



<http://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz>

ResearchSpace@Auckland

Copyright Statement

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

This thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognise the author's right to be identified as the author of this thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from their thesis.

To request permissions please use the Feedback form on our webpage.

<http://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/feedback>

General copyright and disclaimer

In addition to the above conditions, authors give their consent for the digital copy of their work to be used subject to the conditions specified on the Library Thesis Consent Form.

**Creating New Zealanders:
Education and the Formation of the State
and the Building of the Nation**

Maxine Sylvia Stephenson

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Education, The University of Auckland.
2000

Creating New Zealanders: Education and the Formation of the State and the Building of the Nation

Maxine Sylvia Stephenson

Advisor: Professor Roger Dale

ABSTRACT

Educational activity preceded official British presence in New Zealand. The development of the New Zealand state from crown colony, to a system of relatively autonomous provincial councils, to a centralized administration took place within a period of four decades. Contemporaneous with and essential to the state's progressive securing of its authority was the institutionalization of separate national systems of education for Maori and Pakeha.

Whilst the ascendancy of the state and the securing of education as a central state concern proceeded ultimately with the sanction of the state and in accordance with its objectives it was not a straight forward process in a young nation which was born democratic, but was struggling to consolidate political and cultural unity. The various stages and the ultimate form that education in New Zealand took were closely linked to shifts in the nature and role of the state in its formative years, in the nature of its relationship with civil society, and in its official relationship with Maori. This provided the context and dynamic of the shift to state control as public schooling came to dominate over private or voluntary efforts, and as the particularism of isolated provincial settlements was replaced by a system designed to serve the nation as a whole.

Positing conceptual links between the development of national education and the processes of state formation and nation building in a colonizing context, this thesis argues that the institutionally differentiated form that universal education took in New Zealand produced a site through which socially, culturally and ideologically determined conceptions of "normality" would be legitimated and become hegemonic. By nationalizing education to legitimate a culture of uniformity based on a specific set of norms, individual New Zealanders were differentially created according to class, gender and ethnicity, and to physical, intellectual, behavioural and sensory functioning.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
-----------------------	----

Table of Contents	iii
--------------------------------	-----

INTRODUCTION

Inspirational moments	1
Simultaneous transformations.....	3
A theoretical exploration	5
Establishing the framework	7
The substance of the New Zealand case	12

SECTION ONE

PART ONE: THEORIZING THE STATE

INTRODUCTION	20
---------------------------	----

CHAPTER ONE: THE STATE – A CONTESTABLE CONCEPT

Introduction	28
The modern state – an historical entity	29
Pluralist perspective	30
Statist perspective	36
Marxist perspective	42
Conclusion	49

CHAPTER TWO: TAKING ACCOUNT OF THE STATE IN EDUCATION

Introduction	50
The state and education policy	51
The origins of public education systems	61
Education and state formation	74
Conclusion	81

PART TWO: INSIGHTS FROM FOUCAULT

INTRODUCTION	82
---------------------------	----

CHAPTER THREE: “PHILOSOPHICAL FRAGMENTS”

Introduction	87
Archaeology and genealogy – Foucault’s history	89
Discourse	91
Power exercised, discipline achieved	93
Populations governed	98
Foucault and the state	101
Conclusion	110

SECTION ONE: CONCLUDING COMMENTS	111
---	-----

SECTION TWO

PART ONE: A JOINT VENTURE FOR STATE AND SOCIETY

INTRODUCTION	115
---------------------	-----

CHAPTER FOUR: ESTABLISHING THE CONTEXT

Introduction	123
A question of government	125
Capital, land and labour	128
The institutionalization of adversity	130
Secular or denominational, public or private	135
Local or central	143
Conclusion	147

CHAPTER FIVE: THE FIRST STATE SYSTEM

Introduction	149
The first providers	150
Education for Maori in the early colonial state	152
The provincial period	159
Educating New Zealand subjects	163
Conclusion	169

CHAPTER SIX: A RESPONSIBLE CITIZENRY

Introduction	171
National legislation for “problem” children	173
Contextualizing early provision	175
A problem for the provinces	176
The legislation	180
In fairness to society – justice for all?	182
A classed and gendered activity	185
Voluntary failure?	188
Conclusion	193

PART TWO: AGENCIES OF THE STATE – THE STATE DEPARTMENTS

INTRODUCTION	196
---------------------	-----

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE NATIONAL EDUCATION APPARATUS

Introduction	200
Formalizing the “mainstream” system	201
Objectifying teachers – normal schools and training colleges	206
Classifying teachers	209
Visited, judged, disciplined	214
Retrenchment and resistance	216
Compulsion as control	219
Conclusion	221

CHAPTER EIGHT: EARLY SELECTION	
Introduction	224
Educating for “Europeanization”	225
Able seamen – shaping up to ship out	230
Differentiated need	232
“The guardian of public morality”	238
From custody to education	240
Conclusion	242

PART THREE: EDUCATION – A FIELD FOR EXPERTS

INTRODUCTION	245
---------------------	-----

CHAPTER NINE: “ABNORMAL” EXPERTLY CREATED AND DEFINED

Introduction	252
A matter of contention	253
Developmental norms – to classify and control	258
Special: “Afflicted and Dependent”	262
What counts as expertsie?	266
Educating “useful members of society”	268
Constructing and creating physical normality	272
Conclusion	276

