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**Shifting Tectonic Plates of Key Discourses in New Zealand
Early Childhood Education Policy (1989-2017):
A Critical Discourse Analysis at the Dawn of Change**

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree
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Abstract

This thesis analysed the presence of neoliberalism, socialism and te Ao Māori in fundamental policy documents that frame New Zealand early childhood practice. It did so to critically engage with, and thus make sense of, neoliberalism's application and potential growth in New Zealand early childhood policies from 1989 to 2017. The research additionally focused on the interplay of socialist and te Ao Māori discourses in these texts, in conjunction with neoliberalism. It employed a poststructuralist conceptual framework that utilised Kristeva's intertextuality and Foucault's discourse, governmentality, and power/knowledge. The philosophical framework facilitated an appreciation of the early childhood education (ECE) sector and government discourses, via policies that exhibited discursive power, truths, and knowledges. This thesis' approach was employed through a critical discourse analysis, incorporating Kristeva's intertextuality, Fairclough's manifest intertextuality and interdiscursivity, as well as a keyword search. This form of document analysis was selected because it enabled me as the researcher to gain a deeper more developed understanding of the policy texts, eliciting meaning and recognition of the discourses often naturalised within them.

Contrary to the dominant claims in ECE literature concerning contemporary discourse, the analysis did not discover the neoliberal discourse's predominance within the selected policies and documents, as was expected. The neoliberal discourse did exist within government endorsed texts, such as the foreword of *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b) and *Four Year Plan 2016-2020* (Ministry of Education, 2016). However, when the texts came closest to the sector, such as *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996; 2017b) and the *Licensing Criteria Early Childhood Education and Care* (Ministry of Education, 2008), the discourses of socialism, te Ao Māori and neoliberalism, nullified, transformed and modified one another. These findings were exemplified in the updated *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b), that limited the neoliberal use of individualism from the original, while also upgrading children's future potential. 'Future' within this text, however, was constructed through a modification of te Ao Māori by absorbing and embodying it in incomplete ways.

The findings of this thesis imply socialism, te Ao Māori and neoliberalism are constantly competing with one another in the analysed policies that construct New Zealand ECE discourses and, as a consequence, influence practice. This plurality has the potential to hinder one discourse from gaining domination over the others. Their joint consumptions and conflicts appear to periodically lessen and strengthen neoliberalism's power/knowledges across eras, administrations, policies and paragraphs, as exemplified in the updated curriculum. These findings imply that the 'drivers' of power are pivotal, hindering and strengthening these discourses which are both complementary and competing. Additionally, the thesis establishes implications regarding the rich complexities of discourses, which can conceal themselves in other discourses, calling for deeper critical reflection if some power/knowledges are to be reduced

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Chapter One: Establishing the Context: Neoliberalism Among the Discourses of Socialism and te Ao Māori in Early Childhood Education

This thesis was initially constructed to examine the neoliberal discourse in key policy documents that define New Zealand's practice in early childhood education (hereafter known as ECE). The qualitative examination sought has been grounded in my subjectivity as a poststructuralist researcher. The research began as an affirmation of my assertions regarding the negative and potentially predominant influence of neoliberal discourse, and its asserted diminishment of socialist and te Ao Māori discourses in New Zealand ECE policy texts (Bishop, 2012; Chan & Ritchie, 2016; Cohlbug, Glover, Rau, & Ritchie, 2007; Gordon-Burns, Gunn, Purdue, & Surtees, 2012; Macfarlane & Macfarlane, 2012; Rameka, 2017; Rau & Ritchie, 2005). However, as a consequence of my critical engagement with the documents I set out to understand, a shift occurred in my thinking. This shift did not point to neoliberalism's predominance as I had expected, but rather exemplified the socialist and te Ao Māori discourses' abilities to conflict, consume and compete with neoliberalism. These discoveries have drastically altered my appreciation of the complexities of discourse, and the associated positioning of neoliberalism within New Zealand ECE. Findings that were identified through the instrumental philosophical framework employed by the thesis, utilising Julia Kristeva's notion of intertextuality and Michel Foucault's concepts of discourse, governmentality and power/knowledge as philosophical tools. These enabled greater interpretations of neoliberal discourse in ECE to be made. Moreover, the thesis' discoveries reinforced Foucault's position that discourses intersect and overlap one another, resulting in their continuous competitions and morphing complexities.

1.1 Neoliberal Discourse and its Dominance in Early Childhood Education

Many scholars have asserted that neoliberal discourse is a dominant ideology in current Western society (Boston & Eichbaum, 2014; Campbell-Barr & Nyård, 2014; Davies & Bansel, 2007; Farquhar, 2008; Fitzsimons, 2000; Gordon & Whitty, 1997;

Henderson & Hursh, 2014; Kašćák & Pupala, 2011; Keddel, 2018; McMaster, 2013; Peters & Marshall, 1996). They frequently implicate it as a discourse that repositions multiple social areas that once firmly sat outside of the economic field. Education is said to be one such field and can be described as encapsulating the neoliberal discourse in multiple approaches (Gordon & Whitty, 1997; Mitchell, 2005; Whitehead & Crawshaw, 2012). Moss (2014) asserts that neoliberalism has now led education to be observed as a commodity of returns and investments for society, conceptualised around corporates, individuals and market transactions. Within these values, parents are positioned as consumers, and providers are enlisted as businesses (Moss, 2014). Another defined consequence of neoliberalism application to the educational sector is its undemocratic values, undermining an equality of educational opportunities in a centralised economic system (Zajda, 2011). This critiquing literature is also reflective of the early childhood sector.

The early childhood sector, both outside of and within New Zealand, has been widely depicted as existing within neoliberalism (Duhn, 2010; Duncan, 2004; Farquhar, 2008; Farquhar, 2010; Hamer & Loveridge, 2017; Moss, 2014; Myers, 2016; Press & Woodrow, 2005; Small, 2009; Smith, Tesar, & Sims, 2017; Tesar, 2015). Twenty first century ECE has additionally been highlighted as encompassing an ‘accelerated’ movement toward commercialisation and privatisation (Woodrow & Press, 2007). Farquhar (2012) has emphasised such movements as having a neoliberal focus, one that has dominated ECE service provision over the past two decades. Moss (2014) defines how the sector has resulted in a ‘nurturant environment’ for the neoliberalism in both hegemonic and heterogeneous ways. Furthermore, it is a discourse asserted to have compounded in a sector that is focused on investment, marketisation and service expansion, elevating the status of economic goals (Moss, 2007).

New Zealand ECE has heavily emphasised a discursively neoliberal mix, described by Duhn (2010) as being at the forefront of economic, individualist, alignments of investment. Neoliberalism has thus been described as dominating educational reform in New Zealand, potentially constraining practice and theory (Duhn, 2010;

Farquhar, 2012). However, definitive examples of this occurring in the analysed ECE policy texts that the thesis presented appear finite. What instead exists is a sea of literature that draws on the historical and philosophical grounds of neoliberalism (Connell, 2013; Davies & Bansel, 2007; De Lissovoy, 2015; Gordon & Whitty, 1997; Henderson & Hursh, 2014; Kaščák & Pupala, 2011). Although this is illuminating, it seems to miss a body of substantive evidence that supports the assertions that the literature embodies. In accordance with this, the research of this thesis seeks to bridge the gap between theory and evidence by examining the crucial area of policy regarding neoliberal, socialist, and te Ao Māori discourses within New Zealand ECE policy and practice.

1.2 Socialist and te Ao Māori Discourses: Significant Aspects of New Zealand Early Childhood Education

Alongside neoliberalism, socialism and te Ao Māori consistently appear in New Zealand ECE literature as significant discourses in their own right (Chan & Ritchie, 2016; Cooper & Tangaere, 1994; Farquhar, 2015; Macartney, Purdue, & MacArthur, 2013; May, 1985; Rau & Ritchie, 2011; Tesar, 2015). The discourse of socialism is woven into the battles, activism, and advancements of the country's ECE sector. It is connected to the rights and advocacy of women and children, establishing an overall concern regarding equality and social justice (Cooper & Tangaere, 1994; May, 1985; May, 1993; May, 2009). According to May (2009), this discourse is a significant facet that is still 'instrumentally' shaping the sector.

The socialist discourse is also frequently located alongside te Ao Māori in ECE, with their shared collectivist values often complimenting one another (Gordon-Burns et al., 2012; May, 2009; Mitchell, Tangaere, Mara, & Wylie, 2008; Tesar, 2015). Exemplifying this, Macfarlane and Macfarlane (2012) described both these discourses as significant aspects of "the unique sociocultural context that exists in our country" (p. 27). However, even though te Ao Māori and socialism are discussed in the literature as active and growing features of ECE, they are also marked by disadvantage in the sense that they are seen to be dominated by

neoliberalism (Chan & Ritchie, 2016; Cohlbung et al., 2007; Rameka, 2017; Rau & Ritchie, 2011; Ritchie, 2008; Ritchie, 2013; Te One, 2013).

Neoliberal discourse is continually asserted within a majority of literature as diminishing the seemingly oppositional discourses of socialism and te Ao Māori within an ECE context. Accordingly, these discourses are expressed as being susceptible to ‘neo-colonialism’ and neoliberal discourse (Bishop, 2012; Chan & Ritchie, 2016; Cohlbung et al., 2007; Gordon-Burns et al., 2012; Macfarlane & Macfarlane, 2012; Rameka, 2017; Rau & Ritchie, 2005; Rau & Ritchie, 2011; Ritchie, 1999; Ritchie, 2008; Ritchie, 2013; Te One, 2013; Tesar, 2015). Te Ao Māori and socialism’s susceptibility in ECE has been portrayed as affecting pedagogy and practice by delivering the rhetoric of these discourses, instead of truly embodying their values and beliefs in ECE (Bishop, 2012; Manning, 2012; May, 1985; Rau & Ritchie, 2011; Ritchie, 1999). Potentially these discourses susceptibility is also impacting on the country’s ECE policy texts, “because of the deeply imbedded assumptions of neoliberalism which continue to inform national educational policy” (Betts, 2014, p. 23).

1.3 Early Childhood Policies: Implicit Power Relations

Policies are ‘duplicitous’ documents in their ability to not only form the sector but to also reinforce discourses (Ball, 1993). This makes them powerful discursive objects. Osgood (2006) perceives policy documents as implicit in power relations, and to be partially associated with neoliberal developments. He asserts:

developments in neo-liberal education policy have been accompanied by ongoing debates within the sociology of education about the consequences for practitioners’ work and their identity... neo-liberal policy reforms have resulted in greatly reduced autonomy as a consequence of the regulatory gaze and accompanying directives. (p. 6)

This quote appears to assert a concern about the presence of neoliberal discourse and its strength within educational policy. It contends that neoliberalism produces

an economically clinical gaze on the sector. From this discursive gaze, initiatives and values are asserted within policies, producing potential ‘consequences’ for pedagogy and development. The quote, therefore, contends that neoliberal discourse is not only developing within the sector, but also reshaping its forms of practice through policy movements, potentially minimising the interplay of socialism and te Ao Māori.

1.3.1 Researching Questions

Expanding on the task of providing substantive findings for the prevalence of neoliberal discourse and the other significant discourses of socialism and te Ao Māori in New Zealand ECE policy, this thesis posed the following research questions:

To what extent and how is neoliberal discourse predominant in ECE policy texts?

What interplay do socialist and te Ao Maori discourses have with neoliberalism?

The focus placed on these overarching research questions has sought to provide tangible evidence of the neoliberal discourse in New Zealand ECE policy, as well as the way it might have affected socialism and te Ao Māori. The findings of the thesis achieved this in an effort to add to the theoretical literature regarding these three discourses presence and strength in New Zealand ECE, substantiating the relevance of this topic as a focus of future inquiry.

The interest in neoliberalism became a relevant and important topic for me as a researcher due to my increasing concern for this discourse in ECE practice and policy. The body of literature that discusses neoliberalism initially instilled me with this sense of apprehension toward the discourse (Boston & Eichbaum, 2014; Davies & Bansel, 2007; Duhn, 2010; Farquhar, 2010; Farquhar, 2012; Fitzsimons, 2000; Gordon & Whitty, 1997; Henderson & Hursh, 2014). I was also affected by my experiences of unfavourable conditions in ECE services, that I perceived to be attributed to neoliberalism’s deregulation and market principles. Each of these

facets increased my concerns, propelling me toward a desire to reveal neoliberalism presence in ECE policy. However, through the researching process, I came to realise that a sole focus on neoliberalism was narrowing, and not reflective of the other two dominant discourses of socialism and te Ao Māori. It thus became important to broaden the thesis and question the interplay of these two discourses in conjunction with neoliberalism's potential predominance. Attempting to do so in a way that elicited cohesive and comprehensive findings to emerge, a poststructuralist route of understanding was selected.

1.4 A Poststructuralist Paradigm

Poststructuralism seeks to appreciate how power operates, oppresses and constrains through ideology within a political and social context (MacNaughton, 2005; Sidhu, 2003), and has been selected as a paradigm for the purpose of this thesis. Poststructuralist research does not seek a problematic single 'truth', but rather interrogates the 'truths' that are now taken for granted (Graham & Narasimhan, 2004). In doing so, researchers add another level of awareness to a subject, as this research intends to do. Additionally, in line with poststructuralist thought, I have not only recognised neoliberalism as a singular discourse in New Zealand ECE, but also incorporated te Ao Māori and socialism, as significant discourses in the field (Chan & Ritchie, 2016; Cooper & Tangaere, 1994; Farquhar, 2008; Farquhar, 2015; Macartney, Purdue & MacArthur, 2013; Macfarlane & Macfarlane, 2012; May, 1985; May, 1993; May, 2009; Meade & Podmore, 2002; Mitchell et al., 2008; Rau & Ritchie, 2005; Rau & Ritchie, 2011; Ritchie, 1999; Tesar, 2015). The triangulation of these three discourses has fostered 'alternative narratives' that have established cognitive complexities from the topic. Such a poststructuralist appreciation enables this research to establish a many-sided stance that avoids asserting an alternative supplementary power, which could produce an illusory clarity of simplicity. The utilisation of the poststructuralist paradigm has additionally been embodied by the thinkers Julia Kristeva and Michel Foucault, whose schools of thought also included many-sided stances.

1.5 A Poststructuralist Route to Understanding

The thesis' topic, interpretations and findings were enabled through Foucauldian and Kristevan poststructuralist approaches, which were utilised because of their felicitous nature to this research. For the purpose of this thesis, Foucault provided an appreciation of discourses and their associated power, 'knowledges' and governmentalities that enabled the research to analyse discourses in ECE policy texts as active, situated and significant constituters and constructors. Kristeva offered an appreciation of the pluralised driving forces in texts that conceptualised policies as multidimensional documents in a fluid state of pluralisation. Both Foucault and Kristeva drew on poststructuralist philosophy which wholeheartedly and unapologetically orients the investigation that follows.

1.6 Why this Approach?

The poststructuralist philosophers Foucault and Kristeva provided an insightful approach for textual analysis when applied to the thesis. Foucault, with his own unique interpretation of discourse, government and power, has been a central philosophical influence in this research. He has enabled a greater appreciation of the way a discourse can constitute and construct itself (Foucault, 1988), as well as the way power can consume, dispute and reorganise other discourses' 'knowledges' (Foucault, 1995). Furthermore, he provides an appreciation of government objectives as attempts to form "the conduct of conduct" (Gordon, 1991, p. 1). In doing so, he expresses a governmentality that seeks to actively shape citizens behaviours and actions (Dean, 1999).

Kristeva, in conversation with these Foucauldian concepts, offers an invaluable extension of the philosophical purpose of the thesis. Her earlier work on intertextuality pursues textual documents as 'cultural artefacts' and discursive objects that are bound to the narratives that mark their composition (Kristeva, 1980). In dialogue with Foucauldian thought, this interpretive framework provides an analysis of ECE policy texts as cultural artefacts. These philosophical concepts embody power relations and the knowledge nexus of discourses and

governmentalities while attempting to align citizens with state-forms through the narratives that bind a policy as a discursive object.

Intersecting Kristevan intertextual interpretations in association with Foucauldian thought has consequently provided an important platform for the thesis. Such an intersection between these two thinkers not only establishes a deeper understanding of the documents analysed, it has also provided further insight into the poststructuralist alignment from which they both drew, as well as providing deeper insights into their thought processes. When conceptualising intertextuality, Kristeva resided within Foucault's native France, in which her ideas became a central doctrine for poststructuralist thought. Foucault, whose writing coincides with and appears after Kristeva's concept of intertextuality, has obscure Kristevan blueprints within it (Lechte, 1990). The affinity of concepts between these thinkers (Martínez Alfaro, 1996) has emphasised these philosophers' suitability to be in conversation with one another in the service of this poststructuralist thesis, that is contextually situated in a time of change.

1.7 The Relevance of this Thesis Regarding its Contextual Timing

The contextual timing this thesis was developed within, has made relevant its research and topic of inquiry. New Zealand's 2017 elections resulted in the appointment of the Sixth Labour Government, after nine years of a National Government. At this early stage of the Sixth Labour Government's administration, there have already been some changes to the educational sector that indicate a shift away from neoliberalism. Shifts exemplified in the official cancellation of the National Standards programme, which some have blamed for narrowing curricula to mathematics, reading, and writing (Moir, 2017; Thrupp, 2017). This thesis has been developed on the very precipice of these changes. It is, therefore, apt to explore the policies of the previous National Government and to anticipate the direction of potential new educational reforms as part of the future orientation of the thesis' work. A direction that is entrenched within this thesis' Foucauldian school of thought.

1.7.1 The Enlistment of Foucault for Educational Research

Multiple researchers have enlisted a poststructuralist, Foucauldian approach when discussing neoliberalism and its relationship to education, and this is no less true in ECE. Doing so has provoked new and deeper ways of thinking and understanding ‘truths’, dominant discourses, equities, and possibilities in the field (Cohen, 2008; Doherty, 2007; Graham, 2013; MacNaughton, 2005; Rowan & Shore, 2009; Walshaw, 2007). Following this trajectory, the findings of this thesis have been enabled to radically re-examine and redefine the ECE policies texts for neoliberal, socialist and te Ao Māori discourses, ultimately assisting in answering the research questions.

1.8 The Tectonic Forces of Discourses

Redefining ECE policies through a Foucauldian appreciation of discourse has enabled this thesis to present discursive forces as tectonic plates. By conceptualising the fluid movements of plates, and the geological processes that enable them, the findings presented in Chapter Five have been able to visually showcase the abstract forces and processes that underlie the analysed ECE policy texts. Through this appreciation of discourse, power, power/knowledge, governmentality, regimes of truth, and intertextuality the multiple orientations, as well as the pushes and pulls of discourses have become more appreciable. Another area highlighted by this conceptualisation has been the ‘drivers’ of power and thus the propellers of discourse, as well as the potential for each of these attributes to affect the topography that is the New Zealand early childhood sector. This is because these processes are the very soil that the sector stands on, resulting in shifting foundations that are likely to continually alter the compositional landscape. The findings presented in this way have, therefore, shed further light on the te Ao Māori, socialist and neoliberal discourses examined and presented throughout this thesis’ chapters.

1.9 Thesis Outline

This thesis has been structured into six chapters. The first introductory Chapter: *Establishing the Context: Neoliberalism Among Other Discourses in Early*

Childhood Education, introduces neoliberalism, socialism and te Ao Māori. Each is defined as significant and fluctuating discourses in New Zealand ECE. This first Chapter has also introduced the poststructuralist paradigm, as well as the Foucauldian and Kristevan approaches that conceptualise the interpretations and conclusions drawn. Furthermore, this first Chapter has asserted the relevance of each of these features and discourses both in their connection to the thesis topic and in accordance with one another.

The Second Chapter of this thesis: *The Rise of Neoliberalism in New Zealand Early Childhood Education, and the Competing Discourses of Socialism and te Ao Māori*, has generated a series of key themes in relation to the neoliberal discourse, in the educational and ECE sector. These encapsulated neoliberalism's overt application via human capital theory, standardisation, school readiness, self-regulating centres, a reduction of the qualification requirements of ECE teachers, and privatisation. These aspects have provided a roadmap for tracking the neoliberal discourse in the analysed ECE policy texts presented in Chapter Four but are accompanied by a consideration of competing discourses in the landscape. These include socialism and te Ao Māori which consistently appear in the ECE literature as discourses in their own right. Furthermore, Chapter Two has provided a platform for a greater appreciation of these three discourses in combination. Subsequently, this platform has assisted the analysis, investigation and interpretations presented in this thesis, regarding the selected ECE policy texts with greater expertise and clarity.

