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**HOW MAORI HAVE BEEN AFFECTED THROUGH THE NOTION AND
PRACTICE OF SCHOOLING: A THEORETICAL ANALYSIS**

A thesis
submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree
of
Master of Arts
at
The University of Waikato
by
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Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

The University of Waikato
2012

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Abstract

Education has always been associated according to the public with a necessary function to equip individuals to fit into society when they reach adulthood. The fact that it functions with efficiency is attributed in part to the implementation of social norms, which "impose uniformity of behaviour" (Young 2006, p. 1).

This thesis delves into how Maori have been positioned under a mainstream schooling discourse which has put them at a disadvantage since the implementation of a discourse requires the subjugation of those who are not the majority power holders to assimilate into someone else's discourse. The effect of assimilation into a mainstream discourse has political implications for Maori, as schools are the gateway towards social stratification. This thesis will look at the historical and developmental concept of schooling within a western context, moving towards the development of formal schooling in New Zealand and also look at the sociological and political impact of schooling upon Maori students.

I will also differentiate between the terms schooling and education to suggest Maori forms of educational discourse has been marginalised in favour of assimilation into a supposedly equitable rigid, formal system of schooling. I will illustrate the broader concept of education that takes place outside of schools formal boundaries as a way to contrast the level of control and regulation the government initiates within the formal schooling environment. I will also look at the way schools have been used from its colonial beginnings in New Zealand as a way to civilise or impose one cultural practice on another as a way of breaking down uncivilised beliefs and traditions.

Acknowledgements

To my mother Dorothy and to my brother Michael who over the last nine years have been the support upon which I have been able to complete this task. I thank you and love you both for your understanding, support, encouragement and strength with which you both display every day.

To Debbie Hill who encouraged me to pursue graduate study; who always had an open door and an open ear to listen and to give valuable advice when I found myself in a bind.

To Carl Mika who has had the unenviable task of helping me to complete this work and to share your sense of humour which helped divert times of stress, Thank you very much. Your support and insight throughout this time has been invaluable.

To Abby who has helped me to keep going. Love you.

Ko tō wairua ki tō Atua, nāna nei ngā mea katoa.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Education has and always will have a pivotal role in progressing New Zealand society to be competitive amongst its Asia and Pacific neighbours. New Zealand is in a very competitive region within the Asia Pacific rim and has to compete and keep pace with economies like Australia, Japan, China and South Korea. Formal education is at the forefront in providing the type of progress needed within New Zealand's economy. The government has placed a huge emphasis on development towards the formal schooling system which not only teaches, but develops a system of behaviour that fosters compliance. During my undergraduate degree I did some educational studies papers that focused on the political and sociological aspect of education/schooling which opened my eyes to the wider impact that formal schooling has on the social development of students. The government's tight control of the schooling system made me realise the importance that education plays in society.

The purpose of this thesis is to explore how and why Maori students have been affected by the notion and practice of schooling. We take it for granted that the current schooling system is the accepted norm because it is emphasised by the government as an important priority in developing the economy. An important point however is in defining whether education has been effective in dealing with the level of underachievement Maori students are experiencing throughout all levels of schooling. The difficulty with education as an economic commodity is the danger in seeing students as a commodity themselves. Putting aside the sociological issues that contribute to how Maori students are performing within mainstream schooling, a significant portion of this thesis will look at the culture of schooling and the government's monopoly in directing New Zealand's educational efforts through the structure and authority of schools. Therefore the two central questions that I will be discussing within this thesis are:

- The problems that formal schooling poses for Maori as students
- What are the sociological effects that this has on Maori as adults in society?

In other words how has schooling been used to subjugate Maori to assimilate into a social system that begins with schools in order to civilise Maori? This has long been a practice of British colonialism in which the dominance of one culture projects their views of how society should function to the point that it becomes an accepted social norm.

STRUCTURE

Chapter Two - will consider three major eras which are influential in the development of the notion and practice of schooling. The aim of this chapter is to provide the reader with an understanding of how schooling has evolved in the west by looking at the notion of education from the perspective of: Plato, the Renaissance period, the Enlightenment.

Chapter Three - This chapter will describe how the project of formal schooling, develops its roots from the development set out in chapter two – Plato, the Renaissance, and the Enlightenment. This continues within the context of education in New Zealand. What is evident in New Zealand is that there have been various political and religious factions that have jostled for how schooling is to take place. Nevertheless, in all instances, we shall see that the basic notions of schooling that I have identified in chapter two, historically founded in chapter three, are continuous.

Chapter Four - will discuss the notion of 'schooling', in its intent and its practice. Key theorists: Oliver, Foucault and Freire, will provide a deeper look at the societal structures and relationships that affect how and why schools operate in the way that they do.

Chapter Five - will bring the former chapters together in a discussion of how schooling is a problem for Maori. I also refer to other literature that shows that Maori were not always subjected to the practice of schooling.

Chapter Six – conclusion – drawing together all of the important aspects within each chapter and into a cohesive summary. I will also analyse the method used and how effective the research has been in terms of providing clarity of understanding.

MOTIVATION

The motivation for me in undertaking this research is that my own experiences at primary and secondary schools reflected a level of discipline and order that stood in contrast to the social values that I had learnt which were mostly communal. In a way what I had learnt out of school stood in contrast to what was learnt in the classroom. Lessons learnt at school were more methodical and regimented. The educational input from my extended whanau (family) was inclusive of not only my parents but also grandparents and aunties and uncles, but within the classroom learning was a serious business and you were sure of your position in relation to the teacher. So within this thesis I will discuss the differences between education and schooling. Graham Oliver's article 'The ideological reduction of education to schooling' has provided inspiration regarding the differences between schooling and education. He defines the two terms with an outcome in which schools are more controlled, formal in its structure and socially stratifying. Oliver (1998, p. 300) regarding the two terms puts it this way:

Education is popularly equated with schooling, and we all undergo schooling for a substantial portion of our lives. While at school we are constantly in an environment which presupposes that schooling is what education is mostly about, and much is made of the importance of our success in it.

From my understanding schools develop a critical process in shaping the minds of students, not leaving anything to chance; similar to the military instilling a level of discipline and obedience into recruits. All of what I learnt at school was compartmentalised and divided into time slots and each subject meant a different teacher, each with a different personality to adjust to; so each individual teacher's approach to teaching a subject was different also. The learning aspect would be different for each subject, not by choice, but by design; so in the end you were coming to grips with teaching styles first and the content of what they were teaching second. This would pose a problem for students as it did with me in that the distraction of the teacher's personality got in the way of the actual subject being taught. Part of this is due to the performance factor; a classroom full of students with varying degrees of ability, a set programme with standards of attainment to reach through tests and exams, and the pressure to perform. So schooling is a compartmentalised form of education, with more rules and regulations to obey. The consequences of this socially are important to those who direct society's outlook in fostering compliant productive adults. This is not about putting a negative spin on schools, but highlighting the social and economic aspects that are associated with formal schooling.

When the education system develops this way, the actual learning can be more about passing the requirements than developing an actual interest in the subject. For students who cannot adjust to the necessary habits that are required to succeed, school becomes problematic for them. The actual teaching method for me as a student provided little in the way of interaction between teacher and student; it was more a case of listen, learn, and recite. This in itself compounds the problem for Maori students whose cultural differences contrast to those around them. There were difficulties in the teacher adjusting to the different ways a student learns; students were the ones required to adjust. The invisible barrier that exists between student and teacher made it a formidable obstacle to adjust to; and the differences between schooling and education in relation to this will be looked at in order to show the monopoly the government has in directing educational efforts within a school environment. So in saying this, the difference between

education and schooling as set defined by Oliver sets the foundation in exploring how Maori in schools and in society itself have been affected by these two terms.

METHODOLOGY

Graham Oliver's article 'the ideological reduction of education to schooling' (1998) forms part of a number of theorists that contribute to the idea of Maori students immersed in a number of learning and social structures that affect their social development. Michel Foucault, Paulo Freire, Antonio Gramsci, Pierre Bourdieu, Graham Smith and Dr Dominic O'Sullivan provided avenues of thought when thinking about the idea of schooling as opposed to education. Each theorist for me helped understand the deeper relational issues which in my opinion form the basis of where problems of Maori underachievement lie. It also raises the notion of education being situated within the realms of politics and sociology because of the influences within these two domains. This is a big deal considering the level of power that has been exercised on Maori over the years to subdue any ideas of self-determination and autonomy separate from the colonial plan of empire building. Oliver's article for me developed the idea of schools as a method of socially stratifying Maori in society.

The theories of Bourdieu, Gramsci, and Freire contribute to the sociological effects of Maori functioning within society, providing insight into discourse which cements the rationale in conforming to the dictates of authority. An end result is Maori adjusting their mind-set to cope with the demands of a monoculture that marginalises Maori cultural beliefs. Michel Foucault's theories on power provided the impetus in looking beyond the surface relationships that Maori have been forced to engage with and look into the structures that bind Maori to accommodate themselves to another social

system which integrates aspects of Maori culture to the dominant European culture; which we call New Zealand society or culture.

For me the root of the problems that Maori face in society stems from the idea of power being used to the degree that Maori become subjected to Foucault's notion of discourse. Discourse in this sense is more than a basic linguistic understanding, that is: made up of a number of words into sentences which become dialogues, arguments and conversations. The exertion of power within discourse also had the effect of structuring the disposition of the Maori will to bend to the will of the Colonial government mind-set. The coercion through discourse for the Colonial government forced Maori to accept a perceived notion that their own discourse was of a lesser value. This was evidenced when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840 as an attempt to "establish the rights and responsibilities of both parties as a mutual framework by which colonisation could proceed" (May, 1998, p. 282). The Crown's representative Captain Hobbs was given instructions to obtain the "free consent" (May, 1998, p. 282) of Maori to agree to Colonial rule. Free consent towards Maori is a subject of debate since the validity of free consent is based on the respect of an individual or a groups autonomy. Kant (1949, p. 2171) said "violating somebody's autonomy is to violate his humanity and to treat him as an object". The subsequent land grab by the colonial government in the years after the signing of the Treaty in a sense declared it "a simple nullity" (May, 1998, p. 283). The discourse which Maori had been a part of was subjected to the dominant dialogue of the government, which dismissed the Maori values as subservient to the Colonial intentions.

Foucault's research into discourse disciplining of the body, the subject as an object of direction and the surveillance of the individual that it conforms to authority have provided enough evidence needed for me to analyse how Maori have been subjected to various forms of power. The purpose in using these particular theorists is to identify sociologically the problem areas Maori having in coping socially that government policy has failed to address. Policy initiatives tend not to address relational areas but focus on quantitative data that directs policy solutions.

The effect that this has had on Maori in general has meant our view of our own culture in relation to European culture is perceived as marginal politically because the political culture within the domain of parliament has a great deal of European influence. This is a normalised trait in society, because the level of political dominance in the early years of New Zealand being established as a fledgling country has come from those of European descent over and above what Maori had achieved. The foundations of New Zealand's political structure being based on the English political system have seen those of European descent having greater political influence which to a degree is based on having greater political and social leverage and cultural capital.

Having dominance in these areas controls the direction of society and normalises their decision making. With today's political climate being more progressive compared to the colonial period; the merging of political ambitions from Maori and non-Maori makes it more democratic in terms of equality of opportunity, but for Maori to realise their ambitions is a lot more difficult to achieve considering for example the length of time it took for Maori land claims to be heard and addressed (Taonui, n.d.).

From this perspective, the theories of Freire, Gramsci, Foucault and company were more effective in delving into the complexities of intercultural relationships between Maori and non-Maori and also dealing with long standing problems that Maori have had to adjust to. Coupled with the relationship of power within individuals and groups, the dynamic of interrelationships based on power has an enormous effect in how people are nurtured into acting a certain way. Schools in this respect come under particular scrutiny and Oliver's notion of schooling and education, Graham Smith's ideas of Maori moving away from the "politics of distraction" (Smith, 2003, para. 2) and the evolutionary development of Maori becoming more proactive towards their own future widened the ideas of what theories contribute to enlighten Maori towards more self-determination. Dr Dominic O'Sullivan introduced me to the terms 'the politics of Indigeneity',

'autonomy', 'and self-determination' which for me signals an indication that Maori have been proactive in advancing their place in society on the academic front beyond the outward manifestations of protest marches and court action regarding the return of confiscated land.

What this means for me is that the dominance of one culture projects their views of how society should function to the point that it becomes an accepted social norm. The effect this has had on Maori students as adults has meant our view of our own culture in relation to European culture is perceived as marginal politically because the political culture within the domain of parliament is essentially controlled from a European perspective. Politicians would rather avoid the issue of race being a part of the equation preferring to see themselves as representatives of the general public but there is no getting away from the fact that a significant number of politicians are from European heritage. In the same way that the forging of New Zealand society developed from the dominance of British colonialism; under democracy today we tend to label our society as New Zealand society, but avoid that the balance of power is still largely in the hands of those who are non-Maori. The superiority of one race over another has marginalised the effectiveness for Maori to actively control their own destiny under a mono-cultural political mind-set.

Maori played a lesser role politically under the Treaty of Waitangi at that time during the 1800's and (continue to play a lesser role) today; even though and there has been incremental progress for Maori in making gains politically. However, mainstream schools have become either a potential gateway towards success or a battleground for Maori students and the level of underachievement continues to impact with how much Maori have achieved in comparison to non-Maori. The monocultural discourse as communicated by the government and similar institutions that have conservative views communicate a form of specialised knowledge that legitimates its place of authority, has never favoured Maori values being equal to European authority and the Education Act of 1877 meant more input

from the central government determined a narrower framework in developing a formal schooling based on a European system.

The level of control within schools allowed me to explore and apply Paulo Freire's ideas of indoctrination, conscientisation, praxis and domestication/liberation as a way to provide some perspective about how education can be used as a political tool by the powerless like the government to confront the level of inequality against minority groups within the school system. Also, Michel Foucault's theories of power, discipline, docile bodies and the subject will emphasise how the shape of society is structured and how the effect of power constitutes how people, act and function in society. Its application to how schools function provides similarities in how both schools and society is controlled. Further to this, Foucault's notion of discourse will be a central idea in the way that it constitutes people to submit to authority.

The social contract theory advocated by Thomas Hobbes and John Locke provides an historical background and links in the development of a more democratic form of submission to authority, in a sense a way to disarm the level of authority through coercion that the government exerts. Bourdieu's notion of 'habitus' - social dispositions which influence and reinforce patterns of belief will contribute in terms of cultural mind-sets that either increases the likelihood of either succeeding or failing at school depending on what schools represent to certain cultural mind-sets.

Dr Dominic O'Sullivan who supervised a directed studies research project in my first year as a graduate provided a more modern approach in how Maori have reacted to changes made on their behalf. My introduction of the term the 'politics of Indigeneity' from O'Sullivan's perspective introduced a proactive view of Maori under assimilation asserting indigenous rights and Graham Smith's use of 'hegemony' as it applies to Maori indicates a critical need by Maori to examine their place in society and make a conscious shift towards Freire's term 'conscientisation' - developing critical consciousness through action and reflection.

CHAPTER 2

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN THE WEST FROM THREE DIFFERING PERIODS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to set from an historical context three major eras that, from my perspective have had a profound effect on the development of formal schooling in the western world. Its application to New Zealand society in particular carries with it the common threads of: power, structure, and discourse as key ingredients for shaping society. Often the notion of schooling as opposed to education has had a noble purpose attached to it, a civilising process or as something that enlightens the mind, but attached to the idea of schooling is the social positioning that sits behind it. When we think of schooling as the possession of knowledge, it gives those who possess more of it an advantage over those who do not. I will show within this chapter that schooling during this period was not a right but a privilege to those who had access to it due to social positioning, which in turn meant that they could afford the services of teachers. Knowledge therefore is power and the possession of knowledge gives an advantage to those who have social status. When power is added to the mix it sometimes has the ability to elicit a sense of superiority in those who possess power and knowledge and elicit a sense of fear or loathing in those who do not. Education in and of itself however is simply the accumulation of knowledge.

The development of formal schooling has undergone a number of transformations over the centuries. At the heart is that of education as a commodity, because of the nature of people trading it as a commodity or a service. Within the confines of a social structure, the necessity of having an education increases the chance of social mobility; but as a mechanism of

social engineering it is the opportunity for political leaders to direct the lives of citizens through hegemonic intentions. The term hegemony is associated with political theorist Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) who himself did not provide an accurate definition of this word other than a basic understanding in which one social group is able to gain supremacy within society by manifesting itself in two forms: through coercion via institutions of the state - the justice system as an example and through intellectual and moral leadership. However, Gramsci's analysis of hegemony looked beyond coercion and moral leadership to the idea of hegemony by consent. For Gramsci the idea of hegemony involved a dominant group within society that are looking to secure and expand their social and or economic interests by securing either active or passive consent of other minority groups who have similar ideological interests rather than through coercion. Thomas (2009, p. 160) indicates that how successful a dominant group is in gaining consent "depends on the terrain of its efficacy". This is in reference to "civil society, rather than the state" (p. 160).

Thomas (2009) differentiates the use of hegemony through consent or coercion depending on the relationship between the dominant and minority group.

Consent is one of the means of forging the 'composite body' of a class alliance, while coercion is deployed against the excluded other. A class's ability to lead, to secure the consent of allies, however, also relies upon its ability to coordinate domination over opponents of this alliance (p. 163).

The use of consent and coercion within the political sphere is a good example in which hegemony is prevalent because within a democracy there is constant positioning within political parties to try and get constituents to agree which helps to solidify the position of a political party looking for greater political dominance. Brown (2009) indicates three stages in which hegemony develops: 1) - 'economic corporate' - people affiliate out of self-interest and recognise the need to consolidate with other similar groups in

order to “retain their own security” (para. 12). 2) - Development of solidarity with other groups based on shared economic interests. The shared interests are entirely professional at this point. 3) - group members become aware of needing to extend their interests beyond what they can do within the context of their own particular class (Brown 2009, para. 14). As it applies to New Zealand, the use of hegemony towards Maori effectively marginalised their status politically, which had a devastating effect socially and educationally.

The constant tension in society between political groups with differing agenda's gives an indication of how complex it is when developing a formal schooling system. In today's society at least the importance of an educated populace means how schools are going to be directed becomes a point of contention with those have governing power and other competing political groups, because of a more democratic and transparent political process when it comes to initiating and introducing changes to the schooling structure. Often the direction of schools still relies on the top-down process as education has become the political tool of governing authorities.

The political aspect of hegemony gains an advantage for those who are the most influential within society regardless of the method of governance used, i.e. democracy, theocracy, autocracy, oligarchy. The only commonality between the different forms is the need to maintain power. For example societies under a monarchy during the Middle Ages - (1500's), relied on physical coercion to maintain a grip on authority under a term called the 'divine right of Kings' or 'absolutism'- a term in which a sovereign ruler would derive their authority from God and exempt themselves from any type of accountability regarding their position as ruler.

Once the sovereign had secured his empire “an administrative apparatus was needed to maintain political and juridical control and to collect the needed taxes, fees, tithes, and fines” (Gutek, 1972, p. 68). Limiting the spread of education under this system of rule therefore was a decision based on social hierarchy and the heavy influence of the church which wielded a great deal of influence in structuring society.

Three major lines of educational institutions developed in the medieval period:

(1) those related directly to the church; (2) those concerned with educating the feudal aristocracy; and (3) those related to craft or vocational education”...this three - track system of education was keyed to the class structure of medieval society, providing a distinct education of the cleric, the knight, and the craftsman (Gutek, 1972, p. 69).

Regardless of time periods, the result of influences from various sectors of society: social, economic, political and theological movements have all had a significant impact in educational discourse. In New Zealand the notion of educational discourse prior to the establishment of formal schooling under the Christian Missionary Society (1816), was based on civilising the populace on a discourse of conformity. Civilising indicates that Maori, who were the recipients of Christian benevolence, were considered un-civilised. So education then plays a multi-faceted role in coercing society to assimilate into its system.

The further back in history one goes, the less developed society was in terms of individual freedoms; this is in itself is in part as a result of the level of the belief systems that existed during these periods. As a side note to briefly illustrate this point St Augustine of Hippo (353-430) wrote regarding the justification of coercive state authority -‘City of God’ (426-427) based on the religious notion of man’s deviation from the path of God to independence. The consequence of this meant man’s inclination would descend into chaos and rebellion; so the alternative of God’s providential care would have to be somewhat punitive in nature under a coerced from of state authority.

Augustine’s concept on human law was conceived as a reflection of the eternal law of God, and had the view of it being “either as a divine (or eternal) law, or as a principle immanent in nature and accessible to men through

reason” (Markus, 1970, p. 88). A reliance on a more autocratic form of governance such as that found during the middle ages meant a subdued populace to ensure they conform to authority.