CHAPTER TEN: THE POLITICS OF BIOLOGY

Introduction	279
From Darwin to defect	279
Eugenics as discourse	283
A discourse of race – indigenous and compliant	285
A universal genetic weakness?	291
Technologies of control	293
The physical dimension of racial purity	296
The ultimate consequence	298
Conclusion	300

SECTION TWO: CONCLUDING COMMENTS	301
---	-----

CONCLUSION

Theoretical dimensions	306
The first phase – a society led relationship	308
The second phase – a state led relationship	313
The third phase – an economy led relationship	315
The final word	317

APPENDICES	318
-------------------	-----

REFERENCES	325
-------------------	-----

INTRODUCTION

Inspirational moments

Two events, seemingly unrelated, were to provide the inspiration for this thesis. With the search on for a topic I had adopted the strategy of reading the dissertations of those whose scholarly work I knew and respected, not really knowing what I was looking for, but somehow feeling confident that the exercise would prove fruitful. Australian historian of education Dianne Snow was high on the list. In exploring the social construction of studenthood in New South Wales, Snow had pointed to the considerable array of institutions to which children had been “consigned” in increasingly enforced compulsory arrangements and according to increasingly differentiated student identities.¹ Snow noted the insular nature of the literature which had been produced in relation to institutions developed outside of the “mainstream” and pointed to the conceptual advantages in identifying some possible unifying principle underpinning the development of the various types of educational provision. Her analysis of the situation in New South Wales turned on questions relating to who should or should not be included in the category “student” and the institutional responses to accommodating “legitimate” but “problem” students. My interest in nineteenth century educational initiatives in New Zealand had made me acutely aware of the early establishment of specialized institutions. The idea of conceptualizing these institutions as having been made integral to, yet retained as separate from, the “mainstream” system which the state instituted in 1877 became compulsive. The existing New Zealand literature had to be revisited.

New Zealand historiography of education manifests a similar tendency to treat specialist schooling initiatives as separate entities, a separation which has been generated largely by the academic or literary genre the studies were designed to address. Because the majority of the studies pertaining to those institutions which operate/have operated outside of the “regular” state schools are usually products of a centennial or jubilee history, or because they provide a neatly contained unit of analysis for a research project, they often deal with either one particular institution or with one type of institution. They are, furthermore, often written from

¹ Snow, Dianne (1989) ‘The State, Youth and Schooling: The Social Construction of Studenthood in New South Wales, 1788-1948’. PhD Thesis, University of Wollongong, Australia.

the liberal tradition, the limited explanatory potential of which has been well documented elsewhere.² In such discussions differentiated schooling (and the subsequent move towards full inclusion) has been posited primarily as a positive and necessary phase in the evolution towards a universally beneficial national system, with educational, rather than social or cultural issues, being placed as the central function of these “schools”. Centennial publications in particular tend to be celebratory and hagiographic, often focusing on the exploits of the great white male innovators and/or humanitarians.³

A small number of studies relate to institutions which rationalized segregation of children on social or cultural grounds. These works indicate an assumed relationship between ethnicity, and/or social class, and/or gender, and social control, and imply this relationship is an explanation rather than something to be explained. Furthermore, by treating as unproblematic what it is to be “under control” such studies serve to legitimate the categorization of children within the institutions as “problems”.⁴ Similar observations may be made of the literature which focuses on institutions which developed for children who were “problems” because of some medical or physical “condition”, or on the basis of “substandard” educational performance. Assuming “deficit”, to be cured or ameliorated through expert diagnosis and intervention, the basis on which such assumptions are made and legitimated are not questioned.⁵ More recent studies have considered the social implications of categorization and segregation. The revisionist circumscription of the relationship between educational history, wider history and sociology has offered an important framework from which to analyse the political nature of education.⁶ These studies have presented invaluable insights into the

² See for example: McCulloch, Gary (1986) *Education in the Forming of New Zealand Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study*. Monograph No.1. New Zealand Association for Research in Education.

³ See for example: Allen, A.B. (1980) *They Hear with the Eye: A Centennial History of the Sumner School for Deaf Children*. Wellington: Department of Education, School Publications Branch; Hames, E.W. (1982) *From Grafton to Three Kings to Paerata: A History of Wesley College, Auckland, New Zealand from 1844 to 1982*. New Zealand: Wesley Historical Society.

⁴ See for example: Barrington, J.M. and Beaglehole, T.H. (1974) *Maori Schools in a Changing Society: An Historical Review*. Wellington: NZCER; Whelan, P.J. (1956) ‘The Care of Destitute, Neglected and Criminal Children in New Zealand, 1840-1900’. MA Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington.

⁵ See for example: Winterbourn, R. (1944) *Educating Backward Children in New Zealand*. Wellington: NZCER.

