralism exists at mitigated and subverted levels encompassing notions of strategic directions and program development – whereas in perpetuating Pakeha dominance structuralism exists as curriculum frameworks, manifesto's and legislation. However, more critically it discloses a contradictory paradox – in extending beyond the dualisms, there is a realisation that structural intervention for Maori also exists as Maori Education Authorities, Kaupapa Maori and Te Kohanga Reo, in which reveals that differentiating praxis of structuralism for Pakeha and for Maori are not defined upon contrasting cultural perceptions or interpretations of structuralism, but explicitly operates as an oppressive distinction, that maintains status quo interests and supresses Maori.

Representation

As many theorists have commented, central to positive and effective policy development for any interest group in society is political representation, a mechanism which encompasses the role of controlling, implementing and disseminating responses to crisis and conjunctural issues, maintenance and development of structural rationalities, and the distribution of power and praxis of emancipation. Within educational policy, the participants argued that there were two distinct issues of representation that were critical in understanding Maori development – the apex of representation in developing policy and Maori representation.

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[398] ibid.

The Apex of Representation

In developing policy for Maori, participants commented on an active and complex hierarchical structure that existed within the government, in which after all the consultations, advisory groups and relevant stakeholders and key officials – the final decision always involved the Prime Minister and the Cabinet (Executive Policy Committee).[399] It was argued that the following model[400] clearly identifies the 'layers of influence' in developing policy for Maori, however coincidentally also reinforces the notion of game theory, as the hierarchical positioning and power-relationships reflect the agency and operations of game one and two in developing policy.[401]

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                                    Prime Minister
                                         |
                                      Cabinet
                                         |
Parliament              Ministers & Associate Ministers
                                         |
                                 Cabinet Committees
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                              Members of Parliament
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                                  CEO of Ministry
                                         |
                             Primary Group Managers
                                         |
Agencies                    Secondary Group Managers
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                    Policy Analysts, Researchers & Developers
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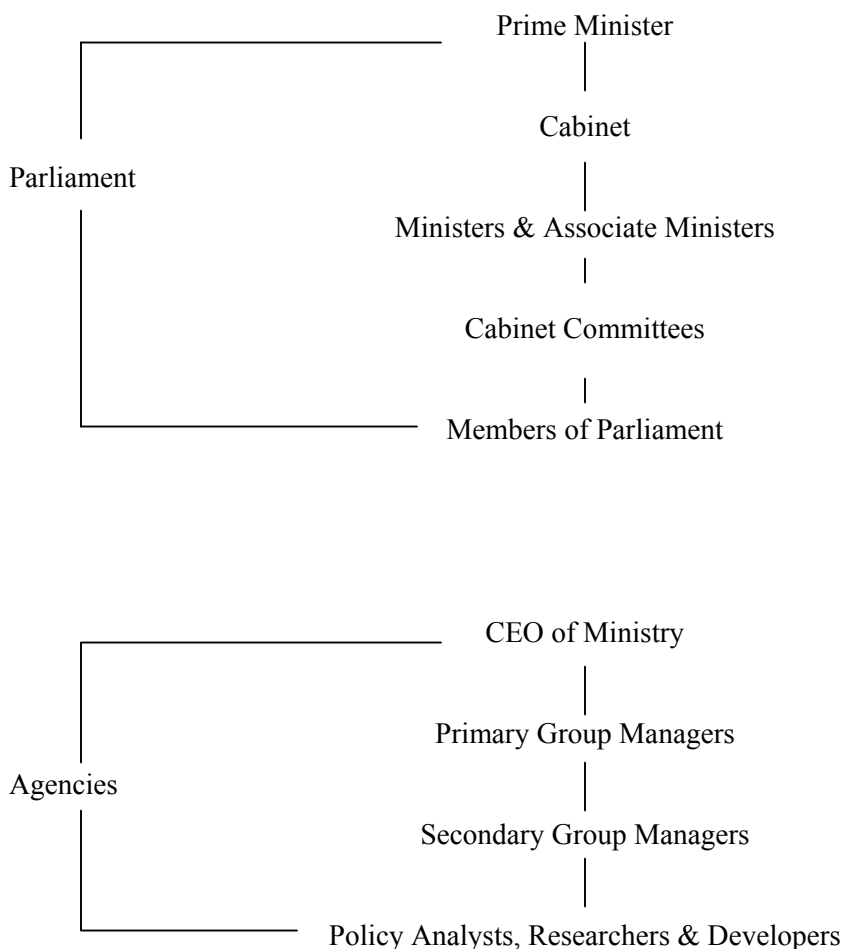
[399] Also refer to *The Role of Cabinet and Cabinet Committees in Decision Making* in Cabinet Office Manual (1996) Vol.3 p.1-8.
[400] Participant III drew model during interview.
[401] Clement, A (1991) *Game Theory:* State Policy Theory and Praxis, p.?