A natural default setting within society is one of a desire for power or at least control over one’s own life and domain. There are varying degrees in which power is exerted. When in a position of leadership the dynamic changes and having an increase of power alters how power is handled and administered. At the extreme end of the scale, when power within the hands of an authoritarian figure is manifested, power becomes insatiable and manifests itself within a ruler to the point that a ruler will compete for control of resources and the coercion of others into obedience to their dictates. The dictates of authority figures in society has the appearance of upholding the rights of its people, but it also masks itself as manifesting power from a position of benevolence and as a consequence maintaining power becomes the primary means in which to achieve and justify its right of self-preservation.

Each major cultural period in the Western experience can be characterized by an ideal type who might be considered that era’s concept of the educated man. It is he who personifies the values of the society, and his training reflects its needs (Guttek, 1972, p. 10).

The three particular periods that I have chosen to illustrate the development of education to formal schooling reflect the cultural, economic and political changes that took place at that time. This in turn reflects the level of importance and scope from governmental figures as to the importance that education played during these periods. The level of education ran according to a hierarchal social order and progressed to a more democratic system of learning. All three periods illustrate that education challenged or reinforced the social norms in place, and the commonalities that exist between the three periods in history are that of the level of exerted power to maintain control and the development of discourse to subdue the populace to conform.

PLATO AND THE POLIS; EDUCATION IN GREEK SOCIETY

(Gutek, 2011, p. 30) states: “education's overriding purpose, both formally in schools and informally in society and work, was to transmit the beliefs and values that sustained tradition and reproduced the ruling elite from one generation to the next”. Society can be defined by three components; characteristic patterns of organization, the social networks that build from it and defining its criteria for membership. Plato's view of education is relevant to this chapter because it demonstrates the necessity in binding society together using these three components.

The comparison between the Oriental empires encompassing Mesopotamia, Assyria and Persia and Greek society points to differences in how education was used as a political tool to direct the lives of its people. Education in Mesopotamia, Assyria and Persia (480 BC - 323 BC) for example were based on edicts determined by its rulers; with the purpose being to “transmit the beliefs and values that sustained tradition” (Gutek, 2011, p. 31). Mesopotamia, Assyria and Persia were “ruled by powerful emperors who claimed divine origin and godlike powers” (Gutek, 2011, p. 31). Education under such conditions was sanctioned according to state religion which would have ratified any decision made by the states leader. In such a limited governmental system, setting educational priorities is easy when the focus is developing educational targets that reinforce and "transmit the beliefs and values that sustained tradition and reproduced the ruling elite from one generation to the next" (Gutek, 2011, p. 31). Education as it applied during this period had the hall marks of reproducing the traditions of what a state's leader deemed appropriate. Similarly, formal schooling when it was being developed in New Zealand for example is based on principles determined by its government. Therefore sustaining 'state beliefs and values' impinge upon individual choice since there is more of a likely-hood for society to be content in allowing social direction to be made for them.

Greek society during the time of Plato and Socrates on the other hand took a more philosophical approach and raised questions regarding traditions than simply follow them. In this respect Greek society, Athens especially had the scope to explore the idea of education as benefiting the individual as well as societal values. Drever's (1912, p. 9) description of the characteristics of the Greeks paints a much more liberal picture as to their attitude towards education. "The racial characteristics of the Greeks themselves are the first of such factors. The Greek, as compared with other races, was imaginative, intensely intellectual, endowed with a fine sense of proportion, harmony, and restraint, and intensely 'human'". Built around the confederation of a number of city states or 'polis'; Greece was not at any time a nation in the modern sense of the word, but more of an aggregate of independent states, having little in common except that of language and religion (Drever, 2012). Each polis carried within its social values an educational programme that reflected and reinforced the importance of what that city represented; it was also a society "served by slaves" (p. 9).

The city state became the highest of social institutions in which it evolved as a stronghold by the nobility to hold their status in society and to keep in subjection those of a lower class. The Athenians of the fourth and fifth century developed education from a cultural perspective of it belonging to freemen. The development of a 'liberal education' as it applied to a free citizen of Greece meant that the original sense of the word liberalis has the notion that it was "suitable for a free man, hence suitable for a gentleman" (one not tied to a trade), (Stevenson, 2010, para. 6). From this developed a leisure class which according to Davidson (1897, p.41) "regarded itself as having no duties except to govern others and cultivate worth". Building a picture of Greek society and education portrays an all too familiar picture of education belonging to the elite – or in this case a free citizen of Greece who is free to pursue intellectual pursuits and therefore being prepared to rule.

Differences between the various city states can be seen regarding the type of educational structure each had in place. Athens in comparison to Sparta had diametrically opposing educational values. "Sparta was a semi-fascist,

military polis whose citizens were considered state possessions" (Gutek, 2011, p. 32). Education was devoted entirely to military drill, gymnastics and training. Education in Sparta was rigorously administered by the state for the state. Education therefore was designed to transmit and reproduce military tradition within its citizens and limit any outside influences that would interfere and question its social structure. "Sparta was like the anthill or the beehive in which the citizens sacrificed their individuality" for the common good (Gutek, 2011, p. 32).

Athens on the other hand pursued a more open approach to educational pursuits. With more openness towards educational pursuits, this allowed the emergence of different groups and theories regarding educational values to develop and challenge each other in determining truth and relevance for society. Socrates (468-399) emphasised critical thinking and the search for meaning over traditions of doctrinal wisdom (Gutek, 2011). He pursued the idea of knowledge as the source of a moral life. This line of inquiry was not without its hazards as Socrates was eventually charged with "impiety to the gods" (Gutek, 2011, p. 36) and ordered to take his own life. Plato (427-347 B.C.E.) who was born into old Athenian aristocracy and a pupil of Socrates carried on the pursuit of truth and engaged in educational values. There are similarities today when the pursuit of educational values challenge the values of society under utilitarian rules; that is – testing the morality of an action based on how positive or negative it is to the rest of society. Ultimately whatever discourse is perpetuated by the state, as being morally good society abides by. If formal schooling is determined by the state as being the most appropriate form of education, society eventually abides by this decision.

Plato could engage in liberal thought that questioned traditional social beliefs; but his journey eventually led to his 'Theory of idealism' - "which asserts that reality is intellectual or spiritual and not material" (Gutek, 2011, p. 39). Plato's asserts that truth exists as an unchanging reality in an "intellectual and spiritual" state (Gutek, 2011, p. 39); and the highest of these thoughts being called the 'form of the good'- the source of intelligibility; giving the capacity to know and understand. The influence of Plato's theory

appealed to Christian theologians and translated this into the Christian concept of God. There was space for such theories to exist as not to be perceived as a threat to its social structure; however, with changing socio-economic times, traditions of truth were being challenged. Plato's belief in the dominance of one social class over another was one position that could not be dislodged from his psyche.

As Plato probed the meaning of life with his students, several trends of thought converged to shape his philosophical outlook. Plato resented the fact that his families and other families of the old aristocracy had lost their influence to the newly emergent and rising commercial class (Gutek, 2011, p. 37).

Socio-economic changes in Plato's day had seen the emergence of a new commercial class that challenged the old aristocracy; having gained its wealth, a group of educators called the sophists taught a curriculum alongside those who acquired wealth and advocated that:

- “truth is relative and not fixed depending on circumstances of time and place” (Gutek, 2011, p. 38)
- Truth can be argued from any position since it is no longer fixed, which meant the democratic right of the Sophists to challenge tradition.
- The use of methods as a recipe to win arguments that would lead to political and economic success.

Plato perceived these as only images of truth since according to the Sophists they can be cultivated by use of rhetoric – or persuasive arguments to convince an audience. His belief in uncovering the reality of where truth's foundation lies contributed to his belief in general education as opposed to specialised or vocational training for Greek society (Gutek, 2011). From his perspective general liberal education aides the citizen in making a better

informed decision as opposed to specialised training which limits knowledge to areas of commerce and trade. The comparisons with education in Athens and that found in most democratic countries have commonalities in regards to: traditions being challenged, higher forms of knowledge made available to the elite, knowledge is never static; and changes in the economy trigger new approaches to restructuring the curriculum to accommodate new modes of thought.

The challenges of the Sophists towards the established aristocracy also shaped their educational discourse as a way to challenge ideas of privilege and social status; and in a new wave of inclusion sought to widen the net of wealth, political influence and social status. These ideas have repeated themselves in New Zealand as well as many other societies where the development of society driven by socio-economic progress also affects the relevancy of educational traditions. Similar to the development of a more economic based learning structure. As it applied to New Zealand's educational development, this meant moving the established view of education from its traditional boundary of being a "public good which the state should mediate to all citizens in New Zealand" (Holland & Boston, 1990, p. 171) to a more contemporary outlook "interpreted in terms of economic success" (Dale and Robertson, 1997, p. 212) in (Olssen & Morris Matthews, 1997).

The Sophists also represented a new political drive by using rhetoric and methods of persuasion to become successful. Rhetoric as a means of success contrasts to Plato's depth of philosophy; the sophist's idea of changing the reality of truth to suit circumstances versus Plato's introspective look at the individual shows that education from both perspectives was never static. In a modern sense this also demonstrates the constant struggle between neo-liberal tendencies and a more liberal form of education. That is – market based solutions, reduction of government intervention, greater freedom of choice, less intervention from education policies that are market oriented and a wider inclusion from alternative forms of education. The need in maintaining a balance and determining the value of what education

represents is decided by a dominant discourse. Ideally education must be able to equally accommodate both liberal and neo-liberal views in a drive towards social and economic development.

Defining what type of education is right for society is a tight rope when competing views from opposite ends of the political spectrum are at odds with each other. The notion of a liberal education as it applied to ancient Greek society places it well within the spectrum of general education because it encompasses a number of disciplines useful to society. Litz and Bloomquist's (1980, p.12) definition of liberal education as "academic disciplines" incorporating "languages, history, philosophy, and abstract science" would prove more useful for general society, given that it would be suitable in providing intellectual development (Litz and Bloomquist, 1980) with a wide range of disciplines as distinguished from more narrowly practical training, as for a profession" (Litz and Bloomquist, 1980, p. 12).

However, with the advent of liberal education, progress has developed for students to progress into more specialized educational pursuits as a matter of course; and social progress over the centuries has inevitably seen a change of direction of education as a private good versus its social and economic benefits, as political discourse has dictated what is educationally relevant. The value of education is under pinned by political discourse because of its status within government policy; in fact Plato's ideas of education within his notion of the republic are conservative and designed to foster social order. Order within the republic would be based on a more organic structure between the social classes as a way to foster co-operation.

The homogeneous grouping of society in Plato's city state are based on similar structures elsewhere; namely the "guardians-philosopher kings, the defenders or the military, and the workers" (Gutek, 2011, p. 43.) The indication that creating a city would involve adopting a "principle of specialization" Barrow (1975, p. 20) means everyone specifically has an assigned role to play. The essence of Plato's notion of education is everyone playing their part equally regardless of social standing. "We can think of

Plato's design for the republic to require some way of predicting the aptitude of the citizens so that they could be positioned in a class that suited their abilities" (Gutek, 2011, p. 43).

Compartmentalising society like this based on a theoretical social system narrows the constraints of the realities within society. Personalities do not always act rationally within a society at the best of times; putting together a city state based on categorising everyone to play along indicates a need to structure education accordingly. In a society like Athens the difference in how education was valued is important in how it is portrayed. Socrates death points out a conservatism that still existed in that time period, which was to be expected; but the degree in which there was an allowance to critique traditions stands as a testament to their willingness to be open to new ideas. If the underpinning of building a "rationally based stable political order" (Gutek, 2011, p. 43) is defined from a conservative point of view, then this will continue to be the avenue from which the state will use to build society. The early stages of Colonialism in New Zealand marked a shift in how society was to be organised according to British traditions. The similarities between societies in ancient Greece and New Zealand are marked by conservatism within the aristocracy/social elite. Defining society's direction had already been determined by virtue of a possession of power. Discourse, which sets in motion the belief systems of those who hold power is given validity by the use of power. As it applies to Maori, good intentions in civilising them were based on the notion of Maori being uncivilised according to someone else's dictates thereby placing them at a distinct disadvantage.

THE RENAISSANCE

The Renaissance is probably best described as a transitional period between the medieval and the modern. Like the medieval scholastic, the Renaissance humanist found his authorities in the past, ignored

science, and stressed the editing of classical antiquity, the Renaissance also exhibited sharp political, economic, and religious crosscurrents, some of which were still quite medieval and others of which held portents of modernity. (Gutek, 1972, p. 100)

The Renaissance period marks the transition from an age marked by a theocentric feudal society built upon a church dominated cultural and intellectual life. The Medieval period which preceded the Renaissance was dominated by a hierarchy based social structure with the Roman Catholic Church being the authority by which monarchies and feudal lords would receive their backing to rule. "In pursuing this end, the Church operated primarily as a spiritual force, although its policies had strong social, economic, and political implications" (Gutek, 1972, p. 64).

But there were other precursors of the Renaissance. The Crusades had disturbed the mind of Europe and brought nations into contact with each other. Above all, they had brought the more thoughtful and inquiring minds into touch with Byzantine and Arabic learning, which was itself in the direct line of Hellenic tradition (Laurie, 1968, p. 5)

Within the middle ages, education was limited and books had been costly; the clergy had been the only regular readers; mostly in Latin, which was considered the language of scholarship. The combination of a church structured hierarchy, and a closed society towards anything of a rationalistic nature produced a seemingly stagnant and stifled view of things artistic, scientific, political and educational. This transmitted into the view that an acceptance of a social hierarchy meant "every individual had an assigned place and performed a needed function" (Gutek, 1972, p. 67). This meant little capacity to envision anything other than life in medieval society as a transient life, and narrowing the idea that the humanising of mankind as inherently good would limit the need in exploring the educational views of Greek classical thought as a source intellectual development.

The transition from the medieval to the renaissance overlapped as templates of leadership structures continued on into the renaissance in much the same fashion. For instance, the various writings undertaken within the Monasteries - scriptoria (writing rooms) during the middle-ages, preserved the works of Vergil, Cicero and Seneca. Renaissance thinkers continued the tradition of grammatical and rhetorical studies. The necessity of pursuing liberal arts was advocated by medieval thinkers like Saint Augustine and Christian educators like Cassiodorus as “a desirable and necessary preparation of theological study” (Gutek, 1972, p. 76). The placement of religion in society during this period elevated the notion of education within these settings to an elite status.

The scope of what the liberal arts offered medieval society was limited in that it was only of benefit to writers and historians within a Christian setting. The general public were largely unaware of any type of classical Greek and Roman thought. Because education and the study of Latin remained the domain of a church centred hierarchy, the renaissance period required people, more so the socially elite to learn Greek, Latin and philosophies in order to understand the manuscripts long neglected by Christian scholars. This led to further study of the ancient texts that would provide lateral scope and greater depth of scholarship to re-engage with the classical texts of Greece and Rome.

The Renaissance took place from AD 1350 to 1650 (14th to 17th century) within the northern regions of Italy during the late Middle Ages – (Venice and Florence) and spreading to the other parts of Europe, including Germany, France, and England. It was a “rebirth of classical learning, this period was more accurately a shift in perspective as interest revived in the humanistic and secular implications of the Greek and Latin classics rather than in their providential and religious aspects” (Gutek, 1972, p. 99). Thinkers within the Renaissance, known as humanists rediscovered writings on matters of science, rhetoric, philosophy and the arts. The influence from these writings produced a reinvigorated belief in the validity of mankind as a progressive

being capable of increasing their own well-being in society outside of the providential care of God.

A key educational thought regarding the Renaissance includes this statement: “a few gifted people may become leaders; most of mankind must be led. Leadership potential is inborn, but it will develop only if a proper education is begun early and systematically continued” (Doug, 2006, para. 1). Such a loaded statement represents a narrow section on what this chapter focuses on - the educational framework defined within a Renaissance society. The notion of social positioning that has been prevalent in the previous chapter is active within this chapter; in fact it has been active and prevalent throughout history as power through discourse defines the direction of society. Once again the notions of discourse coupled with power have had the most significance in determining social progress. Education may have represented a more liberated view compared to its medieval predecessor but it was still confined due to a large portion of the population remaining uneducated. Similarly Maori under Colonialism as a more progressive example have fared better in that education was widely encouraged under assimilatory practices.

The notion of education during the Renaissance period as a precursor to a more organised formal school system was still based on the decrees of those who are the most influential in society directing its path; the monarchy, the feudal overlord, the oligarch, the dictator, the president, the prime minister, the politician, the economist. The pattern of Education, separate from the idea of formal schooling is still a commodity of the state in whatever condition of development. There is enough indication from previous chapters that educational theory sides with aristocracy (Guttek, 1972) and this is especially so during the 15th and 16th century Renaissance period. Woodward, (1965) indicates that the “aim and the curriculum of education are dependent upon and vary with the ideals and interests of successive ages” (p. 2). The interconnection of one age to another is defined by the level of development that progress mankind into greater levels of learning. Bantock (1973) regarding the progression of language within knowledge states that

Knowledge, however, can have a wider function. It is not merely a question of adapting men to a certain given level of development, but of producing individuals capable of developing the existing form of society beyond itself to a further state.

The differences with the medieval period and the Renaissance is only separated by an expansion of social norms to allow greater leeway for educational progress, which was limited as far as the general public were concerned. However, developing the existing state requires keeping the status quo the same in terms of class relations which carries on into the Renaissance period. The levels of conservatism from the medieval period shows how interconnected periods of history are, via commonalities that Foucault highlights; namely unscrambling the nature of power operating in both medieval and renaissance periods. Because there was a greater exposure of educational values during the renaissance, this theoretically should have a greater effect in equalizing the value of education for all sectors of society to benefit, but the use of power in the hands of the state makes it difficult to think how power could ever be administered with equity.

The Italian Renaissance was “more secular and worldly than religious” (Gutek, 1972, p. 102). The following commercial expansion within some Italian states led to a financial surplus which in turn supported the arts, literature, and architecture. This in turn created the merchant class who would challenge medieval social structures; and increase their social status to the point they had power to demand greater access to education to further their status in society. “The Italian humanists regarded themselves as an aristocratic literary elite whose task was to act as the ‘custodians of knowledge’” (Gutek, 1972, p. 103). Their growing influence voiced their disenchantment with papal rule which in turn increased their political leverage. “They soon entered into the field of education and claimed the right to control it” (Gutek, 1972, p. 103).

This is education as a commodity being developed, a precursor to neo-liberal influence prevalent in society today. Even without the advent of formal schooling during this period, as we would see it in today's society, clearly the thrust of knowledge could be used as leverage to further one's social status. Although the Renaissance was a great "reforming force within Italy, the majority of the population remained untouched by the humanism of the Italian classical scholars" (Gutek, 1972, p. 103). The idea that such a revival could be of benefit for the whole of the population has taken a slow path to fruition. Democracy had not developed to the degree that we see in society today and neither was there a level of a formal organized system of schooling available to everyone in society, nevertheless in its infancy, there was opportunities for those who did not have cultural capital to take advantage of what was being offered.

Education would also be afforded to those who were born into a lower class but showed intellectual promise and become protégés of generous benefactors. The necessary ingredients in building educated leaders relied on: "1. religion tempered by philosophy, and 2. A broad selection of great books that are both substantive and rhetorically effective" (Doug, 2006, para. 3). Philosophy referred to moral philosophy as a way of cultivating leaders with good morals.

Facilitating schools was based on provisions provided by the church, which included access to monasteries, or within palaces from which private tuition to wealthy families would take place. "The history of Renaissance education is primarily that of individual humanist educators who developed distinctive pedagogical strategies designed to produce the well-rounded, liberally educated gentleman"(Gutek, 1972, p. 103). The evolution of educational thought during the Renaissance revolutionised the possibilities that man could progress and evolve away from religious influences. Dislodging the conservatism within the upper echelons of society is the hardest to confront; part of this is due to the level of outward use of power upon society in order to keep society in line. There was a conscious shift by the intellectuals to

challenge the validity of how society was functioning, but not enough to dislodge the dominant discourse of the most influential in society.

The reason for focusing on the Renaissance is to draw attention to the structures of power operating. Education in its own right made inroads during the Renaissance which had a remarkable effect throughout the period where various facets important to society's development had been altered. Changes to architecture, painting, music, science and political science began looking at alternatives in restructuring dogmatic views. Education during these periods functioned under whatever leadership was in governance at the time. Changing conservative views of inclusion for all of society to benefit from some type of education only came when greater progress was made socially and economically. Politically equalising the playing field so all could benefit educationally resulted instead in inequality. The increasing wealth of the merchant class influenced education in one sector of society to use it as a commodity to great effect. This conveys educational language with a vested interest towards those who would use it as form of authority. Authority in the form of discourse sets the standard in what is acceptable schooling practice. The next section will focus on the idea of education during the Enlightenment period.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT

The intellectuals, or philosophes, of the Enlightenment believed that human reason could cure mankind of its social, political, and economic ills and lead to a time of perpetual peace, utopian government, and perfect society. Through reason, man would discover the natural laws governing human existence and with this knowledge be able to guarantee the progress of the human race (Gutek, 1972, p. 139).