⁶ See for example: Newbold, Greg (1995) *Quest for Equity: A History of Blindness Advocacy in New Zealand*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press; Simon, J.A. (1990) *The Place of Schooling in Maori-Pakeha Relations*. IRI PhD Thesis Series Number 1, Te Whare Wananga o Tamaki Makaurau: International Research Unit For Maori and Indigenous Education: University of Auckland; Vincent, Carol (1985) ‘Special Education as Social Control: The Historical Development of Industrial Schools and Special Classes’. MATHesis, Massey University.

ideological and structural foundations on which educational identities have been forged, and the ways in which this has shaped the short and long term outcomes for certain groups in New Zealand. The focus of analysis, however, has been one particular form of initiative and the way that form of schooling relates to the “mainstream”, whilst the only thematically diverse study written from the revisionist frame underscores a unifying principle for critique rather than for explanation of the system.⁷ My task, it appeared to be, was to isolate the unifying principle which underpinned the designation “problem”.

Some days after my encounter with Dianne Snow’s study, I was discussing a prescribed assignment with students in a second stage Sociology of Education paper. The students were being asked to draw on sociological theories in order to make sense of their own educational experiences. One young woman, reflecting on the conflict which had dogged her intermediate school years, spoke of the tensions between a cultural capital which valued independent, creative expression in spontaneous ways, and the routinized conformity in a school which was to model the current conservative culture and its strategies for its reproduction. She had become a “problem” for the school. Her cynical characterization of the normal schools as places where “normal people learn to teach normal kids how to be normal New Zealanders” resonated with Snow’s discussion of students as problems. Problem pupils became problems because they did not conform to some preconceived orientation to the world. Confirming that orientation to the world was what “mainstream” schooling was about. Creating the conditions whereby deviance from that orientation to the world could most readily be “adjusted” was what segregated institutions were about. A significant task for schooling in New Zealand, it appeared - that task which most clearly unified the diverse institutions which were developed in the early decades – was to institute a multi-dimensional notion of what it was to be, to think, to act and to function like, a “normal” New Zealander. The issue of categorization and its implications immediately became central.

Simultaneous transformations

Historical analyses of education in New Zealand had demonstrated that from the very earliest time of Pakeha settlement distinctions were made in regards to children, the most apparent example being missionary establishment of schooling for Maori and the ultimate development

⁷ Shuker, R. (1987) *The One Best System?* Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

of a dual state system. The immediately discernible focus of the research, it appeared, was to explore the history of the production and shaping of “people” categories and its expression through the development of the various educational initiatives in a “unified” system. It soon became apparent however that the universalizing of education in a differentiated form produced a site through which socially, culturally and ideologically determined conceptions of “normality” would be legitimated and become hegemonic. Because this rendered problematic what Dale claims to be the often unexamined redemptive and emancipatory promise which education in the project of modernity was seen to support,⁸ it was clear that this would be an interdisciplinary study.

The potential for using sociological analysis and historical inquiry in a mutually supportive way has become considerably more commonplace than when British historian Asa Briggs observed that '[b]oth historians and sociologists are concerned with the same set of problems which stretch back from the present into the past'.⁹ Some have gone so far as to suggest that social science and history are in fact indivisible.¹⁰ A dual focus for the study was thus resolved. The thesis would seek to discover the origins and early development of an education system institutionally differentiated on the basis of a multi-dimensional notion of normality – a macroscopic but historically grounded question. Sociological questions, formulations and methods would be essential in interrogating the criteria through which pupils in New Zealand have been categorized and differentiated, and those practices and ideologies which sustained the creation and maintenance of distinctions.

The impassioned historian in me “knew” exactly the events which had to be traced, the documents to be searched, and anticipated with delight the days, weeks and months legitimately spent fossicking through sometimes undecipherable archival treasures. The increasingly committed sociologist pondered, without the same eager anticipation, the time-consuming poring over sometimes unintelligible social theory, searching for that inspired

⁸ Dale, R. (1992a) 'Recovering from a Pyrrhic Victory? Quality, Relevance and Impact in the Sociology of Education', in M.Arnot and L.Barton (eds) *Voicing Concerns*. Wallingford: Triangle: 203-4.

⁹ Briggs, Asa (1967) 'Sociology and History', in A.T.Welford, M.Argyle, D.V.Glass and J.N.Norris (eds) *Society: Problems and Methods of Study*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul: 94.

¹⁰ See Abrams, Philip (1982) *Historical Sociology*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. For a comprehensive discussion on historical sociology as methodology see: Skocpol, T. (ed)(1984) *Vision and Method in Historical Sociology*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

insight which “could not help but inform” a revisionist analysis. The plans for the thesis unfolded, the proposal was written and endorsed. The position of the writer was assured. Both were to be shaped in the process of thesis building. Mutually reconstituted.

A theoretical exploration

The project challenged my thinking in unexpected ways. This was precipitated by both historical and sociological concerns and developed essentially around questions of agency. The exploration of how schooling had been instituted in New Zealand demanded consideration of some crucial issues. Who instituted it? Under what conditions? To what purpose? Why were schools established for some children and not for others in the early years, and by whom? It became clear that the differentiated system would ultimately be explained through an understanding of the marginal institutions because the New Zealand case demonstrates that the “normal” has been defined by identifying the “abnormal”, and that this occurred by defining parameters of exclusion not inclusion. This reflects the historical sequencing of educational provision, of what it should and could be expected to achieve at particular points in time, and of the role of the various agencies engaged in it. The investigation was to find moreover that not only was a multi-dimensional notion of normality defined initially in terms of those who were to be positioned as “other” and unproblematically selected for “correction”, but that this formed the basis on which subsequent practices of categorization and selection were perpetuated and refined as the national “unified” system was established.