After a policy or legislation has been developed by the Ministry, and is passed on to the Minister for final approval, and before the policy is presented to the Cabinet Committee, the participants explained in the initial stages of deliberation, the CEO of the Ministry has a vital role. The CEO acts as a conjugate between the Minister who is the governing body and the department, who basically implements the policy.

> "The CEO is basically the conjugate to bring together all the arguments about the pro's and con's of various policy, changes and implications, and basically what it will cost year one, year two etc to implement the policy – they give the Minister a snap shot".[402]

In relation to representation of Maori development, underlying the role of the CEO within formal parliamentary protocol are inherent expressions of systematic commodification and re-interpretation.

1.   Systematic commodification; exists as all Maori discussions, consultations and concerns of policy development that are raised within the Ministries various research and information procedures and inquires are represented by a single and marginalised process that accesses the Ministers Office. Therefore, the rules and regulations of parliamentary procedures govern and determine the form and capacity of development and conditions that inform policy at subordinate levels of engagement by Maori.[403]

2.   Systematic re-interpretation; exists as CEO's are responsible for acting as a conjugate between the Ministry and Ministers Office, as there is only one Maori CEO all remaining CEO's reinterpret Maori concerns and approaches in relation to Pakeha definitions.[404]

Afterwards, the Minister will present the policy to a number of cabinet committees, in which functions in gaining a diverse opinion or 'litmus test' across the portfolios and serves a strategic legitimation process.[405] The policy then would be brought to the wider caucus for basically another litmus test to political reaction and what interest group reactions will be. Finally cabinet papers will be produced, where it is discussed at the cabinet table, chaired by the Prime Minister.

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[402] Participant IV.
[403] Scribner, A. (1994) refer to *Game Theory* in State Policy Theory and Practice, p.76
[404] Johnston, P. (1998) refer to *Maori Conscientisation* in Maori Education and Policy, p.52
[405] Firestone, W. (1991) refer to *Game Theory* in State Policy Theory and Practice, p.71

However, participants argued that although this provides a brief glimpse at the process for developing 'generic policy' and hierarchical levels representation involved within government, identifying modes of representation is a dynamic and complex construct, because if policy is defined upon fiscal implications and as a Closing the Gaps policy, different modes of representation apply.

> "If the policy is new, has fiscal implications and is a Closing the Gaps policy, then we (Ministry of Education) are responsible for developing it; we would develop a cabinet paper, consulting with Prime Ministers department, Maori Advisors at Te Puni Kokiri, Treasury and other relevant social policy agencies; then a draft paper will go to an officials group that's attached to the Closing the Gaps Strategy called 'OGAPS' (Official Group for Closing the Gaps), its chaired by a senior official from Prime Ministers department and has senior officials from Te Puni Kokiri, Treasury and Pacific Islands Affairs; they sit down with writers of cabinet paper, discuss pro's and con's of paper, what influences them is the Prime Ministers thinking and also the Treasury; So once it has gone through 'OGAPS' group and they are comfortable with it, then the final cabinet paper is given to the Minister of Education and he and Parekura would sign it, and then it would go to the Gaps Cabinet Committee run by the Prime Minister; they would then discuss the paper and policy within it and they would either at the end of the paper set some recommendations. They agree with the policy, tick it, this is how much it is going to cost, this is when it will be implemented by, what are the monitoring indicators; If it gets through the Gaps Cabinet Committee, and they say yes to their checklist, then it goes to cabinet; the whole cabinet looks at the policy issue, they either conform it, change it or reject it – thats how it works."[406]