The Enlightenment period represents another philosophical shift towards rationality and the use of science in one sense to give adequate explanations of why and how things work. Central to this is the positioning of man in

relation to nature. The Enlightenment focused on a very rational system of reasoning to dispel the spiritual position of man as inherently sinful and instead postulated the goodness of man as a rational being who is then capable of living a good life. The problems found in society were attributed to an “unnatural, artificial, and irrational society” (Guttek, 1972, p. 140). The Enlightenment was a cultural movement of the 18th century involving a number of intellectuals across varied disciplines. These thinkers contributed a greater sense towards reacquainting themselves in using the faculties that people were born with to understand their position and relevance to the world and to themselves.

Kant's definition of enlightenment is one of the most well-known passages in political philosophy. "Enlightenment is the point at which the human being departs [der Ausgang des Menschen] from his self-incurred minority. Minority is the inability to use one's own understanding without the guidance of another (Clarke, 1997, p. 58)

The Enlightenment philosophes had rejected the Calvinist idea of man being inherently corrupt and the Catholic view that man was spiritually corrupt. It also signalled a paradigm shift for theorists who had begun to realise that modes of thought that once dominated the medieval society had become redundant in the light of new discoveries being made. Significant personalities who contributed included physicist Isaac Newton (1643–1727), philosophers Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677), John Locke (1632–1704) and Voltaire (1694-1778). This would entail a conscious shift away from religion based systems of law and a move towards natural laws.

Formulated through Newton's Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy – (1642-1727) natural law was based on “the law of gravitation. The universe was described as an orderly system of atoms moving in absolute time and space. Newton conceived of the universe as a great machine that functioned according to its own intrinsic laws and design” (Guttek, 1972, p. 139). From this developed the belief that man could employ scientific methods to properly understand how natural laws kept the world in order and in motion

(Guttek, 1972). Once the laws were understood and placed into mathematical formula this would make it more intelligible to understand.

Newton's laws therefore hypothesise a universe functioning to mechanistic laws, and the necessity to translate these laws into a mathematical formula. Newton's principle theoretically would be applied to other sections of society to challenge and perhaps dislodge the religious laws implemented by the Church. As an example "Condorcet held that the laws of nature were applicable to man's intellectual and moral faculties. The crucial educational task was to adjust man to natural law (Guttek, 1972, p. 140). Education from this perspective challenges long held traditions with a method or formula that is a lot more robust in opening people up to a dislocated view of society and using reasoning and natural laws to bring about a new perspective. As it was conceived the task of philosophes – leading thinkers or writers was to:

- Expose obsolete institutions to rigorous criticism
- Destroy institutions that impeded the progressive adjustment of man to the natural order.
- Construct a new set of institutions in conformity to natural law
- Re-educate man so that he could exercise his natural goodness and live in perfect harmony with the emergent natural institutions. (Guttek, 1972, p. 140)

The notion of natural education which dis-associates itself from the idea of mankind as a depraved being, liberates its mind to see that the faculties' man is blessed with is inherently good. With this in mind progress as far as Enlightenment thinkers were concerned is based on mankind taking advantage of a natural reasoning process and seek to bring about a better improved society through with a belief that individuals possessed a measure of benevolence. "If men were innately good, then the hope of the future was the unspoiled child, an uncorrupted and natural being whose interests, needs, and inclinations were the proper beginnings of instruction" (Guttek, 1972, p. 141). The Enlightenment could then be interpreted as a means in which society recognises and develops their autonomy away from an all-

encompassing method of existence via the Church. The idea of natural education indicates that man could be restored to his original goodness and be given the incentive and preparation to live, to make progress through rationalisation, and through science.

NATURAL EDUCATION

Progress within this period depended on making a paradigm shift towards a term called 'sense realism'.

The new world view that Newton introduced into Western thought construed the universe as a vast mechanism functioning according to its own intrinsic laws. When the eighteenth-century philosophe spoke of nature, he most likely meant this all-pervasive, harmoniously functioning world machine (Gutek, p. 147).

Signifying that the world is in harmony because it functions with regularity indicates a stance that stands in contrast to the religious perspective of a decaying world through sin. Newton's hypothesis proved to be significant turn in educational thought when "through carefully constructed scientific experimentation and the accurate compilation of data, man could discern the universal patterns of natural operations" (Gutek, 1972, p. 147). Natural education liberates intelligence in order to bring about a more moral regeneration. This would include the need to counter archaic views: "scholasticism, dogmatism, and verbalism" (Gutek, 1972, p. 147); the acceptance of assertions without scientifically based answers explanations. Education needed to be inclusive of the child being allowed to follow its natural inclinations at will. This was not an indication of total abandonment of the child to their devices, but rather more leeway in letting the child discover lessons for themselves naturally. The idea of natural education is a reminder of alternative ideas of education outside of the mainstream system; namely the Steiner method, Montessori schooling.

The idea of natural education is associated with philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) and his protégé Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827). His efforts regarding education are due in part from his novel *Emile* (1762) which traces the education of a boy from infancy to manhood. The novel stood in reaction to the “highly verbal and literary education that ignored the interests and inclinations of the learner” (Guttek, 1972, p. 144). His views sought to ease the bind of educating children without taking cognisance of their own constitution. The core of the matter is the intrusion of assimilatory practices that had been an entrenched part of the medieval and Renaissance periods. The revolutionary changes that had taken place during the Renaissance had left the power structures intact. Conservative by nature, those who hold the reins of power as demonstrated from the Medieval to the Enlightenment displayed a conservative attitude towards education. Nonetheless, Rousseau’s ideas regarding the level of interaction from the teacher towards the student outlines the underpinnings that are seen or at least advocated today; namely the rights of the child in allowing a degree of natural development.

Tracing the development of a child from infancy to adulthood through the eyes of *Emile* for Rousseau advocates as follows:

- 1 - 5yrs child is allowed freedom of movement, exercise and encountering objects
- 5 - 12yrs beginning of independence. Conscious of actions (happiness, sadness). Curiosity is developing, learning through senses
- 12 - 15yrs physical strength increases, natural environment provides scientific and geographical lessons (Guttek, 1972).

The most significant aspect regarding education according to Rousseau is the advocacy towards less intervention by the ruling power in society. One interesting fact is the same has been advocated by minority groups in today’s democracy with little effect. The difference between the Enlightenment

period is simply a time gap. There is greater sophistication now that a type of social contract there was certainly being considered theoretically from various philosophers during that period of time, but not enough to dislodge the dominant thought regarding what is considered acceptable practice of government control.

“The contract theory of government was closely allied to the Enlightenment concepts of natural law, progress, and economic individualism” (Guttek, 1972, p. 142). Philosopher Thomas Hobbes’ (1588–1679) social contract theory bases the rationality of forming a society by common agreement, because of man’s state of nature. “The state of nature was one in which there were no enforceable criteria of right and wrong” (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2007, para. 4). Seen as an imaginary condition in which there is an absence of government authority, with more of a preference to securing individual self-interests, the rationality of justifying a common consent towards political control paves the way for power to manifest. At least in this sense the manifestation of power from contract theory’s point of view is the inclusion of the individual agreeing to be governed or at least there is scope for their input to be taken into consideration. In opposition to this the church’s hierarchal system only gave equality to all mankind on a spiritual level. Having no access to forms of education outside of what was oriented by the monarchy and the church meant coercion was the norm that society were forced to adjust to. Saint Augustine indicated that man’s fallen nature would bear a mass of problems that would enclose humanity, escalating into innumerable sins.

According to Markus (1970) Augustine came to think that rationality would present an alternative form of providential care from God towards man since he had decided to rebel against his own proper status in God’s creation, forsake the natural order and choose independence instead. The consequence of this meant man’s inclination would descend into chaos and rebellion; so the alternative of God’s providential care would have to be somewhat punitive in nature under a coerced form of state authority. Augustine’s concept on human law was conceived as a reflection of the

eternal law of God, and had the view of it being “either as a divine (or eternal) law, or as a principle immanent in nature and accessible to men through reason” (Markus, 1970, p. 88) Augustine accepted the essence of this teaching, but believed understanding would come by divine revelation

CONCLUSION

The separation between the church’s idea of reason and that of the Enlightenment theorists is one of scope; scope to think outside the confines of what was at that time considered mainstream. Politics and education fit within these realms; anything outside of political statutes is not heliocentric to mainstream views of acceptable practice. Education has flourished since the advent of the Renaissance through to the Enlightenment period, but not without political interference from the state in determining what is right and acceptable.

This continues to be the norm and society has digested a number of social structures over the centuries which have been the result of a constant interplay of political ambitions, benevolence, social design and repression and oppression. Society has always been at the mercy of objectives and as a result we can never truly be ourselves because we are a mixture of tension and intention; the constant action and reaction as dominant minorities versus a general submissive population adjusts the different social structures that bind society together. Society delicately maintains a balance between anarchy and subjugation. We both allow ourselves to be led and to lead, so the complexity of society diffuses how power is understood and interpreted. Translate this to Maori within dominant schooling discourses; we will always be at the mercy of the direction of others, because dissecting the negative impact of schools on Maori will conflict with the potential social mobility that it offers.

In some ways the current educational system has made incremental progress in including Maori concepts to deal with the level of Maori under-achievement in society, but the power base behind constructing solutions for Maori will still be conservative by nature. Paulo Freire for instance saw education as political because it included all facets of life within a community that are included within the learning process. Education in contrast to schools is broad enough to include influences outside of schools because they are not within a national framework with set national standards. This in itself sets a preference by choosing to make schools non-political, but, they are not non-cultural. By design, schools contain a dominant conservative element and seek to promote a monocultural structure that on the surface is inclusive but exclusive as well when you consider the status of private schools which promote a different form of social values.

The next chapter will focus on the more formal aspect of developing a formal schooling system as it applies to New Zealand.

CHAPTER 3

THE DEVELOPMENT OF FORMAL SCHOOLING IN NEW ZEALAND

INTRODUCTION

The formal education system in New Zealand when first introduced into the new colony served to civilise the populace under a discourse of conformity. Before I commence, the context in which conformity is used in this section will refer to an eventual need by the colonial government in establishing a formal state schooling system under a universal framework; uniting the collective provinces under a single curriculum. The first section of this chapter will look at the history of formal schooling in New Zealand which leads to the eventual development of a single compulsory curriculum. Included will be the influence of Christianity, its relationship with education and the conflict with the state in deciding what is educationally appropriate. This will lead towards how the colonial government's authority has affected Maori interacting with European paradigms and how Maori have been subdued into different ways of being and doing.

Up until the Constitution Act of 1852, the notion of education for the early colonists was closely modelled on the English education system.

The social and educational ideas the early colonists brought with them were consequently ideas acquired in Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century. Though these ideas had to be modified in the new environment, the modification was often surprisingly slight, and it is broadly true to say that New Zealand's educational arrangements were originally modelled on the English and Scottish systems of the time (UNESCO, 1972, p. 10)

With New Zealand being a fledgling new colony at this time, the transference of English culture prior to the Treaty of Waitangi has also brought with it the dominance of the British political system which has had a significant impact in the development of the education system that currently exists. The dominance of the colonial government and its evolution toward what we have politically and educationally today has a significant influence in conforming society towards these early ideals.

With regard to the development of New Zealand's educational growth, the Constitution Act of 1852 made provision for New Zealand to develop a federal government and the colony was divided up into six provinces (Auckland, Wellington, New Plymouth, Nelson, Otago and Canterbury). Provincial councils were elected and given flexibility in exercising authority. The result was a difference in the way education was provided in these regions; "they differed widely in their ideas, the extent of their resources, and the value of their educational endowments" (UNESCO, 1972, P. 13).

Until the provinces were abolished in 1876, education became the responsibility of the provincial councils within the provinces with many schools being run by the Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian and Methodist denominations. The different ideas about assuming responsibility for education varied with each province; added to this was the extent of resources available and "educational endowments" (UNESCO, 1972, p. 3). A lack of financial provisions prior to the granting of self-governance in 1852 meant that educational funds that were made available by the Colonial Office in 1847 by legislature were equally distributed amongst the various denominations throughout the provinces. The downside was "a wasteful overlapping of effort and in resentment on the part of the denominations that were not early enough in the field to benefit from it" (UNESCO, 1972, p. 12)

In some provinces like Nelson, one of the smallest and the poorest throughout the country, the early period in this region was not without its hardships because of the high percentage of labourers with little financial capital of their own in providing education for their children. The people

however, took it upon themselves to initiate co-operation in erecting basic facilities which started out as a Sunday school, eventually becoming a school house. The measure of co-operation “called for some kind of joint action on a non-sectarian basis” (UNESCO, 1972, p. 12). Denominational divisions within the provinces, the influence of religion in education and the effectiveness of provincial control affected the:

- Interpretation of what is applicable for teaching
- difficulty provincial governments had in controlling education

The churches’ success in initiating formal methods of schooling occurred because they were more organised in their efforts compared to the government in other provinces. The issue of church influence in education became an on-going issue for the central government to deal with, and eventually necessitated looking at a better schooling system and establishing a national standard of education throughout the country. The influence of religion played a significant part in structuring a system in which all sections of society could attend school.

One may see evidence of the strict nature of ‘schooling’ at quite an early stage in New Zealand history. Up until the Constitution Act of 1852, the notion of education for the early colonists was closely modelled on the English education system.

The social and educational ideas the early colonists brought with them were consequently ideas acquired in Britain in the first half of the nineteenth century. Though these ideas had to be modified in the new environment, the modification was often surprisingly slight, and it is broadly true to say that New Zealand’s educational arrangements were originally modelled on the English and Scottish systems of the time (UNESCO, 1972, p. 10)

With New Zealand being a fledgling new colony at this time, the transference of English culture prior to the Treaty of Waitangi has also brought with it the

dominance of the British political system which has had a significant impact in the development of the education system that currently exists. The dominance of the colonial government and its evolution toward what we have politically and educationally today has a significant influence in conforming society towards these early ideals. The belief that strict delineations were preferable to a much more 'holistic' way of life (Pere, 1982), for instance, entrenched itself at an early stage, laying the foundations for a clear introduction of schools. With regard to the development of New Zealand's educational growth, the Constitution Act of 1852 made provision for New Zealand to develop a federal government and the colony was divided up into six provinces (Auckland, Wellington, New Plymouth, Nelson, Otago and Canterbury). Provincial councils were elected and given flexibility in exercising authority. The result was a difference in the way schooling was provided in these regions; "they differed widely in their ideas, the extent of their resources, and the value of their educational endowments" (UNESCO, 1972, P. 13).

Sharp delineation emerged also in the provision of schooling through the religious denominations. Until the provinces were abolished in 1876, education became the responsibility of the provincial councils within the provinces with many schools being run by the Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian and Methodist denominations. The different ideas about assuming responsibility for education varied with each province; added to this was the extent of resources available and "educational endowments" (UNESCO, 1972, p. 3). A lack of financial provisions prior to the granting of self-governance in 1852 meant that educational funds that were made available by the Colonial Office in 1847 by legislature were equally distributed amongst the various denominations throughout the provinces. The downside was "a wasteful overlapping of effort and in resentment on the part of the denominations that were not early enough in the field to benefit from it" (UNESCO, 1972, p. 12)

In some provinces like Nelson, one of the smallest and the poorest throughout the country, the early period in this region was not without its

hardships because of the high percentage of labourers with little financial capital of their own in providing education for their children. The people however, took it upon themselves to initiate co-operation in erecting basic facilities which started out as a Sunday school, eventually becoming a school house. The measure of co-operation “called for some kind of joint action on a non-sectarian basis” UNESCO, 1973, (p. 12). Denominational divisions within the provinces, the influence of religion in education and the effectiveness of provincial control affected the:

- Interpretation of what is applicable for teaching
- difficulty provincial governments had in controlling education

The churches’ success in initiating formal methods of schooling occurred because they were more organised in their efforts compared to the provincial governments. The issue of church influence in schooling became an on-going issue for the central government to deal with, and eventually necessitated looking at a better schooling system and establishing a national standard of education throughout the country.

CHRISTIAN IMPACT – INFLUENCE OF SCHOOLING ON MAORI

The subject of religion and education during the early period of New Zealand’s history deserves closer scrutiny. Education and religion had together occupied a position in the early stages of New Zealand’s development as being a modifier of people’s behaviour. The impact of influencing people’s behaviour in the new colony would have had enormous benefits in shaping New Zealand’s emerging society. As New Zealand was growing its social structure, the impact of the church sought to play an important part in providing the elements needed to help its citizens develop. The notion of moral behaviour stood well within the churches’ boundaries and provided an inroad in which to implement a form of education that would be essential towards developing New Zealand’s social structure.

The influence of Christianity and education is illustrated within the statement of Alfred Domett (1811 – 1887), an English colonial statesman and poet, who wrote that education, should be universal and accessible to all. “Where it is in the power of society to bestow it, every born child has a right to the means of developing its moral and intellectual nature as well as its physical” (UNESCO, 1972, p. 13). The belief in education as the means of stemming the development of vice within children according to Domett is a better option than attempting to restrain it within adults. “The policy of educating for virtue is profounder than that of punishing for crime” (UNESCO, 1972, p. 19) which showed that he advocated through education the means of developing a moral compass in which to guide a person in society. In this sense, Oliver’s ‘heliocentricism’ may be seen to depict those forms of education that, not being schooling, were vice-ridden.

Developing moral virtue meant it was necessary to develop a social structure to influence the behaviour of its citizens in New Zealand. A cross section of English society immigrated to New Zealand, they were more likely to be from a section of English society that had not had the necessary talent, capital of social class to make it in society (UNESCO, 1972) because the level of education in England up until the second half of the nineteenth century were separated according to five different levels according to social strata. An “elementary form of literacy” (Stone, 1969, p. 70) was provided for those within the lower socio-economic class. Therefore in New Zealand the suggestion was that:

The middle classes, including here the professional groups, were much more fully represented, but the great majority of the immigrants came from the class of the ‘respectable poor’: large numbers of the men were agricultural or general labourers (UNESCO,1972, p. 10)

The influence of education as a result had the idea – if not the effect - of being a great leveller in terms of providing opportunities regardless of class and sociological background. With the church’s position in being benevolent,

providing education to both the new settlers and the Maori allowed an inroad into setting up a civilised social structure based on English values. This would imply as mentioned elsewhere, that the indigenous population of New Zealand – the Maori - were considered uncivilised.

It should already be apparent that the confusion of 'education' with 'schooling' was becoming the mainstay of educational officials. With formal education being provided by the CMS – Church Missionary Society between 1816 – 1840; the "Society's brief was to proselytize the Maori" (Lee and Lee in Campbell and Sherington, 2007, p. 134) and thus begin the process of civilisation. The first mission schools were expected to assist the conversion of Maori by providing them with access to the bible; therefore literacy would be a key in providing an inroad in which to civilise Maori and provide a better standard of living. Providing formal education, the church's idea as indicated was to allow Maori to come under missionary influence and begin the process of civilising followed by colonisation. Tutelage included "arithmetic, needlework, domestic employment for Maori girls and carpentry and agriculture for the boys"; (Lee and Lee in Campbell and Sherington, 2007, p. 134) so in comparison to the efforts of the provincial council's organisation of schooling, the practice of conversion to Christianity began the process of Maori being introduced to western civilisation.

The process of schooling Maori according to the directives of the CMS provides an insight into the influence of the church in wanting to civilise in order for Maori to better cope with the demands of assimilation. When formal colonisation took place after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 the objective switched from education as a means of civilising to one of assimilation.

After the signing of the Treaty and the declaration of New Zealand as a Crown colony, the government became anxious to extend the work begun by the missionaries. In keeping with the requirements of an emerging nation, policy on Maori education became demonstrably assimilationist-the European culture was to be imposed upon and

adopted by Maori in New Zealand (Lee and Lee in Campbell and Sherington, 2007, p. 134).

The civilising aspect of education from the church's perspective had more of an inroad in formal schooling being established than had the idea of establishing formal schooling relied solely on modelling the English system; namely that of schools being established for those who could "afford to pay fees that is, mainly the children of the upper-and middle-class settlers" and education for the working class would be undertaken more or less as a charity "as means permitted" (UNESCO, 1972, p. 11).

At the other end of the scale there was a minority of influential leaders who believed in education being "universal and even compulsory" (UNESCO, 1972, P. 11). Being able to implement a compulsory system that included everyone in society had yet to be realised because of the English pattern of education of the day – the social status of some allowed greater social mobility while the poor and working class suffered greater hardship. Still the persistence towards establishing a system of education continued to develop with a "growing conviction that if education were to be universal it would have to be free, secular and compulsory" (UNESCO, 1972, p. 13). This statement indicates the level of influence Christianity had in being able to effectively set up literacy programmes as a vehicle towards civilising the Maori population.