The Third Chapter of the thesis: *From Methodology to Method: A Poststructuralist Agenda*, clarifies the strands of philosophical thought from which the understandings of this thesis are constructed. It exemplifies the grounding within a poststructuralist paradigm and schools of thought that include Kristeva's intertextuality and Foucault's discourse, governmentality and power/knowledge for this research's topic and method. These tools have informed the application and selection of the research framework that was analysed against the selected ECE policy texts.

The findings this thesis presented are broken into two chapters. The Fourth Chapter: *Intertextual Analysis: Exploring the Neoliberal Discourse and its Competition in Early Childhood Policy*, performed the intertextual analysis on each of the selected policies. Each of these were analysed for their amendments, drafts, updates and previous documents of textual and contextual significance. Through this process of analysis, complex social and discursive phenomena emerged, implicated through the continual layers of textual signification the policies were bound to.

Chapter Five: *Keyword Analysis: Substantiating the Neoliberal Discourse and its Interplay with Socialism and te Ao Māori in Early Childhood Policy*, presents the keyword search for predetermined language hubs within each of the selected ECE policies. Finding and analysing these keywords in the texts enabled substantiated conclusions to emerge regarding socialism's, te Ao Māori and neoliberalism's interplays and potential predominance. Collectively, both of the findings presented within these chapters assisted in answering the research questions. However, the analysis showcased in Chapter Five enabled the socialist and te Ao Māori discourses' abilities to conflict, consume and compete with neoliberal discourse become more apparent. These shifts resulted in, although not always successful, an active combatant to neoliberalism within, and across, the selected policies through the sector's own powerful propelling discourses.

The Sixth and final Chapter: *Concluding on the pluralised shifting discourses*, adjudges the overall thesis. It achieves this by reviewing the findings of the research that did not find the predominance of neoliberalism, instead highlighting the pluralised interplay of the socialist and te Ao Māori discourses in combination with neoliberalism in the selected ECE policy texts. Consequently, it reflects on the literature engaged with and research findings, by considering the applicability and validity of prior assertions against the discoveries presented in the thesis. Reflecting on these findings, Chapter Six also presents the implications of power and possible directions for the educational sector now that Labour's Sixth Government has been elected. It additionally reflects on the limitations of this research, with the discoveries being bound to the selected policies, as well as the suitability of the

philosophical framework employed. This assessment concludes the research, leaving a space for me as the researcher, and others, to conduct more immersive inquiries into the topic

Chapter Two: The Rise of Neoliberalism in New Zealand Early Childhood Education, and the Competing Discourses of Socialism and te Ao Māori

The prevailing literature that exists regarding the neoliberal discourse, in the educational and ECE sector, is critiquing of new right ideology. Multiple scholars have included their voices to this body of literature, commenting on the dominances of neoliberalism in Western society, and the repercussions of its application to the educational sector (Boston & Eichbaum, 2014; Davies & Bansel, 2007; Duhn, 2010; Farquhar, 2010; Farquhar, 2012; Fitzsimons, 2000; Gordon & Whitty, 1997; Henderson & Hursh, 2014; Kaščák & Pupala, 2011; Keddel, 2018; McMaster, 2013; Moss, 2014; Peters & Marshall, 1996; Sims, 2017; Small, 2009). Concerning this critiquing literature, the neoliberal discourse has been selected as a focus of inquiry for this thesis, examining its rise in the educational and ECE sector as well as its application to New Zealand. A country and sector that is said to have had one of the strongest applications of neoliberalism (Duhn, 2010; Duncan 2004; Farquhar, 2008; Smith, Tesar, & Myers, 2016; Tesar, 2015). However, it would be reminiscent of the New Zealand ECE field to solely discuss neoliberalism, and thus not mention the other dominant discourses of socialism and te Ao Māori within the sector. Discourses highlighted in the literature as significant facets of New Zealand ECE policy and practice (Chan & Ritchie, 2016; Cooper & Tangaere, 1994; Farquhar, 2008; Farquhar, 2015; Macartney, Purdue, & MacArthur, 2013; Macfarlane & Macfarlane, 2012; May, 1985; May, 1993; May, 2009; Meade & Podmore, 2002; Mitchell et al., 2008; Rau & Ritchie, 2005; Rau & Ritchie, 2011; Ritchie, 1999; Tesar, 2015). Chapter Two has, therefore, presented research on the neoliberal, socialist and te Ao Māori discourses that have arisen and competed with one another in New Zealand's ECE sector.

2.1 Defining Neoliberal Discourse

Neoliberalism has been described as emphasising individual rights of ownership, market freedom and legal protection in an environment of social enterprise and

competition (Castree, Kitchin, & Rogers, 2013; Dale, 2008). Harvey (2005) articulates how this specifies reducing government control over the economy, and advocates for an extensive economic liberalisation that transfers the rights of the public sector over to the private sector. Within this matrix is the need to institutionalise free trade, private property rights, and free market frameworks, created and preserved by the state (McMasters, 2013). To achieve this, the state is to guarantee the proper functioning of markets through deregulation, outsourcing, privatisation and establishing competition in public services (Castree, Kitchin, & Rogers, 2013; Harvey, 2005). Where these do not exist, often in areas such as education, the state's essential role is to construct them (Dale, 2008; Harvey, 2005).

2.1.1 Privatisation's Pivotal Role

Central to neoliberal discourse is an attention to private enterprise (Dale, 2008). Privatisation's objectives are to subject businesses to the efficiency of private capital markets, reducing government's exposure to risky debt-financed assets (Wilson, 2010). Beyond these duties, the state is to have little to no intervention within the free markets (Harvey, 2005). A practice based upon the belief that government interventions are an unfavourable activity for these powerful interest groups, which may distort and obtain control over individual's democratic freedoms (Krašovec, 2013). Within the educational sector, the neoliberal discourse is supportive of privatisation. Bridges & Jonathan (2007) define how it perceives privatisation to establish cost-effective and efficient educational services that empower parents and families via the enablement of their consumer choices. Furthermore, they indicate how neoliberalism values the competition it creates in the marketplace, viewing this as incentivising better-quality education, perceived as filling the gap left by failed state-controlled education. In line with its emergence, privatisation has been described by Ball, Thrupp and Forsey (2010) as a pivotal component of educational policy in the twenty-first century. It has additionally been described as a key component of ECE's re-conceptualisation (Woodrow & Press, 2007). New Zealand, among other countries, has been increasingly shifting toward higher volumes of privatised providers, who are often corporations within a for-profit model (Ball, Thrupp & Forsey, 2010; Education Counts, 2015; May & Mitchell, 2009; Tesar, 2015).

2.1.2 Human Capital

Another significant aspect of neoliberal discourse is the conception and production of individuals as human capital (Brown, 2016). Acemoglu and Autor (2014) have expanded on the theory of human capital, describing its appreciation of human beings as entrepreneurial investors in stocks of knowledge. Within the educational sector, human capital is defined as positioning education and children as substances of investment and intervention (Campbell-Barr & Nyård, 2014; Davies & Bansel, 2007; Farquhar, 2008; Lightfoot-Rueda & Peach, 2015; Stuart, 2013; Te One, 2013; Tobin, 2005). A view that conceptualises children as future economic citizens who can provide subsequent prosperity (Davies & Bansel, 2007). Human capital's lens has been described by Lightfoot-Rueda and Peach (2015) as a 'dominant public discourse' in the international ECE field. Powerful international interest groups, such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (1998) and World Bank (2003) have released reports that have included human capital. These influential capillaries have led this aspect of neoliberalism to have a considerable influence and projected scrutiny onto the educational and ECE sectors, affecting policies, and adding to the globalisation of neoliberalism (Heckman, 2000; Press, 2017; Small, 2009). Peters (2001) highlights this globally applied interconnected network reflected within human capital, as tangible aspects of the neoliberal discourse's application to the educational sector.

2.2 Neoliberal Discourse: A Presence in Education

The literature that in its majority is critiquing of new right ideology, indicates the neoliberal discourse's dominance within the educational sector (Boston & Eichbaum, 2014; Davies & Bansel, 2007; Gordon & Whitty, 1997; Kaščák & Pupala, 2011; Keddel, 2018; McMaster, 2013; Peters & Marshall, 1996). For example, Henderson and Hursh (2014) have described neoliberalism as re-conceptualising the way we think about the environment, the economy, ourselves, and education. Similarly, Kaščák and Pupala (2011) have proclaimed it a totalising metanarrative that has universally implanted itself into modernity, with an especially strong application to the educational sector. Also declaring this

discourse's dominance, Davie and Bansel (2007) have suggested that neoliberalism has embedded itself socially and politically, emerging as an 'inevitable' way of life. They have additionally expressed how "neoliberalism both competes with other discourses and also cannibalizes them in such a way that neoliberalism itself appears more desirable" (Davie & Bansel, 2007, p. 258). In agreement with these critique, Whitehead and Crawshaw (2012) have asserted it to be a complete and somewhat totalising ideological package within the educational sector. Neoliberalism has also been articulated as commodifying the field to fit within an economic gaze of individualism, competition and privatisation (Peters & Marshall, 1996). Consequently, neoliberalism has been described as reorganising, reconstituting, coercing, subjugating, and saturating the educational sectors from within its own truth values (Grace, 1990; O'Neil, 1996).

2.2.1 Human Capitals Application to Education

Human capital, already highlighted in this Chapter (2.1.2), is a key component of the literature that discusses the neoliberal discourse within education (Campbell-Barr & Nyård, 2014; Davies & Bansel, 2007; Farquhar, 2008; Lightfoot-Rueda & Peach, 2015; Stuart, 2013; Te One, 2013; Tobin, 2005). This literature is substantially critiquing in its expression of human capital, interpreting it to establish a potentially damaging view of children as future humans, 'or worse, products,' instead of citizens who deserve to have their agency, wellbeing and current happiness recognised (Alcock & Haggerty, 2013; Farquhar, 2008; Tobin, 2005; Stuart, 2013). Similarly, Campbell-Barr and Nyård (2014), have raised concerns about other fundamental aspects of education that do not reflect the 'privileged' lens of human capital and are, therefore, diminished. Adding to these positionings Press (2017) highlights Article 3 of the *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child*, asserting that children's best interests need to be a primary concern of education. Press (2017) defines how human capital that mitigates daily experiences and focuses on "anticipated outcomes from attendance" (p. 1900) potentially does not achieve this objective. However, there are those that strongly support human capital, including the international reports (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1998; World Bank, 2003) and government alignments expressed in 2.1.2. Morel, Palier, and Palme (2009) provide another example of this support,

defining how it makes governments ‘complicit’ in funding every class of citizen. Therefore, they maintain human capital eventuates in greater access to education, and thus enables children to lead better future lives.

2.2.1.1 Early Childhood, the Investment

Human capital theory holds a particularly strong relevance for ECE (Campbell-Barr & Nyård, 2014; Farquhar, 2008; Lightfoot-Rueda & Peach, 2015; Moss, 2014; Te One, 2013; Tobin, 2005). Its connection to ECE has been fostered through the multiple researches displaying the links between quality ECE attendance and lifelong learners, who can achieve greater ‘future professional achievements’ (Bakken, Brown, & Downing, 2017; Blundell, Dearden, Meghir, & Sianesi, 1999; Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2016). Moss (2014) defines how these studies have marked the sector as a “particularly good investment” (p. 20). Quantifying this *The Early Childhood Taskforce* (Ministry of Education, 2011) explicitly mentions that for “every dollar invested [in ECE], the resulting returns fell within the range of \$3 to \$16” (Ministry of Education, 2011, p. 21). Smith, Tesar, & Myers (2016) articulate how this extract exhibits human capital’s ability to redefine policies through the neoliberal constructs of performance, profit, and productivity. Defining the investment approach as problematic, Buzzelli (2015) describes human capital’s application within ECE to have ‘significant shortcomings’ that “fail to capture the complexities of the contributions early childhood programs make to children’s development” (p. 225). This literature, therefore, casts a concerned gaze upon human capital lens in ECE, reflecting neoliberalism’s presence in the sector (Lightfoot-Rueda & Peach, 2015).

2.2.2 Early Childhood Education and Neoliberalism

Perhaps unsurprisingly the neoliberal discourse, which is claimed to sit opaquely within the educational sector, is expressed as being entrenched within ECE (Farquhar, 2010; Moss, 2014; Press & Woodrow, 2005; Sims, 2017; Small, 2009). Early childhood within Western societies has been conceptualised as a crucial factor in establishing economic growth and development (Duhn, 2006; Farquhar, 2010; Tesar, 2015). Consequently, the focus on economics has resulted in the field

receiving increasing government scrutiny, underpinned by neoliberal discourse, and entombed within individual responsibility (Farquhar, 2010; May, 2002). Moss (2014) adds to this, describing ECE as a 'nurturant environment' for the neoliberal discourse in both hegemonic and heterogeneous ways. The key neoliberal impacts of children as investments, standardisation, and schoolification are all denoted as being present within the ECE sector (Small, 2009). Press and Woodrow (2005) additionally address how ECE, with its complex and fragmented provision and policy, has created a space for neoliberalism implantation through corporate privatisation. Such a market-driven understanding of ECE is expressed as becoming the formative power of society, positioning the sector, and childhood, as a commodity of consumption and economic, as well as social investment (Woodrow & Press, 2007). Further adding to this critique, Sims (2017) defines neoliberalism as playing out in various ways across a variety of different countries' ECE sectors. For New Zealand, the application of neoliberalism is said to have been particularly severe (Cardow & Wilson, 2012; Gordon & Whitty, 1997; Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1994; Mitchell, 2005).

2.2.3 New Zealand's Neoliberal Revolution

Within the literature, New Zealand is described as having one of the strongest applications of neoliberal discourse within its society and educational system (Cardow & Wilson, 2012; Gordon & Whitty, 1997; Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1994; Mitchell, 2005). This discourse was catapulted into the country via 'Rogernomics' a term based on Roger Douglas, the finance minister of David Lange's Fourth Labour Government. Douglas has been described by Mitchell (2005) as the ideological force and driver of Lange's Labour government, who were elected in 1984. The right-wing swing to economics was a surprising turnabout for a socialist party, partly due to the previous Prime Minister's heavily regulated economy and controlling leadership style (Kelsey, 1997; Mitchell, 2005; New Zealand History, 2017). These are aspects that are described as priming the New Zealand public, Treasury and Reserve Bank for the neoliberal reformation (New Zealand History, 2017). These fast-paced reforms and 'far-reaching policy changes' quickly restricted departments, abolishing multiple economic controls, and radically reducing the role and size of the state (Boston & Eichbaum, 2014;

McMasters, 2013; Mitchell, 2005). The speed of these changes substantially altered the structural landscape of New Zealand (Boston & Eichbaum, 2014). Described by Thorsen and Lie (2006) as resulting in a neoliberal trajectory that closed off many alternative directions. A trajectory that under National's Fourth Government 'intensified' (Clark, 2010). For the educational sector, this resulted in aspects such as the bulk funding of teachers' salaries. For ECE it culminated in aspects such as the reduction of state subsidies and an increase of parent fees, "in short, public good gave way to private good" (Clark, 2010, p. 203). A shift that was first exemplified in the 1987 Treasury Briefing (Grace, 1990).

2.2.4 New Zealand's Educational Change

New Zealand's educational sector began to discursively shift toward neoliberalism after the Fourth Labour Government released their Treasury Briefing, *Education Issues* (Boston & Eichbaum, 2014; Grace, 1990; New Zealand Treasury, 1987; Peters & Marshall, 1996; Te One, 2013). Expressing this stance, Grace (1990) defines it as delivering education from a neoliberal economic perspective, re-conceptualising it as a consumer commodity, a private good. It also re-conceptualised parents as 'empowered consumers' that needed the freedom to choose regarding educational provisions. Similarly, Peters and Marshall (1996) define *Education Issues* (New Zealand Treasury, 1987) as a 'major step' that forwarded neoliberal assumptions and values into the social framework of New Zealand. The literature describes how, for ECE this encouraged private initiatives, resulting in divested state accountability and responsibility for educational provision (Davison & the Institute for Early Childhood Studies, 1997; New Zealand Treasury, 1987; O'Neil, 1996). Small (2009) adds to this, asserting the Briefing (New Zealand Treasury, 1987) to be a pivotal historical document in New Zealand's educational sector. A Briefing (New Zealand Treasury, 1987) that completely restructured and reorganised the educational sector, providing a neoliberal blueprint for consecutive social and economic policy reforms (Openshaw, 2009; Small, 2009). These reforms have been argued to result in New Zealand's ECE sector being increasingly neoliberal, with this field's current form claimed to be entrenched within the Fourth Labour Governments push toward the discourse (Farquhar, 2008; May, 2009; Tesar, 2015).

2.2.5 Neoliberalism in New Zealand Early Childhood Education

Within New Zealand's ECE sector the neoliberal discourse has been described as increasingly embedded (Duhn, 2010; Duncan 2004; Farquhar, 2008; Hamer & Loveridge, 2017; Smith, Tesar, & Myers, 2016; Tesar, 2015). Neoliberal aspects such as human capital have been articulated to "penetrate every corner of child care" (Smith, Tesar, & Myers, 2016, p. 126). Reflecting the pejorative literature on this topic, Duncan (2004) highlights neoliberal discourse as producing 'problematic discursive practices' for New Zealand's kindergarten teachers, due to its occupation with self-interest and lack of regulations. Further disparaging literature by Tesar (2015) on neoliberalism in New Zealand ECE discusses the economic focus of neoliberalism, indicating the growing percentage of for-profit early childhood centres, positioning the child as an individualistic, competitive consumer. Similarly, Duhn (2010; 2006) who articulates how increasingly marketised the ECE sector is becoming, attributes the direction as deeply entrenched within neoliberal discourse. It is furthermore defined by Farquhar and Gibbons (2010) to place a huge reliance upon for-profit privatised models, which they critique as giving rise to an enlarging corporate sector, which needs more critical evaluation than there currently exists on the topic within New Zealand. The seeds of this change are often reflected in the literature as sprouting from the *Administering for Excellence Taskforce* (Grace, 1990; Lauder, 1990; Lauder, Middleton, Boston, & Wylie, 1988; Peters & Marshall, 1996).

2.2.5.1 The Picot Report: A Reformation Framework

The *Administering for Excellence Taskforce* (Taskforce to Review Education Administration, 1988) is defined as transforming the educational sector through neoliberal values (Openshaw, 2009). Popularly titled the Picot Report (Taskforce to Review Education Administration, 1988), this Taskforce assessed the quality of the educational system in New Zealand. A report that Openshaw (2009) asserts enabled the Fourth Labour Government to endorse substantial neoliberal reforms across the educational sector. It highlighted the previous three-tiered, 110-year-old educational system as needing 'radical change' due to a 'number of serious

weaknesses' (Taskforce to Review Education Administration, 1988). The twenty-five pages of recommendations included a focus on tighter 'accountability frameworks' and 'managerial autonomy' (Wylie, 1999), aspects that are asserted by the literature to be discursively neoliberal (Boston & Eichbaum, 2014; Dale, 2008; Harvey, 2005; Peters & Marshall, 1996). Furthermore, the report suggested the implementation of boards of trustees, bulk funding grants, an auditing and review agency, as well as the dissolution of the Department of Education, for the Ministry of Education. These recommendations resulted in a 'radical public-sector reform' that encompassed almost all New Zealand education (Boston & Eichbaum, 2014; Openshaw, 2009; Peters & Marshall, 1996; Wylie, 1999).

The Picot Report's (Taskforce to Review Education Administration, 1988) reforms have drawn opposing views in the literature, from those that saw it as a necessity to an antiquated system, to those that observed it as a conduit of neoliberal power. Openshaw (2009) describes how many commentators perceived the Picot Report (Taskforce to Review Education Administration, 1988) as a new healthier lease on the previously inflexible, and outdated educational structures. This view captured the notion that by the mid-1980's the original educational system, "had long ceased to operate in the best interest of either the country as a whole, or of the public at large" (Openshaw, 2009, p. 5). An outlook that coincided with the Treasury's view articulated in *Education Issues*, an aligned positioning that implicates the neoliberal discourse's presence in this stance (Grace, 1990; McMaster, 2013; New Zealand Treasury, 1987). The opposing literature regarding the Picot Report (Taskforce to Review Education Administration, 1988) observed it as a neoliberal conduit. Furthermore, they interpreted it to establish 'truths' that supported the Treasury's application of a 'Thatcherite enterprise' within New Zealand, and its educational system (Grace, 1990; Lauder, 1990; Lauder et al., 1988; Peters & Marshall, 1996).