In attempting to disclose the modes of representation that exist within government it is very complex in relation to the definitions of each policy. As previously argued in this chapter, Maori development has been largely encapsulated within the Closing the Gaps policy, however identifying representation is intricate and complicated as policy for Maori is also positioned within the 'generic structure' – the Radio Spectrum issue was defined as ensuring Maori development, however it did not emanate from Closing the Gap or Treaty of Waitangi frameworks.

Therefore, by constantly shifting the frameworks from Treaty obligations, to Closing the Gaps initiatives to generic compositions, it explicitly infers an ad hoc commitment but also implicitly manipulates and interrupts the process of developing constructive educational policy, and negates the scope of consolidating real progressions of empowerment for Maori.

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[406] Participant II.

Maori Representation

In discussing Maori representation there were various forms that emerged in relation to the roles of Ministers, the Maori caucus, government officials and advisory groups.

In relation to Maori educational policy development it was contested that before policy or legislation is presented to the cabinet for approval, Ministers of portfolio's are the final and sole decision makers. Even if education policy was defined and initiated for Maori development, the Minister of Maori Affairs or the Minister of Maori Education (Associate Minister of Education) does not have the final say, it rests with the Senior Minister of Education.

> "Once you are allocated the portfolio, then you have the ultimate say; if you were the Minister of Maori Development and I was the Minister of Maori Education, and if you were smart I would say to you, can you look after all the Maori education stuff – but there are parameters with what you work within; but basically as Minister of Education I will be saying the final yes or no."[407]

This applies across the whole government policy development spectrum, that Ministers that handle specific Maori development portfolios, are systematically positioned sub-senior to the executive Ministers of the portfolios. Therefore, if Maori development was specifically incorporated within one of the portfolio sectors, then the extent and structure of that development would not be controlled, defined and executed by Maori or Maori government officials, but decided by Ministers in charge of the relative portfolios. This further exemplifies the discernment of Maori, as there is no recognition of the wider-power relations between Maori and Pakeha. Although, Maori are holding some power and have limited control of the political agenda, Pakeha still perpetuate dominant interests as they control the rules and regulations, and underpin those processors.[408] However, more critically Maori development within the inferior levels of these power dimensions, specific Maori representation in the form of the Maori Affairs Office are being deconstructed, as the Gaps Committee had predominantly retracted the executive authority the Minister of Maori Affairs executed. Officials also disclosed that retraction encompassed two forms, as the capacity and functions of Te Puni Kokiri and the Minister of Maori Affairs Office have become restricted to auditing responsibilities.

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[407] Participant III.

[408] Johnston, P. (1998) refer to *Maori Conscientisation* in Maori Education and Policy, p.52

"I see the Minister of Maori Affairs Office as a conjugate, to making sure like 'inspector gadget' trooping around making sure everything is working".[409]

"I think it is easy to measure stuff, it's easy to audit, and that's where he [Ngatata Love] has taken Te Puni Kokiri, basically as an auditing agency".[410]

In realising the underlying assumptions of representation at the Ministerial level, participants argued that it was taken-for-granted by most Ministers that their respective Ministries had effectively consulted and developed policy with the wider interest and advisory groups both in the public and private sector. Therefore, when the policy reached them, apart from initiating litmus tests across the portfolios, it was up to their discretion to which key officials and informants they would consult with at this post-Ministry phase. Since there is only one Maori Minister in Parliament, who is governed by Closing the Gaps rationality, this assumption proves detrimental to Maori representation.

"Well they obviously rely a lot on their own officials, and their officials have their own contacts; it depends on what the issue was as well, there would be key people that they would always talk to and there would be some they wouldn't talk to".[411]

However, apart from the Closing the Gaps committee and the Minister of Maori Affairs, officials also commented on the Maori Caucus and the Maori Affairs Select Committee as key praxis of Maori representation. After the 1999 elections, a totally new phenomenon under MMP constructed a 'loose grouping of Maori'; ten Maori MP's from Labour and other Maori MP's from coalition and opposition parties formed the Maori Caucus.