SHIFT AWAY FROM RELIGION

What should be noted is that the level of influence Christianity had in setting up a system of schooling had been successful despite the fact that an official church had not yet been established. Schools run by the Anglican, Wesleyan and Roman Catholic churches had a measure of success and part of that success was due to financial grants that were made available by the "legislature for educational purposes" (UNESCO, 1972, p. 12) as I have

mentioned earlier. An official church had not been established because of the trouble Britain's other colonies had experienced with establishing an official church. The influence of the state church in England's other colonies had made it a contentious issue to the point that the Church Act of 1836 was instituted for the government to provide financial aid for land and church construction in New South Wales, of which New Zealand was a part prior to gaining independence. A subsidy was also provided if church communities raised a minimum amount of three hundred pounds themselves. Land grants were also made available for churches and schools other than Presbyterian, Anglican, and Catholic denominations.

The land grants provided by the colonial office allowed other religions to be on an equal footing in receiving financial aid and diminished the monopoly of the Anglican Church's influence which had been prominent in New South Wales. The dissension that had occurred in Britain's other colonies (Canada, South Africa, and New South Wales) meant the situation in New Zealand was to be avoided to risk being repeated. Theoretically this would mean that "all sects were on an equal footing before the law" (UNESCO, 1972, p. 12). This also meant that the distribution of money could be fairly circulated amongst the other denominations. Further to this the Church Act of 1836 allowed the government to provide a salary for the clergy and money for church construction.

Prior to the signing of the Treaty in 1840, the influence of Christian principles were common within the political process of legislature and senior clergy members were able to influence the outcome over government policy. The Church of England's influence in political matters and additional support for the Anglican clergy meant there were elements of discrimination within local laws which prompted comments in the 1850's from non-Anglicans trying to assert their rights and remedy grievances. "An Auckland newspaper...remarked that the Church of England laid no claim to despotic power over the conscience because she made no claim to infallibility" (Mackey, 1967, p. 167). The impact of the Anglican Church's privileged

position was beginning to change the opinion of other denominations. The authority of the Anglican Church meant that equality amongst the other denominations in New Zealand was not strictly supported and neither was it party policy to pursue equality except by being vigilant and exerting pressure where necessary to maintain levels of equality.

The Anglican Church's influence within politics allowed greater leverage in supporting legislation that favoured their views more than others. The Native Ordinance Act 1844, as an example, proposed to supervise the allocation of donations and financial assistance via a board of trustees which included the Bishop. The move was considered sectarian by non-Anglicans and non-Christians who objected to the majority of trustees being Anglicans; and a particular objection lay in the provision that the trustees would have the influence in appointing and dismissing teachers in keeping with Anglican uniformity.

The extent of the Anglican Church's influence meant the dissension caused in the other colonies warranted a revision in how the church's establishment and influence could be curbed in New Zealand, allowing greater equality and fairer distribution of financial help amongst all denominations - in theory at least. Realistically, implementing the ordinance proved more difficult as the provinces were sparsely populated which would have made the establishment of a "church system of schools" difficult (UNESCO, 1952, p. 12). As a consequence the absence of an established church allowed in theory the ordinance to prosper and allow a level of equality amongst the denominations, However, Governor Grey who was tasked with implementing the ordinance ran into trouble:

Grey's ordinance...resulted in a wasteful overlapping of effort and in resentment on the part of the denominations that were not early enough in the field to benefit from it, and also on the part of secular school organizations, which were denied any state assistance at all (UNESCO, 1972, p. 12 - 13).

There was further division in that secular schools were denied state support altogether and that the legislative council of New Munster (which included the province of Wellington and the whole of the South Island) emphatically refused to put the regulation into operation (UNESCO, 1972). Under the leadership of Alfred Domett stated that “denominationalism could never succeed and that the only solution lay in a system of publicly controlled schools which would be debarred from teaching ‘the peculiar of distinguishing doctrines’ of any religious denomination” (UNESCO, 1972, p. 13). In other words implementing an educational structure under Christian influence could not continue because of denominational differences.

ENSURING A STANDARD OF SCHOOLING

A contributor to the idea of establishing equality and uniformity within formal schooling was the effects of the Constitution Act of 1852 which as previously mentioned established provincial control of education. As a result the variation of what should constitute as educational included the availability of resources, the value of “educational endowments” (UNESCO, 1972, p. 13) allocating land for buildings, appointment and payment of teachers and making sure the schools functioned accordingly. With schools not being compulsory the ordinance failed to generate enough interest within the Maori community and European settlers. Added to this, farming families trying to establish themselves needed the children about to help with the farming chores. The various issues in trying to establish a system of education were fraught with difficulties; the regional differences in administering education, the economic disparities within the regions which affected the ability to adequately provide assistance, the number of denominations all vying for financial help.

No doubt the core value of church controlled education relied on the moral argument of schooling as the means of civilising to continue and develop. When New Zealand became a formal colony after the signing of the Treaty of

Waitangi in 1840, the moral notion of education according to Domett – that education needs to be universal and society must be allowed the means of providing education to develop ones “moral and intellectual nature” (UNESCO, 1972, p. 13) free of religious controversy. By the early 1870’s the provincial system of government had outlived its effectiveness and opinion shifted from church controlled education to public control. There was a “growing conviction that if education were to be universal it would have to be free, secular, and compulsory” (UNESCO, 1972, p. 13).

In spite of the difficulties within the education system at that time, the central government sought to continue on the work of the church by assimilating and civilising Maori. At the very least both the church and the central government both agreed on the need for assimilation to take place; however, the perception that the church looked to “seize the opportunity of teaching what it held to be absolute truth” (Mackey, 1967, p. 175) could not continue and the change from “church control to public control of schooling” (UNESCO, 1972, p. 13) would be implemented.

It appears that the Church’s desire to civilise Maori in a benevolent way served two purposes: 1) - to change what the church saw as primitive behaviour and living conditions 2) - to prepare for the increase of western civilisation that would encroach into Maori culture and eventually assimilate Maori into the European way of living. In other words the church was trying to prepare Maori for the fact that in order to co-exist with the European settlers they needed to submit to British rule.

MAORI AND EDUCATION

As previously mentioned in the last section, a core value of the church in regards to education was to civilise Maori. This would mean that Maori would have to assimilate into the colonial value system from which, theoretically, a better standard of living would eventuate. As a side note

assimilation assumes that being absorbed into a dominant culture will be largely beneficial to those being immersed; this after all had been the mind-set of the church and the colonial government. It must be noted that what was being absorbed by Maori was a combination of discourse and cultural norms – the social values of a culture transferred via dominant forms of knowledge and thinking. Discourse is a form of communication involving different forms of specialized knowledge which unify and form in a coherent manner, legitimising its place as knowledge.

It is important to note that, prior to being absorbed into the European culture; Maori had their own forms of discourse and knowledge within education which took place within their own homes and communities. For instance a system of learning called ‘Whare Wananga’

Although they were known by different names in different areas. In addition, there were a number of other more specialised and practical learning institutions, including whare pora (weaving), whare mata (bird-snaring and fishing) and whare tātai (astronomy) (Calman, n.d., para. 7)

One such place in which students aged sixteen or seventeen would enter under the tutelage of a tohunga – an expert practitioner of any skill or art. A student at the ages of sixteen and seventeen would enter this structure and education would consist of being able to learn and recite long held traditions, mythology and religion. Apart from formal structures such as Whare Wananga education was also the responsibility of the community in which teaching the language for instance rested with the parents. Maori had recognised the benefits of learning as a requirement of life.

The need to survive depended on the child learning necessary skills that would ensure the individual’s and the tribe’s survival. Education continued well into adulthood and for children whose parents were chiefs; they were given more detailed knowledge regarding “tribal law” (Lee and Lee, 2007, p. 133), so the level of learning differed according tribal rank. Castillo and

Bishop (2003) indicate that Maori education was a “complex system” (p. 16), which is contrary to the belief that Maori culture was primitive. For Maori to have an education system where it was necessary to be able to orally recite lessons taught in a formal setting indicates that they were proficient at adapting to reading and writing in Maori and English. The success that Maori had achieved in becoming educated had been attributed to the fact they had done so on their own terms under the tutelage of the Christian missionary society during the 1830’s prior to the Treaty of Waitangi and prior to education being centralised away from provincial control under the provision of the education act of 1877. Maori had been able to expand their scope of learning during this time which in turn made them successful farmers and entrepreneurs.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL EFFECT OF EDUCATION AND A NEW CULTURE

The inevitably of colonisation however, coupled with the Land Wars of 1845-1872 had a drastic effect on Maori being able to recover, which had taken its toll physically and psychologically. This in turn disadvantaged their interaction with a new social system by making them feel inferior. The signing of the Treaty in 1840 had increased the momentum of European culture to dominate the social development of New Zealand; and in November of that year New Zealand officially became a separate colony from New South Wales. For Maori their status as citizens would be challenged politically and sociologically as Maori aspirations of political autonomy forcibly gave way to the European social and political hegemony. The outcome for Maori is that it deprived them in being able to fully participate equally in two areas: geographical and political. 1) Geographical - With the increase of European settlers, a greater demand for land resulted in the government confiscating Maori land to satisfy settler requirements, thereby putting Maori at a disadvantage right from the outset.

The effect of land confiscation psychologically dislodged any idea of equality becoming a reality as set out in article two of the Treaty of Waitangi which guaranteed 'the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Land and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess' (Wilson, n.d.). 2) Politically, Maori have been the recipients of initiatives made towards them and on their behalf with little interaction that would actually be of benefit to Maori. The government effectively became gatekeepers in determining Maori aspirations and education would be an effective tool in conforming Maori to European ideals. The government's action caused anger and distrust, which when carried over into the prospect of being assimilated into a new colonial system of education effectively 'domesticated' Maori – a term associated with educator Paulo Freire (1921-1997). Domestication refers to the idea of a learner "conditioned into a structure based on oppressive relations of domination and subordination" (Frontline, n.d., para. 10). 2) Politically - the colonial government marginalised any view of Maori autonomy after the Treaty of Waitangi, deferring their views in favour of Maori being subordinate to European hegemony.

HEGEMONY

Having introduced the concept of hegemony in a previous chapter; that is, ways in which one social group seeks to expand its own interests through coercion in two forms; via institutions of the state and through intellectual and moral leadership. However, hegemony according to Gramsci looks beyond coercion, and instead focuses on the idea of either active or passive consent of other minority groups with similar ideological interests. As Thomas (2009) indicates that success in gaining supremacy depends on the environment of it being effective. How hegemony is used depends on the relationship between the dominant and minority groups.

The nature of understanding hegemony provides insight into how Maori coped within a newly emerging society under a political system based on the English model. Right from the outset Maori were minority partners as a result of the hegemony implemented by the early colonial government. Whether Maori ceded total political control to British sovereignty affected also Maori being controlled socially. The consent given by Maori in as far as hegemony is concerned came as a result of a transition from coercion to consent. The gradual development towards consent comes through Gramsci's description of the 'intellectual' (Davison, 2005, p. 6). The idea of the intellectual is the necessity to create within each group a sense of homogeneity by having specialists within each field of production to provide an awareness of the function of the group within an economic and social capacity.

The intellectuals' role is one of coercive discipline in the sense of training people to fulfil their assigned role. Socialisation means discipline and the move from savage beast to civilised being comes through education, which involves "effort, boredom and suffering" (Gramsci, 1975, p. 1549).

Therefore the notion that education served a benevolent purpose to civilise and condition Maori to new initiatives, really served from a Gramscian perspective to compel Maori to agree to assimilation within a new social system. With this being the only alternative, Maori were pacified into believing assimilation would improve their way of life. To a degree this has been the case, but this has come at the expense of a loss of Maori sovereignty – Maori sovereignty referring to self-validation when. The intellectuals were the mediators in helping Maori to transition into a new social system. The political dominance of the new social system kept Maori in a position that Smith (2003) describes as the "politics of distraction" (p. 2). He describes this as a deliberate attempt to keep Maori busy reacting to a steady stream of political initiatives that do little in the way of addressing fundamental problems. He states: "this is the colonizing process of being kept busy by the

colonizer, of always being on the 'back-foot', 'responding', 'engaging', 'accounting', 'following', and 'explaining'" (Smith, 2003, para. 2).

By Maori sovereignty I refer to self-validation of being Maori and a positive internalizing of cultural values that contributes towards a more positive self-image. Maori sovereignty should have been able to develop during this period when the Maori view of equality in all aspects of political and social life should have been allowed to grow and flourish equally alongside the colonial political system. However, the issue of power from the colonial government's perspective had functioned under the notion of empire building which it did through domination and subduing the indigenous population. Assimilation from a colonial perspective was considered the right option for the government to pursue.

CONCLUSION

Assimilation has effectively tailored Maori values to fit into a hegemonic system of colonisation which has been achieved through a "mechanism of mediated subordination" (Thomas, 2009, p. 161). Hegemony has effectively caused minority groups to yield by virtue of a superior discourse. The schooling discourse during New Zealand's educational development had effectively placed Maori into a position of inferiority. Putting aside coercion as part of hegemonic strategy; the authoritarian nature of the colonial government during this period had successfully been able to "unilaterally impose its decrees upon unwilling subjects" (Thomas, 2009, p. 161). Unwilling in the sense that Maori were not able to decipher the government's discourse to adequately counter the new social structure let alone their place within New Zealand's schooling system. This only gave Maori the option of compliance towards government initiatives. The effect of coercion through war and land confiscation paved the way for legislation to proceed with less resistance; through consent.

The momentum of hegemony upon the New Zealand school system patterned a hierarchal structure where one group gaining momentum through coercion has evolved to the use of consent in dominating Maori within the schooling system. The schooling structure for Maori placed them as the minority partners who were forced to adapt rather than initiate a steady stream of initiatives that would benefit them scholastically. Schools have been the outlet for governing structures to re-establish Maori within a new structure of learning. Maori have never been at a disadvantage in terms of learning, but rather the issue has been about establishing co-equality. The terms of agreement within the English version of the Treaty of Waitangi for instance marginalises the Maori version because the mind-set and the discourse made no room for equality to flourish and dismisses the relevance of the Maori interpretation of Kawanatanga - a transliteration of the word governorship as cited in article 1. This word kawanatanga stands in contrast to the government's belief that Maori gave their allegiance to the Crown.

Under a civilising discourse the schooling system convinced Maori that what they were becoming a part of under a new structure of governance is of benefit to them. Part of believing in a hegemonic structure is being convinced that this makes 'common sense' and that it falls within the realm of what is considered normal practice. The belief in the superiority of the English social system naturally marginalised Maori values that were seen as barbaric. Thus it was not just the practice of 'schooling' that marginalised traditional Maori educational processes and philosophies, but also the historical and political context of the establishment of schools was replete with Oliver's heliocentrism. From the outset, schools set out to constrain Maori ideals through a method that ensures an intake of acceptable knowledge, but it should be noted that the location of 'schooling' - its backdrop and breadth - had already assumed this constraint. 'Heliocentrism' is therefore widened to include an overall approach to all aspects of 'schooling', not just schooling itself.

When we think that education or schooling is the liberating factor in progressing society we forget that schools are a microcosm of society itself.

All of the civilities that we want to see in society as adults find their starting point within schools. It is true that schooling for Maori did benefit them to some degree; Maori were able to partake in a more structured form of learning, disciplining the mind into assimilatory practices. The civilising notion of schools has challenged the cultural traits that Maori students brought with them into schools. Cultural and ethnic traits were subjugated to what education authorities and the government under a mono-cultural mind-set; namely New Zealand culture. New Zealand is made up of a number of cultures that contribute to New Zealand as a whole, however the culture of mainstream schooling and education as a whole is heliocentric; the dominant culture determines what is educationally relevant.

What is educationally relevant will largely be determined by political and economic structures. Schools teach a methodology based on economic foundations because students developing into adults have to become contributing members of society. Whether this is done with Maori culture playing a significant part for Maori students, the civilising mandate of schools will continue to challenge and cultural relevancy will only be an asset built on this basis. The Gramscian notion of hegemony permeates all systems of values, beliefs and attitudes towards morality in effect means keeps the status quo the same. By normalising social values different to their own Maori digest the characteristics of civil obedience and assimilate into what is known today as 'kiwi culture' – the mono-cultural schooling system even though it has its roots in colonial hegemony.

By looking at the notion of hegemony as a way to conclude this chapter, the next chapter will focus on the political and sociological implications of assimilation and integration and what have been the consequences of assimilation for Maori in society and in mainstream schooling.

CHAPTER 4

THE PERVASIVENESS AND EXTENT OF SCHOOLING: THEORETICAL ILLUMINATION FROM OLIVER, FOUCAULT, FREIRE

INTRODUCTION

Ordinarily when we speak of education we have in mind the formally controlled enterprise through the teaching of subject matter and skills is accomplished. Presumably the purpose of this physical activity, maturity, the gaining of knowledge and skills, the growth of moral judgment, and the learning patterns of acceptable conduct are not restricted to the period of established and formal instruction. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the extent and prevalence of schooling from the perspective of Oliver, Freire and Foucault to unravel how deep pedagogy, notions of power, disciplining of the body and mind and the impact of schooling has upon society.

The notion of education over the centuries has developed with different foundations and purposes; education in the simplest sense is the process of learning and being instructed. Therefore education affects a person's disposition to the point that it can be coerced, persuaded or influenced to think differently. Putting aside the traditional notion of education based on the relationship between teacher and student, this thesis will focus more on the influence of schools because they have a narrower educational framework and have been able to dramatically affect the constitution of Maori students for over a century.

We must take the influence of schools as a serious matter because they have been instrumental in colonising people's minds to adapt to a new thinking process. Student's cultural beliefs are confronted with a level of rules and

regulations that reinforce the discourse and culture found in schools. As previously mentioned; discourse in a linguistic sense is a grouping of sentences into dialogues, but from the perspective of Foucault, discourse is a set of truths historically positioned during a particular era and is instrumental in setting the platform for power to be exercised through discourse. Within schools; discourse both initiates power's legitimacy and is also reinforced by power as a way to validate its position. Discourse from Foucault's perspective says

We must make allowance for the complex and unstable process whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power... Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it... there can exist different and even contradictory discourses within the same strategy... (Foucault, 1990, p. 101)

The notion of discourse constructs a number of imperatives and restraints that do more than impress upon the social fabric of society; discourse seeks to construct the subconscious of the individual through every facet that makes people unique. People are permeable constructs; porous from which rules and standards of legitimate civilised behaviour are absorbed and imprinted upon the consciousness. The impact of discourse impacts the thought processes of people in society.

Developing a stable society depends on the systems in place, the direction of discourse the government seeks to take and the amount of control the state has in making sure society adheres to the direction of the government. Graham Oliver presents a philosophical look at the government's idea of the difference between education and schooling to distinguish the impact each term has within a modern democracy.

THE NOTION OF SCHOOLING AND EDUCATION

In his article *The Ideological Reduction of Education* (1998), Graham Oliver stated that:

Education is popularly equated with schooling, and we all undergo schooling for a substantial portion of our lives. While at school we are constantly in an environment which presupposes that schooling is what education is mostly about, and much is made of the importance of our success in it. (para. 5)

Oliver states the importance of our success takes place within an educational environment or more specifically within a schooling environment. A principal thought from the government's perspective is that education is approved to operate within a schooling environment and our achievement in society as adults depends on our assimilation into a schooling curriculum. Schooling has advanced from its original mandate in New Zealand of civilising to socialising students to assimilate structured lessons. How successful a lesson is depends on how much a student conforms to what is being taught. The reward for the student if they conform is being credentialed at the end of the semester. If conformity and credentialing is an essential requirement for students to progress in society as an adult then this method alters the view of what counts towards achieving a suitable way of life within society. As the quality and pace of life increases the influential factors contributing towards this are educational; specifically under a schooling structure.

Central to Graham's idea is whether educationalists agree whether education and schooling are one and the same. Disputes about whether education is confined only to schools are an ideological problem which contributes to the likelihood whether there is a problem in differentiating between the two terms. Ideology itself denotes ideas or doctrines that are cemented within the discourse of a group seeking to influence; success of an ideology to a degree depends on: the level of conformity that exists in society and perhaps the

level of reality society orders itself towards so as to render ideology comprehensible. This in turn is then filtered into society in which a state of conformity already exists. In terms of education and schooling, the level of ideology needed to direct the development of education through the schooling curriculum becomes a normative process in associating the wider understanding of education and constrain it into a formal structure of learning.

The level of conformity that society has to government directives solidifies the merits of the curriculum and acceptance and assimilation begins to be established. Society is so bound by the fact education is so entrenched and narrowly “defined in terms of a single, proportionately very small, aspect of the subject as a whole, namely, [state] schooling” (Muir, 1996, p. 5) and that this reinforces the approval of the state credentialing schools as a standard by which students can measure themselves against what is educationally appropriate; which in turn makes it a socially acceptable practice.