2.2.5.2 Devolution of Early Childhood Policy

One of the most sizable recommendations of the Picot Report (Taskforce to Review Education Administration, 1988) to affect ECE was the transition from the Department of Education, to the Ministry of Education (May, 2009). The literature

discusses how this resulted in a substantial trimming down of the Minister's previous functions, fragmenting the ECE sector's responsibility across the new administration (May, 2009; Peters & Marshall, 1996; Peters, 2001). A transition denoted by May (2009) as a loss to the holistic approach of ECE policy. Reiterating a senior ministry official's statement, May (1991) dictates a comment on the change to the Ministry of Education, "we now have a drawer labelled Early Childhood and once a fortnight a few of us, who used to be in early childhood, put on our old hats, pull out the drawer and deal with any issues" (May, 1991, p.4). This devolution has been described by May (2009) as problematic for ECE, resulting in a lack of any form of 'voice' for early childhood in government. Such a curtailing could have diminished the other dominant discourses of New Zealand ECE, in favour of neoliberalism. These discourses of socialism and *te Ao Māori* have been embraced in the literature as significant facets of New Zealand ECE, that are culturally and contextually appropriate features of the sector (Lautour & Clark, 2010; Ministry of Education, 1996; Ministry of Education, 2017b; Reedy, 2013; Te One, 2013).

2.3 Socialist Discourse in New Zealand Early Childhood

Existing alongside the large body of literature lamenting the rise of neoliberal discourse, there is also a concurrent emphasis on socialist discourse as part of the influential New Zealand political landscape. The literature continually discusses how the country's ECE sector has been intimately connected to the socialist discourse through the values and movements of equitable, social rights (Farquhar, 2008; Macartney, Purdue, & MacArthur, 2013; May, 1985; May, 1993; May, 2009; Meade & Podmore, 2002). The socialist discourse embodies the rights of women and children, which are described as being 'meshed together' in an "overall concern for social justice" (May, 1985, p. 30). Early childhood, therefore, has a history within and is still 'instrumentally' shaped by the rights of women and children, equality, as well as feminism (Cooper & Tangaere, 1994; May, 1985; May, 2009; Press, 2017). The socialist discourse for the sector is exemplified in the activism of the 1970's, where New Zealand's childcare 'became political' with "the growing consciousness of the women's movement" (May, 1985, p. 31). These pivotal groundings have established New Zealand ECE as entrenched within the socialist values of equality, children's rights, and families as collectives (May, 1985; May,

1993; Mutch & Trim, 2013; Tesar, 2015). Encompassed within socialism is the liberal ideals of cultural identity, “grounded in notions of social justice and equality” (Ang, 2010, p. 42). These collective notions have led the socialist and te Ao Māori discourses to frequently complement one another in the literature (Ang, 2010; Farquhar, 2008; Farquhar, 2015; Ritchie, 2013; Te One, 2013; Tesar, 2015).

2.4 Te Ao Māori Discourse in New Zealand Early Childhood

Te Ao Māori discourse, as with socialism, is an especially influential, culturally situated element of New Zealand’s ECE sector (Chan & Ritchie, 2016; Farquhar, 2015; Rau & Ritchie, 2011; Tesar, 2015). Te Ao Māori is complex and deeply connected with notions of whakapapa (genealogical structures), te taha wairua (spirituality aspects), and te taha kikokiko (physical aspects) (Ka‘ai & Higgins, 2004). It establishes collectivist values that are entrenched within Papatūānuku (Earth Mother/land), pūrākau (myth and legend), and whanaungatanga (kinship) (Ka‘ai & Higgins, 2004). Metaphors are also highlighted within the te Ao Māori discourse as pivotal mechanisms of ‘collective consciousness’ (Rau & Ritchie, 2011). However, these values are antithetical to neoliberalism resulting in the potential for te Ao Māori to be mitigated in ECE policy texts and development (Betts, 2014; Tesar, 2015). Consequently, any potential mitigation is perceived by New Zealand’s curricula to be detrimental for both Māori and Pākehā citizens, as a diminishment of te Ao Māori in ECE is recognised as being substantially harmful (Ministry of Education, 1996; Ministry of Education, 2017b).

Te Ao Māori is often discussed in the literature as an active feature of ECE, however it is also frequently marked by disadvantage in the sense that it can be dominated by neoliberalism and ‘neo-colonialism’ (Chan & Ritchie, 2016; Cohlhung et al., 2007; Rameka, 2017; Rau & Ritchie, 2011; Ritchie, 2008; Ritchie, 2013; Te One, 2013). In this body of literature, the prevailing optimism sights the 1996 ECE curriculum, *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996), as a cultural promise that raised the status of Māori pedagogy and culture (Chan & Ritchie, 2016; Cohlhung et al., 2007; Duhn, 2006; Rameka, 2011; Rau & Ritchie, 2011; Ritchie, 1999; Ritchie, 2015; Te One, 2013). Exemplifying this literature Farquhar (2015) states,

“the importance of Māori culture was reified and emphasised in official documents and legislation. The Māori child, seen as a social misfit in the colonialist settler tradition, now had a legitimate identity within Aotearoa New Zealand” (p. 60). Associated with this discussion within the literature was the increasing use of te reo (Māori language) and tikanga (Māori ways of doing and being), that although a present feature of ECE practice could sometimes be incorporated in tokenistic ways (Chan & Ritchie, 2016; Rau & Ritchie, 2011; Ritchie, 1999). All these accounts regarding te Ao Māori, indicate its prevailing presence, growth, inclusion, and subjugation within ECE (Ritchie, 2013; Te One, 2013). These struggles exist within the increasing government interest in the sector and the differing, discursive values and beliefs that are induced, which have contributing to the increased government interest, and accountability through ECE.

2.5 Increasing Government Interest in Early Childhood

As a consequence of the investment approaches, early childhood in New Zealand began to feel an increasing government interest in the sector after the 1980's (Farquhar, 2008; Farquhar & Gibbons, 2010; May, 1990; Peters & Marshal, 1996). With this interest came the toing and froing of the sector, that became an ‘ideological battlefield’ constantly moulded to fit the latest agenda (May, 2009; Smith & May, 2014). The new right ideology pursued early childhood through the lens of human capital, reflecting the value of children's abilities to improve future educational outcome, lifelong learning, and the production of a potentially skilled workforce (Duhn, 2006; Farquhar 2012; Farquhar & Gibbons, 2010; Hedges, 2013; May, 2009; Nuttal, 2013). Articulating this, May (2009) describes how “government interest in increasing its investment in early childhood attracted the scrutiny of economists, who wanted hard measures of the costs and claimed benefits to children, women, families and society” (p. 208). Often oppositional to the new right, the left increased equitable resources and focused on removing barriers to participation, as well as promoting collaboration with whānau and communities (Dalli & Te One, 2003; May, 2002; Mitchell et al ., 2008; Smith & May, 2014). These fluctuating swings of values, between political Parties, played out in policies. This is because policies are pivotal documents that have an ‘inextricable link’ to “naked expressions of state rationality” (Doherty, 2007, p. 199). An example of this

naked government rationality has been claimed at multiple points within the literature to be evident in the 1991 Budget (Dalli, 1994; Davison & Institute for Early Childhood Studies, 1997; May, 2009; Meade & Podmore, 2002; Peters, Peters, & Freeman-Moir, 1992).

2.6 Early Childhood Policies and Neoliberal Governmentality: The 1991 Budget

The 1991 Budget is often highlighted within the literature as exhibiting new right ideology that progressed neoliberalism in ECE (Dalli, 1994; Davison & Institute for Early Childhood Studies, 1997; May, 2009; Meade & Podmore, 2002; Peters, Peters, & Freeman-Moir, 1992). The Budget was exemplified by Dalli (1994) as providing neoliberal examples of deregulation, choice, and free-markets within the sector. It achieved this through an almost halving of Under Two's funding, an introduction of bulk funding for kindergartens, a lowering of minimal ratios of Under Two's in mixed aged groups and other regulations eased (Davison & Institute for Early Childhood Studies, 1997), leading Manning (2016) to describe it as the 'Mother of all Budgets'. All these alterations reflect the neoliberal discourse's values and orientations expressed in 2.1. Consequently, Dalli (1994) has described the Budget as a "long-term plan by Treasury to reduce Government's responsibility for education and to establish a pure form of self-management and ultimately privatisation" (p. 230). However, this hard line toward new right ideology was to shift after Labour's Fifth Government were elected.

2.6.1 The Strategic Plan (Ministry of Education, 2002)

Shifting the ideological trajectory of ECE, the Fifth Labour Government released *Pathways to the Future - Ngā Huarahi Arataki 2002 - 2012: A 10 Year Strategic Plan for Early Childhood Education* (Ministry of Education, 2002). Discursively the *Strategic Plan* reflected socialism's values, with an appreciation and support of te Ao Māori. The literature discusses how it achieved this through orientating toward socialism by provided Equity Funding, supporting perceived high needs centres and services participation, setting regulation targets for 100 percent qualified teachers by 2012, and establishing 20 Hours Free ECE for three to four-

year-olds per week, across all teacher-led ECE services (Dalli & Te One, 2003; May, 2002; Mitchell et al., 2008; Smith & May, 2014). It additionally, attempted to readdress the ECE specific barriers to provision that existed for Māori and Pasifika children and promoted collaborative relationships, often through a community-based approach (Dalli & Te One, 2003; May & Mitchell, 2009; Mitchell et al., 2011). These policy trajectories led May (2002) to hail the *Strategic Plan* (Ministry of Education, 2002) as an improvement to ECE quality, enabling fertile soil for the sector. These policy trajectories reflect the socialist discourse expressed in 2.3. However, the *Strategic Plan* (Ministry of Education, 2002) is also expressed as orientating toward neoliberalism (Betts, 2014; George, 2008; May, 2009; Nuttall, 2013; Tesar, 2015).

Ironically, the *Strategic Plan* (Ministry of Education, 2002) that was highlighted in the literature for its socialist and te Ao Māori groundings, has also been claimed to be partially situated in neoliberal discourse (Betts, 2014; George, 2008; May, 2009; Nuttall, 2013; Tesar, 2015). Neoliberalism has been described as present within this document's economic philosophy, which facilitated only minimal state responsibility, supporting organisational accountability and management, as well as the offering of minor financial supports, in addition to privileging free-markets and competition (Betts, 2014; Nuttall, 2013). Additionally, George (2008) defines the *Strategic Plan* as establishing clear government 'aspirations' for ECE that reflected neoliberalism. Summarising this perspective, Betts (2014) exemplifies the *Strategic Plan* (Ministry of Education, 2002) as seated within neoliberal discourse, quantifying "quality with a targeted approach" (p. 23). Providing some understanding to the complexities of these discourses, Press (2017) articulates how all 'policies imperatives' are capturing and describing 'stated objectives' which drive policy choices, steering toward desired futures that are often unarticulated values and belief. It, therefore, seems apparent from the literature that the Fifth Labour Government were at least partially situated in, and between, the discourses of neoliberalism, socialism and te Ao Māori. A stance that is substantiated by Thrupp (2017) who describes them as not completely undoing neoliberalism in the educational sector, but rather removing "some of the rough edges...this left the door open for the National-led Government to take a more clearly neo-liberal approach"

(p. 5). An approach exemplified in the superseding *TaskForce* (Ministry of Education, 2011).

2.6.2 *An Agenda for Amazing Children* (Ministry of Education, 2011)

More recently *An Agenda for Amazing Children, Early Childhood TaskForce* (Ministry of Education, 2011) has been described as a further “hardening of the neoliberal discourse” (Nuttall, 2013, p. 2). The *TaskForce* (Ministry of Education, 2011) was the Fifth National Government’s rebuttal to the *Strategic Plan* (Ministry of Education, 2002) once they obtained administration. It focused on re-prioritising government expenditure, reforming funding mechanisms, researching the links between quality, qualifications, and outcomes for children, as well as considering the efficiency and effectiveness of ECE provisions (Ministry of Education, 2011; Smith & May, 2014). Affirming its neoliberal entrenchment, May (2012) describes the overall document as being directed towards governmental concerns about raising ECE expenditures, placing the sector within the grip of economic rationality. To achieve this, the *TaskForce* (Ministry of Education, 2011) attempted to shift funding from universalism to targeted ‘priority children’, as well as reducing the intended goal of a hundred percent qualified ECE teachers, limiting raised government expenditures (Smith & May, 2014). A transition by the National Government that is reflective of the shifts from an equity approach to a human capital investment (Lightfoot-Rueda & Peach, 2015). These shifts of policy between the 1991 Budget, the *Strategic Plan* (Ministry of Education, 2002), and the *TaskForce* (Ministry of Education, 2011) indicate the constant remoulding of political agendas and discourses within ECE (May, 2009; Smith & May, 2014). Through these documents the threads of socialism, te Ao Māori and neoliberalism are evident within and across New Zealand’s ECE policies. However, as previously referenced the most prevailing literature that discusses these discourse, focuses its critiques on neoliberalism in educational policy and practice (Bishop, 2012; Chan & Ritchie, 2016; Cohlbung et al., 2007; Gordon-Burns et al., 2012; Macfarlane & Macfarlane, 2012; Rameka, 2017; Rau & Ritchie, 2005; Rau & Ritchie, 2011; Ritchie, 1999; Ritchie, 2008; Ritchie, 2013; Te One, 2013; Tesar, 2015).

2.7 Neoliberalism's Overt Application to Educational Policy and Practice

Within the prevailing pejorative literature that discusses neoliberalism there are references to the overt and manifest applications of standardisation, school readiness, the self-regulation of centres, a reduction to ECE teachers qualification requirements, as well as the privatisation of ECE (Boston & Eichbaum, 2014; Davies & Bansel, 2007; Duhn, 2010; Farquhar, 2012; Fitzsimons, 2000; Gordon & Whitty, 1997; Henderson and Hursh, 2014; Kaščák & Pupala, 2011; Keddel, 2018; McMaster, 2013; Peters & Marshall, 1996). Denoting the application of facets such as these, Hayek (1960) defined how neoliberalism is more visible and tangible within education and research, where it most directly affects the values and orientations of society. Emphasising this application, the literature implicates neoliberalism's ability to conflict, subjugate and compete with socialism and te Ao Māori. Each of which are reflected within the literature as unequally present, active, and subjugated discourses, influencing educational policy and practice in complex ways (Ang, 2010; Farquhar, 2015; Macartney, Purdue, & MacArthur, 2013; May, 2009; Rata 2008; Rau & Ritchie, 2005; Rau & Ritchie, 2011; Reedy, 2013; Ritchie, 1999; Ritchie, 2013; Tesar, 2015; Wu, 2013). Such presence is argued to be manifest in a series of practices that orient educational values for learning in the early years. It is to this presence we now turn.

2.7.1 Standardisation

The first of these values is standardisation, a discursively neoliberal orientation viewed as a threat to socialist ideals, concerning the holistic needs of curricula (Duhn, 2010; Hursh, 2007; Rhodes, 2011; Thrupp, 2017). Standards and testing are perceived by Apple (2001; 2004; 2005) to be moving toward notions of accountability and reward, reflecting businesses' performance reviews. Exemplifying this stance, Hursh (2007) describes standards and testing as 'quality indicators' for the consumer, and the 'objective assessments' of educational markets and student learning. There are, however, those such as Jorgensen and Hoffman (2003) who support standards and testing within the literature. They suggest that standards and testing are a positive new era for the accountability of

children's education. Their application ensures that every child is receiving the optimum education and resources appropriate to their needs so that they can 'open doors' that lead to a lifetime of success (Jorgensen & Hoffman, 2003). However, this position has been critiqued by Rhodes (2011), as well as Squire (2014), to restrict curriculum and pedagogy, with the state narrowly defining the knowledge to be taught. Similarly, Apple (2004) denotes standardised achievement tests as the most widely applied measure of 'success' within education, in and outside of America.

Within New Zealand, standardisation and testing have eventuated through National Standards, described by Thrupp and Easter (2013) as 'one of the most controversial' initiatives in the country's educational sector. National Standards involve schools judging children's reading, writing, and mathematic achievements on a four-point scale (Thrupp & Easter, 2013). The Research Analysis and Insights into National Standards (RAINS) investigated this policy across six New Zealand schools. Its findings "illustrated problems with ambiguity, getting advice, professional development support, weak ministry requirements and crude reporting" (Thrupp, Lingard, Maguire, Hursh, & Peters, 2017, p. 107). It also revealed the discrepancies of standards and notions of nationalism across a wide variety of school settings and 'contextual influences', including their "historical, social, organisational, political, philosophical pedagogical, curricula and assessment contexts, or 'school specific factors' that could not be easily set aside" (Thrupp et al., 2017, p. 111). This is an analysis supported by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER), who warned about the sole focus National Standards could place on literacy and mathematics, as well as the incompatibility of schools to measure and produce valid and reliable data (Lee & Lee, 2015).

2.7.1.1 International Early Childhood Standardisation

A component of standardisation, emphasised in the current literature regarding ECE, is its application in the international arena (Carr, Mitchell, & Rameka, 2017; Moss, Dahlberg, Grieshaber, Mantovani, May, Pence, Rayna, Swadener, & Vandenberg, 2016; Moss & Urban, 2017; Urban & Swadener, 2016). The upcoming International

Early Learning and Child Well-being Study (IELS), is currently set to apply international standards to ECE (Carr, Mitchell, & Rameka, 2017). These have been established by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, a powerful and influential international organisation with strong neoliberal affiliations (Tan, 2014). The IELS will test five-year-old children cross-nationally and run assessments, likely against the Programme for International Student Assessment (Moss & Urban, 2017). Such an application of standardisation to ECE has raised multiple concerns from those within the literature (Carr, Mitchell, & Rameka, 2017; Moss et al., 2016; Moss & Urban, 2017; Urban & Swadener 2016). Exemplifying these apprehensions Urban and Swadener, (2016) cite the “ample evidence of the low reliability and validity of standardized tests of children, especially in contexts of large-scale comparison” (p. 1). Expressing another aspect of concern, Moss and Urban (2017) define how quantitative findings must be subjected to interpretation and careful questioning, with the numbers alone saying very little. Adding to their concerns, they also explain how once numbers are formatted they can acquire ‘totemic status’, and as such do not speak to the multiple backgrounds, cultures, and societies they represent (Moss & Urban, 2017). Gee (2007, as cited in Carr, Mitchell, & Rameka, 2017; Moss et al., 2016; Moss & Urban, 2017) is often cited within this literature, he validates their position, describing quantitative findings as capable of producing useless, or at worst disastrous quantitative results that are utilised by governments in authoritarian ways. Another argued feature of standardisation’s application to the ECE sector has been through the notion of school readiness (Dockett & Perry, 2013; Farquhar, 2008; Haug, 2013; Neaum, 2016; Vandenbroeke, De Stercke, & Gobeyn, 2013).

2.7.2 School Readiness

The international literature surrounding trends, tensions and global patterns of ECE often discusses the application of school readiness (Dockett & Perry, 2013; Farquhar, 2008; Haug, 2013; Neaum, 2016; Vandenbroeke, De Stercke, & Gobeyn, 2013). School readiness can emerge as a composite of neoliberalism’s standardisation (Neaum, 2016). It marks a move toward a formalised and systematic ECE subject content that is touted as assisting children to prepare, and thus be ready for primary schooling (Farquhar, 2008; Haug, 2013). This has eventuated in Britain

where national standards are compared and conducted before children attend primary school, producing ‘baseline assessments’ (Neaum, 2016). Alcock and Haggerty (2013), as well as Vandenbroeke, De Stercke, and Gobeyn (2013) argue that school readiness narrows pedagogy into a series of actions and practices, limiting ECE by teaching to a test. Such practices have additionally been claimed by Dockett and Perry (2013) to simplify children’s early education, as well as shorten the complexities of school transitions. Exemplifying this critiquing literature Neaum (2016) draws on multiple studies that reflect a pejorative stance, arguing that prescribed and formally focused school readiness policies and curriculum are developmentally inappropriate, misinformed and potentially damaging (Anning, Cullen, & Flear, 2004; Gulberg, 2009; House & Loewenthal, 2009; House, 2011; MacNaughton & Hughes, 2011; Miller & Hevey, 2012; Moyles, 2012; Moyles, Payler, & Georgeson, 2014; Pound & Miller, 2011; as cited in Neaum, 2016).

Conversely to this prevailing, pejorative literature, there are some that support school readiness within ECE. Stipek and Ryan (1997) reflect such support in their study. Through it they reveal how disadvantaged children have further to go in acquiring intellectual skills, with schools being unequipped to assist them, a stance affirmed by Griffin, Case, & Sieglei (1994). Thus, these children are unable to ‘catch up’ (Stipek & Ryan, 1997). They express how this “sets many disadvantaged children on a trajectory of low academic achievement and all of the negative social and personal outcomes that are associated with poor school performance” (Stipek & Ryan, 1997, p. 720). Stipek and Ryan’s (1997) rationale has led them to support school readiness via “an increased emphasis on developing academic competencies in preschool” (p. 722-723). These opposing beliefs and orientations for school readiness within ECE reflect opposing ideologies and discourses in the literature that surrounds the sector and its policy trajectories. For neoliberalism, this trajectory is affirmed through a self-regulation of the sector.