This particular history and the methodological framework are reflected in the relative emphasis placed on micro level discussions of the specialist institutions vis-à-vis the “mainstream” system in the thesis. The primary source empirical data which is drawn on to support the macro level analysis, however, looks at both “mainstream” and specialist institutions and considers the impact of “normalizing” practices and processes on all New Zealand pupils to a lesser or greater degree. This particular aspect of the thesis demanded analysis within a framework which would render visible the impact of the power and control which was implicit in the normal/abnormal differentiating process. To this end Michel Foucault’s analysis of the impact of modern institutions in creating individual subjects and categories of subjects has provided valuable insights. However, before it was possible to begin to think about how schooling had provided a site through which definitions of normality/abnormality could be made

and legitimated, it was necessary to take account of the fact that practices and ideologies can not be divorced from those that produce them. Therefore, the analysis needed to go beyond what Foucault could offer by identifying those responsible for making the definitions. History gave relatively simple answers to these questions. Those answers explained nothing.

Central to these answers was the state. Integral to the answers was society. Essential to the answers was some sort of analysis of the state/society relationship. Somewhere in there was the necessity to take account of the way the relationship between state, education and society developed under the influence of colonization and the structural developments of New Zealand's situation as a colony, as a colonial power, as a burgeoning capitalist democratic nation. Somewhere in there education was becoming visible for all sorts of reasons. Somewhere in my understanding it was becoming increasingly apparent that an understanding of the origins of a differentiated education system in New Zealand was impossible unless these issues were all developed within a coherent conceptual framework which placed the state central to analysis.

The relevance of lessons learnt at a graduate level paper which focused on the state/education relationship became clear. This paper recognized the necessity to take account of how specific national and historical circumstances determined the way that the state became involved in education, why the state became involved differentially in different forms of schooling and why it became involved in some forms of schooling before others. It sought to explain also the nature of the relationship which obtained between the state, society and the economy, and why an understanding of the role and nature of the state was central to understanding differences in educational systems in various capitalist nations. The course raised other questions relating to the funding, provision and control of education which were particularly pertinent to an historical analysis of the New Zealand case. Education in New Zealand began without the state. Who were the initial providers and what difference did this make? How was it that the state, when it did make its appearance, very quickly became so visible and so dominant? Questions relating to the institutional arrangements by which New Zealand society and/or the state dealt with social problems became all absorbing.

Some time into the research I was introduced to studies which forged links between education systems and state formation. Education's role as a formative and an integrative institution

became compelling. The direction of the thesis was sealed. It was the state which had to be explained in order to understand the system, but not simply the state - the state in all the complexities of its relationships with the colony, the imperial power, the indigenous people, Pakeha society, community educational providers, and with the economy. A major shift in the process of thesis building had occurred. That which needed to be explained had become the system of public administration in New Zealand, the historical events in which a national system was developed was to be the resource. The thesis would no longer be an historical account developed around theoretical concepts and arguments, it would now become an historically informed theoretical exploration of the state/education/economy/society relationship. This form of analysis would most satisfactorily delineate the parameters of New Zealand exceptionalism and demonstrate what existing debates on the state and education took for granted. This form of analysis would most convincingly explain the particular form which universal national education took in New Zealand.

If the shape of the thesis changed in its development, so did the focus of the writer. As an ardent archival researcher, and committed to the value of historical analysis I felt satisfied that my research proposal had allowed plenty of scope, indeed would demand, a considerable amount of time sifting through and critically interpreting diverse historical documents. Over time the archives were subordinated to the library. The historian who drew on social theory had become committed to historically grounded sociological inquiry.

Establishing the framework

The thesis is divided into two Sections which are sub-divided into two and three Parts respectively. The two Sections set out to argue and then to demonstrate that an analysis of the role and nature of the state in the development of education, especially in the particular institutionally differentiated form that it took in New Zealand, must take account of the installation of a capitalist economy, of the imposition of the Pakeha state, and of the complex and dynamic societal arrangements which characterized the phases of nation building in the colony. Section One sets out the theoretical arguments and provides the language which makes possible the particular analysis of the New Zealand case which is presented in Section Two.

Theoretical sophistication now points to the need to develop a more rigorous critical approach to understanding the relationship between education, society and the state in various historical situations. This calls for a critical analysis of theoretical models before bringing them to bear on historical problems. Therefore Section One begins with a discussion of three theories of the state and points to the usefulness and limitations of each in attempting to explain the development of state education in New Zealand. The limitations are made more apparent when juxtaposed with a theoretical exploration of the state's relationship with education, the economy and the social formation, and a theoretical linking of the development of national political and educational systems. Theoretical models offered by Roger Dale¹¹ and Andy Green¹² provide the explanatory framework from which to argue that education, society, the economy and the state have all to some extent, at varying times, and in varying combinations supported and been supported by one another. Both Dale and Green draw attention to the significance of national and historical specificities in explaining education. For Dale the emphasis is on policy and practice in developed systems, for Green it is on the development of the systems. For both, symbiotic relationships are crucial, but varied and shifting. The thesis argues that an historical analysis of the development of education in New Zealand can demonstrate the mutually constitutive and mutually constraining nature of these relationships.