When education is classified in this manner, Oliver’s term of education narrowly defined under the term ‘heliocentric’ marginalises any difference existing in the first place. And this is the difficulty; the reduction of education to schooling is not being registered because of school’s strategic position in society receiving backing from “academic organizations and funding agencies” that “have schooling and teaching as their principal educational agendas” (Oliver, 1998, p. 300). Oliver further indicates that the reduction of education to schooling is more than a mere “intellectual mistake” (Oliver, 1998, p. 299), he also points out that our social world has become permeated with the view of schooling as ‘common sense’ by “promoting a facile understanding of our learning and our ability to control them” (Oliver, 1998, p. 301).

‘Them’ indicates our inability to discern what is educationally appropriate because the curriculum effectively pacifies any outside influences that hinder a cultivated form of schooling; which in turn dominates educational values students have gained within the wider community. Oliver argues that issues

of “power and control” (Oliver, 1998, p. 301) do not serve the interests of the students but the political and economic sector (Oliver, 1998). Philosopher Michel Foucault whose extensive research regarding the notion of power states dissects the idea of power as a modifier by restricting – in educational terms at least of the idea of exerting power and modifying the actions of those who respond to those who use power: “the exercise of power is not simply a relationship between partners, individuals or collective; it is a way in which certain actions modify others” (Foucault, 1982, p. 219, para. 6). In other words the dominant group exerting its idea of what education is modifies the actions of the recipient who are forced to accept a view of education defined to them.

Education is at their (government, interest groups) direction and leading and students minds are assumed to be blank slates – at least to the degree that what they have learned within their community does not have the same relevance compared to what students will need to digest within the classroom. Oliver states:

It is important to recognise the political dimension to the reduction. It serves both the state and commercial/managerial interests well that educational issues remain ghetto-ised in a small set of institutions which can easily be regulated, and which will draw the eyes of most people away from the rest of the domain. Where issues of indoctrination or education might become a worry in the wider community, they can be reduced to problems of schooling and teaching and politicised there if necessary. (Oliver, 1998, p. 301)

Localising education within the confines of a school is a more manageable task for the government and problems regarding the effectiveness of a curriculum can be adjusted to help students adjust to a method; this is a method determined on behalf of students for the benefit of students. As a national asset the positioning of public schools places them firmly within the political and economic sector; as a result nothing is left to chance with education’s direction. From an economic and political perspective education and schooling are one and the same. The purpose of schooling is about

conformity to a method; within a method from which a student assimilates into, students are managed and micro - managed. When education is reduced to schooling this narrows the discourse in what counts educationally because education is heliocentric to schooling. This should be a cause for alarm because this narrows the focus of what counts as educational. The difficulty in deciphering what counts in educational circles causes a level of misunderstanding “or, more seriously, indoctrination” (Oliver, 1998, p. 301). The consequence of indoctrination is mis-conceptualising our whole educational thought and practice.

The result is that we operate with a distorted ecological picture of the educational nature and relevance of learning sites. We fail at that perennial issue of addressing the whole person in educational terms (the whole person learns in places other than school, and through processes other than teaching (Oliver, 1998, p. 300)

The effect of discourse on education means a philosophical shift takes place. The ramifications means the mind-set of society in itself is changed when schools become institutions that help guarantee social mobility can take place. The selection and direction of subjects emphasises marketability; although schooling is not exclusively geared towards this end, there is no mistake that influence from the political and economic sector have an effect on what will help students become more successful as adults. However what the schooling curriculum has not adequately addressed is the diversity of cultural and ethnic differences that are forced to assimilate into mainstream schooling. The complexity of sociological differences compounds on the ability of students to cope with a system that is culturally hegemonic. This is not to say that it is impossible for students to succeed regardless of cultural and ethnic differences, however, what gives more of an advantage are those students that have cultural capital in line with how the schooling system is set up.

The driving force is the notion of power and how it is dispersed in the hands of those in authority and the acceptance, forced or willingly by the rest of

society in adhering to a system of social norms. Michel Foucault's ideas on power lay the foundation towards unravelling the nature of discourse and its effect on the development of formal schooling and in society.

FOUCAULT AND POWER

We often think of power as a possession, a tool that is used to gain leverage, dominance over something or someone. Power is often understood as authority, management, leadership, even delegation. To delegate means to be able to have the ability or authority to be able to do so. So within this context power is closely associated with a personality-(ies), an institution or an organisation. The personification of power within a wider context in society however is not necessarily limited to dominance, and, like the term 'heliocentric', the notion of power being anything less than repressive, dominant, or dictatorial overshadows the reception of power in wider society which greatly contributes to how effective power is administered. Hannah Arendt – political philosopher and Michel Foucault both labelled the top down approach as the “juridical model...command – obedience model” (Allen, 2002, p. 134) respectively. Foucault looked deeper at the wider sphere of power acting on the subject (individual) and the ability of discourse and dialogue infiltrating all sectors of society. He indicated the repressive model of power “too narrow” (Allen, 2002, p. 134). The repressive model has not disappeared; the structure of authority based on sovereign governance is still the accepted practice, even under progressive democratic structures which are inclusive of collective input; the basic establishment is still governed by an elected person(s)

The notion of sovereignty has been superimposed upon disciplinary techniques in such a way that the dark and nefarious nature of these techniques has been concealed. In the modern era, sovereign power has not disappeared, but has simply changed forms: no longer vested solely in the person of the King, it has been democratized, transformed into the

foundational and legitimating power of the people, a power that is codified in the principle of popular sovereignty, (Allen, 2002, p. 134)

With the implementation of democratic governance a measure of power is invested in the people who elect a representative on their behalf; this is the democratization of power; power is never neutral there is always a measure of action and reaction. If anything, the basis of power is the means of defining an intention towards an objective end; and power is the means to do so. The change in discourse validates 'authority' rather than the term 'power' as a sign of inclusion – that is, permission is granted in allowing society to be governed and the individual having a say in how they would like to be governed.

At least theoretically this is so, but the fundamental idea is power being exerted within the dominant group does not alter the idea of power but rather its administration and reception; the relationship between those who use it and those whom power is used upon. The relationship between State and society in recent times has altered how power is viewed. The sophistication of the political system with its complex discursive networks alters our understanding of power. Discourse alters our perception of power by pacifying its potency in alienating people from participation within the democratic process. And with the rationalization of power in a manufactured society Michel Foucault raises some interesting connections in how power is dispersed.

Power operates in society on a scale that most people are familiar with. By this I mean that society generally understands power when it is manifested through personalities and or institutions. We generally tend to view power within these confines because of the consequences that result from power being exerted. When power is exerted it generates a measure of action and reaction. Foucault (1982, p. 219) indicates "the exercise of power is not simply a relationship between partners, individual or collective; it is a way in which certain actions modify others". The extension of these effects will manifest in a number of ways both verbal and physical. Those who hold the

reins of power are able to perpetuate a form of truth through an enmeshed structure of technologies and practices. Michel Foucault's idea regarding power was to unravel the practice of power being centralized, usually associated within a sovereign or an institution, towards a more sophisticated network that is more decentralised, autonomous, saturating all levels of society. Foucault's theory is that power does not function through class but through systems and strategies. He argues that power should be understood in terms of its operations, techniques. Power is not owned by the state, nor is it explicit to any particular institution. It is an apparatus that no one owns. Its application points are numerous, dispersed throughout all social institutions. Foucault states:

One needs to be nominalistic no doubt: power is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society. (Foucault, 1978, p. 93)

Furthermore the decentralisation of power means it is diffused through an alternating set of connections and networks. This alters the concept of powers domain; not only manifesting within institutions and personalities; but primarily through discourse which provides the impetus for political intervention, and the implementation of social policy – which is concerned with achieving social and economic objectives for the public's benefit; “it is thus involved in choices in the ordering of social change” (Titmuss, 1974, p. 30). Unravelling the extent discourse influences directed social behaviour by normalising it becomes the vehicle in which power is legitimised and accepted.

In terms of how this applies to schooling, the school system models on a smaller scale the social structure within society. Students learn to take their place within society by first being exposed to credentialing, tests, and exams in order to social stratify students. The use of power within discourse paves the way to rationalise the use of meritocracy as a means of positive reinforcement. Meritocracy:

A society whose basic institutions are governed by a partial theory of distributive justice consisting of principles of the following types:

A principle of job placement that awards jobs to individuals on the basis of merit; A principle specifying the conditions of opportunity under which the job placement principle is applied; A principle specifying reward schedules for jobs. (Daniels, 1978, pp. 207-208)

Meritocracy - a social system that provides opportunities and advantages to people due to their abilities categorises people according to those who make it and those who do not. We then carry this trend internally right through to adulthood unless there is a form of conscientisation that allows us to recognise the power operating through discourse and counter it.

Brazilian educator Paulo Freire called this the 'culture of silence where those on a lower social stratum internalised the negative views placed on them from above and displayed the outward signs of living under oppression. Power and discourse within the school system according to Butler (2002) builds the person as an obedient subject; he states "this formulation starts to outline the very specific mechanism by which power acts on a subject and transforms a human being into a subject" (p. 189). Foucault's theories regarding the transformation of a person into a subject is a result of society internalising power administered through discourse which is much more efficient in creating the right response towards government initiatives. Foucault's idea of discourse as it relates to power provides the connection in how effective these two things are in constituting people as a subject.

Foucault (1982) as cited in Al Amoudi (1999) states how truth works in unison with power. "Modern power is tolerable on the condition that it masks itself-which it has done very effectively" (pp. 15-16). Modern society is also formed by a normative process of institutionalizing society with a specific pattern of conformity. "Second, these processes have become increasingly integrated, extensive, and scientific in the modern era, bringing to bear a vast technological apparatus on the classifying and disciplining of persons" (Calhoun, 2002, para. 2).

THE SUBJECT

I have touched on 'discipline' in the previous section in regards to Foucault's theory of power and the subject and this term is important in crafting how an individual responds favourably to power exerted. Foucault's work 'Discipline and Punish' (1975) looks at discipline as a way of constantly controlling the body's movements and actions, a way to coerce the body by modifying and separating its movements through space and time in which it moves.

Foucault begins to trace the genealogy of the disciplinary methods which for a long time have existed in armies, monasteries and workshops for the subjection of the operations of the bodies in a docility-utility relation. But, in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—Foucault argues—disciplinary methods became “general formulas of domination” (Foucault, 1977, p. 137)

Perhaps the most important domain in power being used effectively is how receptive the individual is in receiving instruction through discipline. The crafting of an individual is a process of discourse in which the individual is able to identify themselves within. The authority of knowledge structures the thoughts and intents of who we are as people. Individual agency is a ruse when the power within society is in itself an artificial design with the purpose of society agreeing to live under a set of social norms formalised through hegemony; the outcome is living in a state of civility. Foucault's notion of subjectivity is dual in nature, that is; to be a subject and to be subjected to something.

[Foucault]... he examines particular ways whereby the conception of a subject and its domain, such as sexuality, punishment or pathology, is constituted within knowledge as a concern central to a specific age, society or social stratum (Featherstone, Hepworth & Turner, 1991, 226).

According to Foucault the individual subject is not fully formed but is established in and through a set of social relations filled with power. With power being a key element in the constitution of the individual, the individual in a dual sense is subjected to multiple, fluid relations of power within differing social fields which, from a hegemonic perspective reinforces them in their position in society according to Gramsci's theory of the intellectual – specialists within each social, political, and economic field who use 'coercive discipline in training people to fulfil assigned roles'.

It is already one of the prime effects of power that certain bodies, certain gestures, certain discourses, certain desires, come to be identified and constituted as individuals. The individual, that is, is not the vis-à-vis of power; it is, I believe, one of its prime effects. (Foucault, 1980, p. 98)

The notion of the subject itself, the construction of the person in relation to established societal rules will bind people to regulate their behaviour. The effectiveness of a compliant population evolves from external coercion to eventually internalising the notion of the subject in relation to who and where they function in society. Again, the example of the panopticon illustrates the perpetual gaze of the central tower upon the prisoners to enforce coercion without the "necessity of physical instruments" (Gordon, 1999, p. 399); the effect of Bentham's illustration transfers the "constraints and norms" (Gordon, 1999, p. 399) upon a docile population.

"There was in the eighteenth century a theory of dressage of the body which required its docility. The body was meticulously analysed and rendered manipulable. The active body was treated as a mechanism; its parts were movements, gestures and attitudes or demeanour". (Foucault, 1977, p. 136) The constant supervision, coercion, division of space and time, compartmentalised the use of time and individual space with which to supervise and submit the individual to a method Foucault found effective within the domains of schools, monasteries and factories. Individualising a subject's movements and actions develops them as a subject within a

community and incorporates the idea of divide and conquer and bringing into subjection.

This is achieved through 'distribution' – referring to allocation of individual space, and employs techniques of 1 - 'enclosure': as previously mentioned, schools, monasteries, barracks and factories which signify sheltered places. 2 – 'Partitioning' – organising and separating individual spaces. 3 – 'Functional sites' - disciplinary institutions incorporate spaces that are designed to ease supervision and control but at the same time are considered useful in utilizing general space, but at the same time discouraging communication between individuals; the idea of objectivising the subject to internalise new forms of civility which make the subject conform to predestined social rules. 4 – 'Inter-changeability of elements' - this refers to the individual spaces allocated to individuals that help define their place as separate from others which suggest separation in terms of rank, place and status. Foucault's objective had been to illustrate the different modes which, in our culture people have been made subjects; not as a result of power alone operating upon the individual, but upon the historical development in which modes of subjectivity have classified individuals to stratify social positioning. The subject is now subjected – which presents the individual as a free agent, but only within socially defined parameters; in other words within a discourse which establishes rules of engagement and new standards of truth that is a power unto itself.

For Foucault, the subject is something to be understood as an historical product, someone who emerges from history. The subject is a product of discourse. Rather than the subject being prior to discourse, the subject emerges in discourse. Rather than being:

The majestically unfolding manifestation of a thinking, knowing, speaking subject," discourse is the generative context in which the subject arises. Once this is understood, discourse is seen as "a totality, in which the dispersion of the subject and his discontinuity from himself may be determined (Foucault, 1973, p. 55).

Applying Foucault's theories of the subject to the schooling system implies that the schooling system imposes a law of truth on students who are then subjected to micro-practices in order to learn discipline and coerce the body. Students are categorised to fit within parameters set by authorities. Part of the emphasis of this chapter is not only to unravel the nature of power and the various forms which have used power to coerce, but also to use this chapter as a lead in towards why society has allowed themselves to become so subjected to social norms that this has made society on the whole more acquiescent to directives made on their behalf which aren't necessarily in their best interest. What causes society to develop like this according to Foucault is studying different proportions of power to help understand how the subject is objectivised; that is, the individual made into a subject via a mix of social relations and discourse and classified to fit within certain parameters in society so people fulfil social and economic roles.

ARTIFICIAL SOCIETY

The possibility of society as an artificial creation creates also an artificial subject, who is in subjection to someone else for identity. Foucault points out that this form of power applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorises the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognise and which others have to recognise in him. It is a form of power which makes individuals subjects' (Foucault, 1982) "power imposes a law of truth on the subject" (p. 219). On face value Society is subject to a form of discourse that creates of an artificial identity within a social structure; this highlights a contention that our behaviour is modified as a result of establishing a non-organic identity. Some would oppose this as a breach of individual rights and yet for most there is a conscious decision on their part to conform to the dictates of society.

Foucault's research into the construction of the individual who is subject to a form of discourse thought concerning the disciplining of the body to conform denotes that power is in place whether it is productive or repressive. It is impossible for us to escape the repressive aspect of power. Without being subject to its negativity, we will not be able to initiate an opposing action against the repression. Pierre Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' according to (Stokke, 2002) illustrates the multi-layered depth in understanding power buried within patterns of social conformity by saying: "the habitus is conceived as a system of internalized social norms, understandings and patterns of behaviour, or, in more general terms, embodied dispositions that incline actors to act in certain ways" (p. 6). Furthermore, the term 'dispositions' – nature or character within 'habitus' according to Thompson (1991) develops because they are:

Acquired...particularly through childhood socialisation...constituted through unreflexive...mundane processes. Dispositions are structured by...social conditions where they are acquired. This... means habitus may be relatively homogenous among individuals from similar backgrounds. Dispositions are durable in the sense that they are embodied in individuals and operate at the subconscious level. (Stokke, 2002, p. 6)

The implications of Foucault's theories within schools is enormous and means we cannot take lightly the socialisation of Maori students who perform poorly as a result of: poor social skills, lack of cultural capital to some degree and a lack of proper assimilation and integration into a dominant discourse without being cognisant of the deeper power structures.

FREIRE AND THE CONSERVATIVE AGENDA

Freire's theories present the inequalities that society presents and the an active agenda in not only being aware but taking active steps in countering the outward view of equality of opportunity applying to everyone in society. However, conservative policies in society have always been a major tool in which the governing authorities have used to maintain power and control. Structuring education in such a way so as to maintain the status quo is about imposing authority within the classroom. Once power has been imposed through discourse, students who are learning during their formative years at school and no doubt influenced to comply. The makes education a formidable political tool in the hands of the government. Paulo Freire (1921-1997) was a Brazilian educator who constructed his educational theory around liberation pedagogy. Brazil's socio-economic development contributed to Freire's social consciousness for the poor when it gained its independence in 1822. In comparison to other countries in the same region that suffered military coups, Brazil enjoyed relative social and economic prosperity. Its period of industrialization during the 1960's sets the back drop for Freire's educational direction.

"While its large cities became modern and sophisticated, its rural regions became stagnant, poverty-ridden backwaters" (Gutek, 2011, p. 451). Urban development saw modernization in terms of architecture within the big cities, but there was also an increase in urban slums which surrounded the cities; which resulted in poor sanitation, and insufficient government social services to cope with the population increase. "A very small but powerful ruling elite with less than five percent of the population, controlled half the nation's wealth" (Gutek, 2011, p. 451). The resulting economic disparities meant an even greater gap between the rich and the poor increased. Brazil's political directions were in the hands of the ruling minority who sought keep the status quo. The constitution of 1934 allowed a secret ballot which required literacy tests that kept many of the poorer citizens from voting. Freire, who was employed as a social welfare officer from 1946-1954 saw the

plight of the poor and was motivated to implement strategies to deal with the level of illiteracy. His idea of liberation pedagogy was designed to not only deal with illiteracy but also to raise their social consciousness regarding the conditions of their poverty.

Freire said “to be a good liberating educator, you need above all to have faith in human beings” (McLaren and Lenorad, 1993, p. 25). He describes education as the one place where the individual and society are constructed, a place where social action can either domesticate or liberate. Learning had come in the form of the ‘banking’ method where students are reliant upon the knowledge the teacher has to impart to students. The students themselves are passive and co-operative, having discipline instilled into them and instructed that submissiveness to authority plays an essential part of what makes a good citizen. Education according to the traditional method is essential in maintaining order in society and school becomes the place of domestication.

To Freire education is seen as political because it includes all facets of life within a community that are included within the learning process. The schooling process was the established method of communicating societal values, and also its own culture that is devoid of local community input. To Freire, the underlying challenge of liberating education is to confront the domination and inequality in society that has been cast and moulded by an elite that have imposed their values and their culture on an unsuspecting public, or perhaps, according to philosopher Michel Foucault’s description, of the public who have become accustomed to “normative judgments” (Danaher, Schirato, Webb, 2002, p. xiii) “which are used to assess and monitor the actions and attitudes of people according to the notion of a norm or average” (Danaher, Schirato, Webb, 2002, p. xiii). These judgements tend to find themselves working throughout social institutions and society to define normal from abnormal. Freire saw it as essential for the oppressed in society to take part in the revolutionary process of being subjects of transformation. This means being critically aware of the imposition of the ‘banking method’ of schooling with its “required syllabuses, mandated

textbooks, tracking, and standardized exams” (McLaren and Leonard, 1993, p. 28).

Freire pointed to the fact that society is a human construct which is of benefit to the elite and hugely disadvantaged to the majority. Freire saw the teaching methods of oppressors that are interested in changing the consciousness of the oppressed, but not the actual situation by establishing new and seemingly exciting methods that divert their attention. The inclusion of events within the community played an important part in communicating values and culture that are essential to how local society operates and grows. To Freire it means taking ownership of what is essentially yours because you have an active part in how it turns out and grows.

Freire saw the classroom as the microcosm of society and his goal was to humanize people by getting them to critically engage with the world and part of Freire’s method was to expose the notion of ‘banking’ education which makes the assumption that man is a passive observer in the world and not one who actively engages with it. This puts him at a position where he becomes a passive receptacle open to knowledge that he is not able engage with. Freire sees man as a conscious being but not in possession of one, because of the diversionary tactic employed which in one sense capitalism and globalism caters to. Often capitalism answers to the needs of people by not addressing the root of the cause but the fast track solution of a product or a method that ‘guarantees to deliver or you money back’.