2.7.3 The Self-regulation of Early Childhood Centres

Neoliberalism that upholds devolved government intervention is ideologically attracted to the self-regulation of schools and centres (Dale, 2008). Self-regulation has greatly affected ECE centres in New Zealand, encouraging significant institutional autonomy, and a variety of self-management styles that reflect a business mentality within the educational sector (Gordon & Whitty, 1997; May, 2009). Elaborating on this May (2009) points to *Pathways to the Future - Ngā Huarahi Arataki* (Ministry of Education, 2002) previously explored in 2.6.1. It included the neoliberal tenets of self-regulation through bulk funding and deregulation. May (2009) highlights this document as an intentional move by the government to reform the majority of ECE providers, denoting how self-regulation became the catalyst for the sale of many individually owned centres, due to the new overwhelming administration complexities. These sales gave corporations an opportunity for expansion, due to their higher available funds (May, 2009). Self-regulation is, therefore, associated within the literature toward free-markets, the notion of competition between providers, parental choice, and encouraging ‘markets’ in the ECE sector (Ball, 1993; Gordon & Whitty, 1997; Grace, 1990; May, 1990; Tesar, 2015). These deregulated concept of neoliberalism, that encourage choice in the market, are also attracted to the reduction of ECE teacher’s qualifications (Betts, 2014; Blaike, 2014; Grace, 1990; May, 2009).

2.7.4 Reducing the Qualification Requirements of Early Childhood Teachers

Within the application of ECE from a neoliberal discourse is the potential displacement of teachers’ qualification requirements (Betts, 2014; Blaike, 2014; Grace, 1990; May, 2009). The decreasing and stall to raise salaries are often mentioned to both lower ECE costs for families and the potential businesses that run them. Support toward lowering ECE qualifications is exemplified in the Treasury Briefing Papers (1987), that positioned these as too high an expense for parents and market principles (Grace, 1990). May (2009) also highlights how the disposition toward lower ECE qualification requirements was reflected in privatised lobbyists throughout the 1990’s, arguing qualified teacher salaries to be an unnecessary cost. A reduction in qualifications can, therefore, be observed to

comprise two neoliberal constructs, the first being deregulation, that enables for a greater application and efficiency of free-markets (Harvey, 2005). Argued by Betts (2014) to be exemplified in the cut to 50 percent qualified teachers for Under Two's, that occurred after National's Fifth Government in 2008, scrapping the previous targeted 100 percent funding bracket. Secondly, reducing the qualifications of ECE teachers could be linked to privatisation. Blaike (2014) describes how this is constituted through the sectors privatisations, that emphasises the 'nana factor', suggesting ECE teaching does not require a qualification because it is 'not rocket science'.

2.7.5 The Privatisation of Early Childhood Education

A substantial amount of literature that discusses the neoliberal discourse's application to ECE does so by critiquing the sectors privatisation (Duhn, 2010; Farquhar, 2008; Glensor, 2014; Hamer & Loveridge, 2017; Mitchell, 2002; Press & Woodrow, 2005; Press & Woodrow, 2009; Tesar, 2015; Whitehead & Crawshaw, 2012). This literature encompasses concerns that ECE is becoming big business, leading to queries about the quality of education received, and the view of children when the market is competing for their available government subsidies (Duhn, 2010; George, 2008; Gordon, & Whitty, 1997; Mitchell, 2002; Press & Woodrow, 2009; Woodrow & Press, 2007). Other concerns are raised about the replacement of ECE from a 'publicly supported infrastructure' to a market dependence framework, that is based on choices and marketing (Press & Woodrow, 2005). A transformation that Glensor (2014) denotes as shifting the previous collaborative approach to a competitive model. Similarly, Press and Woodrow (2005) describe how Australian ECE policy texts have undermined parent-based and voluntary communities in the sector, facilitating the rise of competition and privatised corporations. A rise that Farquhar (2008) additionally distinguishes to be intimately linked to an intensification of governmental interest in ECE. In opposition to these stances, there are some who support privatisation, pointing out the 'beneficial' competitive marketplace they provide (Merrifield, 1999). However, the prevailing literature appears concerned with privatisation, observing corporations in ECE to be branching out and taking a dominating control (Press & Woodrow, 2009).

Bridges and Jonathan (2007) have marked the increase of privatised providers in ECE as connected to governmentality and their apparatus. They state how most countries that have applied market principles are often managed in part through the state apparatus (Bridges & Jonathan, 2007). Foucault gives precedence to phenomena such as these in his genealogy of neoliberalism. He describes the neoliberal discourse as “constructing a social fabric in which the basic units would have the form of the enterprise ... It is a matter of making the market, competition, and so the enterprise, the formative power of society” (Foucault & Senellart, 2010, p. 148). This literature implicates the neoliberal discourse’s ability to challenge and conflict with other worldviews by supporting itself in policy and practice.

2.8 Socialism’s Application in New Zealand Early Childhood

The socialist discourse is often expressed within the prevailing literature as being both a significant facet of New Zealand ECE, as well as being somewhat conflicted and challenged by neoliberalism (Ang, 2010; Farquhar, 2015; Macartney, Purdue, & MacArthur, 2013; May, 2009; Rata, 2008; Reedy, 2013; Ritchie, 2013; Tesar, 2015; Wu, 2013). Emphasising this the Education Review Office’s report, *Success for Māori Children in Early Childhood Services* (2012) described how ECE teachers articulated that they, “treated all children the same” (Education Review Office, 2012, p. 20). Such a blanket application mitigates the socialist values of equality and the connected cultural identity that may require more resources (Ang, 2010). Regarding this blanket approach, Rata (2008) indicates that the application of equality in educational contexts are complex, and a source of the ‘irreconcilable differences’ encapsulated within neoliberalism, socialism and te Ao Māori; each of these influence educational policy and practice in complex ways (Ang, 2010; Rata 2008). The literature, therefore, indicates the presence of socialism but also its competition and contention with neoliberalism.

Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 1996), was continually highlighted within the literature to reflect the presence of socialism in New Zealand’s ECE sector. It achieved this by embracing families as collectives, establishing equality for race,

gender and class, as well as promoting the rights of women and children (Farquhar, 2015; May, 2009; Reedy, 2013; Ritchie, 2013; Tesar, 2015; Wu, 2013). Consequently, Macartney, Purdue and MacArthur (2013) emphasise *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) and the documents, as well as the policies that were developed from it, to be grounded within differing forms of socialist discourse. However, they highlight that it is teachers who choose whether or not to implement this into their practice. If they fully do so, then socialist discourse can encourage ‘respect’ for children and their ‘equitable’ rights (Macartney, Purdue, & MacArthur, 2013). The literature on the socialist discourse within ECE indicates that although there are some tensions on how it is applied in practice, socialism is a feature of the sector. Additionally, it is a discourse that can be applied in combination with te Ao Māori.

The socialist discourse can be combined and complimented by te Ao Māori in ECE. An example of this occurrence, continually highlighted in the literature, is the report *Education to be More* (Bushouse, 2008; Early Childhood Care and Education Working Group, 1988; Manning, 2016; May, 1990; May, 1993; May, 2009; Meade & Podmore, 2002). This document connected both the socialist and te Ao Māori discourses to further strengthen each, and their essential positioning within New Zealand ECE (May, 1990). In doing so, *Education to be More* (Early Childhood Care and Education Working Group, 1988) forwarded the rights of women and children, as well as tangata whenua and te Tiriti o Waitangi (Farquhar, 2008; May, 1990; May, 1993; May, 2009). Such an amalgamation exemplifies the connections, values and drives between these two discourses within ECE.

2.9 Te Ao Māori: Application in New Zealand Early Childhood

Te Ao Māori discourse in ECE policy and practice involves multiple experiences connected to tikanga (Māori ways of doing and being) (Ka‘ai & Higgins 2004). Some overt applications of the discourse involve te reo (Māori language) an aspect of acknowledging and protecting children’s wairua (spirituality) (Rameka, 2011; Rameka, 2017). These are elements described by Durie (1985) as the ‘most basic and essential’ to Māori health and wellbeing dimensions. Referencing the advances

that the ECE sector has made in this regard, Ritchie (2008) asserts “early childhood education...progressive in its validation of Māori, is beginning now also to reaffirm spirituality as intrinsic to well-being” (Ritchie, 2008, p. 207-208). There thus becomes an indicated shift in the literature regarding ECE, toward a recognition and inclusion of te Ao Māori. Another overt application of this discourse in ECE practice is the incorporation of mana (prestige and potential power). Embodying this concept includes an acknowledgement of the whānau and children’s ancestral connections to a specific area, as well as a respect for personal tapu (restricted and forbidden practices or actions) (Rau & Ritchie, 2011; Ritchie, 2008). Furthermore, te Ao Māori in ECE practice is reflected in the building of children’s mauri (life essence) through respecting and fostering their self-esteem, learning and development to be harmonious within the environment (Patterson, 1992; Pere, 1991; Rameka, 2011).

The prevailing literature, as reflected in 2.4 indicated the commitment of *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) to te Ao Māori, but the challenges and varying levels of incorporations this discourse can incite in ECE policy and practice (Mitchell et al., 2008; Rau & Ritchie, 2005; Rau & Ritchie, 2011; Ritchie, 1999). This imbalance is a legacy of New Zealand’s colonial past (Cohlburg et al., 2007; Macfarlane & Macfarlane, 2012; Rameka, 2017; Rau & Ritchie, 2005; Reedy, 2013; Ritchie, 2008; Ritchie, 2015). Rau and Ritchie (2011) sight their own and other research (Ritchie, 2003a, 2003c as cited in Rau & Ritchie, 2011) to this effect, indicating teachers’ perceived difficulties and personal barriers in delivering the bicultural promises of *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996). However, Rau and Ritchie (2011) also shared recent narratives, pocketed within ECE that reflected a connectedness to tikanga, muri, and wairua within pedagogy (Rau & Ritchie, 2011). These complex and somewhat contradictory studies in the literature appear to highlight how te Ao Māori is both a present and active discourse in policy and practice. It also reflects that although te Ao Māori is present, it can also become subjugated and denounced.

2.10 Neoliberalism, Socialism, and te Ao Māori Discourses

Exploring the values, policies and practices within the prevailing literature exemplified how socialism and te Ao Māori discourses are complimentary with one another, and in opposition to neoliberalism (2.1; 2.3; 2.4). Oppositions and contradictions that are highlighted by Press (2017) to be distinct specific domains of education, that are at times competing. Chapter Four and Five presented findings that shed light on the productivity of neoliberalism, socialism and te Ao Māori, their competition, conflicts, and consumption within selected ECE policy texts. To achieve this, it locates these specific domains as discourses and their associated governmentalities.

2.11 Chapter Summary

Chapter Two of this thesis has presented a surmounting amount of research that reflects on the potential rise of neoliberal discourse in the educational and ECE sector. It has channelled into an exploration of New Zealand ECE, regarding its policies and reports that have incorporated the neoliberal, socialist and te Ao Māori discourses. In the chapter that follows, I explain the nature and presence of neoliberalism as a discourse that can be pursued through key policy and curriculum documents alongside other competing discourses. In doing so, I summon poststructuralist methodology and orient towards critical discourse analysis as a means of understanding this phenomenon in contemporary New Zealand ECE.

Chapter Three: From Methodology to Method: A Poststructuralist Agenda

This chapter situates the poststructuralist methodological framework that constructs the foundations and corner-posts for the analysis in this thesis. Enabled by Chapter Two, which gave form to the surmounting and critiquing literature toward the neoliberal discourse's rise and minimisation of socialism and te Ao Māori in New Zealand ECE. The thesis progresses toward a methodological orientation for investigation, summoning Kristeva's notions of intertextuality and Foucault's notions of discourse, governmentality and power/knowledge. These concepts are depicted within the research framework that enlists document analysis, following its avenue of critical discourse analysis. From this platform, the thesis' research utilised Foucault's structural definition of discourse, Kristeva's intertextuality, Fairclough's manifest intertextuality and interdiscursivity, as well as a keyword search as tools of analysis. These tools were examined against the selected New Zealand ECE policy texts. Collectively each of these composites gathered detailed information that offered new insight, assisting in answering the thesis' research questions: To what extent and how is neoliberal discourse predominant in ECE policy texts? What interplay do socialist and te Ao Maori discourses have with neoliberalism?

3.1 A Qualitative, Poststructuralist Thesis

This qualitative thesis is guided by a poststructuralist paradigm that provided new avenues for appreciating texts, power, knowledge, and governance (Sidhu, 2003). Poststructuralism often questions how particular ideas have gained domination over others, and how this has affected our understandings, drawing heavily on notions of ideology (MacNaughton, 2005). A pivotal claim of this paradigm is the illusionary simplicity of meaning, based on a rejected epistemology and ontology that embraces multiple realities (Mann, 2003). These understandings have guided appreciations regarding notions of ideology and dominance in ECE policy texts presented in this thesis, as well as desisting from definitive accounts that encourage absolutism. Qualitative research that mirrors poststructuralism is also aptly suited

to this thesis, enabling a multidimensional form of fluid research that permits an open-ended inquiry (Humes & Bryce, 2003; Mann, 2003). These lack of taken-for-granted rules and assumptions have resulted in the uncovering of new knowledge in this thesis, that could not be predicted in advance, resulting in the very essence of research (Walford, 2001).

For the purpose of this thesis, the encasement within poststructuralism is embodied through the philosophers, Julia Kristeva (1941) and Michel Foucault (1926-1984). They, along with other poststructuralists thinkers, rediscovered the works of Nietzsche. This brought about a renewed interest in history, placing emphasis on language and subjectivity, deconstructing structuralism's binaries, and establishing notions of political reason and governmentality (Peters & Wain, 2003). Poststructuralism was utilised in this thesis to appreciate the neoliberal, socialist and te Ao Māori discourses in ECE policies. Kristeva's notion of intertextuality and Foucault's concepts of discourse, governmentality and power/knowledge were specifically conscripted to form a conceptual framework that oriented toward an engagement with these discourses across several key ECE texts.

3.2 Putting Michel Foucault into Conversation with Julia Kristeva

Kristeva has been described as a significant contributor of Foucault's ideas (Lechte, 1990), stressing the interconnection of these two great thinkers. This connection could arguably be observed in the unmentioned reference points located within Foucault's literature. Their connection is exemplified in a publication that searches for epistemes within a histories texts, stressing "there can be no statement that in one way or another does not reactualize others" (Foucault, 1972, p. 98). Similarly, Kristeva's intertextuality seeks to re-actualise statements through history and across time, constituting the signifying practice occurring (Kristeva, 1980). The affinity of these concepts, between Kristeva and Foucault, emphasises these philosophers' suitability to be in conversation with one another. Their culmination of ideas assisted this research to gain a deeper appreciation of ECE policy as both fluid and constrained. The interpretations showcased in this thesis have, therefore, been greatly assisted by Foucault's expansion of Kristeva's intertextuality, via his reconstitution of discourse and power (Foucault, 1972; 1980; 1988). Key concepts

from both these thinkers, which together formed a conceptual framework for analysis, are explained briefly in the sections that follow.

3.3 A Conceptual Framework as a Methodology

This thesis' conceptual framework contains the invaluable tools of Kristeva's intertextuality and Foucault's discourse, governmentality and power/knowledge. Conceptual frameworks aim to appreciate complex social phenomena across different contemporary disciplines (Jabareen, 2009). A conceptual framework is thus not just a collection of notions; rather, it is a gathering of constructs that play a vital role, in informing the understandings gained throughout the researching process (Jabareen, 2009; Polit & Beck, 2008). Interconnectedly the gathered constructs of the thesis' research enabled a light to be shed on the social relations of power/knowledge. It thus became discernible how the productive networks ran through ECE policy, exhibiting the interplay and potential predominance of discourse. The induction of these joint concepts enabled the research to answer the researching questions. The framework achieved this by assisting the research to better appreciate the discourses' and governmentalities' power relations in the texts, via their 'rituals of truth', funnelled into the method of inquiry, outlined in Figure 1. This figure encapsulates the layers of philosophical tools utilised, wrapped around my researcher subjectivity and continual self-reflexivity, that is not free from the discourses which surround me.

3.3.1 Foucault and Kristeva: Their Relational Treatment of Discourse

While Foucault's conception of discourse differs substantially from Kristeva's iteration of the term, the two thinkers still have a ground of commonality. A Foucauldian appreciation of discourse establishes a significant material effect, that not only represents or reflects relations between discourses and social entities, but also gives rise to an understanding of their active constitution and construction (Walshaw, 2007). A Foucauldian discourse is comparable to an ideology in its

Methodological Overview

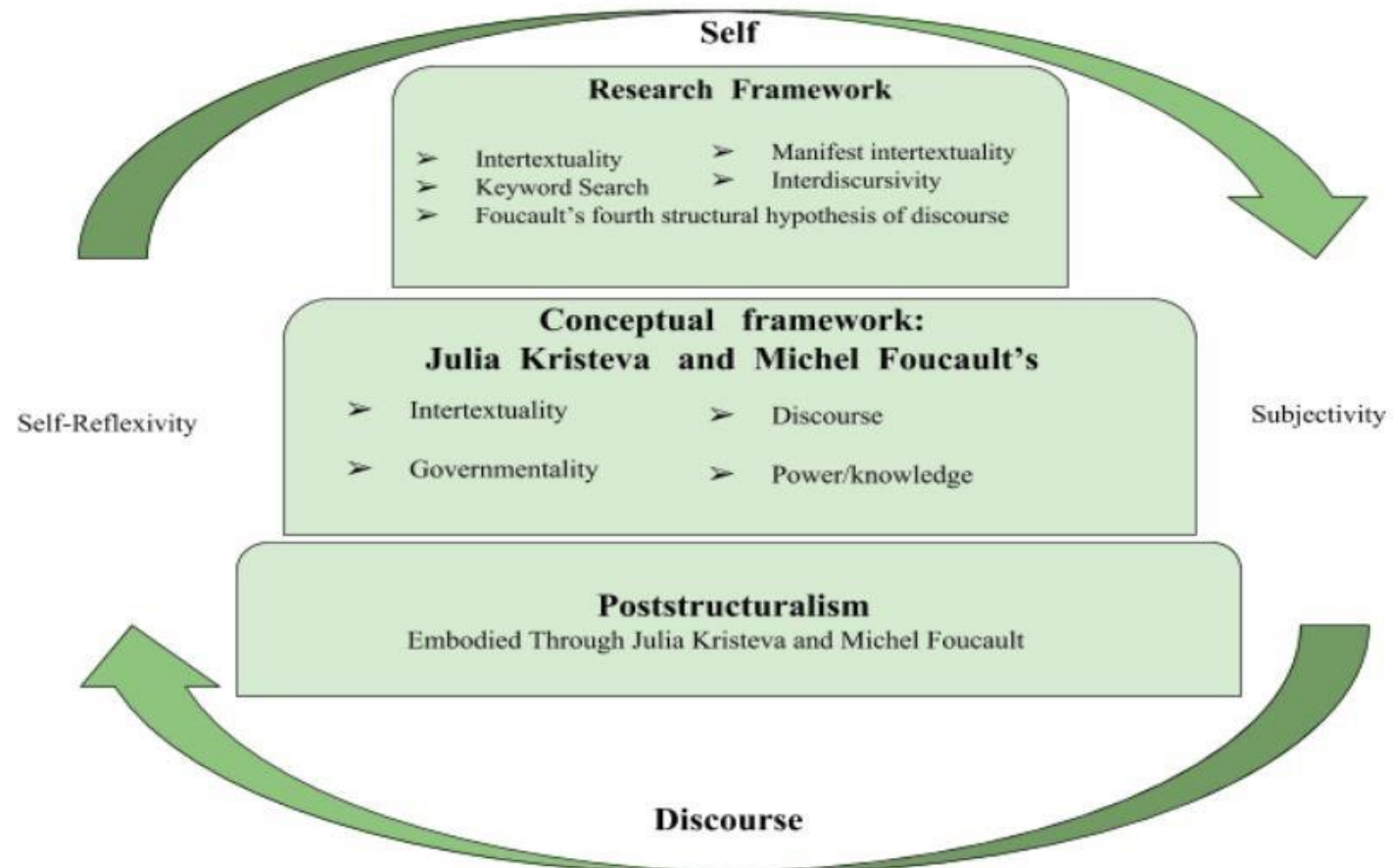


Figure 1: Methodological Overview, Adapted from Locke (2004)

truths and models of conduct, but incomparable in its constitution and construction of social entities, shaping material and social practices (Sidhu, 2003). Conversely, a Kristevan appreciation of discourse is attached to the notion of written or spoken communication (Sadehi, 2012). Although Kristeva's appreciation of discourse is acknowledged by this thesis as an aspect of discourse, Foucault's application of the term further enabled this research to analyse discourses in ECE policies as active, situated, and significant composites that affect what people can think, do and say in the sector. This interpretation has enabled the location of neoliberalism's naturalisation, and the presence of socialism and te Ao Māori within the selected ECE policies. Additionally, Foucault's expansion of discourse has assisted in the examination of discourses as constituters and constructors, not as an object.