"So there's are loose grouping of Maori, who get together and throw idea's around, but our first avenue is directly with the Minister, and then collectively to our Caucus, and then individually to key Ministers who have influence on that policy and depending on what, how much support for us from our electorate will determine the tenacity to which we advocate those interests; the power of the caucus is being tested at the moment."[412]

Also, apart from the Maori Caucus, within the process of political policy development the Maori Affairs Select Committee has an integral role in representing Maori. Although, this committee has an integral role in evaluating policy or legislation after it has been drafted as a bill and presented to the house, there are critical issues of exposition. First it should not be assumed that

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[409] Participant I.
[410] Participant III.
[411] ibid.
[412] ibid.

positions on the Maori Affairs Select Committee are filled by Maori, and second although this committee provides evaluation and moderation of a draft bill read into the house for the first time, there is no follow-on after the bill has been read into the house a second or third time.

Political Constraints

> "In relation to the apex of policy development,[413] once you get there what you see is constraints, those constraints can come from below from your colleagues, other Ministers sitting along side who have a Maori view of the world, and can come from the Prime Minister as well in relation to higher level demands".[414]

Throughout the interviews there was wide recognition of the constraints that effected on the development of educational policy for Maori. Because of the strong free-market values and liberal ideology within the government rationale, the participants explained that fiscal implications and the Office of the Treasury was the major operational constraint,[415] however the most significant constraints were structural in nature, existing systematically and within the mechanics of parliament.

Mechanics of Parliament

As policy development moves from the Ministerial level through to the Parliamentary process of debate and legitimation, officials commented that one of the most underestimated constraints imposed upon policy development is the logistics and mechanics of parliament itself.

> "I think a lot of the constraints have a lot to do with the mechanics of parliament, people forget that, its not just a matter of introducing the bill, someone has to actually write the words, someone has actually got to say, well when the policy is actually been constructed, has it been ticked off by writing the legislative policy into legislation, and who decides the time to debate it in the chamber, who decides the time that is actually going to appear on the agenda, is it going to be a higher order paper or will it be one that will come to if the higher order ones are accepted; there's the whole time issue in there, and decision-making there, there are a whole lot of processors that can go wrong; the papers in parliament might be held over for the next year, the program might be too big, or it might be doing too much; those are just some of the constraints."[416]

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[413] Refer to diagram *Apex of Policy Development*: *Representation* in Discussion of Themes, p.146
[414] Participant III.
[415] The constraints of fiscal responsibility and liberal free-market ideology are imposed by the Fiscal Responsibility Act 1994. For further reading refer to New Zealand Budget (2000) p.B.3/1
[416] Participant III.

Very rarely is policy for Maori development placed as a high order paper, it is usually reserved for crisis that involves the economy, international events that require an immediate response or legislation that is overwhelmingly supported by the public in which will resolve a national issue. Furthermore, officials also argued that the 'mechanics of dialogue' that prevailed between the Ministry and Parliament, especially for Maori development was an area of concern, as the dialogue procedures between Select Committees, Ministers, Ministerial Officials and Prime Ministers Office was highly dysfunctional. To some extent, there was a belief that in some circumstances, government officials would deliberately hold back on information or communication to interrupt the development process of Maori policy.

> "What I always saw was, there was a Maori barrier to the dialogue from other government agencies, in particular various government officials, pushing forward papers without consulting us, or only consulting us at the last minute, there were a number of ways of constraining and it happens a lot. What this government is trying, which comes out of competitive environment – what this government is trying to do is say, 'well we have had enough of that' to actually be counterproductive."[417]

Systematic Constraints

In all the interviews with the various government officials, debate surrounded the issue of systematic constraints and compromising as a primary mechanism that effected Maori educational policy development. These systematic constraints are more noticeable with Maori issues rather than general public issues, they however are implicitly regulated and consistently operating in all contexts of development.