In that it starts with developed states and developed education systems, Dale's analysis is able to demonstrate the central although not exclusive role of the economy in shaping the parameters of state, and therefore educational activity. Dale's discussion of three core problems which face the capitalist state present an invaluable insight when attempting to explain historical developments in colonial New Zealand, especially the speed with which shifts to central, public and welfarist arrangements were effected. Green's study, on the other hand, places education at the centre of analysis and provides a crucial understanding from which to take a conceptual step back to arrangements before the state, before the capitalist economy, before the colony. If neither Pakeha political nor capitalist economic imperatives were driving education, this exposed the role of civil society, albeit ad hoc, in the formative processes of colonization in New Zealand. Accordingly, the thesis argues that a discussion of

¹¹ Dale, R. (1989) *The State and Education Policy*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

¹² Green, Andy (1990) *Education and State Formation: The Rise of Education Systems in England, France and the USA*. Great Britain: MacMillan.

education's role in the development of state, economy and society must focus on the shifting phases and shifting relationships which dominated the process.

If in the process of circumscribing norms for the nation, education shapes individuals in particular ways, it is considered necessary to make theoretical space for understanding the impact of that process. Given the fact that much of what Michel Foucault has to say rests on his conviction that the notion of the norm constitutes a fundamental organizing principle in the disciplinary society, and given the fact that he identifies education as an institution which projects modern disciplinary power in a universalizing and an individualizing way, it became clear that his insights may provide useful tools of analysis, in fact, could not be ignored, in a study of this nature. In seeking to understand the ways in which the notion of normality has been imposed and has impacted on individuals and groups within educational settings, reference to Foucault's work is seen to offer a profound sense of the complexity of the relations of domination and subordination as determined by the social construction of normality.

Of considerable significance, moreover, is the fact that Foucault's "analytics of power" has been drawn on by disabled people in their own attempts to develop a social theory of disability.¹³ Because disabled and other marginalized groups have long been members of what Abram de Swaan describes as a 'virtual constituency',¹⁴ such accounts offer crucial insights into the position of disabled people in society. This became the most convincing incentive to explore Foucault's ideas. Part Two of Section One introduces some of these ideas, and the particular language Foucault uses to express those ideas, which will be picked up throughout Section Two when examining the impact at the micro level of decisions made by specific individuals, groups and/or combinations of groups in specific historical instances. Any attempt to render compatible a Foucaultian analysis with one developed around notions of structural and ideological control, however, is open to criticism. The second Part of Chapter Three engages with some of the debates which have developed around this issue in an attempt to justify the position taken in the thesis.

¹³ See for example: Munford, Robyn and Sullivan, Martin (1997) 'Social Theories of Disability: The Insurrection of Subjugated Knowledges', in P.O'Brien and R.Murray (eds) *Human Services: Towards Partnership and Support*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press: 17-33; Sullivan, M. (1996) 'Paraplegic Bodies: Self and Society'. PhD Thesis, University of Auckland.

¹⁴ De Swaan, Abram (1988) *In Care of the State: Health Care, Education and Welfare in Europe and the USA in the Modern Era*. Cambridge: Polity Press: 232.

Section Two considers the New Zealand case and the three Parts may be read chronologically or thematically. The thesis deals with the first hundred years of Pakeha-style education in New Zealand,¹⁵ beginning with the establishment of missionary schooling in the second decade of the nineteenth century and ending with the consolidation of centralized state organization and universal provision in the second decade of the twentieth century. Carried out over sequential periods of unregulated incidental settlement, of organized profit-driven colonizing activity, of official imperial presence, quasi-federal self-government, and progressive stages of centralization, education both produced and was produced by interests and networks in civil society and particular features of the New Zealand state. Context-specific policy initiatives were to reflect (and were to impact on future) particular interpretations of social problems that education was to address; the relative influence and the perspectives of societal groups which were able to bring influence to bear in constructing the interpretations of those problems; the relationship of these groups vis-à-vis the state; the stage of development of the state; and the circumstances in which the problems were constructed. The three Parts of Section Two bring an understanding of the agencies which created a differentiated system of education, and provide a model through which to demonstrate that such a system was developed around socially constructed notions of abnormality/normality and period-specific ideologically grounded procedures of categorization.