An additional feature of a Foucauldian discourse is its ability to intersect and overlap as it changes throughout history (Walshaw, 2007). Such an appreciation not only emphasises Foucault's poststructuralist alignment, but also enabled this thesis' research to analyse for a variety of competing and morphing discourses at play. These were understood to construct and reconstitute ECE policy texts throughout history in a dynamic interplay. The holistic Foucauldian concept of discourse is fundamental to forming this research's analysis, findings, understandings and interpretations, in conjunction with Kristeva's inception of intertextuality.

3.3.2 Intertextuality: Texts as Pluralised Cultural Artefacts

Kristeva's concept of intertextuality has also been a pivotal concept of this thesis' conceptual framework, reinforcing a specific appreciation of policy texts. Intertextuality, a concept used extensively in the thesis, comprehends the text as a 'dynamic site' where relational practices and processes are constructed within the transposition of singular, or multiple sign systems that traverse one another (Kristeva, 1997). Consequently, intertextuality is the "passage from one sign system to another" (Guberman, 1996, p.48) that enables for an exploration of the pluralised driving forces in texts. Recognising the discourses of socialism, neoliberalism and te Ao Māori in the analysed texts was greatly enhanced by the intertextual allowances and constraints that were embodied within fluid states of pluralisation.

Employing intertextuality enabled these interpretations by examining the selected ECE policies as multidimensional documents that are affected by the current and historical co-ordinates, as well as the texts that proceeded them. These multiple directions made intertextuality a propitious concept that enabled the research to examine texts as fluid cultural artefacts, a key appreciation in this poststructuralist thesis.

Further utilising intertextuality, this thesis' research has been informed by the denotative 'object' and the enunciative 'place' of every signifying practice (McAfee, 1994) within the ECE policies. These practices were crowded with layers of images and comprised of multiple unexpected relationships, making them situated units within the text's fundamental ideology (Martínez Alfaro, 1996). Consequently, from this appreciation text were acknowledged as literary artefacts that displayed strings of utterances, which were established within "social practices and cultural texts" (Kristeva, 1980, p. 57). Such a conception breaks from interpreting texts as static products and structures. Instead, it analysed the formation of old and new positions (Guberman, 1996; Martínez Alfaro, 1996). Collectively these facets of intertextuality have resulted in an appreciation of the "mosaic of attitudes displayed by the speaking subject toward signs and meanings" (Guberman, 1996, p. 182). Such an appreciation enabled this research to recognise the neoliberal discourse's extent of power via its regimes of truth and power/knowledges, implanted within ECE policies intertextual transpositions, as well as the interplay of socialism and te Ao Māori. Thus, Kristeva's intertextuality in partnership with Foucault's concepts of governmentality and power/knowledge provided a means of revealing the constructions and deconstructions of discourses within the analysed ECE policies.

3.3.3 Governmentality: Governments' Character and Significance

Foucault defined governmentality as "the art of exercising power in the form of the economy" (Foucault & Senellart, 2007, p.95), and the growing domination of the state. He added to this, positioning it as a complex web of assemblages that drew on the apparatus that government formed and existed through, such as institutions

(Foucault & Senellart, 2007). These apparatuses power government, captivating the population, and offering security, via freedom and ‘safety’ (Dean, 1999). Through these ‘pluralised’ state forms, government rationalities can be propelled via intentional power/knowledge nexuses (O’Farrell, 2007; Peters, 2001). Governmentality is therefore understood to be a ‘more or less’ calculated activity (Foucault, 1991; Senellart, 2007; Sidhu, 2003).

This thesis conscripted governmentality to recognise governments as pluralised discursive entities that attempt to form conduct, establish predictable outcomes, effects, and consequences. An appreciation of governmentality enabled this research to investigate governments’ levels of significance in the selected ECE policy texts, in addition to their attempts to orientate citizens toward their discourses and rationalities. The employed concept of governmentality has, accordingly, enabled this research to appreciate the interfaces between governments that attempt to systematise the way things are done, the dominant discourses at play in ECE policy, and the power/knowledges propelling each of these facets (Dean, 1999; Foucault, 1991). The Foucauldian appreciation of governmentality, therefore, greatly assisted in the answering of this thesis’ research questions (1.3.1) by taking into consideration the governments orientation of discourse for the ECE sector. Such an influence could have affected the interplay and predominance of the major discourses of socialism, neoliberalism and te Ao Māori, facilitated by each of their power/knowledges.

3.3.4 Power in Relation to Discourse

Summoning Foucault’s notion of power assisted with the appreciation of the dominance and naturalisation of discourse. Foucault’s definition of power describes an underlying force to all social relations from the intersubjective to the institutional (Walshaw, 2007). Conceptualising power as being exercised and employed by web-like organisations, Foucault perceived individuals as the ‘drivers’, or capillaries of power, not the possessors (Sidhu, 2003). Interpreting power in this way provided this research with a means of recognising the interplay of discourses, and how these

can gain or lessen in their domination. However, situated within the power struggles of discourse is knowledge that is caught up in these battles (Foucault, 1980).

By analysing discourses' power/knowledges and regimes of truth in the selected ECE policy texts, this thesis' research was able to identify whether a discourse had become predominant. When one discourse establishes an authoritative consensus that denotes the field, it has established itself as dominant within the text (Gore, 1993, as cited in MacNaughton, 2005). These 'officially sanctioned truths' that govern desirable and normal ways to feel, think and act (MacNaughton, 2005) have thus informed this research of the growth and reduction of discourses across the selected ECE policy texts. Consequently, the inclusion of this philosophical tool became a pivotal and fundamental element in the analysed ECE policy texts for discourses and governmentalities. Collectively, these concepts within the conceptual framework are topped by the research framework that employed a critical discourse analysis as a method of inquiry.

3.4 The Method: A Critical Analysis of Documents

The qualitative method inducted for the purpose of this thesis is document analysis, approached from a critical discourse analysis. Document analysis can elicit meanings that allow the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of the topic, as well as to develop empirical knowledge from it (Bowen, 2009; Rapley & Jenkins, 2010). Document analysis literature offers a variety of analytical procedures to achieve this, including conversation analysis, discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, and content analysis (Bowen, 2009). As a result, it was considered an appropriate method for the present study. A document analysis method of inquiry via a conscripted critical discourse analysis was selected because of the research imperative to analyse policy documents as a route to understanding the discourses that influence New Zealand ECE policies, giving voice and signification to the data in the selected documents.

3.4.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) appreciates how power and ideology traverse texts, making it an auspicious method for this thesis. Critical discourse analysis focuses on the often-opaque relationships between societal structures and discourses (Hidalgo Tenorio, 2011). It investigates how texts, events, and practices arise through and are ideological as well as how they are shaped by relationships of power struggles. This ultimately reveals the politics and thus the motivations behind an assertion for, or against the research statement, method, or value (Lock, 2004). These features made it a well-suited method for the thesis that questioned discourses, as well as their power's and intertextualities' ability to traverse ECE policy texts. Critical discourse analysis purports that it can achieve this by making the dissociated features of the consciousness more transparent, revealing structural and discursive relationships (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000; Locke, 2004). It was thus an advantageous method for answering the thesis' research questions because of the appreciation and detailed investigation it provides regarding discourses, ideology and power.

Aspects of CDA align with cornerstone poststructuralist beliefs. These include the vital role that language plays in discursively constructing reality, as well as a lack of belief in the Enlightenment values of rationality (Locke, 2004). There are also strands of CDA that have been inspired by, and built within, Kristevan and Foucauldian schools of thought. These are the strands that have been selected to build this thesis' research framework. They incorporate a focus on the intertextual relationships of dominance, discourse and power, as well as the belief that meaning is culturally and historically situated, not eternal, essential or absolute (Locke, 2004; van Dijk, 1993). This thesis' paradigm and methodology also align with CDA's fundamental role of subjectivity and self-reflexivity explored in Chapter One. These features are crucial, enabling researchers such as myself to reflect on their socio-political and culturally subjective stance that is entrenched within discourse (Locke, 2004; Van Dijk, 1993).

Critical discourse analysis additionally utilises the knowledge that “policy making involves the construction of meaning through language, and language is not a neutral medium” (Smith, 2014, p. 47). Such an appreciation allows for a ‘detailed investigation’ of languages culpability within power relations (Taylor, 2004). It is thus well suited to the Foucauldian concept of power/knowledge, via its investigation of the relationship’s power creates and its culpability in establishing common sense assumptions. The suitability of CDA to the topic and philosophical concepts of this thesis made it a valuable tool for the research that inquired into the level of power facilitated and obtained by neoliberal, socialist and te Ao Māori discourses. Another level of suitability is CDA’s view of ‘policy as a process’ instead of policy as a ‘product’ (Hyatt, 2013). Such a view compliments Foucault’s appreciation of discourse as a constituter and constructor, instead of a product. It also suits Kristeva’s construct of intertextuality that this thesis’ research continually employs, with both Kristeva and CDA viewing the process of texts. Another suitability regarding the employment of CDA, for the purpose of this thesis, was the examination of policy documents which reflect naked expressions of government rationality (Doherty, 2007).

Policy texts are bound to the way political power is exercised, and the powerful discourses that flow within them (Ball, 1990; Doherty, 2007). Critical discourse analysis thus perceives policies to be socially and culturally embodiments of the world, sustaining power relationships that establish cultural models which position individuals in ‘specific ways’ (Fairclough, 1989; Gee, 1990; 2014). The delimiting of rules reflects Foucault’s observations of governmentality and its attempts to align people with state forms, stressing the interconnected suitability of these concepts for this research. Furthermore, policies enable regimes of truth to network and operate together, reinforcing a specific and powerful view that ‘strategizes’ and arranges toward discourse (Bailey, 2013; Cohen, 2008). This appreciation of discourse and governmentality observes policies as giving ‘shape’ to these concepts power/knowledges (Bacchi, 2000), stressing the pivotal need to examine them. The chosen sources analysed were, therefore, policy texts that are the very fibre from which discourses draw; defining governmentality intentions that are purposeful in their direction (Doherty, 2007). Consequently, policies are some of the most

suitable documents to answer the thesis' research questions, whether and to what extent the neoliberal discourse is predominant in the analysed policies, as well as appreciating the interplay of socialism and te Ao Māori discourses. I approached these through an analysis of the text.

3.5 Analysis Through Critical Discourse Analysis

There are numerous frameworks that have been constructed within the discipline of CDA, by multiple theorists, who follow numerous paradigms, methodologies and approaches, to seek a variety of objectives. This diversity necessitates researchers selecting the appropriate tools for their research. Doing so has been endorsed by both Fairclough (2001) and Gee (2014), who support CDA as a resource for combination and careful selection. In keeping with the literature, a research framework (Figure 2) was constructed for this thesis, one that includes Foucault's (1972) structural definition of discourse, Kristeva's intertextuality, Fairclough's (1992a; 1992b) manifest intertextuality and interdiscursivity, as well as a keyword search. The framework was applied to each of the selected ECE policy texts. However, it never determined itself to be too rigid, a state that may lose a researcher's focus, steering them away from the 'complexities of discourse'

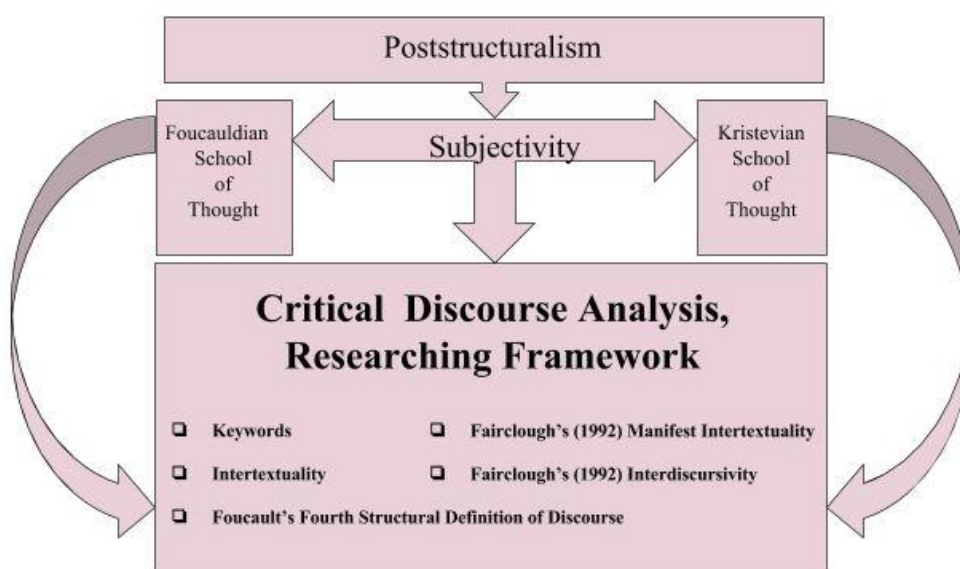


Figure 2: Research Framework

(Fairclough, 1992a). Rather, it operated as a heuristic guide that avoided strict confinements.

3.5.1 Analysing Discourse

A construct of this research's framework was Foucault's structural definition of discourse. In attempting to provide a definition, Foucault describes multiple possible relations between statements. In doing so, Foucault (1972) formulates four hypotheses enabling dispersion of 'points of choice'.

The first defines statements for their dispersion and individuality, measuring the distances between them to formulate their 'laws of division' (Foucault, 1972).

The second seeks the connection of statements, their interlocks, dependences and exclusions, including the "systems that governs their division" (Foucault, 1972, p. 34).

The third analysis focuses on the interplay of grammar, adverbs, and verbs for their dispersion and appearance, moving past structuralism's architecture to make abstract and general deductions (Foucault, 1972).

Hypothesis four regroups statements, describing their 'interconnection' and accounting for their unitary forms from within which they are conferred; locating "the identity and persistence of themes" (Foucault, 1972, p.35)

The hypothesis that is best suited for this thesis was the fourth because it describes not the aforementioned abilities of discourse, but rather its machinery. Thus, the research's structural definition of discourse defines the 'interconnections' that seeks to 'reactualise' statements. Hypothesis four also aligns with Kristeva's notion of intertextuality, explored in 3.3.2, and provides a further unification between these two philosophers.

3.5.2 Analysing Intertextuality

Kristeva's notion of intertextuality that comprises this thesis' methodology is also a method of analysis selected by the research framework. Intertextuality as a CDA

tool ‘generates meaning’, observing and analysing the intersectional spaces that exist between the contextual and the textual (Butler, 2014; Kristeva, 1980). Kristeva achieves this by appreciating a text’s pre-given truths and knowledges as abstracts that, although viewed as coming first within a text, in fact come after the other posited elements that already existed and have now become a part of it (Arndt, 2017). These mediate it and enable it to be prioritised and grounded (Kristeva, 2002). Intertextuality is thus the “intersection of textual surfaces” (Kristeva, 1980, p. 65) that are combined within a fixed meaning, observed within a text, “as a dialogue among several writings” (Kristeva, 1980, p. 65). This thesis’ research has utilised intertextuality as a method to appreciate the ‘different uses and abuses’ (Kristeva, 2002) of other posited material, interpreting the continual layers of textual signification that enable the power/knowledge of discourses and governmentalities. Kristeva observed texts not as self-contained units but rather as historical and differential systems that are shaped by the transformation and repetition of other documents (Martínez Alfaro, 1996). These ‘discursive origins’ of literary events bind texts, revealing the continual layers of signification (Kristeva, 1980). The analysed ECE policy texts were investigated for their textual chains that were interpreted for regimes of truth, described as making texts more valid and explicit (Kristeva, 1980; 2002; Lesic-Thomas, 2005). For the purpose of this thesis, these passages between texts, and their associated relational practices revealed the processes of discourse in the selected ECE policy texts.

Adapting intertextuality Fairclough (1992a; 1992b) constructed manifest intertextuality and interdiscursivity that this thesis’ method utilised. Manifest intertextuality alludes to the signposted positioning of other texts in a document (Fairclough, 1992b). The direct interface of texts exhibits the ‘relatively stable networks’ that texts travel across to gain further dominance, often in an attempt to validate their legitimacy (Fairclough, 1992a). In utilising this CDA tool, the thesis’ research has been enabled to appreciate the power/knowledge nexus established by discourse and governmentality. Furthermore, it provided additional social and historical co-ordinates of the analysis and interpretation that affected the present sector by their implantation in the selected ECE policy texts.

Fairclough (1992a; 1992b) additionally incepted interdiscursivity, including presuppositions and ‘coherence’ within it. Presuppositions analyse the ‘given truths’ that establish the propositions of the text producer (Fairclough, 1992a). ‘Coherence’ analyses how writers perceive readers to ingest their texts, interpreting the interplay of cues that are suggested as the reader's dispositions (Fairclough, 1992a). In doing so, ‘coherence’ can reveal the perceived mental resources of the intended reader by the writer, constructing a “mental map of the social order” (Fairclough, 1992a, p. 82). These two tools of interdiscursivity enabled the research to ascertain which discourses’ power/knowledges were being supported within the selected policies. Additionally, they revealed the vested ideological, and political discursive interests that made transparent the potential predominance and interplay of discourses.

3.6 Engaging with Policy Texts: From Method to Mastery

The analysis of each of the selected policies in Chapter Five presented the findings through a keyword search that revealed the interplay of discourses. Keywords are defined by Holborow (2013) as ‘language hubs’ that grasp the contradictions and complexities of discourse, making them an advantageous tool for this thesis. To grasp the naturalised subtleties of neoliberalism in the policy texts, the keywords *individual, choice, potential, future, choose, economic, market, performance, stakeholders, entrepreneur, invest, investment, and standards* were selected. An example of these keywords analysis is highlighted in Table 15, duplicated from the Appendices. This table exemplifies how this one inclusion of the keyword *entrepreneur* throughout the analysed policies was formatted, including the referencing information and my researcher *Analysis Findings*. These indicate the presence of discourse in the excerpt. This formatting and analysis structure was applied to all the selected data.

Table 15: Keyword Entrepreneur

<i>1. Four Year Plan (Ministry of Education, 2016)</i>		<i>Analysis Findings</i>
<i>1a.</i>	<i>“Building a more competitive and productive economy: Education makes a huge difference to the economy by developing tomorrow’s entrepreneurs and employees and by building the capability of our existing workforce – we help ensure New Zealanders have skills and knowledge for work and life” (p. 4).</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Oxford Dictionary (2017) defines an entrepreneur as “a person who sets up a business or businesses, taking on financial risks in the hope of profit” (para. 1), giving the example “<i>many entrepreneurs see potential in this market</i>” (para. 1) • The inclusion of this word in education is, therefore, a pertinent example of the neoliberal discourse in the <i>Four Year Plan</i> (Ministry of Education, 2016) • Priorities ‘workforce’ that is given a higher importance than ‘life’ (discursively neoliberal) • Conceptualised within human capital theory

3.7 Data Selected

The policy documents that were analysed for this thesis include those within the *Regulatory Framework 2008* (Ministry of Education 2017c; Figure 3). This framework establishes ECE policy in New Zealand, containing all the primary policy documents that administer and regulate the sector. Figure 3 highlights in red the policy documents that were analysed for the thesis. These include the First Tier’s *Education Act 1989* (N.Z.), Tier Two’s *Education (Early Childhood Services) Regulations 2008*, and Tier Three’s *Licensing Criteria for Early Childhood Education and Care Services* (Ministry of Education, 2008). Furthermore, both the original *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) and the updated *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b) were selected to appreciate to what extent the discourses and governmentalities were present, as well as transformed or merged across time. Consequently, these curricula were not only analysed individually but also in comparison to one another. *The Four Year Plan*

2016-2020 (Ministry of Education, 2016) in the Fourth Tier was additionally selected for analysis, explored further below. These tools and policies collectively enabled me as the researcher to critically engage with the discourses present in the policies, shedding light on the productivity of their governmentality and power/knowledges.