> "All! All groups are consistently resisting Maori policies, because what we are doing is challenging the status quo."[418]

In attempting to identify those individuals and/or groups they comment;

> "Oh no, its like saying does racism exist in New Zealand? Overtly it may not, but institutionalised yes, and I would say in the formulation of government policies and in the implementation of any policy decision which seeks to empower Maori".[419]

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[417] ibid.
[418] Participant IV.
[419] ibid.

Within the empowerment of Maori educational policy, one of the officials noticed in parliament that systematic constraints were subsisted by Ministers and Members of Parliament through rationalising Maori arguments. Maori emancipatory development is always argued from a 'first principle approach' which goes back to the Treaty of Waitangi which is ignored in a round-a-bout way through devolution policy, contextualising development as a Closing the Gaps issue or generically providing intervention as a policy of 'separate development'.[420]

Opposed to public issues, Maori issues in particular tend to be more generalised. Maori issues are recognised as more difficult, because there are constraints involved in consultation, in the sense that it takes longer, more complex and careful consideration of ownership is required.

> "The majority of the time you'll be looking at how we inform our customers, how do we get the information, who interprets it, how the analysis is going to go back to our customers, and there are a whole lot of issues like that, and that takes a long time, and that therefore, is a constraint, you just have to get those sort of things right, especially with Maori".[421]

However, this is no fault of Maori, but reflects the unresponsiveness of the government system to meet the needs and aspirations of Maori. An official commented, that 'the only people making a living out of us being uneducated, poor health and our crime statistic is the bureaucracy and are the people who seek to perpetuate those cycles, so there is definite tension throughout all levels of decision making'.[422] Maori are systematically constrained and oppressed in parliamentary and ministerial processors, operations and rationalities.

Concluding Commentary

In conducting interviews with the government officials, this chapter has developed an insight into the major political mechanisms, rationalities and initiatives that influence and impact on educational policy for Maori. Through distinct and common themes of Closing the Gaps policy, NZ Labour manifesto, rationales of social policy and structuralism, political representation and political constrains, the application of theoretical arguments and prominent educational perspectives has disclosed that the contemporary political development of educational policies for

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[420] Trinh, M. (1987) refer to *Notions of Difference* in Critical Theory, p.92
[421] Participant III.
[422] Participant IV.

Maori as exploiting cultural practices, maintaining dominant Pakeha interests, perpetuating colonialist and assimilatory discourse and oppressing modes of transformative action.

Labour have redefined and repositioned policies and established new initiatives in attempting to meet the needs and aspirations of Maori, however the governments commitment to Maori education and intervention into Maori school crisis has failed as they continue to address the underlying structural inequalities, histories of oppression and colonisation, wider power structures and Maori solutions for Maori transformation. In maintaining political rationalities with underlying assumptions of Pakeha cultural superiority and economic liberation and perpetuating political mechanisms that neglect systematic differences and unequal power relations in society, the Labour government serves to reinforce dominant Pakeha interests and experiences of oppression for Maori. This chapter has not only identified the major political mechanisms that develop and shape educational policy for Maori in the new millennium, but also exposes how historical beliefs and expressions of colonisation and assimilation are reshaped, repositioned and redeployed.

Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

Through examining political documents and policies and conducting interviews with government officials this thesis has explored and disclosed the contemporary political rationality and government mechanisms that inform and develop Maori educational policy. Of key importance, was the insight into an analysis of the government's transformative rationality and commitment to Maori through the use of a range of theoretical frameworks, in particular Kaupapa Maori theory, state policy theory and critical theory.

In examining the political mechanism and rationalities that develop educational policy for Maori, I have experienced various strengths and constraints in applying theoretical critique and conducting interviews. Without a doubt one of the major strengths of this research is the range of government officials that participated in this research. Each person was prominently positioned within the praxis of political educational policy development, and has provided real and valuable insight into the major mechanisms that influence and impact on Maori educational policy. At the same time this represented one of the primary constraints, as each interview was requested twice with each official and then scheduled, rescheduled, postponed or intervened. Initially, this investigation aimed to interview government officials 'that deemed themselves not to be relevant to this research topic'[423], in which 'one big fish'[424] got away. However, after repeated inquires and briefings with secretaries and support personnel, I managed to secure government officials. Therefore, after fourteen scheduled meetings over a time span of five months I managed to conduct and complete four interviews.