As it applies to Maori, the schooling system has effectively assimilated them into a culture and language from which Maori culture and language have had to play a subservient role. This is the other side of schooling, the constitutioning of Maori will and spirit; broken down and rebuilt to reunite and merge into a more civilised way of being and acting. We would not normally think of schools operating like this unless we consciously analyse the foundations of why schools exist. Therefore, the intention of schools is instructing students; success in this respect depends on instilling obedience in students which in turn means the use of coercion. We are all subjected to

coercion throughout our lives so it is not something we are unaware of, but how it is implemented within schools makes it unique because coercion through discourse is more effective in fostering obedience than through physical discipline. Discourse in a democratic setting makes it more applicable in changing the mind-set of students, especially if they are at an age where they have a measure of independence that needs to be subdued without resorting to physical intervention. The power and authority schools are able to wield to foster obedience affects how students place themselves in relation to authority figures.

What schooling has communicated is that knowledge is isolated and neutral and does not bear any consequence to how society actually operates. Even if it does offer a chance at being able to participate at an effective level it leaves you in no doubt that it is only at the upper echelon that any difference made to society is possible. Their logic is that someone has to be the janitor or the local street sweeper or factory worker. To the elite it is an absolute necessity, and society cannot function without everyone playing their part. This is their justification at creating a supposedly equal world in which everyone should benefit if you work hard. 'Class' implements its own culture which is more polarizing and dichotomous and attempts to bridge the gap are near impossible.

Freire's method of democratic discourse in a critical classroom faces resistance because of two misconceptions: one is the link between a democratic style of teaching and a low academic standard and the other is a high academic standard and an authoritarian style of teaching. Ira shor says that "rigor and structure" (McLaren and Lenorad, 1993, p. 169) was essential to Freire's method of teaching. It means questions being asked and problems posed by both teacher and student, but it does not mean for the learning session to drift aimlessly and the teacher being passive.

In addition Freire looks at the 'anthropological notion of culture where the educator goes into the community to discover what are the central issues to be found that are generated via words, ideas, and expressions. These are

presented as problems to the students and engaged to see how it applies to their own lives. By using this as a means of reflection, the student is able to critically engage with how they fit into the world and consider how they might change the situation. Freire believed that the role of being human does not mean being passive and Marx's theory of labour goes some way in highlighting the fact that mankind gained their intrinsic worth as humans, actively participating in the world by interacting with it. He saw it as essential to our biological survival and later as a means of social development that changes the face and relationships established within society. As we increase there is a development of creative and intellectual ideas in collaboration with others that Freire thinks society is supposed to be like. It means actively engaging with shaping our world.

Ultimately, defending the need to coerce the population by the government will be validated by discourse and power working in unison. So the perfect testing ground to mould the minds of people in society is in schools and schools have become the battleground in getting Maori student's to integrate successfully. The effectiveness of discourse to mould the minds of Maori students has been the most efficient way in integrating Maori into mainstream schooling. However, the level of success that Maori students achieve in comparison to non-Maori is indicative of two things; 1) the dominant discourse used has not been as successful in getting Maori to negotiate their way through school and society on par with non-Maori. 2) Maori themselves have become conscientised to the level of inequality that exists between Maori and non-Maori and yet feel at a loss as to how a dominant discourse could provide equal opportunities for Maori to succeed but not validate Maori culture. The term conscientisation refers to Freire's notion of an awareness of oppression within people's lives, and a conscious effort to commit to overturning the oppression. Whether the level of interaction of Maori student's with schooling's discourse has affected the level of success for Maori students is debatable; but discourse is inclusive of dialogue between the teachers and students and a meaningful level of interaction would go some way in improving the situation of Maori students.

CONCLUSION

From the State's perspective establishing the belief that the government's monopoly in directing mainstream schooling is the most efficient way for students to succeed depends on the population accepting discourse as truth without exposing its foundations of authority. Cementing the power of discourse is more than establishing meaning; it is a way to constitute the totality of the person, to subdue the conscious and unconscious mind of a person to the point their existence is formulated within the "discursive articulation" (Weedon, 1997, p. 108). The civilised existence and the social discourses that are an essential part of defining a person's identity are learned within the confines of school. Each school within each region in New Zealand represent community values particular to that community in which the school is placed, so culture will represent various ethnic and cultural values depending on the ethnic, social and economic status of the families. The input from various sectors within society's social makeup contributes to the diversity of discursive elements, and ultimately bond in the formation of discourse.

The theories of Foucault and Freire both demonstrate the structures that affect the make-up of society and the willingness that we as people readily adapt to whatever directives are being implemented for the good of society itself. This shows the level of control governments try to exert in order to maintain the status quo. This also shows the difference between schooling and education. I would differentiate between the two terms by the level of formal control exerted. Education' and 'schooling' have been used interchangeably to mean the same thing; that is, school is where education takes place. Education itself can be interpreted as a broad concept of learning and teaching. What broadly defines education depends on issues of culture and ethnicity. Culture and ethnicity define education because of influences outside of schooling structures. What overrides these outside influences are dictates initiated by the government.

How a government defines education and schooling becomes the norm in how it is interpreted in general society. The commonality within these two groups is that education and schooling is a way to bind and preserve, to progress and expand; but ultimately education rather than schooling is the means towards self-sustainability. The reason for this is to ensure in the most basic sense the continuation and progression of values relevant to a cultural group. (T. Thomson, (personal communication, May, 2006), a fellow student during my time as an undergraduate described education for Maori in a holistic sense; using his representation of what education means from a communal perspective.

Education is and always has been the basis upon which Maori have achieved their goals and aspirations for the future. In a Maori sense, education is a holistic term - begins in the womb and ends in the grave, involves the individual and their extended family, focuses on the elements of nature, and is a hallmark of mana. Mana is described as the manner in which a person presents themselves and the way they look after others.

The idea of education as communal is not an entirely foreign concept, but over time, the perception of education has changed from it benefitting the community to a more individual emphasis. This is a more neo-liberal perspective.

Nevertheless, education in a broad sense is and should be able to encompass all expressions of learning and teaching and yet not have to conform to mainstream views of education within a schooling structure. What Freire tried to implement met with resistance from the conservative sector in Brazilian society because the power of literacy was a way for the poor to awaken their political voice and raise their level of consciousness to the inequalities in society. Schools limit any type of political influence within the curriculum because of the potential in challenging conservative traditions. Plato sought to use education from his advantage of Athenian aristocracy. He

challenged the sophists because of the new socio-economic changes they were advocating.

Schools have narrowed the educational framework that makes it more commercially viable. Schools have adopted the principals advocated by the Sophists in Plato's day, who advocated a more commercially appealing form of instruction, rather than the intellectual rigor that Plato was known to teach his students. When traditions are challenged, answers change according to circumstances. This is an indicator to me that education should adopt a more fluid approach in what counts as educational. In today's consumer oriented society, education in a schooling structure is increasingly promoted as an economic commodity, because of the way schools are marketed as institutions which from the government's perspective improves the economic efficiency of New Zealand's performance relative to its neighbours and enhance New Zealand's position internationally (Mallard, 2003).

This is not necessarily a bad thing, but when a government influences the structure of schools in a bid to modernise socially and economically, this becomes problematic. With a culture towards students as a commodity, cultural relevance is based on defining success in schools at the expense of ethnic cultural values. Schools should be more inclusive of cultural traditions that value customs passed down from one generation to the next without it being relegated as insignificant over time. However, schools are limited to including differing cultural traditions unless they are dictated to by the dominant political group. The western view of education has narrowed its structure and commodified education within the schooling system.

Dr Chet Bowers for example, whose interest in education and social thought looks at the encroachment of western culture and education into non-western cultures. He indicates that the western pedagogy is culturally invasive' and states that "Dewey, Freire, Rogers, and Skinner, emphasize education as the means of fostering social change, but are embarrassingly silent on the equally important question of what should be conserved" (Bowers, 1987, pg. 79). Bowers' validates the framework of non-western

forms of education which he believes is legitimate when placed against western cultural norms. His view of cultural norms within educational settings questions the idea of progress within a teleological framework - or associating change and progress within the same cluster, especially within western cultural settings and anything linked to a longstanding tradition of knowledge is considered out of date or at least relegated to history.

The consequence is that education is likely to be constrained to suit political ends. Education will be read, understood, and taught through a set of lenses in which the discourse involved will direct what forms of knowledge and pedagogy are applicable within mainstream schooling. The discourse will be formed from those who have a professional stake in directing education towards political ends. An example of this is the idea of the 'intellectual' according to political theorist Antonio Gramsci. The idea of the intellectual is the necessity to create within each group a sense of homogeneity by having specialists within each field of production to provide an awareness of the function of the group within an economic and social capacity.

The intellectuals' role is one of coercive discipline in the sense of training people to fulfil their assigned role. Socialisation means discipline and the move from savage beast to civilised being comes through education, which involves "effort, boredom and suffering (Gramsci, 1975, p. 1549).

Leitch, (2001) expands upon the idea of intellectuals as "products of the class into which they are born." (p. 1). This also denotes the bond between intellectuals and their social status and the specialist functions in which intellectuals "undergo more extensive and complex elaboration in connection with the dominant social group" (p.2). Therefore, the function of education, particularly as it relates to the dominant social and political groups allows the intellectuals within these groups to further accumulate knowledge and use as a stepping stone to further reinforce their views of what counts as educational within society.

By communicating the idea of the power that knowledge holds, McNall (1968, p. 292) makes the point in his analysis of Marxist views on social inequality by stating "the ruling class, which owes its position to the ownership and control of the means of production controls also, though often in subtle ways, the whole moral and intellectual life of the people". In a basic sense, the dominant social and political group is able to dictate and steer through discourse and intellectual dominance. Herein lies the power of what education within mainstream schooling system represents; the dominant social and political groups that gain and maintain a form of hegemonic control over others are able to dictate what counts as educational through a schooling system implemented by the dominant group.

Finally, we need to do more than counter the use of power; we need to understand exactly what we are encountering. An informed choice is the first step in deciding what a harmful practice is before deciding on a course of action. The dynamics in how this applies individually and collectively potentially blurs appropriate courses of action. The difficulties which come to mind when considering a course of action collectively is whether it impinges upon individual autonomy. In a more democratic setting where a person's rights are upheld, there would be more difficulties in deciding what is appropriate if the basic necessities within society are being adequately provided for. A nation state exists to provide external protection of its borders, administer and maintain social, civil, and economic infrastructures - education, health services, and economic opportunities. So, when these are in order the type of action against forms of power that cause inequalities depends on how the collective adequately decide on a course of action. For Maori, individual iwi collectively decide what is appropriate for them according to boundary lines; this is not to say that as a collective Maori do not come together as evidenced through the Foreshore and Seabed legislation, but rather Maori are both autonomous according to iwi and a collective in special circumstances.

To be consistent, if as a collective decisions are made to counter notions of inequality and yet civil liberties which advocate the rights of an individual

are also in place, then is there undue influence according to Foucault's notion of the 'artificial subject' – being subjected to the collective notion of identity, and that of 'utilitarianism' – actions as benefitting the majority ? Freire was able to gain momentum in getting the poor in Brazilian society because there was very little in the way of civil rights being made towards them. The next chapter will look at the effects of assimilation on Maori Indigeneity and the level of impact of binding together under a single mono-cultural mind-set has had on Maori educationally.

CHAPTER 5

HELIOCENTRICISM, NORMALISATION, AND BANKING IN SCHOOLS FOR MAORI

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will look at how Maori have been affected by conformity to social norms and governmental structures. The outcome of conformity for Maori has seen a level of institutionalisation and Maori students have been directed to view success at school via a discourse initiated by the government and interest groups with neo-liberal views. Integrating Maori into the dominant social system from a social and economic perspective has provided opportunities for Maori to progress and achieve a measure of success. The integration of Maori values has been incorporated into the social system as an addendum to an already established formula. Maori values have been incrementally successful to a point in which there has been an acknowledgement of Maori values aiding Maori students to align themselves to the bigger picture that success at school is defined through the lens of a neo-liberal discourse.

Whether this continues to be a successful strategy or not depends one would think on how successful Maori students have successfully integrated into mainstream schooling. This depends also on the level of engagement of schools towards Maori students, their whānau (family) and values peculiar to Maori students. At its most basic level, success for Maori students requires a significant level of immersion into a predominantly non-Maori culture. This has been achieved by coercion and persuasion. The power of assimilation of the dominant group convinces and normalises its structuring of society and education in which people accept it as law. The compulsion of students to

attend mainstream schooling is offset by the positives that schooling represents; namely a chance of improved social mobility and quality of life.

For Maori students who have a low rate of achievement the notion that schools represent improved social mobility comes at a price of how well Maori values are relevant within society in general. For instance, for over a decade the Education Review Office has been asking about the level of Maori student achievement and has asked a number of schools to keep track of the level of achievement in order to better understand some of the reasons why they are not succeeding as well as non-Maori students. Having published “five national evaluation reports on this topic since 2001” (Education Review Office, 2010, p. 1), research shows an overall improvement for Maori students in education, but in comparison to non-Maori there is still a disparity in achievement levels.

This indicates to me that Maori student achievement levels are using non-Maori rates of success as the benchmark in which to aim for. Another point of interest is getting all educators involved in prioritising strategies towards improving Maori student achievement. What has been noticeable throughout this process is the number of schools that have not contributed in providing information. Thirty two percent of Primary Schools and forty five percent of High Schools (Education Review Office, 2010) had provided information about achievement levels. Schools that had taken part had made positive steps to engage with Maori students and their whanau support structures, while the reasons for those who had not, had ranged from not engaging with Maori values to not implementing strategies specifically towards Maori students (ERO, 2010).

This shows that strategies specifically designed to help Maori students improve are not taken as seriously as they should for various reasons. Generalising the performance of Maori students in relation to students in general who perform poorly meant that some schools within the ERO's report were not as concerned about gathering information on how well Maori students were performing in relation to non-Maori students (ERO,

2010). In this respect Maori culture is undervalued because of different paradigms of understanding. Maori students have had to juggle the value of Maori culture against neo-liberal belief in social justice and progressive economic reforms, which is a difficult path for Maori students to engage with. Schools teach students skills that in theory help them in later life as adults. This requires students to engage with a dominant discourse within the mainstream schooling system that regulates and stratifies students according to how well they adjust. For student's right across different ethnic boundaries, this is a formidable task to cope with; for Maori students in particular who do poorly within mainstream schooling reinforces a mind-set of Maori values being inferior to non-Maori. Maori students are doubly penalised when having to navigate a path of conflicting social signals. This means coping with the enforced rules in a formal schooling environment with another set of social rules found in society which ultimately stratifies individuals depending on how successful you assimilate.

Harker et al., (1990) refers to the work of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) and the notion of 'Education and Reproduction' to illustrate the fundamental role schools play in both altering and reproducing social and cultural inequalities generation to generation. The analysis of this in relation to education is achieved through:

An exploration of the tension between the conservative aspect of schooling (the preservation of knowledge and experience from one generation to the next (re-production), and the dynamic, innovative aspect (the generation of new knowledge (production)). This tension is exacerbated in a plural society by considerations of which particular cultural past (and present) is to be conserved or reproduced in the schools. (Harker, 1984, p. 117).

It will be recalled that Oliver challenged the idea that schools are the only sites of education. For Maori, schools will reproduce the beliefs, dispositions, acquired methods of perception, actions and thoughts and systems representative of the belief that schooling is of primary importance in an

individual's learning process. Maori students will then will act in response to the stimulus provided and develop accordingly as a matter of normal practice. Graham Smith's understanding of "hegemony". (Burke, 1999, para. 9) provides an interpretation as to the internal working of hegemony. He states hegemony as a term in which oppressed groups take on and assume "dominant group thinking and ideas uncritically and as 'common sense', even though those ideas may in fact be contributing to forming their own oppression" (Smith, 2003, para. 2).

The dominance of discourse relies on internal (class, social hierarchy) and external structures (the domain in which individuals are located) to adopt its values. Therefore the discourses within schools are a generalised method towards success; success depends on students following a prescription with no guarantee of success. As Ivan Illich alludes to in the 'Deschooling of Society (1971)', in which professionals are supported by the school system that classifies students, sets the values for students, imposes this as a law and incorporate a system of teaching known only to them. Whether students consciously understand the implications of assimilation, they willingly learn, recite and regurgitate facts and figures at exam time in order to satisfy schooling requirements.

The monopoly of the schooling system brings the student's mind in line with social expectations. The rules and regulations learnt within the school system carries on into society as students become adults and regurgitate the discourse taught in schools. If the template for developing society is one of producing likeminded citizens, then in actuality, schooling differs greatly from an ideological position where the individual might benefit from education holistically.

There is a measure of inequality in society by virtue of Pierre Bourdieu's idea of 'cultural capital' which was developed to address the problem of whether the disparities in educational attainment regardless of sociological backgrounds are attributed to a lack of economic capital within a particular social class. "Bourdieu argues that, above and beyond economic factors,

“cultural habits and ...dispositions inherited from” the family are fundamentally important to school success” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979, [1964], p. 8, cited in Weininger & Lareau, n.d, p. 1). As it applies to Maori students in whom the value of education has not been adequately passed on from generation to generation, they have to contend with a school system that narrows the methodology of success by marginalising Maori values.

Bourdieu’s theory has similarities to economic capital in which those who possess a significant amount of wealth are often associated with those of a dominant social class. ““Habits and dispositions” comprise a resource capable of generating “profits”; they are potentially subject to monopolization by individuals and groups; and, under appropriate conditions, they can be transmitted from one generation to the next” (Lareau and Weininger 2003, cited in in Weininger & Lareau, n.d, p. 1). The dominant theories in what constitutes success for Maori students has doubly penalised them through being a political minority when formal schooling was established, and a lack of concern towards the relevance of Maori values during New Zealand's social development. The lack of consideration towards Maori in general when decisions of a political nature were made during the colonial period, had no effect in altering the colonial government's position of power.

The Native Trust Ordinance in 1944 for instance made education for Maori a civilising process, which was reinforced by the recognition of English and English resources the only recognised medium in which civilising could be carried out (Tooley, 2000). Successive policies since have incrementally sought to bridge the inequality gap between Maori and non-Maori; but in and amongst the discourse constructed, there were anthropological notions of social Darwinism – the evolutionary stages of racial hierarchies (Tooley, 2000, p. 45). The Hunn Report released in 1960 by J.K. Hunn, who was the Deputy Chairman, Public Service Commission and also the Acting Secretary for Maori Affairs published a report of a wide range of assets belonging to Maori and the state of Maori in New Zealand. A growing concern was the need to urbanise Maori in order to better ‘integrate’ as opposed to assimilate Maori into society. The report illustrates this by advocating a shift from

assimilatory practices of Maori into Europeanization to the idea of integration in order to address inequalities. 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.

Even though the idea was towards a more progressive idea of integration, there was still the concept that in order to properly integrate Maori, there was a need to Europeanize them. Cultural superiority on the surface positioned Maori in need of benevolent action disguised as progressive socially. But positioning Maori in relation to European social development meant Maori needed to be at least at an equal level socially, but not politically. Justified intervention stemmed from the categorization of Maori into three groups:

- A completely detribalised minority who's Māoritanga is only vestigial. A group that have assimilated and adopted Pakeha cultural norms and values
- The main body of Maori's [sic] pretty much at home in either society, who likes to partake in both – ambivalence, however causes psychological stress to some of them. A group that have only adopted only certain aspects of Pakeha-ness
- Another minority complacently living backward life in primitive conditions. A group who have rejected completely any aspect of Pakeha-ness. (Tooley, 2000, p. 45)

The deliberate grouping of Maori seeks to make it easier for policy makers to objectify strategies on behalf of Maori. The report shows that “Maori people that must ‘change’ to ensure “their adjustment to modern life”, this process of “minority complacency living a backward life in primitive conditions” (Pihama, Smith, Taki, Lee, 2004, p. 31) challenges the relevancy of Maori culture compared to European social settings.

Clear notions of cultural superiority/inferiority make the idea that integration is based on the notion that Maori are at a distinct cultural disadvantage. Improving Maori social standing according to the Hunn report meant European paradigms as the benchmark for Maori to aim for. The negative impact on Maori culture portrays it as limited in coping with Europeanization; and implementing a rigorous schooling structure will, in some way contribute to a standard of equality; at least in theory. Stephen May (1998, p. 273) regarding the power of the nation state to exert authority says: “the nation-state also excludes as much as it includes, most notably via its central requirement that all its citizens adopt a common language and culture for use in the civic realm or public sphere”.

In recent times the portrayal of Maori culture has been more inclusive and marketable because there has been more openness towards Maori values. The level of exposure over the years has been incremental but the emphasis has been the relevancy of Maori culture within the marketplace, or as already stated, being able to adopt a “common language and culture within the civic realm” (May 1998, p. 273) in which it would make it more relevant for the rest of society to relate to. The relevancy of Maori culture however has been embedded within someone else’s discourse and the Hunn report signposts a number of recommendations that Maori need to attend to in order to catch up with European society at that time. Putting an economic value on Maori culture may seem a little far-fetched to imply its relevancy is applicable when seen in these terms; but the economic changes New Zealand was undergoing during the 1960’s through to the fourth Labour government under David Lange (1984), were times of transition for Maori.