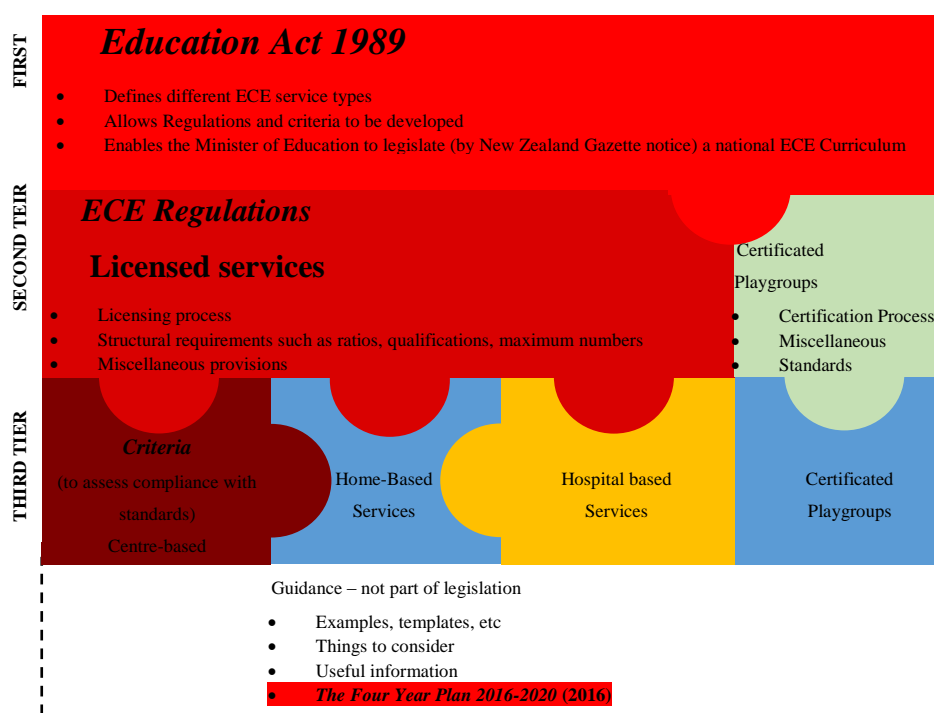


Figure 3: Adapted Regulatory Framework 2008 (Ministry of Education, 2017c)

3.7.1 Tier 1: The *Education Act 1989* (N.Z.)

The *Education Act 1989* (N.Z.) is the first tier of the legal framework that establishes ECE policy (Ministry of Education, 2017c; Figure 3). From this position, it exceeds and dictates all other ECE policy and operational documents in New Zealand. As a result, the *Act* is pivotal within the sector, with any discourses predominant within it likely to have substantial implications for ECE practices. Adding to its power is its breadth that spans across the educational sector in New Zealand, including primary schools, private schools, intermediates, tertiary education, and polytechnics, as well as its legislation of educational branches, such as the *Education Review Office*, *Learning Media*, *Education New Zealand*, and *Careers New Zealand*. All of these components make the *Act* a compelling capillary

of power throughout the educational sector. It has, therefore, been crucial for this thesis' research to examine the *Act*, which is a significantly influential legislative document, assisting in answering the research questions. However, even though the *Education Act 1989* (N.Z.) is in First Tier of ECE policy, it is laborious to read because of its legal formality. This difficulty could imply that a majority of those in the early childhood sector might not decide to do so. If it is the case, that the *Acts* consumption by readers is low, then the drivers of its power/knowledge are theoretically low, resulting in a complex power/knowledge relationship that is diminished in its 'drivers' but utmost in its legality.

3.7.2 Tier 2: The Education (Early Childhood Service) Regulations (2008) and Tier 3: The Licensing Criteria (Ministry of Education, 2008)

In comparison to the *Education Act 1989* (N.Z.), the *Education (Early Childhood Services) Regulations* (2008) and *Licensing Criteria* (Ministry of Education, 2008) are shorter documents, whose contents directly apply to ECE, implicating them as significantly influential capillaries of power. The *Education (Early Childhood Services) Regulations* (2008), in Tier Two of the *Regulatory Framework 2008* (Ministry of Education, 2017c; Figure 3), still holds a formal legality with an eased austerity. The *Licensing Criteria* (Ministry of Education, 2008) in the Third Tier (Figure 3) is far more attractive, including features such as decorative borders, images, and a less formalised language. Consequently, although these two documents are not as legally predominant as the *Education Act 1989* (N.Z.), they are more available to a variety of reader dispositions. The accessibility and appeal of these texts imply the power and influence these policies are likely to have over the ECE sector in New Zealand, necessitating the analysis of them in this thesis.

3.7.3 *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996; 2017b)

As with all curricula, *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996; 2017b) is an influential capillary of power and discourse. Curricula are heavily consumed texts that are essential elements of teachers' development, planning and assessment (Arthur, Beecher, Death, Dockett, & Farmer, 2012). Therefore, they are some of the most influential documents of power in the daily practices and interactions that

occur in centres. They additionally construct knowledges and truths that establish an authoritative consensus about what denotes a field, as well as how specific things should be done (Gore, 1993, as cited in MacNaughton, 2005). Thus, their importance emphasises this research's analysis of these New Zealand ECE curricula (Ministry of Education, 1996; Ministry of Education, 2017b), assisting the research to answer its questions.

3.7.4 Guidance: *The Four Year Plan* (Ministry of Education, 2016)

The Four Year Plan (Ministry of Education, 2016), unlike the other selected documents is not a curriculum or legislative policy. Rather, it provides a directional overview for the educational sector. Accordingly, it sits within the *Guidance – Not Part of Legislation* segment of the *Regulatory Framework 2008* (Ministry of Education, 2017c, Figure 3). As a guidance document, it explains the Fifth National Government's values and plans for the educational sector, including their delivery of this plan through practice and policy. Its concise summary of government interest, intentions, and desires for education provides a generalised vision of the Fifth National Government's rationality toward the sector as a whole. This made it a beneficial document of analysis for this thesis, providing a concise image of the Fifth National Government's governmentality toward education. Thus, the *Four Year Plan's* (Ministry of Education, 2016) power is not in its legal precedence, but rather is in its power/knowledge assertions that are established within it.

The selected documents were all downloaded in a portable document format (PDF), and are intended to be read, viewed and interpreted publicly. They are all publicly available, and easily accessed on, or via the education.govt website. The research conducted within this thesis did not inform those that wrote them of the CDA that was completed on them, as due to their public nature this was not necessary. Once downloaded, the documents were kept on a secure hard drive in PDF format. During the CDA inquiry, the PDFs were converted into Word documents. In this format the keywords were searched for and the number of times these words arose was formatted (Table 4). Additionally, samples that illustrated the neoliberal, socialist and te Ao Māori discourses were formatted into tables within the appendices (Appendix, p. 134; p. 136; p. 137; p. 141; p. 143; p. 144). These tables include the

quotes, reference information and the analysis findings which implicates each discourse, as exemplified in 3.6.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

The foremost ethical consideration for this thesis is my own researcher subjectivity. A poststructuralist, qualitative researcher's subjectivity performs a vital role, acknowledged as being based on their background and experiences, imbuing the research's conclusions (Williams, 2005). This is because peoples' subjectivity not only drives research forward but also affects the conclusions drawn (Peters & Burbules, 2004). In accordance with this, I have expressed my subjectivity in Chapter One and Six (1; 1.3.1; 6), which I acknowledge is moulded by the discourses that I am entrenched within and affected the conclusions I have drawn. However, my self-reflectivity (Figure 1) has continually fought to mitigate any dogmatic findings from emerging that are based on discourses instead of critical inquiry. I also recognise as a poststructuralist that being is never fixed but rather exists within a continual flux. Therefore, I acknowledge my subjectivity is in process, and as such the conclusions that I have drawn are likely based on my being in the here and now. Of additional note regarding ethics for the purpose of this thesis is the ethical consideration sought and accepted by the University of Waikato's Ethics Committee.

3.9 Chapter Summary

Throughout this chapter, I have introduced a poststructuralist conceptual framework that is embodied by Kristeva's intertextuality and Foucault's discourse, governmentality and power/knowledge. Philosophical tools selected as the most effective approach at my disposal to interrogate the discursive, complex social phenomena of ECE policy. These amalgamated constructs played a vital role in the examination process, inducted within critical discourse analysis. Collectively these enabled for an effective investigation of dominant discourses and their power/knowledges in the selected ECE policy texts. This facilitated astute interpretations to be concluded from the applied research questions: To what extent and how is neoliberal discourse predominant in ECE policy texts? What interplay

do socialist and te Ao Maori discourses have with neoliberalism? The structural definition of discourse, intertextuality, manifest intertextuality, interdiscursivity, and keyword search tools (Figure 2) were all applied to each of the selected ECE policy texts. This method of analysis, presented in this thesis, assisted the uncovering of new knowledge in ECE policy, that could not be predicted in advance. Such an amalgamation has resulted in new knowledge for the field which provided constructive findings for New Zealand's ECE sector.

Chapter Four: Intertextual Analysis: Exploring Neoliberal Discourse and its Competition in Early Childhood Policy

This thesis' research embarked on the intertextual analysis of the selected ECE policy texts, seeking to answer the research questions: To what extent and how is neoliberal discourse predominant in ECE policy texts? What interplay do socialist and te Ao Maori discourses have with neoliberalism? Through the lens of this thesis' poststructuralist paradigm, conceptual framework, and research framework, findings emerged that were interpreted through my self-reflexivity (Figure 1). Each of these philosophical tools were analysed against the *Education Act 1989* (N.Z.), the *Education (Early Childhood Services) Regulations* (2008), the *Licensing Criteria for Early Childhood Education and Care Services* (Ministry of Education, 2008), *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996), *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b), and the *Four Year Plan 2016-2020* (Ministry of Education, 2016). The intertextual analysis performed on each of these documents displayed findings regarding the complex influence of neoliberalism, and the interplay of socialism and te Ao Māori within ECE policy.

Highlighting the complexities of the analysed policies, Figure 4 displays the intertextual and historical co-ordinates presented in this Chapter's findings. It combines the intertextual relationships between the analysed ECE policy texts. The arrows indicate the direction of influence each of the policies had on the successive policies, as well as the intertextually related reports that are of textual significance. Furthermore, the bar at the bottom of the Figure, in blue and red, signifies the differing governmentalities and historical co-ordinates that the policies were developed from. Through Figure 4's visual representation the layers of textual intersections and government subjectivities are indicated between and within each of the documents, revealing what previous policies and reports affected subsequent

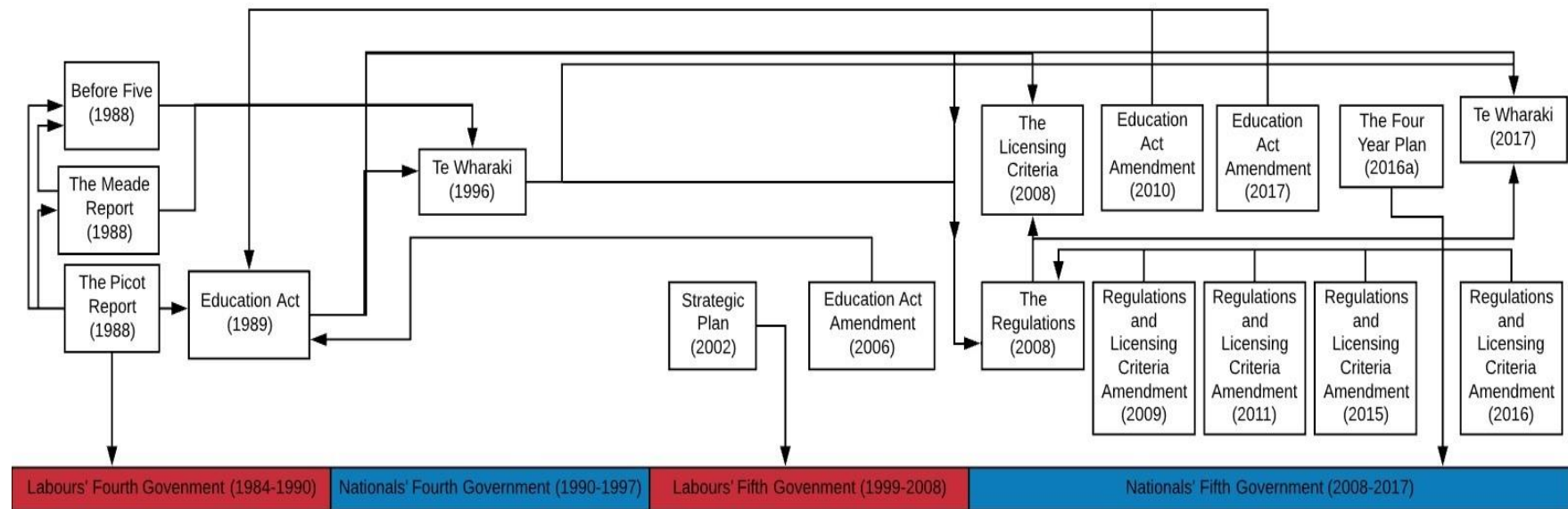


Figure 4: Intertextuality and Historical Co-ordinate

policies and reports. Figure 4, therefore, enables for an observation of the ‘intersectional spaces’ between the textual policies, and their contextual co-ordinates, as well as the passages between the texts. The analysed policies presented in this way begin to display the complexities and layers of discourses within each text.

Figure 4 also displays how a majority of the current ECE statutes have been legislated by National’s Fifth Government, that is explored elsewhere in the thesis as being discursively neoliberal (2.6.2; 4.5). However, through the process of the intertextual analysis, it became apparent that the weight and nature of the content within the policies this government developed were not discursively singular. Rather, the analyses discovered a fluent interplay of socialism and te Ao Māori, rejecting notions of neoliberalism’s predominance. Thus, each of the analysed policies exhibited discourse struggles, competitions and interplays that were fluid and continually shifting.

4.1 The *Education Act 1989* (N.Z.): The Intertextual Analysis

The initial development of the *Education Act 1989* (N.Z.), by Labour’s Fourth Government (Figure 4), is entrenched within neoliberal reforms (2.2.5.1). These intertextualities could be binding the *Act* to the neoliberal discourse’s power/knowledge and regimes of truth. However, as with all Acts, there have been multiple amendments that have morphed the *Education Act 1989* (N.Z.), into the document that exists and legislates the educational sector today. Analysing the sections of the *Act* which directly apply to ECE, *Part 26 Early Childhood Education and Care*, this thesis’ research has shed light on a mixture of governmentalities and discourses exhibited in its amendments. The data from the analysis of these amendments has been formatted into Table 1. This table displays the pages and number of changes made to the *Act*, as well as the Amendments’ Years, Numbers (No.) and Sections to do so. Through this Table’s format, the weight of changes each Amendment has made to *Part 26* becomes more apparent. It is thus discernible to see how discourses and governmentalities have inserted themselves into the text, writing over one another.

Table 1: Intertextuality of the Education Act 1989 Part 26 (N.Z.) Amendments

2006 Amendment (No. 19)	2010 Amendment (No. 25)	2013 Amendment (No. 34)	2017 Amendment (No 20).
Made 44 Changes to the Act (Part 26)	Made 13 Changes to the Act (Part 26)	Made 1 Changes to the Act (Part 26)	Made 4 Changes to the Act (Part 26)
Amendment Section 53 <i>Education Act 1989</i> (p. 492, 494, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 509, 510, 511, 515). Amendment Section 38 <i>Education Act 1989</i> (p.502)	Amendment Section 68(1-2-3), Section 34(2) <i>Education Act 1989</i> (p. 494, 496) Amendment Section 69 <i>Education Act 1989</i> (p. 507, 508, 509)	Amendment Section 34 <i>Education Act 1989</i> (p. 511)	Amendment Section 137 <i>Education Act 1989</i> (p. 502) Amendment Section 138 <i>Education Act 1989</i> (p. 504). Amendment Section 139 <i>Education Act 1989</i> (p. 511).

The analysis uncovered in Table 1 displays a mixture of historical co-ordinates and governmentalities which in turn implicate multiple discourses. Although the 2017 Amendment is the most comprehensive update to have occurred for the *Education Act 1989* (N.Z.; Ministry of Education, 2017a), it has only resulted in three alterations to *Part 26* (Table 1). Instead, the most substantial alterations to *Part 26* of the Act were the 2006 Amendments (Table 1). These were developed by Labour’s Fifth Government, whose discursive and historical co-ordinates are entrenched within socialist and te Ao Māori discourses (2.6.1). An example of these discourses within the 2006 Amendment is evident in Section 319A *Powers of Entry and Inspection*, stating “the parent or guardian of a child has a right of entry (to a centre) ...whenever the child is there” (p. 504). This added section appears to emphasise the socialist and te Ao Māori discourses, encouraging families’ collaboration and presence within the service, as well as potentially displaying collectivist values. However, the neoliberal discourse was also present in the Fifth National Government’s Amendments that altered the *Education Act 1989* (N.Z.).

The neoliberal discourse was present in the *Education Act 1989* (N.Z.) occurring through the 2017 and 2008 Amendments. The 2017 Amendment added to Part 26, “practices in relation to behaviour management and limits on the use of physical

restraint” (*Education Act 1989*, N.Z., p. 501). This included Amendment could be an indication of the Fifth National Government’s view of “children in terms of vulnerabilities and deficits” (Smith & May, 2014, p. 15). A focus that has been highlighted by Smith and May (2014) as a perception of risk to the country’s economic and social infrastructure. The 2017 Amendment was also given a higher priority than the already present “implementation of the curriculum framework, communication and consultation with parents” (*Education Act 1989*, N.Z., p. 501). The inclusion of the 2017 Amendment ahead of the framework implementation and partnerships with parents could, therefore, be an indication of the neoliberal discourse, writing over family collectivism with a risk perspective.

Another display of neoliberal discourse was in the 2008 Amendment by the Fifth National Government. It articulated in the following quote, “**national standards**... are standards, in regard to matters such as literacy and numeracy” (p. 120), they are interested in “school performance” (p. 121). National Standards, entrenched within neoliberalism, as explored in 2.7.1, are attached in the above excerpt to notions of ‘performance’, a word connected to ‘investment’ ‘profitability’ and the ‘capabilities’ of a ‘product’ (Oxford Dictionary, 2017). Consequently, the use of ‘performance’ in this context is seemingly attached to the business application of the educational sector and connected to neoliberalism’s regimes of truth (2.1). The 2008 Amendment, in the quote above, is in relation to *Part 7 State Schools*. Although it is outside of the section that directly applies to ECE, it indicates that the Fifth National governmentality is highlighted as being discursively neoliberal, a rationality that could be attempting to orientate the sector toward the predominance of this discourse.

The intertextual analysis of the *Education Act 1989* (N.Z.) amendments have indicated layers of discourses and governmentalities. These findings have revealed a murky and pluralised composition of amendments that appear to continually write over one another in what Kristeva would term an “intersection of textual surfaces” (Kristeva, 1980, p. 65). These surfaces appear to establish fluid struggles of discourses and governmentalities that combat and compete with one another as they

constantly shift the text to advance their own discursive power/knowledges. As a result, the findings of the analysis did not find the neoliberal discourse to be predominant. Rather, it indicated the interplay of the socialist and te Ao Maori discourses as competing and battling through the amendments that are being continually carved into the *Education Act 1989* (N.Z.). Findings of these discourses multiplicity were also discovered in the regulations governing the ECE sector.

4.2 The *Education (Early Childhood Services) Regulations* (2008) and *Licensing Criteria* (Ministry of Education, 2008): Their Intertextualities

The intertextual analysis performed on the *Education (Early Childhood Services) Regulations* (2008) and *Licensing Criteria for Early Childhood Education and Care Services* (Ministry of Education, 2008) showed a plurality of discourses. Shifts in these texts displayed neoliberalism, socialism and te Ao Māori. These discourses were revealed in relation to the previous regulations, the actual policies' minimal or lack of regulations, and the intertextually related *Education Act 1989* (N.Z.) and *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996). Smith and May (2014) have connected these intertextual shifts to “research agendas and programmes driven by a coalition of researchers, child advocates, parents and staff, concerned with the rights of children and their families to high quality, accessible and affordable ECE” (p. 18). May (2009) has also discussed the ‘scrutiny of economists’ in the sector and their desired ‘hard measures’ of ‘investment’ (2.5). These multiple ‘drivers’ and intertextual layers indicate a plurality of discourses that have not revealed neoliberalism predominance. Rather, what they have revealed is a dynamic interplay of socialism, te Ao Māori and neoliberalism, which sit somewhat uncomfortably alongside one another. Findings of these discourses’ dynamic interplays are reflected in the previous regulations alterations.