Another strength of this thesis was the ability to engage and apply complex theory. The theoretical insights established by examining notions of difference and critical theory served to provided an extensive framework in critically exploring and disclosing the political rationalities, underlying themes, implicit dynamics and assumptions operating within educational policy

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[423] The Office of the Prime Minister (Chairperson of the Closing the Gaps Committee) and the Office of the Minister of Education both declined my request for interviews, explaining that they are not involved in the development of Maori Education policy.

[424] The Hon. Dover Samuels (Minister of Maori Affairs) accepted a request to be interviewed, however the day before our scheduled meeting, personal allegations were made against him in which he lost the Maori Affairs portfolio. This resulted in the cancellation of interview; he was later cleared of the allegations.

development. Although, the scope and range of critical intersection it encompassed was a comprehensive and integral contribution to this thesis, because of the time restriction and limited space of engagement associated with level of post-graduate work, 'closing the doors' was a central constraint. Closing the doors meant defining theoretical parameters to work within, as the possibilities in exploring notions of difference and critical theory and applying them to educational policy were unlimited, as each argument provided further progressions and discourses of analysis. On a personal level, engaging in the empowering framework of Kaupapa Maori theory and praxis was a real opportunity to conceptualise and express its emancipatory spirit for Maori. It is a distinct and unique form of theorising, reinforcing and re-establishing Maori worldviews, which was essential in providing a valid and legitimate Maori voice in this thesis discussing Maori needs and aspirations and Maori views of transformation. This thesis has argued that Kaupapa Maori theory and praxis is a responsive and integral framework of educational policy development as it encompasses modes of conscientisation, deconstruction and emancipation.

Throughout this thesis the central underlying theme has emerged, that in engaging in transformative policy, governments must address the wider power relationships in society, the entrenched systematic inequalities and the years of colonial and assimilatory oppression that Maori experience. Without developing intervention constructed upon structural and cultural rationality and intersections of Kaupapa Maori ideology, any attempt towards establishing new initiatives and reforms can only be recognised as a superficial commitment to the needs and aspirations of Maori. Although, there is an attempt within contemporary political rationality and mechanisms to reshape, reposition and redevelop educational initiatives to provide transformation and empowerment, they are continually informed by the same underlying structures that have been historically detrimental for Maori. These tendencies and movements are constructed upon assumptions of eurocentric cultural superiority and economic capitalist empowerment as they actively reinforce and perpetuate positions of privilege and dominant Pakeha interests. Government dissemination of educational policy for Maori may appear to be effective in nature, but in the presence of underlying structures, assumptions and systematic constraints, these policy frameworks maintain the status quo.

This thesis began in Chapter Two exploring and examining Kaupapa Maori theory and praxis as a living and transformative framework that provides and develops emancipatory goals for Maori. In outlining Kaupapa Maori philosophies and principles; critical elements and its critical framework;

its application to the context of research methodology; and its encompassing process of deconstruction, this discussion captured an insight into the unique, powerful and distinct form of theorising for Maori. Furthermore, it provided a traditional and contemporary framework, which encapsulated how Maori interpreted, defined and developed praxis of emancipation, and established a 'point of control' in referring to and applying Maori worldviews to non-Maori theoretical discussions and critiques. This chapter indicated how Kaupapa Maori is an attempt by Maori to retrieve space to allow focus and dialogue for directions, priorities and policies, practices of research and development of thought and action for Maori, by Maori, with Maori and about being Maori. Also how Kaupapa Maori operates as a Maori form of theorising, discloses assumptions, values, concepts, orientations and expositions for Maori and their transformative ability. Kaupapa Maori theory and praxis is a phenomenon that re-establishes validity and legitimacy of things Maori and asserts their role and right as tangata whenua.