The division into three Parts serves two purposes. At one level the Parts demonstrate the shifts and allow an analysis of successive relationships between the agencies engaged in the funding, provision and control of education in the first hundred years. At another level, they demonstrate how these relationships have determined the scope, form and direction of the state in successive periods, which in turn has reshaped institutional relations. The form of synthesis used in this Section illustrates the dependency and dialectic effect that obtained between these relationships and the forms of education and state development. The thesis adopts a configurative approach, linking institutions in the state, civil society and education, taking account of their organizational form, of the identities, status and location of individual or group actors, and of their capacity to

¹⁵ The specification 'Pakeha-style' is made for two reasons. It indicates that from the time of settler intervention in New Zealand, Pakeha (European) set out to impose educational initiatives developed around eurocentric notions of being and knowing. This is the education which is the subject of analysis in this thesis. In developing these initiatives, however, Pakeha make a conscious assault on established Maori education. The thesis takes for granted the importance and extent of Maori education systems prior to and following colonization.

define and carry out policy at particular points in time.¹⁶ Specifically, institutions are seen as mediating the structured relationships attendant on large scale processes such as state formation and capitalist development and the formation and aggregation of interests within a microdynamics of agency and action, as negotiations and transactions between the state and the citizens of New Zealand, and between the state and the economy both shape and are shaped by a specific concatenation of institutional arrangements. Thus the system which presented at the end of one hundred years is seen as a product of successive interplays between formal and informal organizations and associations within and between civil society and the state, and associated composites of policy and apparatus, scaled and maximized by increasing state responsibility for social and fiscal management.

Fred Block, focusing on the mutual dependency of the two agencies contends, 'state and society are interdependent and interpenetrate in a multiple of different ways'. The important issue is not which has the more significant role, but 'the complex and changing interaction between state and society'.¹⁷ Resistance is an important feature of that interaction and the empirical data makes explicit the impact of social forces as well as social institutions. A clear example is the response of the missionaries to the state's usurpation of jurisdiction over Maori education. Resistance also occurred within the state apparatus itself as the central administration sought to impose a national system on culturally specific local initiatives. Resistance to state moves impacted and was met differentially over the hundred year period. The thesis suggests that whilst structural constraints foreclosed certain options, there was nothing inevitable about the possible strategies which were proposed as solutions to historically specific problems for education to address. There were, however, conditions which underscored the success or failure of proposed initiatives. On one hand agents (understood within the context of a particular institutional configuration), the constitutional and legal capacities of the state and the level of bureaucratic development, were significant in determining the forms of policy which were created and its means of realization. In addition, this was governed by links to pre-existing institutional responses, specific to the national context, which actually transformed state capacities and the state's position relative to other sectors of the social formation. Increasingly, however, the

¹⁶ For a comprehensive discussion of configurative and institutional macroanalysis see: Katznelson, Ira (1997) 'Research Traditions in Comparative Politics: Structure and Configuration', in M.I.Lichbach and A.S.Luckerman (eds) *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture and Structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 82-112.

¹⁷ Block, Fred (1987) *Mean Season: The Attack on the Welfare State*. New York: Pantheon: 21.

success of proposed policy became determined by the extent to which the interests and goals of actors were congruent with the goals and capacity of the state. The structure of Section Two allows for an understanding of the shifts which occurred in relative society/state influence and for an analysis of the circumstances under which state and societal actors were at various times each able to have their preferences recognized. Thus, whilst it is important not to lose sight of what Jessop calls ‘the *strategic* dimension of [the state’s] relative autonomy’,¹⁸ it is equally important to recognize that state building is a product of struggle. The state, Jessop explains, is at once ‘the site, the generator and the product of strategies’.¹⁹

The substance of the New Zealand case

Section Two demonstrates that the state was not the first and has never been the only player in formulating distinctions on which normal/abnormal categories have been produced, but with the realization of universal state education it certainly had become the major one and had become instrumental in sustaining, in an institutional way, a set of practices which supported beliefs and expectations on which categorization depended. It demonstrates further that the apparatuses of the state quickly became significant in formulating and accommodating shifts in definition over time, and in determining the differentiated institutional frameworks within which educational careers have been defined.

Part One delineates and investigates the nature of what is identified as the first phase of the society, state, education relationship. Beginning with the arrival of the missionaries in 1816, this period includes twenty-four years of unofficial settlement, twelve years of rule from Britain under a governor, and twenty-three years of quasi-federal settler self-government. Whilst it could be argued that the period selected as the first phase here in fact could be further differentiated, it was selected because it saw the first principal shift from society to state involvement in education under conditions which explain the form of the first state educational apparatus. Because the implementation of policy had particular consequences for the role which the state was to perform, and for its relationship with other parts of the social formation, a new phase in the project of state formation was made possible, and this is taken up as the focus of

¹⁸ Jessop, Bob (1990) *State Theory: Putting the Capitalist State in its Place*. Britain: Polity Press: 281 (emphasis in original).

¹⁹ Ibid: 260.

analysis for Part Two. A similar dialectic effect links Parts Two and Three. At each consecutive level, then, once new arrangements were absorbed by the state apparatus the state was transformed, as were the administrative possibilities for future developments and the institutional relations between actors. Ultimately, it is argued, each stage of the process made the next possible but, given the potential for agency, contingency, historical circumstance, for example, not necessary. This form of analysis supports the suggestion that in the process of state and formation and nation building, education and state were mutually constitutive.

At each consecutive level the impact of the economy became increasingly influential. The beginnings of education, missionary initiative for Maori, preceded state presence and for-profit activity, and signalled the pattern which was to dominate the first thirty years. Church groups, the principal Pakeha civil society of early New Zealand, determined without external interference, the shape of provision to fulfil a Christianizing and civilizing objective. Business-motivated colonizing activity and official state presence occurred virtually simultaneously, introducing immediate capitalist activities of forced accumulation through attempts to break down the traditional Maori form of production and the commodification of land and labour power. This resulted in the creation of a Maori and Pakeha agricultural proletariat and the eventual dispossession of the indigenous people.