The contextual analysis of the intersectional spaces between the *Education (Early Childhood Services) Regulations* (2008), and *Licensing Criteria for Early Childhood Education and Care Services* (Ministry of Education, 2008) revealed a combination of discourses. The first *Child Care Centre Regulations* (1960) in New

Zealand were spurred by a ‘baby farming’ scandal in 1958, accepting payment for infants’ custody (May, 1985). Not surprisingly perhaps, the first regulations were thus primarily interested in keeping children safe from neglect, mitigating a focus on development (Bushouse, 2008). The next update to the regulations occurred in 1985. This more in-depth policy included licensing, staffing ratios, trained staff requirements, and parents’ rights of entry. Additional changes such as the title “suitable activities to be provided” (The Child Care Centre Regulations, 1960/167, p. 871), were re-written as “programme of activities, etc” (The Childcare Centre Regulations, 1985/48, p. 170) indicating shifts in discourse. The next re-iteration was the ‘Purple’ *Management Handbook* in 1989 that upped government guidelines, ratios, trained staff levels, staff development, and curriculum regulations (May, 2009). The superseding update, *Education (Early Childhood Centres) Regulations* 1998, introduced bulk funding (Bushouse, 2008), thus indicating neoliberalism’s presence via deregulation. Collectively, these regulatory policies that are the intertextual co-ordinates, of the *Education (Early Childhood Services) Regulations* (2008) and *Licensing Criteria* (Ministry of Education, 2008), emphasise a plurality of discourses.

The textual analysis of the *Education (Early Childhood Services) Regulations* (2008) and *Licensing Criteria* (Ministry of Education, 2008) displayed a plurality of neoliberalism, socialism and te Ao Māori. Exemplifying the socialist and te Ao Māori discourses, the following excerpt states “the service curriculum respects and supports the right of each child to be confident in their own culture and encourages children to understand and respect other cultures” (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 9; Table 21, 3b). This quote acknowledges the discursively socialist rights of the child, while also promoting an equality of all cultures that can often be connected to the accommodating socialist and te Ao Māori discourses (2.3). Another quote to indicate te Ao Māori in the *Education (Early Childhood Services) Regulations* (2008) “acknowledges and reflects the unique place of Māori as tangata whenua” (p. 33; Table 22, 2a). This excerpt acknowledges Māori as indigenous (tangata whenua) and integral to New Zealand and its ECE. It additionally uses te reo, strengthening the discourse by incorporating it from within its own language. However, the neoliberal discourse was also evident in these policies texts.

The neoliberal discourse was apparent in these regulatory and licensing policies through the lack of regulation regarding maximum centre charges, stock market trading, profit distribution and reinvestment into centres, indicating neoliberalism. There were additionally minimal regulations regarding 50 percent qualified teachers and 5 to 1 ratios of Under Twos. The Fifth National Government described these regulations as not placing any ‘unnecessary burdens’ on services (Tolley, 2008). The choice by this government to remove ‘unnecessary burdens’ indicates the neoliberal discourse’s regimes of truth via deregulation that enables free-markets and competition between providers (2.1). Therefore, the inclusion of socialism, te Ao Māori and neoliberalism in the *Education (Early Childhood Services) Regulations* (2008) and *Licensing Criteria* (Ministry of Education, 2008) displays a combined interplay of these discourses existing next to one another. These findings are likely to be inspired by the intertextual layers passed down to these policies from their previous statutes, as well as the other texts that came before them.

The dynamic interplay of discourses within the *Education (Early Childhood Services) Regulations* (2008) and *Licensing Criteria* (Ministry of Education, 2008), is also suggested by their intertextuality to the *Education Act 1989* (N.Z.) and *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996). These inter-related documents are themselves a mosaic of discursive truths and knowledges. As a result, there is a high likelihood of their plurality flowing into the *Education (Early Childhood Services) Regulations* (2008) and *Licensing Criteria* (Ministry of Education, 2008). The analysis of *Part 26* of the *Education Act 1989* (N.Z.) made evident a patchwork composition (4.1). Furthermore, *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) also reveals a multitude of discursive truths and knowledges within its historical co-ordinates and acclaim that contradict one another.

4.3 *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996): Its Intertextual Analysis

Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 1996) was New Zealand's national early childhood curriculum prior to its update in 2017. The intertextual analysis of the document displays an amalgamated interplay of neoliberalism, socialism and te Ao Māori, challenging the predominance of neoliberalism in the text. These findings have been highlighted in the intertextual shifts of inclusion, amalgamation and competition between the curriculum and its draft (Ministry of Education, 1993). Additionally, it has been displayed in the previous 'defining' documents, *Education to be More* (Early Childhood Care and Education Working Group, 1988) and *Before Five* (Department of Education, 1988). These texts collectively displayed shifts between and across the potential inclusion of neoliberalism, socialism and te Ao Māori within the original curriculum. However, these findings are counter to the seemingly one sided political climate and governmentality *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) was developed in.

Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 1996) was development by the Fourth National Government. Their neoliberal ECE policy changes led those associated with the sector to question whether ECE had become a 'Cinderella', who was 'placed back among the cinders' (Dalli, 1994; 2.6). These situated co-ordinates of *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) are clearly at odds with the curriculum that received the Fourth National Government's stamp of approval (May, 2009), an acceptance that indicates a discursively neoliberal governmentality being bound to it. However, the acclaim that celebrated *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) for its socialist and te Ao Māori discourses insinuates that the neoliberal discourse, situated within the curriculum's historical co-ordinates, is not predominant.

Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 1996) received national and international acclaim, accredited with escaping the neoliberal discourse 'comparatively unscathed' (George, 2008). As a political statement, it was considered 'ground-breaking' for its holistic nature, bicultural reciprocity, and socio-cultural approach, as well as its lack of schoolification (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and

Development, 2004; Mara, 1998; May, 2009; Mitchell, 2005; Moss et al., 2016). This acclaim, which in its majority supports socialist and indigenous discourses, insinuates that the curriculum is not discursively bound as an object to the Fourth National Government's narrative. Instead, it implies a strong interplay of socialism and te Ao Māori. However, the Foucauldian appreciation of governmentality employed within this thesis acknowledges governments' ability and rationality to shape discourses in policies to some extent (Dean, 1999), especially those that it specifically approves. It is therefore conceivable that *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) has some level of neoliberal power/knowledge present within it, even if it is overshadowed by an interplay of socialism and te Ao Māori.

4.3.1 *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) and its Intertextuality

The intertextual analysis of the 1993 draft *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1993) revealed the discourses of neoliberalism, socialism and te Ao Māori. An excerpt from the draft stated (emphasis added) that the curriculum's guidelines,

aim to help develop citizens who can make responsible and *informed choices*, *respect the ideas and beliefs of others*, include *diversity* in their *world view*, and have an *understanding* of both the *major cultures* and *languages* of New Zealand. (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 13)

Although this exact quote did not end up in *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) it does display the blatant discursive, intertextual layers and 'drives' woven into the fabric of the original curriculum (further explored in Chapter Five; Table 7, 2a to 2g; Table 21, 4a to 4g; Table 22, 4a to 4f). These include neoliberalism's belief in 'informed choices' and 'diversity', as well as socialism's value of social justice, exhibited in the 'respect' of others 'beliefs' and 'world views'. Additionally, te Ao Māori appears supported by implicating an 'understanding' for it as a 'major' 'culture' and 'language' of the country. These three discourses, combined and thus naturalised in this way, appear to make each other more valid and 'truthful'. A state that is achieved, not through one's predominance but rather through their collective interplay, which is capable of being dispersed, contradictory, amalgamated and aligned.

Another change that highlights shifts of discourse between the original *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996), and its draft (Ministry of Education, 1993), are the curriculum's bulletined 'distinctive patterns'. Two bullet points in the draft did not make it into the original curriculum. The first was the "special emphases on areas such as music, art, or storytelling" (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 10). This first omitted 'distinctive pattern' could display an equalisation of the arts, demoting their 'special emphases'. In the process of doing so, it could potentially raise the status of literacy and mathematics. These two subjects, associated with National Standards, have been explored as advancing neoliberal rationalities (2.7.1). The removal of the arts 'special emphases' could, therefore, indicate neoliberalism advancements. However, the exclusion of the second 'distinctive pattern' of the curriculum indicates a minimisation of neoliberal discourse, and an increase of socialism and te Ao Māori. It stated the "different contexts and resources for learning in any programme" (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 10), its removal displays a minimisation of individualism and diversity. Through removing this point, the curriculum could be defining itself through unity and collectivism, instead of difference and individual independence. Consequently, the removal of both these 'distinctive patterns' could display the battles between these discourses, attempting to make their regimes of truth more blatant in *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996). Other pluralised interplays between these three discourses were revealed in further intertextual analyses within the original curriculum.

When analysing *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) for its intertextual origins, the original curriculum states itself as being attributed to *Education to be More: Report of the Early Childhood Care and Education Working Group* (Early Childhood Care and Education Working Group, 1988) and *Before Five* (Department of Education, 1988). The original *Te Whāriki* expresses how both these documents play a 'defining' role in its 'learning and development' (Ministry of Education, 1996, p. 17). These signposted intertextual documents exemplify the power/knowledges of neoliberalism, socialism and te Ao Māori. The intertextual

analysis identified these documents considerable influence on *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996). It is to this presence we now turn.

4.3.1.1 Intertextuality: *Education to Be More* (Early Childhood Care and Education Working Group, 1988)

The intertextual chain *Education to be More* (Early Childhood Care and Education Working Group, 1988), popularly titled the Meade Report, embodies the pluralised shifting discourses of neoliberalism, socialism and te Ao Māori. Highlighting the neoliberal discourse, Manning (2016) describes how the same framework recommended by the Picot Report (Taskforce to Review Education Administration, 1988) was also recommended by the Meade Report (Early Childhood Care and Education Working Group, 1988). The similarity includes the establishment of the Ministry of Education, which has been explored as being discursively neoliberal (2.2.5.2). However, the Meade Report (Early Childhood Care and Education Working Group, 1988) is also strongly situated within the socialist and te Ao Māori discourses. Both these discourses were highlighted in 2.8 through the Report's rationale that embodied these jointly.

4.3.1.2 Intertextuality: *Before Five* (Department of Education, 1988)

The government released *Before Five* (Department of Education, 1988), in response to the Meade Report (Early Childhood Care and Education Working Group, 1988), a document that *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) describes as one of its defining intertextualities. *Before Five* (Department of Education, 1988) accepted most of the recommendations in the Meade Report (Early Childhood Care and Education Working Group, 1988). However, unlike the Report, the most blatant form of rationale included in *Before Five* (Department of Education, 1988) was the foreword by Lange. It stated,

research shows that resources put into early childhood education have proven results. Not only do they enhance the individual child's learning, the advantages gained help create success in adult life. Improvements in this sector are an investment in the future. (Department of Education, 1988, p. iii)

This rationale could be interpreted as being discursively neoliberal, achieved via its preoccupation with individualism and human capital's future investment of children. Thus, the lack of the Meade Report's (Early Childhood Care and Education Working Group, 1988) wider social context in favour of neoliberalism human capital could be an example of how, in this instance, the neoliberal discourse gained dominance over the interplay of socialism and te Ao Māori. Collectively, the intertextual analysis in these documents and the 1993 draft display the multiple seeds of discourse sown into *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996).

4.4 The Updated *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b): Its Intertextual Analysis

After twenty years in place, *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) was deemed in need of an overhaul, undergoing a major update in 2017. The Ministry of Education first announced they would be commencing a major rewrite of the curriculum in July 2016. Unlike the original development of *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996), which called for people to tender applications, the Ministry appointed writers in August 2016, excluding the original authors. Alexander (2016) articulated how this enabled the Fifth National Government to take control of, and run the consultation meetings for the redevelopment of the new *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b). Their level of governmental control may have enabled a discursively neoliberal governmentality (2.6.2; 4.5) to have a stronger input into the new curriculum, adding their regimes of truth to it.

Three months later, on the fourth of November 2016, the first draft of the re-worked curriculum was released for consultation with the public. The curriculum's consultation period ran for just over a month, closing on the sixteenth of December; by April (2017) the finalised version was distributed (Alexander, 2016; Early Childhood Council, 2017; Ministry of Education, 2017a). The updated curriculum's development and consultation period was considerably short in comparison to the original *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996), which ran for six years. A span that was described by May (2009) as a 'wise' choice, enabling substantial sector involvement. Counter to this, the short timeframe and governmentality control that

characterises *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b) redevelopment could indicate the Fifth National Government's predominance of discourse. A discourse that is emphasised as being discursively neoliberal (2.6.2; 4.5).

Neoliberalism's regimes of truth are more evident in *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b) through the increased emphasis placed on children's human capital. This has been displayed through the increased focus in the updated curriculum toward the future potential of children. Two excerpts that display human capital emphasise that "many dispositions have been identified as valuable for supporting lifelong learning" (Ministry of Education, 2017b, p. 23, Table 9, 2b), as well as the "responsibility for supporting children (and the adults they become)" (Ministry of Education, 2017b, p. 51, Table 10, 2h). Such a preoccupation with children as future adults, emphasises them as an investment, a stance that reflects the arguably privileged lens of human capital (further explored in Chapter Five). Therefore, it appears that neoliberalism has expanded its power/knowledge within the updated curriculum. An expansion that could have been enabled by the Fifth National governmentality in an attempt to assert its own neoliberal state forms.

Even though neoliberalism appears to have asserted its dominance within the updated curriculum in more blatant ways, the socialist and te Ao Māori discourses are still present. Examples of this can be found scattered throughout the updated curriculum, best evidenced in the quote "every child has the right to equitable opportunities to participate actively in the learning community" (Ministry of Education, 2017b, p. 36; Table 21, 5d). It displays the socialist discourse's regimes of truth via 'equitable opportunities' and collectivist 'learning communities'. Additionally, the existence of te Ao Māori power/knowledges in the updated curriculum emphasises the "knowledge about features of the local area, such as a river or mountain (this may include their spiritual significance)" (Ministry of Education, 2017b, p. 32; Table 22, 5g). It incorporates Māori ways of being by acknowledging the land as Papatūanoko (Earth Mother) and the many ancestral stories and locality specific knowledges of each iwi (Māori tribe associated with a distinct territory). The interplay of discourses displays the active presence of

socialism and te Ao Māori in the updated curriculum. However, even though it does not display neoliberalism's predominance, it does reveal shifts towards this discourses more blatant power/knowledges, findings also indicated in the 'coherence' of the text.

4.4.1 *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996; Ministry of Education, 2017b): Their Direct and Indirect Intertextualities

Significantly *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b) shifted the majority of intertextual relations from indirect to direct (Table 2, 1a to 1c; Table 3, 1a to 1c). *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) predominantly established subtle links to human development theories and theorists, as well as discourses, exhibiting its indirect intertextualities. Table 2 displays some of these indirect references and the *Analysis Findings* show how each of these links is subtle, mentioning an aspect of a model or theory but not including a name or reference to that theorist. Not incorporating this information into the text indicates to a reader who is educated, enough in the content to not need these overt references. By establishing these subtle links, the original curriculum is interpreting its reader's 'coherence' as being capable and, thus, educated enough in the ECE field to not need a direct reference to these theorists and knowledges.

Table 2: Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 1996) Indirect Intertextuality

<i>Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 1996)</i>		<i>Analysis Findings</i>
<i>1a.</i>	"If adults are to make informed observations of children, they should recognise their own beliefs, assumptions, and attitudes and the influence these will have on the children" (p. 30).	Indirect reference to socio-cultural theory. Indicating a reader's 'coherence' as being educated enough in this subject to understand the reference without needing further explanation or references
<i>1b.</i>	"connecting links between the early childhood education setting and other settings that relate to the child, such as home, school, or parent's workplaces" (p. 56).	Indirect reference to Urie Bronfenbrenner's ecological model. Indicating a reader's 'coherence' as being educated enough in this subject to understand the reference without needing further explanation or references

1c.	“adults who provide the ‘scaffolding’ necessary for children to develop and who ensure active and interactive learning opportunities that are equitable for all children” (p. 64).	Indirect reference to Lev Vygotsky’s socio-cultural theory. Indicating a reader’s ‘coherence’ as being educated enough in this subject to understand the reference without needing further explanation or references
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Conversely, *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b) predominantly uses direct references that explicitly refer to a multitude of ECE specific knowledges. Its definitude has arguably resulted in a curriculum that is somewhat elementary and reductive. Table 3 exhibits some of these direct references. The *Analysis Findings* in the Table displays the overt ways the updated curriculum makes explicit links to quotes, theorists and categories of development. As previously mentioned, ‘coherence’ can reveal the perceived mental resources of the intended reader by the writer, constructing a “mental map of the social order” (Fairclough, 1992a, p. 82). Consequently, the perceived mental resources needed and necessary for the reader of the updated curriculum are not as highly educated in ECE knowledges as those indicated by the original. As a result, the explicit links in *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b) orientate toward a lower or unnecessary requirement of ECE qualification.

Table 3: *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b) Direct Intertextuality

<i>Te Whāriki</i> (2017)		<i>Analysis Findings</i>
1a.	“The real strength of <i>Te Whāriki</i> is its capacity to establish strong and durable foundations for every culture in Aotearoa New Zealand, and in the world ... <i>Te Whāriki</i> rests on the theory that all children will succeed in education when the foundations to their learning are based on an understanding and a respect for their cultural roots” (Reddy & Reedy, 2013, as cited in Ministry of Education, 2017b, p. 15).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Indicates a reader’s disposition as being minimal. This is because all the information needed about the original <i>Te Whāriki</i> is explicit, enabling uneducated ECE readers to engage with the new curriculum
1b.	“Pedagogies described or implicit in <i>Te Whāriki</i> are consistent with the four curriculum principles. These principles are a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explicit in referencing pedagogy and its intrinsic relation to the four principles of <i>Te Whāriki</i>

	synthesis of traditional Māori thinking and sociocultural theorising” (p. 60)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explicit toward tikanga and te Ao Māori regarding the curriculum • Explicit about socio-cultural theory regarding the curriculum • Each of these explicit references displays the information needed to understand <i>Te Whāriki</i>, enabling uneducated ECE readers to engage with the curriculum
1c.	<p>“Recent sociocultural theorising builds on Vygotsky’s ideas that learning leads development and occurs in relationships with people, places and things, mediated by participation in valued social and cultural activities. In this framework, play is an important means by which children try out new roles and identities as they interact with others. Peers and kaiako provide forms of guidance and support. Children’s learning and development are seen to be influenced by three interrelated ideas:</p> <p>» Genetic, developmental and environmental factors interact, enabling and constraining learning.</p> <p>» Thinking and language derive from social life.</p> <p>» Individual and social action and behaviour are influenced by participation in the child’s culture” (p. 61)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Directly calls reference to socio-cultural theories • Explicitly defines children, peers and kaiako relations to this theory • Breaks learning and development into three definitive and somewhat obvious categories • Reveals the information needed to understand <i>Te Whāriki</i>, enabling uneducated ECE readers to engage with the curriculum

The simplification of *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b; Table 3) in comparison to the original *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996; Table 2) could reveal neoliberalism’s dominance. This discourse is attracted to minimal ECE teacher qualification via deregulation, enabling greater application and efficiency of free-markets (Harvey, 2005), as well as the links to privatisation’s ‘nana factor’ lobbying (2.7.4). Therefore, the curricula’s shift from indirect to direct references could show the gained dominance of neoliberalism’s vested ideological interests and values. As these indirect to direct references are one of the most substantial changes to the updated curriculum, they could be an example of the neoliberal

discourse's gained dominance over the socialist and te Ao Māori discourses. The analysis appears to display the potential minimisation of the interplay between socialism's and te Ao Māori discourses in the updated curriculum, a movement that potentially makes neoliberalism's regimes of truth more explicit. The gained dominance of neoliberal discourse could arguably be attributed to the Fifth National Governmentality, that throughout the analysis was revealed as being discursively neoliberal.

4.5 The *Four Year Plan's* (Ministry of Education, 2016) Presuppositions

The *Four Year Plan 2016-2020* (Ministry of Education, 2016) is a vehicle for governmental 'truths', revealing their discourses and rationalities. In accordance with this, it includes a variety of unsubstantiated claims wrapped within the Fifth National Governmentality. Although the *Four Year Plan* (Ministry of Education, 2016) does incorporate intertextual chains, these are largely in reference to documents the government already had, or soon planned to implement within education. Rather, the *Four Year Plan* (Ministry of Education, 2016) validates its knowledges and establishes the governmentalities' discourses via the presuppositions that are continually asserted.