Within Chapter Three, examination shifted to the history and context of Maori education policy development by the state, disclosing the underlying assumptions and rationalities that have perpetuated systematic inequality and maintained dominant Pakeha interests. Of significance, was a critique of the successive policy schemes of assimilation, integration, multiculturalism and biculturalism, which exposed educational policy acting as a tool of oppression, social control and cultural reformation for Maori. Furthermore, the bicultural doctrine of taha Maori was critically analysed, revealing that education policies for Maori that sanctioned, created and initiated by the 'state dominant Pakeha' are detrimental. As such policies attempt to subvert and trivialise Maori needs and aspirations. In providing an insight into New Zealand contemporary political rationality, this discussion examined the new right ideology and its encompassing expositions that emerged in the late 1980's. Although, assumptions of economic liberation and free-market values justified its engagement, analysis uncovered that it reproduced systematic inequalities and was unresponsive to the underlying wider power structures in society. Also, within this chapter, specific acknowledgment and examination is centred on the work of Graham Smith and Patricia Johnston, who provide a Kaupapa Maori theoretical perspective of educational policy development by the state. Through their commentary, in the absence of cultural and structural intervention and addressing the unequal power relationships in society, education will remain an oppressive tool; both argue that the only effective educational policy for Maori has been the emergence of Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori, a radical alternative schooling initiative.

Chapter Four examined state policy theory, the fundamental mechanisms and rationalities that informs and shapes educational policy developed by the state. Discussion focussed upon two distinct theoretical frameworks of state policy provision and delivery; the traditional exposition of state policy theory argued by American, British and New Zealand perspectives in which integral to the framework is the notions of legitimation crisis; and the new and complex notion of game theory which represents an normally absent link of traditional theory, accounting for irrationality, realist ad hoc phenomenon and practical and operational relationships that develop educational policy. It was argued that these two theoretical frameworks compliment each other as provided an extensive inquiry into the complex phenomena of formal and informal development of educational policy. For Maori this chapter commented on the primary frameworks that governments employ and provided an insight into the political rationalities and mechanisms that develop educational policy. Of interest, from a Kaupapa Maori perspective is that although this analysis disclosed the distinct ideological rationalities, rights, sources of policy and modes of responsiveness and contestations of legitimation that existed in developing educational policy, it produced a possibility for further engagement in reconstructing the notion of 'game theory' into a 'theory of war' which repositions the framework within Maori assertions and rights of tino-rangatiratanga.

Chapter Five explored the notion of critical theory and its application to Kaupapa Maori and political educational policy development. In examining the concepts and theoretical positions of emancipation, reproduction theory, theories of resistance, notions of difference and complexities of race and ethnicity, exposed the underlying assumptions, systematic acculturation and wider power relationships the exist in educational policy development. For Maori, critical theory challenges conventional practices and ideas, contests the status quo, develops understanding and help explains actions. Furthermore, it aligns itself alongside the praxis of Kaupapa Maori, as integral to both these frameworks is the focus on human agency, liberation and emancipation. In applying critical theory to this thesis has effectively contributed to the disclosure of contemporary political mechanisms and political rationality that inform and develop educational policy for Maori. Also, it has served as a 'bipartisan' theoretical framework in complimenting the engagement to Kaupapa Maori as is provides enlightenment to the scope and extent of emancipation and commitment that exists within educational policy, and expresses modes and praxis of transformation to which Maori can empower themselves.

In shifting to content analysis, Chapter Six critiqued the New Zealand Labour Education Policy and the Budget 2000 to disclose the primary themes, issues and expositions that inform and construct state educational policy development. In applying the theoretical discourses of state policy theory, political rationality, critical theory and notions of difference this chapter revealed that although the government had adopted new initiatives, reformed educational strategies, repositioned and reshaped policy frameworks and attempted to be concerned in addressing the crisis of Maori schooling, the Labour government failed to address Maori demands of structural and cultural intervention, histories of colonial oppression and subordination, systematic inequalities and wider unequal power relationships that inform the development of educational policy for Maori. Of interest, was the disclosure of Labours political agency to submerge and humanise aggressive neo-liberal economic exposition under the banner of social commitment. This was evident as initiatives and policies manipulated political parameters and strategically acted as forms of illusory empowerment to appear to address the demands of social disparity while pursuing economic capitalist rationality. By producing a matrix of underlying contradictions and perpetuating assumptions of eurocentric enterprise, the Labour has reproduced and repositioned experiences and conditions of cultural acculturation and exploitation maintaining the status quo. In critically examining the political intent and 'political will' encompassed within Labours documents, transformation for Maori only exists at a superficial level as empowerment is initiated, developed and constructed upon underlying structures that reinforce dominant Pakeha beliefs and interests.