Assimilation had the effect of urbanising Maori from being from a rural centred society to state dependency as an increasing number forgot their tribal roots located within their own particular Iwi (tribes). This impact had been the result of New Zealand transitioning from a protectionist economy to deregulation as a result of international shifts and crises, which signalled New Zealand’s need to change its outlook through paternalistic policies of the

National government. Sir Robert Muldoon's attitude contributed to the country's declining economy. The 1973 oil crisis and Britain's entry into the European Economic Community and rampant inflation signalled drastic changes needed to take place.

Maori were more or less reacting to the changes the country was undergoing. The transition to deregulation under Finance Minister Roger Douglas as part of the fourth Labour government in 1984 signalled a position that once again Maori were one step behind socially and economically. The post-war shift of Maori into the cities indicates a demographic change because of industrial development. "Many Maori migrated for work, but many to industries that were rationalised out of existence during the 1980s" (Statistics New Zealand, 2012, para. 3). The relationship between industrial growth and schooling is indirectly related to the ruling classes' ability to influence in "subtle ways the whole moral and intellectual life of the people" (Bendix, Lipset, 1966, p. 6). The rationality of coercing society has made it an accepted inevitability even within a democratic setting. We as a society are conditioned to accept the dictates of those in government because we are also conditioned according to those who have the cultural capital to exert authority which leaves the majority of society following in obedience. Assimilation becomes the point of contention for Maori to succeed under another's discourse.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF ASSIMILATION

Perhaps today we do not necessarily associate education or for the most part what I would largely call schooling as a system that brutalizes people, but there is a sense that to civilise is to impose one cultural practice on another as a way of breaking down uncivilised beliefs and traditions. Determining an uncivilised practice is dependent on those who set the determinant – "a factor which decisively affects the nature or outcome of something" (Oxford dictionaries, 2010, para. 1). Interpreted as a legitimate dialogue, accepted as a recognised discourse; specialised knowledge is that which is coherent to

those who legitimise it. As it applies to Maori students this is hugely dependent on a discourse successfully objectifying the status of Maori within the wider frame of the new emerging colony; and in this respect the term 'noble savage'- a phrase that identified the moral innocence of Maori (amongst other colonised indigenous races) because of a closer connection with nature, also "represents a naïve and mystical life prior to the reasoned life imbued by the scientific revolution". (Miles, 1989, pp. 24-28)

What did this suggest regarding the power relations between the colonial government and Maori? Had the government already formulated that Maori would not be capable of discerning the actual power mechanisms or methods used to subjugate them into submission? The simple answer to this is yes which I have already expressed in terms of civilising uncivilised practices, or classifying Maori as deficient and lacking the sophisticated means with which to adapt adequately to colonial values and academic attainment; but the complexity of the situation is the government being duty bound to provide social characteristics to the growing colony so as to prevent anarchy. In this instance a mechanism is the usage of terms which reinforces a particular discourse and compels the government as is its moral right, to intervene in the development of the nation:

'It is, then, the duty of the government to provide education, where unavoidable circumstances prevent the parents, and society abstains, from providing it; and it is the right and duty, and the wisest policy of government to compel parents to give their children the benefit of such education when provided... (UNESCO, 1972, p. 12)

Political mechanisms not only create a society but also create an artificial subject which in this case Maori have found themselves in subjection to someone else to shape their social identity. The importance of this from a government's perspective is intervening in New Zealand's social development by way of shaping the school curriculum. If the implementation of a schooling system is an extension of colonial discourse then its modern setting though not brutal in its intentions does assimilate students into an

established discourse in which a teacher centred method of instruction places the student at a distinct disadvantage through having to assimilate socially structured lessons. As previously stated by (McNall, 1968) in which the ruling class controls the means of production and subtly the intellectual and morality life of society also. The result has been a cultural divide in misunderstanding of the relevancy of Maori culture and subjugating Maori values into a more efficient system. The weighing up of Maori culture has even had the effect of Maori internalising the value of their own beliefs within the social and economic marketplace.

THE CULTURAL DIVIDE

It is well known that Maori educational underachievement has been a significant factor in Maori disadvantage in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Successive governments have attempted to tackle the issue, with varying degrees of success. Statistics pointing out participation rates in the Labour market between Maori and non-Maori justify continued intervention by the government; for example 'Maori in the Labour Market,' a document produced by the Department of Labour indicates a decrease in unemployment for Maori (Department of Labour, 2009, para. 3)

At a greater rate than for non-Māori and now stands at 67.7% in September 2009, just below the rate of 68.6% for non-Māori. Māori participation was lower in the 15-24 and 25-54 years age groups compared with non-Māori, but higher in those 55 years and over.

However, continued over representation within the unemployment rate for Maori points to continued disadvantages using potential unemployment indicators: a younger age profile of school leavers without adequate qualifications, education, and location.

The economic downturn has had a substantial impact on Māori. The outlook for the labour market over the short-term both nationally, and for Māori, remains relatively weak. Unemployment is likely to continue to increase into 2010, with Māori expected to remain disproportionately affected. (Department of Labour, 2009, para. 8)

The challenge in reducing unemployment falls to strategies like the Draft Maori Education Strategy 2008 - 2012 is an example of the government's management strategy to deal with Maori educational underachievement, which is seen to be the palliative to these problems. Maori "success" within the education system translates as the solution to broader social issues.

The strategy's aims and objectivities are to outline:

A framework for action - a coordinated approach to policy design and investment decisions that focuses on achieving the greatest shifts. It describes a conceptual approach, and sets out specific priorities, goals and actions for the ministry to enable it to better manage success with Maori. (Ministry of Education, 2007, p.10. Emphasis added.)

The document is a discourse from the New Zealand government emphasising economic transformation by encouraging greater levels of participation by Maori in order to become effective (productive) citizens in a global economy. The emphasis by the Ministry of Education within the document is to focus on helping Maori youth realise their potential within the education system and implement appropriate strategies; success for Maori contributes towards New Zealand's success overall (Ministry of Education, 2007b). The assumption by government in dealing with underachievement is to address the issues by increasing consultation with Maori, including Maori concepts as a way to bridge a lack of understanding that has permeated policy thus far. A significant lack of influence from Maori during the legislative process creates a considerable cultural divide in producing something beneficial for Maori. The use of statistics to further highlight Maori underachievement legitimises the need for continued intervention by government. This shows that the government paradigm is to be the driving seat in initiating policy. Arguing

that the above dissonance requires recognition that Maori 'success' can be interpreted differently, it is a good idea that rather than success being simply viewed as a taken-for-granted concept, we need to problematize it to begin with.

MAORI SUCCESS PROBLEMATIZED

Maori 'success' should include a significant amount of self-direction and self-determination according to a Maori framework. This is not to suggest a separate political system which would be detrimental to Maori within the wider political community. What should be noted however is that the current strategies formulated by government continue to marginalize a Maori worldview in defining success for Maori according to a global economic structure – neo liberal ideas of culture as a commodity; anything of value culturally has relevance when seen as a commodity. But with the amount of control by government over Maori development, success will likely be interpreted according to government directives. Johnston's (1997, p. 83) review of the failure of the "Picot Report and Tomorrow's Schools" is a relevant example. She says the report failed to consider:

...a number of factors which affect the 'realities' of Maori people, realities signified by unemployment, poverty and educational underachievement. An examination of the consequences of these realities clearly outlines why Maori interests and aspirations have not been adequately catered for in the new educational reforms.

Part of the failure could be attributed to a continued reliance on an education system structured according to a national framework which generalises policy solutions for Maori. The Draft Maori education strategy itself as a possible remedy proposes to: emphasise the importance of a continued change in attitude – particularly in terms of seeing cultural outcomes integral to successful education; an emphasis on culture and language as strengths.

This is all very well but the difficulty will arise in actual implementation, namely: the development of professional relationships across the education and government sectors, increasing confidence to work with Maori concepts and successfully deliver to Maori students' families and communities, quality teaching practices, accountability towards producing effective outcomes through efficient management and planning and acting on evidence about what works for Maori.

CHANGING PARADIGMS

Problematizing the failure of education for Maori encompasses a number of external issues not inherent within a Maori worldview. One is that education as a public good is based on Maori assimilating into a homogenous framework. The rationality of submitting to a national framework makes the assumption equality of opportunity will apply. The external feature is adjusting to a paradigm not culturally natural to Maori. To assume this means there is a need to look at the current success of education for Maori.

Tailoring the education system to fit the needs of the learner assumes that the system itself is adequate in administering solutions for Maori. The culture within government is about effective management and economic efficiency. Minister of Education for Labour Trevor Mallard for instance points out a key priority of the government is to improve the economic efficiency of New Zealand's performance relative to its neighbours and enhance New Zealand's position internationally and adapt rapidly to the changes in society and within the economy (Mallard, 2003).

What kind of issues does this present in terms of tailoring education policy towards Maori, directly benefit them? The problem is that initiating a strategy as a remedy will not adequately address wider sociological issues that prevent relevant diagnosis. Therefore, policy will attempt to put forward a solution with limited understanding of and interaction with Maori

paradigms. Incorporating Maori concepts will be relevant to the degree they will fit within the national perspective of education as a commodity, and be tailored towards being more cost effective and contributing to a more productive population base. Harrison, (2004, p. 28) points out “two potential roles for the government to intervene in education are to correct market failure and promote equity”. The indication education is validated from the perspective of human capital theory is to justify a rigorous involvement by the government in tailoring education policy for Maori. If economics is the basis of adapting policy towards a Maori objective, how much goodwill from the government towards Maori will be beneficial?

Perhaps in answering this question is to first note the level of disassociation Maori have in relation to an economically based education system. The human capital view is that education is an investment. Much educational activity involves bearing current costs in return for future benefits. When individuals acquire education they invest in themselves, or create human capital, an asset that yields benefits over a long period of time (Harrison, 2004).

Maori underachievement is evidenced by a marginalised status that Maori occupy in relation to the government. The result is an education system failing Maori “through neglect, low expectations and misguided policies” (Harrison, 2004, p. 107) which tends towards Maori internalising expectations of a dominant hegemonic structure. The minority status of Maori is also in part attributed to a lack of relevancy of Maori culture within a modern society. The key drivers within the financial system; economic, business, and political sectors will have significant roles in determining state direction little of which Maori have considerable influence in, yet statistically and collectively, Maori have a considerable effect on the economy’s growth, as (O’ Sullivan, 2006) earlier indicated that at 15% of the population, Maori carrying considerable collective strength of numbers.

Despite assaults of legitimacy against a Maori paradigm, an important factor for Maori culture is the level of autonomy able to be generated to stem the decay of Maori language during the 1970’s as an example:

Te Kohanga Reo and Kaupapa Maori, at both primary and secondary level, have been described as the most successful Maori intervention initiatives to date. In pursuing the goal of excellence in both the Maori and Pakeha worlds, these schools make every endeavour to meet the goals of the national curriculum while operating from within an environment of immersion within an environment of immersion within both te reo and tikanga Maori (Maori language and custom) (Harawira, 1997, p. 328).

The idea of autonomy is a politically relevant initiative for Maori reacting to a neo-liberal dominant discourse. The political nature of neo-liberalism according to Tooley, (2000, p. 55) “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 fact Maori take matters into their own hands by initiating a movement to preserve language and tikanga is a testament to the desire by Maori to be more autonomous. The influence of various political groups has a significant effect on policy development and Maori aspirations will find itself marginalized under a different cultural interpretation of policy initiatives from lobby and interest groups.

POLITICAL LOBBY AND INTEREST GROUPS

Policy formulation is a complex process within a sea of interest groups and agendas vying for attention from the government. Within the overarching government framework are interconnecting interest groups seeking to influence the outcome of education policies. Interest groups’ involves lobbyists looking to persuade Members of Parliament considering legislative direction. The connection of these interest groups and its relationship with select committees makes the policy process a vital place for lobbyists seeking “to exert influence” (Palmer 2004, p. 241) but also means policy will be less relevant to those whom it is intended to benefit because of the degree of

interest expressed by lobby groups. As an example, the nature of education is a key area for government to be concerned about, that formulating policy for lobbyists will see “people with similar interests organise themselves to protect those interests” (p. 241). It also mentions that “new interests” (p. 241) will not have the same degree of equal representation being made to government unless it strikes a chord of agreement with the other interest groups. This makes the notion of formulating adequate legislative measures for Maori a complex process. Is the desire by Maori in wanting a greater input in education policy interpreted as a ‘new interest’ described by Palmer? (2004). I tend to see initiatives towards Maori limited in scope in actually being effective.

This raises two questions: How do you determine what adequate input is? Who should have the monopoly on deciding what is relevant for Maori education? Determining education policy for Maori is a point of conflict as far as Maori are concerned. The level of government intervention in tailoring policy is still inadequate in reconciling Maori underachievement to a workable framework with significant benefits for Maori. Therefore, the framework should at least include significant input from iwi who will be the chief beneficiaries.

In considering possible causes for the lack of achievement by Maori in the education system Johnston, (1997 cited in (Olssen & Morris Matthews, 1997, p. 83) points to the marginalisation of Maori interests, which from the government’s perspective would mean Maori aspirations are framed according to predetermined notions of what the new education system should be providing (Olssen & Morris Matthews, 1997) namely, achievement of a core set of academic standards to help raise the level of academic achievement. As an illustration the government document ‘Making a Bigger Difference for all students Schooling Strategy, 2005 – 2010’ emphasises a curriculum designed to improve social and academic outcomes for all students. Its chief goal is helping students achieve their potential. A great help is New Zealand’s national curriculum takes a fairly broad view of student outcomes within the schooling system.

This goes some way in making space to accommodate student learning styles and placing an emphasis on outcomes for students which include what they know – knowledge, what they can do – skills they possess and their relationship with others taking cognisance of cultural values. Education policy should help students reach their potential; educational policy outcomes looking to improve the social and academic performance of students will find marginalization occurring because minority groups lacking cultural capital are not able to compete on a level playing field economically. “The strategy sets the direction for the sector during the next five years and focuses on how everyone in schooling can contribute individually and together to ensure that more students succeed to the best of their abilities” (Ministry of Education, 2005, p. 73).

The relationship between the impact of sociological structures and the status of minority groups will affect the success of education policy. Indications Maori occupy a minority status statistically has changed, as the fact they count for 15% of the population, collectively gives them greater influence than indigenous groups elsewhere in the world, plus the legitimacy of the Treaty of Waitangi has paved way for Maori not to resort to moral arguments alone to establish aspirations on the political agenda (O’Sullivan, 2006). However, government management focusing on Maori education policy will have the monopoly in implementing what it sees as a feasible solution. Targeting the level of underachievement and designing a curriculum to help students achieve their goals will place a fair amount of pressure on policy makers to come up with a workable solution. The following is a summary of the feedback regarding the ‘Making a Bigger Difference for all students Schooling Strategy, 2005 – 2010’.

Feedback resulted in 300 submissions being received. A wide range of education institutions including substantial submissions from the New Zealand Educational institute, New Zealand School Trustees Association, and New Zealand Post Primary Teachers Association were among the respondents. Others included boards of trustees, libraries and wider

community interest groups. The responses expressed support for the proposed goals but were concerned over whether they would be achievable considering factors outside of the school system will impact on students; poverty, family dysfunction, crime, poor health, family violence, and a low value placed on schooling in some families (Ministry of Education, 29 October 2004 - 31 March 2005). Harrison, (2004) suggests the impact of a poor social background will adversely affect the level of educational attainment, which will mean continued under-achievement by Maori, highlighting a school system that continues underperforming by “educating the disadvantaged through neglect, low expectations and misguided policies” (Harrison, 2004, p. 106). The government’s intention to publicly raise the level of educational attainment for Maori is not in dispute; however the continued policy development by government repeatedly fails to allow significant input from Maori at the legislative level. The significance of this continues to devalue Maori hopes of self-determination. The concept of self-determination and the politics of Indigeneity is a valid theory for Maori in which self-determination under an indigenous framework is more appropriate towards developing solutions and should not be interpreted as a form of political and racial separatism.

THE POLITICS OF INDIGENEITY

The concept of self-determination and the politics of Indigeneity become a potent symbol for Maori as a way to focus towards addressing inequalities. Current avenues of legislation continue with government directed policies. The direction of policy will continue to serve the needs of interest groups and the politically strong, and will also mean programmes “introduced for the poor will extend to the middle class for electoral advantage” (Harrison, 2004, p. 139). Ultimately, Maori need to closely unite Maori development with Maori aspirations. If a narrow developmental model under a government framework is employed, this will continue to be a disadvantage for Maori. (Durie, Kingi, McKinley and Stevenson 2002).

A final note is the theory of self-determination and the politics of Indigeneity briefly mentioned above. The politics of Indigeneity refers to a binary concept of allowing:

The right to be different in some senses and the same in others. It assumes a transformative function allowing indigenous peoples to think about the terms of their 'belonging' to a wider polity, but also about their political status as autonomous peoples. (Fleras, 2000) cited in (O'Sullivan, 2006, p. 13) .

This suggestion by O'Sullivan places Maori political autonomy on an equal footing to functioning under a New Zealand system of government. The notion of democracy as a theory of bringing equality into society has not particularly benefited Maori fulfilling their aspirations. The majority rule aspect of democracy in one sense means there is an equal chance for all in society to participate. Equity though is valid if equal participation actually happens and smaller numerical sectors of society have access to the same democratic rights as those in the majority. (Tooley, 2000) indicates this is not the case for Maori, who are disadvantaged according to a "numeric domination...of Pakeha interests dominating and controlling the manifesto, condensing Maori development and resisting Maori agency" (p. 152).

The resistance by government towards Maori agency and self-determination is blanketed with policies designed to reflect the homogenous nature of New Zealand, while at the same time marginalising the call by Maori for a different approach in formulating policy. Education policy for Maori is laden with power dynamics which entrenches the government's position of having the final say in the outcome of education policy. Yet within a civilised political system like New Zealand's for example, government sanctioned use of power is more constrained due to the public nature of office; the accountability, transparency towards constituents and a possible loss of votes and or government position all have an effect on how power is used, though in a setting such as this the term power is described as 'influence' (Mulgan, 1989).

The fact Maori underachievement continues to be an issue of concern for the government is a reflection that Maori educational needs and aspirations are: still not being met, and have not enjoyed the same success academically under a homogenous education framework, which challenges the assumption of whether Maori educational needs should continue to be synonymous with the current system (Tooley, 2000, p. 60).

SELF-DETERMINATION

Finally self-determination according to (O'Sullivan, 2006, p. 3) "challenges the systemic and ideological foundation of post-colonial notions of sovereignty and government. It seeks an equality that can only be achieved by the recognition of group rights". The neo-liberal perspective of the rights of the individual should also be inclusive of group rights as O'Sullivan indicates, and in fact the foundational right to exercise individual freedom forms the basis of any societal structure and defining individuality should include the Maori concept of iwi as an individual entity. The dual identity for Maori in belonging to the "wider polity" (O'Sullivan, 2006, p. 3) means there is still a persistence by Maori society to continue to "be organised around the iwi or hapū structure, a primary source of identity, organisation (belonging), or entitlement" (Maaka & Fleras, 2005, p. 68). Evidence of this is the efforts by government to work with tribal affiliations as a way to help close the gap, and support Maori development (Maaka & Fleras, 2005).

What effect does the politics of Indigeneity and self-determination have on the notion of democracy? Democratic efforts to provide equity to society are hindered by the reality that a minority will have significant influence in how political direction will be dictated. The hegemonic influence by government will rationalise its position as gatekeeper in influencing Maori aspirations. The sophistication by government in implementing a 'Maori friendly' approach results in "blanket policies or universal policies" (Tooley, 2000, p.

60) which are ineffective because of the government's continuation to approach education from a homogenous perspective. Benton (1987, p. 71) points out issues still relevant today that are endemic to the current administration: "One of the problems with the present closed educational market is that it is essentially totalitarian in nature, absorbing and where possible destroying, alternative structures". The rationalization by government to maintain a structural status quo; that is, maintaining control during the legislative process but increasing the amount of Maori consultation; is equivalent to a token gesture of "adopting a principle of cultural respect" (Holland & Boston, 1990, p. 177) without seriously considering Maori cultural frameworks.

GOVERNMENT HEGEMONY AND MAORI SELF - GOVERNANCE

The question of cultural respect and cultural relevancy in the previous section is a central point of contention for government. The population increase of Maori by 2051 is anticipated to account for 22% of the total population according to Durie, (2005) cited in (O'Sullivan, 2006, p. 8). This in itself presents a considerable dilemma for the government in maintaining a hegemonic stance in formulating policy to deal with underachievement. Further to this, sustaining a large labour class will be difficult as the government will have to adjust how to better provide opportunities for Maori to progress economically and socially. "Beneath this question lies an ideological assumption which privileges assimilation over Indigeneity as the basis of Maori participation in public affairs" (O'Sullivan, 2006, p. 1). The relevancy of this statement will be the focus of this section; how much autonomy for Maori is allowable if the future is to provide equal chances for Maori?