These economic objectives were expressed through state engagement in education for Maori and saw the beginnings of economically and socially motivated intervention into schooling for certain “problem” Pakeha children. For Pakeha, however, the geographic isolation of the planned colonizing company settlements, the undeveloped nature of the country and the austerity of the living conditions meant that the identities and fraternities that were forged were provincial. This determined the locally based and selective nature of education, expressed through a mixture of public local authority, isolated small business ventures, and voluntary civil society endeavour, which prevailed until dissolution of the provincial system in the mid 1870s. As the expansion of capitalist agriculture demanded central state intervention to provide public works, cheap credit and other assistance to make the British market accessible, the logic of provincialism was called into question. New Zealand could not remain insulated from world capitalist pressures and this was reflected in the state and educational responses discussed throughout Section Two.

Part One of Section Two contains three chapters which focus on a period from the beginnings of missionary educational activity (1816) through to the disestablishment of the provincial systems in 1875, but which, for thematic continuity, take account of some subsequent developments. This Part makes visible the fact that although state intervention was relatively early and active, the state is not, and never has been, solely responsible for schooling in New Zealand. Indeed, it is demonstrated that state intervention usually followed and often appropriated church, charitable or interest group initiative in the area of education, especially for the groups of children who were perceived to be “problems” in the nineteenth century. Therefore it is argued that it is necessary to incorporate an analysis of the role of groups and institutions in civil society in the funding, regulation and provision of education in New Zealand and in laying the foundations for segregated schooling.

The development of the New Zealand state and its administrative apparatus from an imperial colonial presence, through a quasi-federal responsible government organized around discrete provincial districts, to a bureaucratically complex central system took place within a period of four decades. The central state’s securing of political and ideological hegemony was not a straightforward process and Chapter Four examines some of the attendant tensions which had to be confronted and negotiated. This period saw the beginning of the process through which education was to become firmly established as part of the state's agenda and through which provision of schooling would cease to be primarily in the hands of other agencies. The state’s engagement was initially to be with children perceived to constitute a problem for the realization of its wider objectives. Hence, co-terminous with, and essential to the state’s progressive securing of its authority was the institutionalization of a system of national education for Maori in 1867, and central legislative intervention as an attempt to systematize ad hoc and fragmented local government or voluntary initiatives for “neglected” and “criminal” children.

A state apparatus was developed which reflected a pragmatic response to meeting the expectations and obligations associated with the state’s decision to make education part of its agenda. Where no sector had the resources or the incentive²⁰ to fund or provide all that it was

²⁰ “Incentive” here refers particularly to the market. Because the small business ventures were profit-driven their clientele was confined to a social elite. There was no profit incentive for them to take up the task of educating those without the means to pay fees.

perceived desirable that education should do, emphasis was on addressing problems common to both state and society. This was initially effected through the state's entering into co-operative arrangements with a variety of community groups. Mutually supportive provision/funding alliances were forged, but at the same time the state, in assuming responsibility, was able to assume and thereby create its own authority. This was to redefine the nature of the state/society relationship.

The first central state apparatus was thus focused on those children, socialization of whom was seen to be too important to both society and to the developing nation state be left to the family or the voluntary sector, and who would not be considered by business interests because of the lack of a profit incentive. The state's agenda was, furthermore, partly driven by available solutions. As well as creating through legislation the conditions for state apparatuses to assume right and take on responsibility to educate, by capitalizing on existing provision, the state was able to maximize its capabilities for intervention. This in turn was to redefine the nature of the state/society relationship.

Positing conceptual links between the processes of state formation and nation building in a colonizing context, Chapter Five focuses on the usurpation of missionary providers of education for Maori, and argues that the establishment of a discrete Native school system was an essential strategy in the state's attempt to secure a socially, culturally, politically and ideologically unified nation. Chapter Six explores the nature, scope and form of voluntary involvement in Pakeha education, and argues that in the process of state formation, a politically, financially and bureaucratically underdeveloped state was required to progressively secure its authority over existing educational provision in the nineteenth century. This involved merging fragmented agencies into a co-ordinated network, a process which, though not uncontested, and not immediately administratively efficient, proceeded ultimately with the sanction of the state and in accordance with its objectives. Existing providers were either co-opted in a process of negotiation or usurped through legislative action. Existing provision was reshaped, its purpose often redefined, as it became absorbed into a state directed national institution. Because the state did become the most significant agency involved in educational activity, this Part of the thesis seeks to determine how it was that

the state successfully subordinated other actors in the provision and regulation of education and what the consequences of this were.