Chapter Seven builds upon the theoretical examination of contemporary political rationality and mechanisms in discussing the major political initiatives, issues, themes and strategies outlined by the government officials that influence and impact on educational policy for Maori. Within the interviews, participants explained that the primary mechanisms of Maori educational policy development were Closing the Gaps policy, New Zealand Labour manifesto, rationales of social policy and structuralism, political representation and political constraints. In engaging the arguments and perspectives expressed in the interviews, it is argued that contemporary political agency and exposition for Maori continued the process of exploiting cultural values, reinforcing systematic inequality and maintenance of the status quo. Although, examination disclosed the primary mechanisms that control and construct state education policy development and critiqued the new initiatives, responsive strategies, the repositioning, redefining and reforming of policies and the manipulation of frameworks, this chapter detailed how government rationality and political mechanisms only serve to perpetuate dominant Pakeha interests and provide education

for Maori as a means of social control, a tool of assimilation and a process of cultural exploitation. It was extensively argued that by neglecting to address the underlying assumptions and wider power relationships and encompass notions of structural and cultural praxis development, government policy continues to reproduce malleable forms of colonisation and transpositional modes of oppression.

For Maori, this has proved to be valuable insight into the contemporary political mechanisms and rationalities that develop educational policy. Even at the turn of the century with a new political party and system of government there is no real or genuine commitment by the state to address the needs and aspirations of Maori. Through engaging in the theoretical frameworks of state policy theory, gender, race and ethnic writings, critical theory and notions of difference this thesis has clearly disclosed the diverse, implicit and transformative nature of dominant Pakeha policy and its embracing ideologies, assumptions and expositions as it functions to reproduce positions of privilege and oppresses cultural aspirations of Maori. Although, on the surface level contemporary government rationales and strategies appear to be committed to addressing Maori educational issues and concerns, policies initiatives such as Closing the Gaps has been depicted as detrimental to Maori interests. Of concern for this researcher, is that in the act of Maori continually demanding structural and cultural initiatives in developing education policy and convincingly electing them to office, Labour have continued to maintain assumptions of Picot rationality and eurocentric enterprise. The evidence suggests that instead Labour is attempting to avoid structural and cultural policies at all costs, as they endeavour to manipulate political parameters, reposition and redefine economic and cultural policies under social commitments, maintain a guise of humanism and co-opt tactics and strategies of illusory control and responsibility. In examining Maori forms of empowerment this thesis asserts that the only effective form of Maori emancipation is the development and assertion of Kaupapa Maori theory and praxis. This theoretical framework has provided an effective intervention in the schooling crisis of Maori, provides directions, priorities and policies for Maori development and concentrates on the struggle for Maori autonomy over own cultural well-being.

This thesis has provided some insights into contemporary political rationality and government mechanisms in developing educational policy for Maori. For other research in this area, this work has provided theories and policies that need further exploration; an inquiry and analysis into the Closing the Gaps policy and the new mandate of Reducing Inequalities, is essential to understanding contemporary and future state development for Maori; the reconstruction and

repositioning of game theory within a Kaupapa Maori framework as a theory of war; and the continued engagement of critical theory and theories of difference from a Kaupapa Maori perspective. Finally, for this researcher, in disclosing political rationalities and government mechanisms provides a stronger political will and political agency in developing real and effective emancipatory policies for Maori. Maori will not die out, resistance to assimilation and colonisation will continue, and Kaupapa Maori will continue to be a significant influence, in both resistance and in Maori continuing to develop Maori educational initiatives that are for Maori, by Maori about being Maori.

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