The obligation by government is to improve the economic success of New Zealand society. This is the basis of any policy on education, to improve the outcomes for students in achieving their potential. As adults the effect should

transfer towards making meaningful contributions towards society. Bates & New Zealand Business Roundtable., (2001, p. 22) indicate that “countries with high economic freedom ratings are capable of sustaining relatively high growth rates indefinitely”, which would imply a relationship between “economic freedom and advances in knowledge” (p. 22). Kirzner, (1979, p. 239) illustrates this by saying:

A free society is fertile and creative in the sense that its freedom generates alertness to possibilities that may be of use to society; a restriction on the freedom of a society numbs such alertness and blinds society to the possibilities of social improvement.

The point is that individuals will develop a strong incentive to be aware of the possibility of gaining knowledge that could potentially be of benefit to society when they will personally benefit from it themselves (Kirzner, 1979). The current education system for Maori suffers a lack of meaningful dialogue according to Maori because, having to become proficient in a dominant non-Maori social structure means coping within dual social settings. By dialogue I refer to the dominant political structure of government which will not engage on a level meaningful to Maori because of: (1) the division of political dialogue between Maori and non-Maori in determining legitimate solutions, (2) the political ramifications by government of validating concepts like self-determination and the politics of Indigeneity as examples.

The dual social settings stated earlier, refers to the political structure of the New Zealand government which is not obligated to assimilate into Maori culture as is the case with Maori, having to learn a new social identity in order to function productively, as well as still being faced with the partial redundancy of Maori culture having any type of relevant cultural capital in the market place. The current educational strategy in place for Maori, ‘Kahikitia – Managing For Success: Draft Maori Education Strategy 2008 – 2012’ as an example, seeks to accelerate educational success for Maori by focusing on a shift away from problems (sociological) to focusing on the potential of education providing future opportunities.

The trouble associated with this approach is it is too generalistic in nature; as Tooley, (2000) points out: “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” (p. 60). The double bind of putting forward an educational strategy under a dominant government framework and marginalising cultural differences under policies of assimilation mean the success rate of strategies like this will have little significant success. As it stands documents, discourses and cultural attitudes towards Maori focus on: remedying deficit learning, concentrating on problems of dysfunction, increased government intervention, and instructing and informing. An alternative approach needing to be more mainstream needs to focus on: realising potential in Maori, identifying opportunities, investment (in people/local solutions), and tailoring (appropriateness).

CONCLUSION

Schooling as a heliocentric, disciplining and reproductive entity has its manifestations at a number of levels for Maori. Schooling renders Maori as docile subjects that are reduced to minor players in educational policy. The frameworks of policy, fortifying the notion of schooling, act as a sort of panopticon whereby those that fall within the Gaze of the State may be engaged with and seriously entertained. Maori, however, are pushed to the outer – far from the centre that Oliver asserts schooling occupies – and are therefore not powerful subjects in their own right

Maori have become a focal point by the government towards answering how to best improve their position in society. At the centre is a growing awareness by Maori in asserting their rights in comparison to expectations of how Maori should be functioning under mono-culturalism. Maori however, have always maintained a sense of determinism, a view of autonomy that has demonstrated itself all throughout their interaction with the government

right from its first inception. As far as Maori are concerned they never ceded their sovereignty to the Crown. But social norms have dictated Maori as willing participants in a New Zealand culture; a culture in which Maori culture subsumes into a larger frameset what is not accepted is any sense of independence and autonomy. Autonomy for Maori is accepted according to utilitarian lines dictated by social norms predominantly non Maori.

Self-determination is a pragmatic response to contestations of power between the successor states of colonising peoples and the indigenous inhabitants of colonised territories. It provides a political and legal framework within which indigenous peoples can assert and realise autonomy to the greatest extent possible (O'Sullivan, 2004). The Maori cultural landscape is constantly changing according to stronger calls of extending the legal and political framework for Maori to establish greater autonomy. This in turn requires Maori to be educated as differentiated to schooling. However, defining that there is a difference between the two terms is an ideological notion. Some would even call it nit-picking since both schooling and education is the process of instruction and teaching. The difference lies with the context in which both education and schooling take place and for what purpose.

Both education and schooling have benefits for those taking part, if both education and schooling helps the learner to accumulate knowledge thereby increasing their abilities to make informed choices. If schooling and education lead to specific outcomes that are of benefit to Maori, then from this develops specific targets of achievement. Durie (2006) indicates that outcome goals represent relatively undifferentiated outcomes. In order to achieve a higher level of specificity, and to give more precise focus, it is necessary to develop targets for each goal. Outcome targets for each goal might be decided according to the area under examination and in association with key participants. Targets should be quite specific and measurable.

Underlying the three Māori outcome frameworks are four key principles (Table 5)

Table 5 Principals for measuring Maori Wellbeing.

Indigeneity	Integrated development	Multiple indicators	Commonalities
Human wellbeing is inseparable from the natural environment	Māori development is built on economic, cultural, social, and environmental cohesion.	A range of measures are necessary to assess outcomes for Māori.	Despite diversity, shared characteristics act to bind the Māori population.

The language is decidedly economic in nature in which Maori would tailor specific programmes towards developing robust systems that are culturally appropriate. The combination of Maori being educationally informed questions whether systems of learning within schools are harmful? Iwi these days are astute enough to decide for themselves in how best to appropriate education towards tribal needs, while at the same time taking a lead in helping the government to develop programmes to target underachieving Maori students.

The deeper relational issues found within schools equates to a great deal of misunderstanding between the idea of schools, education and pedagogy. The notion of hierarchy whether in society or schools is not unfamiliar territory for Maori to navigate since there is a level of hierarchy in Maori society also, but when the dominant discourse dismisses the relevancy of Maori values compared to a perceived mono-cultural social structure, this lessens the value of Maori culture and Maori internalise the perception made of them.

The struggle for Maori to retain and fight for autonomy under a dominant discourse will need to rely on engaging with education under a schooling structure to a degree in order to inspire Maori to pursue the value of what education offers. However, Maori are up against a considerable barrier in trying to make headway towards fulfilling the idea of educational fulfilment within a schooling structure.

Continual obliviousness from mainstream conservatism towards Maori values being of equal value has not altered a lot over the years. Despite the efforts from the government sector to help improve the situation for Maori, changing attitudes is the most difficult to overcome when the schooling system is still governed by European conservatism. Dislodging prejudicial attitudes is reinforced by the commodification of schools which blanket any notions of inequalities being addressed. By using the notion of competing for positions – whether socially or economically under the banner of equality of opportunity; makes it a competition open to all members of society, who are then “eligible to compete on equal terms” (Arneron, 2008, para. 1). This would be a strong basis in which to keep the status quo. Maori could compete equally within schools and attain the necessary merits to succeed. Any views of Maori self-determination and autonomy are confronted by conservative New Zealand society.

The Nationhood speech’s aim was to erode a longstanding cautious political acceptance of self-determination as a legitimate Maori political aspiration. Self-determination’s assertion of group rights by virtue of indigenous identity and by virtue of the Treaty of Waitangi’s affirmation of those rights was challenged by a position that categorises Maori as individuals with the same ‘needs’ as any other individual. (O’ Sullivan, 2004, p. 3).

The next chapter will focus on summarising what this entire thesis attempts to pursue; that is, the relationship between under-achieving Maori students and the dominant discourses that facilitate how schools operate.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY

This thesis has been a journey in dissecting the relationship between Maori and their relationship to the various discourses that have directed their progress. At the heart of what I have tried to examine is the relationship between the establishment of the formal schooling system based on power and discourse, couched within the authority of differing forms of regime control. Analysing its effect on Maori has allowed me to understand why there is still a gap between Maori and non-Maori students.

Culture has also had an important effect in directing competing paradigms to either dominate or be dominated. How power and discourse is used gives an indication of the strength of a culture. Culture is also a grouping of influences that solidifies cultural, social and political boundaries which can both be a positive and a negative. For Maori the notion of culture has had enormous influence both from within and without. The strength of Maori culture it is reasonable to argue was at its strongest prior to formal colonisation under British sovereignty. A culture never flourishes more when it is either dominant within its own elements - where outside influences do not shake the core beliefs of what makes culture strong. The other time when a culture flourishes is when it undergoes a transition from a period of weakness - to where it is forced to reassert or reinvent itself in order to cope with a crisis period. Both of these examples occurred with Maori as they coped with a number of social changes which challenged their notion of sovereignty.

Chapter 1 sought to introduce the concept of Maori directly being affected by the practice of schooling. I indicated that government paradigms place a huge emphasis on schooling as a commodity which would make not only Maori but all students as a commodity. The culture of schooling as I indicated is built on

the government's monopoly in directing its path towards making students productive citizens. The two questions central to this thesis are: the problems that formal schooling poses for Maori students, and the sociological effects on Maori as adults in society.

The structure, motivation and methodology all contributed towards an historical development of schooling and the close relationship it has with governance. The structure sought to put into a logical sequence that shows the development of education from various periods and its effects on the populace; to how Maori has engaged with formal schooling in New Zealand. The motivation for me in engaging with this subject matter gives an indication to the reader the cultural differences when a student enters the domain of schooling for the first time and has to rapidly learn to adjust to the discourse that schools administer. The methodology provides the key theorists whose theories undo the deeper implications that tie schooling with political control which in turn affects social direction.

I also briefly introduced the notion of discourse which features a lot throughout this thesis to illustrate its effectiveness in coercing and convincing society to adhere to the dictates of the governing authorities. Defining what makes up society is not necessarily a clean cut issue because society as stated in an earlier chapter is from my viewpoint an artificial environment. Therefore the various cultural intentions according to social, ethnic, and political boundaries are based on artificial relationships that compete for: attention, belonging, identity, resources, grouping, dominance and influence.

The effect that this has had on Maori society has marginalised Maori cultural values as second class when competing politically against European values. So introducing briefly an overall picture of the effect of Foucault's notion of power and discourse, the creating of a subject whereby people are created not necessarily as an independent thinking individual but more as someone who is influenced by their peers, surroundings, and through the effects of

discourse and power. Maori then through the systemisation of schools came to forcefully accept a marginalised place in society. With token gestures made towards Maoridom, they had lost too much through the taking of their land and succeeding generations having to participate in two world wars that had a drastic effect on their mana. Dealing with prejudice as well as coping with assimilation had a tough effect on Maori to challenge politically the inequalities against Maori.

Chapter 2 – focused on the development of the notion of education from three different periods and the effect on the populace as a result. I also included the relationship between the perceived mindset of education in its semi-formal development according to spiritual principles and the inevitability of change. What was interesting was the difficulty in dislodging the dominant attitudes during the Renaissance in widening education towards the populace. In its place came the merchant class who were able to pay for extra tuition in order to further their economic aims. This clearly demonstrated for me the development of education as a commodity. The nature of society will always be hierarchal in the sense that the social and political elite will consolidate their position through knowledge and keep the general populace at a disadvantage.

Plato and Greek society established a freedom in thinking which to a degree has revolutionised the thinking process over the centuries to where philosophy has an established place in almost every university in the world. However, Plato was still governed by his social upbringing as to who should receive the appropriate measure of education according to social hierarchy. Despite the breadth and depth of thought to have come out of classical Greek education the interference of politics and dominant social discourses affected education or schooling being truly beneficial and equal for all. I saw within Greek society the politics of education an all too common theme throughout this thesis the political agenda attached to

education/schools. An educated populace is important, but as was the case in New Zealand society at the turn of the century, the level of education for Maori was best suited towards manual labouring. The connection with Gramsci's idea of hegemony meant a more civilised society would find other means of coercing the population. Assimilatory practices started early within the schooling system has been the most effective in pacifying the school population to cooperate with authority figures. Getting used to this idea normalises the idea of submitting to authority.

The combination of power, discourse and assimilatory practices has been central to this thesis because they have been the vehicle in which Maori have had to adjust their world view to progressive systems of power. Through the eyes of colonial practices Maori have obediently played their part as a subjugated culture firstly through external coercion as a result of the Land Wars during the 1800's through to more sophisticated hegemonic practices of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Gaining control over Maori exposed how discourse became a crucial ingredient to achieve this as external coercion via the sovereign shifted towards a more civilised form of control. Schools as a result during my research have been very effective in exposing how much Maori have been assimilated into to a culture that has at times dominated our own culture. This is the idea of schools as a civilising process.

My research into the intentions of schools during my undergraduate study revealed a mind-set that has huge consequences for Maori students developing into adults. Attached to this is the notion of education and schooling. The idea that schooling and education could mean the same thing was not immediately exposed until Oliver's article had made the point that there is a distinction between the two terms by virtue of education constrained to an officially sanctioned system of learning. Anything outside of the schooling structure is given credence when it is validated by governmental discourse or helio-centric to what the government decides.

This in my mind allows the government to create a monopoly in what counts as educational when there are ideologies attached to learning that go beyond the simple act of learning. Schools I learnt did more than instructing; there is an internalised set of rules that dictate to a person in what is socially acceptable and permissible. This is the wider implication of the effect of schools on society as well as Maori. I personally do not have a problem in living according to social conventions providing that there is adequate scope for individual volition not to be impeded by coercion.

Chapter 3 focused on the formal development of schooling in New Zealand starting with the Missionaries who despite having benevolent intentions of civilising the Maori population also indicates that Maori are uncivilised in comparison. Without a formal agreement under the Treaty of Waitangi being established, English society had already begun to change the Maori mind-set to a more acceptable standard of being and acting. Once the progression from provincial governments to central government had been established with the Education Act of 1877, this set up a more controlled system of education where Maori were given little leeway in learning according to what is culturally appropriate to them. Hegemony would exert itself both in physical form and through the disciplining of Maori minds towards the dictates of a superior form of government. The benevolence of the Missionaries towards Maori had given way to a more conservative relationship. The taking of Maori land indicated the lengths hegemony would take in order to satisfy settler requirements. The development of a burgeoning nation-state meant obedience had to be enforced if the country were going to make any type of economic and social progress.

Chapter 4 unravelled how this process of domesticating the population came about through hegemonic practices of domination and control of the minds of Maori. The combination of Oliver, Foucault, and Freire provided the main focus in how this was achieved; at least from my perspective anyway. Oliver's idea of there

being a difference between schooling and education demonstrated to me both the economic value in having a disciplined population and also a socially regulated society. Both in turn produce a somewhat obedient and productive populace. By pointing out that our most important efforts should take place within schools, also narrows the view of what counts as educational. Heliocentricity places the value of anything educational taking place within the strict confines of schools...all according to the dictates of the government. Foucault provided understanding in how this is achieved via power exerted upon a docile student population, whose minds are directed through discourse in conforming their minds to view success as adults via schooling.

The notion of the subject helped me to understand the dynamics between the individual and their place in society. We make a lot about our status as individuals and place an emphasis on our individual democratic choices resulting from the power we have to do so; as opposed to those living in societies where there is little or no individual freedom. Foucault however shows that the individual is very much influenced by the choices they make via the ability of a dominant discourse to penetrate the psyche of an individual. This also includes the choices we make as a result of cultural, social, and work related groups. Therefore the individuality of a person is subjected to levels of nurture from various sectors and power and knowledge embedded within discourse has revolutionised the way people are being compelled to adapt to social norms. Internalising coercive actions for people to comply has been a much more efficient way to regulate people to adapt towards.

The deeper ideological explanations that Foucault points to reveal the way power acts and reacts. This made me realise that perhaps the way power is exerted politically upon Maori causes a set of responses that outwardly is not quite discerned. From my perspective a negative use of power upon a person(s) elicits a negative response in

return. The notion of action/reaction seemed to me to be an automated response from Maori which in times past has been a very effective way of achieving goals – return of confiscated land as an example. In other words Maori protest action via the Waitangi Tribunal and protest marches over land being returned provoked the government into action in response. We as humans more often than not react to negative action with a negative reaction without adequately analysing our own position that causes us to respond. Freire and Foucault analysed for me our own reactionary responses without looking at the proper mechanisms contributing to our integration into dominant social norms.

Gramsci provided light regarding hegemony by consent which helped me to look at ways in which dominant forms of governance against Maori have to a degree pacified them into engaging with education as an on-going quagmire. Again for Maori the whole notion of success within school revolves around respect and reciprocity and equality. However, Equality under a neo-liberal mind-set counts when the value of Maori culture is placed against market forces and forced to compete against economic relativity. The differences between a Maori view of culture and non-Maori is to do with values. Maori are willing to trade in commodities but not at the expense of denigrating Maori values for the sake of economic productivity.

Maori have had to assimilate into Gramsci's idea of hegemony where the infiltration of an entire system of values and social norms supports the existing state of affairs. The penetration of Maori culture into mainstream society has re-adjusted itself to keep pace with current trends socially and economically. Whether you think that Maori are reacting to current market forces similar to Graham Smith's ideas of Maori and hegemony or being proactive in taking the lead towards iwi economic development are both positives for Maori society. But as previous chapters have shown the value of education is tightly controlled according to what the state thinks is best for society.

Chapter 5 looked at the theories from chapter 4 put into practice. Schooling as a commodity takes precedence in society and Maori, not in a position to challenge how schooling is administered find themselves reacting to initiatives to help get the number of Maori students on equal par with non-Maori. The politics of education takes on a new direction in which education and schooling are intentionally repackaged to suit the government's economic plans. Maori as a result are on the back foot reacting to initiatives rather than taking the initiative politically and educationally to direct educational improvements for Maori.

From my perspective the government's actions towards Maori have put together policy solutions which are adequate without really addressing Maori notions of equality. And this to me seemed to be the crux of why Maori students are not achieving in comparison to non-Maori. Aside from the sociological aspect where Maori have not contributed to education over the years by lacking in the accumulation of cultural capital has contributed to the decline of educational achievement in schools. Schools also have contributed via the hidden curriculum which has also hindered Maori from adequately coping with the schooling regimen. Respect and reciprocity and the level of inequality have had an enormous impact on Maori progressing in society.

EFFECTIVENESS OF THEORISTS

I have always had in the back of my mind that Maori are looking for equality on an equal playing field in all aspects of life. Schools are supposed to be the great leveller in terms of opportunity. Has there been equal opportunity for Maori to progress in schools built on Maori values? Incrementally I would say yes as Maori have strengthened and built upon cultural values which have helped build upon and exceed previous levels over recent years. There is still a lot of work to do in getting Maori to internalise a new set of values that can continue to build momentum for Maori to grow in all aspects of life. How

effective have the theorists been in unveiling the problems which have hindered Maori from participating equally? The deeper relational aspects of discourse and power have for me been the most effective in relaying the idea that society in general often miss the level of influence that hegemony wields. Not only in the realm of powerful political groups influencing outcomes, but also of minority groups assimilating as common sense.

The outcome is demonstrated through Freire and Oliver who hopefully for the reader have shown that society criticises schools for coercing students into its 'one size fits all' policy. However, its regimented instruction is built upon someone else's discourse and overrides individual volition. Establishing civil liberties means there is forcefulness in making this so that governmental discourse cleverly communicates as necessary. Freire demonstrated that by educating a supposedly simple peasant population posed a significant threat to the status quo. The question that Oliver, Gramsci, Durie, O'Sullivan et.al pose is unveiling the structures that define society and challenging them in order expose what they are built upon. Maori need to be more proactive to and not accept the status quo so easily.

The positives and the negatives of using the theorists is that any theory can in itself become dogmatic. Any revolutionary act to overturn authoritarian rule can once it settles in as the dominant power after a number of years succumb to being the status quo it once sought to dislodge. And this for me highlighted the nature of power; it is transient, but once settled with personalities can become all consuming, and build a discourse of legitimacy to fortify its position. The most useful thing that I learnt from the theorists is to be aware of what discourse in society are built upon. Discourse for me is the DNA of society being what it is. Whatever discourse gains momentum in directing social change is built upon a discourse. Discourse empowers, but it also enslaves. Being aware of when both positions are in operation helps to better inform before taking action instead of reacting.

For me not all aspects of schooling were entirely harmful when you consider soldiers as an example serving in a war zone need to be coerced to obeying orders when in training. Discipline ensures uniformity of thought and action as each soldier has a specific role to fulfil in order to help keep everyone alive and on track to completing a mission. Autonomy plays no part when your life is in danger and the reliance on your fellow soldiers to look out for you is of the utmost importance. Likewise some students who would not have opportunities to being exposed to different methods of learning will find it difficult in cementing theories and lessons effectively were it not for the experience of teachers. The breakdown in students not achieving for me is relational. Not relational in the sense a breakdown in communicating ideas or lessons, but in relating to students as people. Schools as a commodity distances the idea of students as people and sees them as products needing to be trained.

What is the future for Maori within education? If we are to take our place equally in society, we have to delve into the deeper relational issues that have contributed to the status quo. Educationally Maori need to engage with education on all of its levels and strive to make gains regardless of the injustices that Maori suffer. In my opinion Maori should not overly lean towards reclaiming equal rights through the court process. In cases where legal action is the best and most effective avenue to pursue then this is the most appropriate course of action. An educated populace is by far the most effective way for Maori to progress.

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