By the 1870s a Pakeha dominated politically independent nation was emerging and was being faced by problems of political, social, and cultural integration and by escalating economic demands. Local government, small business ventures and voluntary institutions, which because of their fragmented, particularistic and minimal application had proven themselves unable to deliver the entitlement to education which was being demanded as a right of social citizenship in a developing democratic nation, came to be seen as part of the problem rather than part of the solution. This precipitated central state concerns to institute national, compulsory and universal arrangements in 1877. During this period the state was to assume, and thereby to create its own authority and responsibility through positive and active intervention in civil society and the market. Education was to be established as a public good and as a public responsibility. By making it compulsory (officially if not immediately in practice), free and secular the state was establishing itself as the legitimate agent acting for the good of the individual and of society. The apparatus and ideologies on which to develop the system, however, were to be largely determined by existing structures and ideologies. The central intervention was to be constrained by existing locally forged identities and loyalties and the focus on the “abnormal” was to be formalized by fragmentation of departmental responsibility. Compulsory attendance and the institutionalization of universally applicable rules and instruments of standardization would enable subsequent dimensions of categorization to be developed. The two chapters of Part Two are centered around the arrangements put in place under the 1877 Education Act and demonstrate the complexity of state involvement in education, especially in the education of children outside of the “mainstream” classroom. They demonstrate also that attempts to standardize were more about defining parameters of “normality” in order to target socialization for a capitalist democratic system and for a state-defined national entity than they were about providing equality of opportunity.

The state is not monolithic, nor is it homogeneous. This Part of the thesis exposes as problematic the notion of the “unified” system which was supposedly created with the Act. The state department most commonly associated with state schooling, the Department of Education, itself is depicted as being far from a unified agency with its individual departments, its hierarchical

levels of operation and the conflicting preferences of the key figures in its operation. Chapter Seven traces the contested development of education as an institution of the state which, despite inter personal differences concerning administrative strategies, successfully instituted hegemonic norms against which teachers and children alike were to be measured, judged, and treated accordingly. Chapter Eight recognizes that even after an education-specific state apparatus was instituted, responsibility for education did not rest entirely with the Department of Education. This was shared with other state agencies including the Native Department, Charitable Aid, the Marine, and the Health Departments. It is suggested that these links were forged as a means by which to categorize and address, in departmentally specific ways, “problems” which were seen first and foremost in non-educational terms. The apparatus instituted in this period sought to both standardize and differentiate and continued the existing practice of standardizing *through* differentiation.

It is not only the form of the mechanisms of categorization that is the focus of analysis in this Part, but the fact that they were given authority by the state, because this makes legitimate the state’s decision to take on the work of education as a comprehensive public service. In so doing the state broadened its scope of responsibility for, and created its rights to intervene in, the wider social consequences of “problem” behaviour. By instituting through educational arrangements “norms” for citizens of New Zealand the state was assuming, and thereby creating “the New Zealand nation” and the duties and obligations of citizenship. Whilst constituting a solution for the state’s problem of order and conformity, the introduction of standards in education created a new dimension on which to test pupils’ conformity and on which to prescribe segregation and targeted treatment.

This problem for education came to be interpreted in wider terms in the context of social, political and economic changes. Attempts to establish itself in the world economic system had precipitated a period of economic depression in the 1880s. The social impact of these economic circumstances had precipitated the development of a political party system – for the first time significantly undermining and shifting the emphasis from local interest representation – and a consequent spate of liberal-labour government welfare reforms in the 1890s. Part of those reforms was the enforcement in 1894 of the compulsory clause of the 1877 Education Act. This meant that in creating children for the nation more refined instruments of categorization were

required, not only to effect differentiation but also to develop strategies for correction in accordance with the now much broader economically and socially based objectives. The state's solution to these problems was to be facilitated by its engagement with, and at times incorporation of a burgeoning group in civil society - the experts. Experts and expertise were to extend the scope of the state by bringing solutions to these problems and in turn, by accepting these solutions and incorporating them in policy, the state was to acknowledge the validity of the experts' knowledge for its purpose and thus legitimate the experts and the expertise.

Part Three, also containing two chapters, focuses on the late nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century as heralding a number of significant changes. These are centered around the relationship between the bureaucratization of the state, the increasing use of experts and social knowledge in governmental policy making, and the rationalization of capitalist social arrangements. In particular the implications of such "advances" for education are considered, especially in the development of progressively more specific differentiation procedures and associated "treatments". The discussion draws on Foucault's ideas developed around disciplinary power and the power-knowledge relationship and, rendering possible an intersection with ideas of state control, asks questions about endorsement and legitimation of the experts, and the new research methods and ideas about families and the needs of children. Chapter Nine develops links between state formation, the growth of social knowledge and the origins of modern social policies, and examines the circumstances under which, the agency through which, and the ideological frames from which specialized schooling initiatives were expanded following the nationalization of education. Chapter Ten focuses on the way in which official use of statistical data was able to lend technical support to eugenically based legislation and policy. Questions will be asked about how this small but powerful lobby group was able to mobilize governmental agencies and official support to advance their particularly prejudicial view of abnormality to the extent that it became deeply embedded in social and educational policy.

Each of these Sections raises and attempts to address a number of analytical questions about the state/education/economy/society relationship, and to develop an historically derived analysis of the institutional arrangements by which New Zealand attempted to deal with social problems in a one hundred year period. By tracing the dialectic effect through three successive phases of institutional and configurational relationships and associated apparatus formation, it will be

suggested that education has been a key contributor in the projects of state formation and nation building and that development of a dual and otherwise differentiated national system was a response to the particular nature of the social problems which faced both state and society, in themselves reflecting the circumstances under which these projects were to take place.