An example of the *Four Year Plan's 2016-2020* (Ministry of Education, 2016) presupposition is, "we all know that a great education is one of the strongest foundations for a prosperous life, a flourishing society and a strong economy" (Ministry of Education, 2016, p. vi). This excerpt presupposes the need of investment in education that internalises human capital theory, supporting neoliberalism's power/knowledge. Another instance defines how "well-educated people tend to be better off, healthier and play a more active role in society. They are also more likely to contribute to *economic* prosperity and growth" (Ministry of Education, 2016, p. 11). This quote (emphasis added) reveals the governmentality's attempt to position readers toward a neoliberal value of economics and returns. Another presupposition describes the need for competition, (emphasis added) stating, "the system needs to offer *competitive*, responsive education that is of *value*

to the learner” (Ministry of Education, 2016, p. 24). These power/knowledges predominantly appear to assert neoliberal discourse, portraying the Fifth National governmentality and neoliberal discourse. However, Chapter Five of this thesis has presented findings that shed light on how the National governmentality that continually appears to orientate toward neoliberalism, has not resulted in the predominance of neoliberalism in the analysed ECE policies.

4.6 Chapter Summary

Attempting to summarise all the complexities of discourses, as well as their intertextualities within the analysed ECE policies and their intertextual chains, seems insurmountable. This is because every layer of textual signification that comes before and proceeds each of these policies is rich and deeply embedded within its situated time, governmentality, power relations and complexities of discourses. In attempting to bring some justice to these intricacies, Figure 4 was created with the incorporation of the governmentalities to show the influence that government rationalities and discourses have had on the analysed policies. Although Figure 4’s two-dimensional image is not wholly capable of portraying the complexities, weighted discourses and governmentalities present in each of the policies, it does indicate the plurality that goes into each. The findings throughout the analysis displayed this complexity of discourses. Neoliberalism, socialism, and te Ao Māori were continually highlighted within each of the analysed and intertextually connected policies and reports. They were revealed to be in a variety of fluid interplays that displayed varied struggles, amalgamations and competition across these analysed texts.

Chapter Five: Keyword Analysis: Substantiating the Neoliberal Discourse and its Interplay with Socialism and te Ao Māori in Early Childhood Policy

This Chapter presents the findings of the analysed keywords as ‘language hubs’, an examination that in an amalgamation with the previous Chapter enabled the research to answer the thesis’ questions: To what extent and how is neoliberal discourse predominant in ECE policy texts? What interplay do socialist and te Ao Maori discourses have with neoliberalism? Collectively, these Chapters enabled for a triangulation of findings to emerge that substantiated the conclusions made concerning the pluralised interplay of socialism, neoliberalism and te Ao Māori. The neoliberal discourse’s predominance was therefore not indicated within any of the selected policies. Instead, a dynamic interplay between these three discourses was continually displayed in multiple states of accommodation, advancements and modifications. Conceptualising these fluid movements as tectonic plates and the geological processes that are related to them (1.8), this thesis’ research was able to thoroughly explore the concepts utilised, enabling complex discursive phenomena to emerge.

5.1 Findings: To What Extent and How is Neoliberal Discourse Predominant in Early Childhood Policies? What Interplay do Socialist and te Ao Maori Discourses Have with Neoliberalism?

Collectively the findings that sought to answer the thesis’ research questions did not reveal the neoliberal discourse’s predominance, but rather displayed a substantial interplay of socialism, neoliberalism and te Ao Māori throughout the analysed texts. These findings were suggested in the complexities of the selected policies, discourses, and governmentality revealed in Chapter Four (4.6). It was also highlighted by the low frequency of the selected keywords within the analysed policies (Table 4), and the power/knowledges of the socialist and te Ao Māori discourses that were influential and often integral components of every text (Table

Table 4: Keyword Frequency

Documents	Word Count	Choose	Choice	Individual	Potential	Future	Economic	Performance	Market	Business	Stakeholders	Invest	Investment	Entrepreneur	Economy
<i>Education Act 1989</i>	247,162	4	1	37	8	0	3	101	13	8	10	N/A	N/A	0	0
<i>Regulations (2008)</i>	15,090	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Licensing Criteria (Ministry of Education, 2008)</i>	10,575	N/A	0	N/A	0	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education 1996)</i>	27,949	3	10	54	5	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 2017b)</i>	25,529	4	9	25	8	16	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Four Year Plan (2016b)</i>	12,504	1	11	10	8	26	19	19	8	16	6	6	31	1	17
Total		12	31	130	29	45	26	120	21	24	16	6	31	1	17

21; Table 22). Collectively these findings did not confirm neoliberalism's predominance but rather indicated its fluid interplays within battles and integrations with socialism, and te Ao Māori. Therefore, what transpired throughout this thesis' analysis was the differing forces and abilities of each of these discourses and governmentalities, each asserting itself in the analysed policies.

5.2 Discursively Neoliberal Governmentality

Analysing the governmentality of the selected ECE policy texts, revealed the Fifth National Government's attempts to orientate citizens toward neoliberal discourse. This became apparent in the selected policies that came most directly from their governmentality, including the *Four Year Plan* (Ministry of Education, 2016), the foreword of *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b; Table 9, 2b; Table 10, 2a and 2b; Table 19, 4a), and aspects of the *Education Act 1989* (N.Z.; Table 4). These texts provided some of the strongest incorporations of neoliberal discourse. Findings revealed through their higher frequency of keywords (Table 4), the multiple integration of keywords within a paragraph or sentence (Table 6, 5a, 5c-5d; Table 7, 4c; Table 8, 4a; Table 9, 3b; Table 10, 3a, 3b, 3d, and 3g; Table 11, 4b and 4e; Table 12, 2a; Table 15, 1a; Table 16, 1b) and their presuppositions (4.5). These revealed the Fifth National Government to be discursively neoliberal, best exemplified in the *Four Year Plan* (Ministry of Education, 2016).

An instrumental quote in the *Four Year Plan* (Ministry of Education, 2016) encapsulates National's governmentality. It states,

In the short term, we will help providers be more responsive to *changes in demand* by *removing barriers* that limit the ability to move funding to *meet demand*. In the medium term, we will use our increasingly *rich information* about tertiary *education outcomes* to better *incentivise* relevant *provision* and *reward successful innovation*. We will consider how *performance measures* can be extended to *incentivise outcomes* as well as *outputs*...This will *reward success*. (Ministry of Education, 2016, p. 20)

This quote (emphasis added) appears to exemplify neoliberalism and the governmentality toward it. Although it only signposts tertiary, it could be reflective of the governments wider discursive lens upon education. It includes the supply and ‘demand’ dynamics of market application to education, along with the notion of ‘rewarding successful innovation’, and incentivising outcomes associated with the approved winners and loser in the market. This is exemplified by the ‘rewards’ of ‘success’. It also implants deregulation by ‘removing barriers’, as well as placing a focus on human development by stressing the ‘outcomes’ of education. There is additionally an emphasis on ‘rich information’ that may equate to discursively neoliberal standardisation. The extract above thus appears to lay bare the naked government rationality toward the educational sector, seemingly from an almost entirely neoliberal discourse. However, it is highly significant that the applied force of neoliberal governmentality is not reflected in the other analysed policies.

5.3 A Neoliberal Governmentality Does Not Equate to its Predominance in Early Childhood Policy

The analysed policies closest to, and most influenced by, the ECE sector, did not reveal the neoliberal governmentality. The *Education (Early Childhood Services) Regulations* (2008), *Licensing Criteria* (Ministry of Education, 2008), *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996), and *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b) all displayed the most substantial integration of socialist and te Ao Māori discourses. These active discourses indicate that although governmentalities apply their pressures on the sector, these are not as powerful as the interplaying discourses that are ‘driven’ by those within ECE. However, even though the neoliberal discourse was not predominant in any of these documents, it was still held a subtle presence within the texts.

5.4 The Neoliberal Discourse in the Selected Policies

The neoliberal discourse was often subtle, dormant and nuanced in most of the analysed policies. Within these subtleties, it incorporated an appreciation of the individual as the basic unit of society (Table 6), implied in the (emphasis added) quote “kaiako observe and value children as *individuals*” (Ministry of Education,

2017b, p. 40; Table 6, 4e). It additionally incepted choice as a driver of independence and rationality; constructs that children will one day utilise in the free-market economy (Table 7; Table 8; Table 9, Table 10; Table 12). The subtle application of independence, supporting market constructs of targets, goals and initiatives, was best highlighted for this thesis in the excerpt (emphasis added) that stated children need to “have experience in making *choices* and decisions, setting their own *goals*, and using their *initiative*” (Ministry of Education, 1996, p. 83; Table 7, 2d). Neoliberal discourse also implanted a value and importance upon the economy (Table 11; Table 16), markets (Table 12), and the framing of education as a business through the language utilised (Table 12; Table 13; Table 14; Table 15). Such a focus upon business, performance, and accountability was best showcased in the following statement (emphasis added) “we will consider how [educational] *performance measures* can be extended to *incentivise outcomes* as well as *outputs*” (Ministry of Education, 2016, p. 20; Table 13, 2f). This quote’s use of language depicts neoliberalism’s value of market applications and standardisation.

The neoliberal discourse was also exemplified by the positive emphasis on standards (Table 19) and their ‘data’ as a measure of accountability (Table 6, 5b and 5e; Table 7, 4b; Table 14, 2d; Table 18, 1b and 1m). These neoliberal values were reflected in the positive emphasises placed upon standards, with the *Education Act 1989* (N.Z) describing how they “set out statements of desirable codes” (p. 120; Table 19, 1a). Furthermore, the related emphasis on data as a measure of accountability became apparent in the quote (emphasis added) that “increasingly, we are getting the *data* and evidence to be specific about the *impact* of educational achievement on *life choices* and *life outcomes*” (Ministry of Education, 2016, p.vi; Table 7, 4b). This excerpt is additionally attached to the value of standards and data as providers of quantifiable information that enables greater government choices, regarding their investment in the stocks of education (Table 15; Table 17; Table 18). ‘Truths’ also exemplified in the excerpt (emphasis added) “we [the Fifth National Government] are also much more able to identify the obstacles to educational achievement some young people face. This *data* is helping us focus our efforts and Government’s *investments*” (Ministry of Education, 2016, p. vi; Table 18, 1b). These inclusions of performance, accountability, investment, and

standardisation, indicates the neoliberal discourse's power/knowledge in the selected policies.

Neoliberalism's human capital was also a reoccurring theme in the analysed policies (Table 9; Table 10; Table 15; Table 17; Table 18). The lens of human capital was subtly revealed in an excerpt discussing the child, and their "strands still to be woven. This acknowledges the child's *potential* and their ongoing educational journey" (Ministry of Education, 2017b, p. ii; Table 9, 2a). The privileged lens of human capital was also more blatantly revealed in the more discursively neoliberal *Four Year Plan*, that described how

building a more competitive and productive economy: Education makes a huge difference to the economy by developing tomorrow's entrepreneurs and employees and by building the capability of our existing workforce – we help ensure New Zealanders have skills and knowledge for work and life. (Ministry of Education, 2016, p. 4; Table 15, 1a)

These dormant and erupting incorporations of human capital theory indicate to this research the dominance neoliberalism's regimes of truth have in the selected ECE policy texts. However, this discourse and its multiple power/knowledges were not alone in the analysed texts. Rather, it was continuously discovered in combination with the socialist and te Ao Māori discourses. Each of which continually asserted its own power/knowledges and regimes of truth. These discourses, therefore, appeared to apply their own forces, driven by their power and intertextuality.

5.5 The socialist Discourse in the Selected Policies

The socialist discourse's regimes of truth and power/knowledges were an ever-present component of the analysed ECE policy texts. Exemplifying the socialist discourse were regimes of truth regarding equitable opportunities and resources, families as collectives and the rights of the child (Table 21). Incorporating these values, the *Education (Early Childhood Services) Regulations* (2008) described the need to,

make *all reasonable efforts* to ensure that the service provider *collaborates* with the *parents* and, where appropriate, *the family or whānau* of the enrolled children in relation to the learning and development of, and *decision making* about, those children. (p. 33-34)

This excerpt (emphasis added) implies equitable opportunities for involvement of parents and family through ‘reasonable efforts’. It could indicate a variety of differing techniques, resources, time, and programming that highlights the need for equality. Furthermore, it emphasises the family as a collective that the child is a part of, instead of encouraging neoliberalism’s individualism and independence. Another instance of socialist discourse states “kaiako promote equitable opportunities for children and counter actions or comments that categorise, stereotype or exclude people” (Ministry of Education, 2017b, p. 40; Table 21, 5g). This excerpt emphasises ‘equitable opportunities’ related to the socialist women’s movement (2.3), it additionally incorporates a te reo use of teacher (kaiako) implicating an accommodation of te Ao Māori and socialist discourses.

5.6 Te Ao Māori Discourse in the Selected Policies

Te Ao Māori (Table 22) regimes of truth and power/knowledges were continually present in the selected policies. An example of te Ao Māori discourse’s power is in the very name of the ECE curriculum, that “has been envisaged as a *whāriki*, or mat, woven from the principles, strands, and goals defined in this document” (Ministry of Education, 1996, p. 11; Table 22, 4c). The quote indicates the considerable influence te Ao Māori has within the ECE sector. A power/knowledge that has enabled it to emerge as an integral aspect of the curriculum, its title. The title, *Te Whāriki*, is additionally encased within the pivotal mechanisms of metaphors that indicate te Ao Māori ‘collective consciousness’ (Rau & Ritchie, 2011; 2.4). Another inclusion of the discourse is enabled through suitable medicines, describing how these can be “in relation to Rongoa Māori (Māori plant medicines)” (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 34; Table 22, 3c). This excerpt affirms discursively Māori ways of doing and being (tikanga) regarding healthcare, emphasising te Ao Māori discourse’s presence in the text. Furthermore, te Ao Māori regimes of truth

were openly supported in the updated curriculum. An example describes the “respect for tapu as it relates to themselves [children] and others” (Ministry of Education, 2017b, p. 27). The appreciation and exemplification of tikanga (Māori ways of doing and being) provides another indication of the Māori discourses’ presence and power/knowledge in the analysed ECE policy texts.

5.6.1 The Neoliberal, Socialist and te Ao Māori Discourses Combination in the Selected Policies

Throughout these policies the discourses of neoliberalism, socialism and te Ao Māori were present in a multitude of applied tectonic forces, which were integral aspects of the analysed policies (Table 21; Table 22). Exhibiting strand three’s contribution goal within *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996), (emphasis added) the following quote states “children experience an environment where: there are *equitable opportunities* for learning, irrespective of gender, ability, age, ethnicity, or background; they are *affirmed as individuals*; they are *encouraged to learn with and alongside others*” (Ministry of Education, 1996, p. 64; Table 21, 4g). This key goal of the curriculum includes the socialist values of ‘equitable opportunities’ while implicating the neoliberal discourse that is centred on notions of individualism. Furthermore, it implies a possible te Ao Māori discourse via the ‘learning with and alongside others’, potentially imply collectivist values. Such a key part of *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) appears to provide an example of how discourses that are seemingly oppositional are able to accommodate one another while still ascertaining their own regimes of truth.

The socialist, te Ao Māori and neoliberal discourses were always pressing against and sliding under one another, disabling one from gaining a predominance in the analysed policies. A plurality that was best exhibited in the *Four Year Plan* (Ministry of Education, 2016) that was the most discursively neoliberal policy analysed (4.5; 5.2). Even this document that was the most substantially entrenched within neoliberalism’s power/knowledge included the interplay of socialist and te Ao Māori intertextualities and regimes of truth (Table 21, 6a and 6b; Table 22, 6a and 6b). Such a combination is exemplified in the following quote: “an important

focus for us is to work more closely with parents, family and whānau, communities and employers, and connect them to efforts in raising student achievement” (Ministry of Education, 2016, p. vi; Table 21, 6a; Table 22, 6a). The combination embodies social, neoliberal and te Ao Māori discourses, reflected in the importance of families as collectives and learners existing within implied collectivist communities, emphasising socialist and te Ao Māori discourses. However, there is also the inclusion of discursively neoliberal market values, attached to ‘employers’ and ‘achievements’.

The above quotes and tables (Table 10, 1a to 2 j; Table 21; Table 22) indicate neoliberalism, socialism and te Ao Māori as present in a multitude of combinations within the analysed policies. As this plurality is an aspect of all the analysed policies including the *Four Year Plan* (Ministry of Education, 2016), that is the most discursively neoliberal, it implies these three discourses to always be in combination within the analysed documents. These findings have displayed a mixture of both dormant and erupting power/knowledges in the selected ECE policy texts, contradicting, and corroborating one other (Table 10, 1a to 2 j; Table 21; Table 22). A process enabled by discourses’ abilities to pull in oppositional and similar directions as well as, slide under and over one another. A complexity supported by their accommodations, advancements and consumptions of one another.

5.6.2 Neoliberalism’s and Socialism’s Accommodation: *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996)

The discourses of socialism and neoliberalism were able to accommodate and support one another’s power/knowledges within *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996). This curriculum continually asserted the individual rights and autonomy of children (Table 6, 3a-3m), regimes of truth that are entrenched within the socialist discourse’s unionism (2.3). However, these socialist values also accommodated the neoliberal discourse’s power/knowledges. Findings made evident in the keywords ‘individual’ and ‘choice’ that respect children as autonomous, while also aligning with neoliberalism’s ‘truths’ of individualism, and informed choices in diverse markets that are free from government regulations (2.1;

2.3). Exemplifying these conjoined discourses, the following quote (emphasis added) states “to learn and develop to their *potential*, children must be respected and valued as *individuals*. Their rights to personal dignity, to *equitable opportunities* for participation...must be safeguarded” (Ministry of Education, 1996, p. 40; Table 21, 4d). This quote exhibits how the socialist discourse that values ‘equitable opportunities’ has merged with neoliberal discourse’s values of individualism and human capital, which focuses on children’s future ‘potential’ (Table 9, 2b). Through such an amalgamation, each of the singular discourses is likely to increase its regimes of truth by pressing together and thus raising one another up within the landscape. The accommodation of these discourses could arguably describe how *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) was able to emerge as a celebrated socialist curriculum while being affirmed by a discursively neoliberal governmentality (4.3).

The interplay of the socialist and neoliberal discourses was most blatant in *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996; Table 6, 3a, 3d, 3e, 3f, 3g, 3j, 3k), but was also a component of the updated curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2017b; Table 6, 4a -4e; Table 7, 3a-3f). *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b) continued the original curriculum’s marriage of neoliberalism and socialist children’s rights. The accommodation maintained the neoliberal discourse’s dormant subtleties. An excerpt of *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b) that reveals these states (emphasis added) “how does the curriculum provide genuine opportunities for children to make *choices* and *develop independence*?” (p. 30; Table 7, 3d). This quote exemplifies ‘independence’ and ‘choice’, discursively neoliberal values based on free markets and notions of individualism as well the rights of children. In another instance, the updated curriculum further facilitated the neoliberal and socialist discourses, (emphasis added) expressing how “they [children] are encouraged to give reasons for their *choices* and to argue *logically*” (Ministry of Education, 2017b, p. 49; Table 7, 3e). This excerpt could be determined as encouraging logical and rational individuals who compose the formative unit of neoliberal discourse, as well as recognising children as autonomous beings. Therefore, the accommodating tectonic forces of the neoliberal and socialist discourses, present in these excerpts, are potentially an example of the way

seemingly oppositional discourses can press together and thus raise one another up within the ECE policy texts.

5.6.3 The Neoliberal Discourse's Advancements: From *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) to *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b)

In the updated *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b) some small shifts of discourse from the original curriculum occur in favour of neoliberalism. This is portrayed in the placement of mathematics and literacy that became more expressly manifest. These subjects were emphasised in the following extract,

the New Zealand Curriculum groups understandings about the world in learning areas such as science, *mathematics* and the arts; in *Te Whāriki*, these are woven through the strands (for example, while *mathematics* is explicit in communication and exploration, it is also implicit in other strands). (Ministry of Education, 2017b, p. 52)

This quote (emphasis added) aligns the New Zealand Curriculum with *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b), singling out mathematics as an example between the two. Its exemplified status of mathematics suggests its high priority to the Ministry.

Literacy and mathematics are also involved in other neoliberal discourse advancements between the curricula via their continued raised status. In the original *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) these subjects are midway within bulletin points regarding young children's capabilities. However, in the updated curriculum (Ministry of Education, 201b) they are moved to the higher priority of describing young children themselves. The raise of this priority could indicate an advancement of neoliberal discourse in *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b). This is because literacy and mathematics are related to neoliberalism's standardisation (2.7.1), as exemplified in National Standards (Thrupp & Easter, 2013). Emphasising neoliberalism's higher value of these subjects is the nondescript

bucket received by other subjects in the updated curriculum that described how “young children are developing an interest in literacy, mathematics and other domain knowledge” (Ministry of Education, 2017b, p. 15). The use of ‘other domain knowledge’ appears to lessen the importance and significance of subjects that exist outside of literacy and mathematics. The insinuation of this quote appears to exemplify the neoliberal discourse in subtle, dormant ways, producing a focus on standardised subjects and their implied importance above other topics. It indicates how a discourse is enabled, through its power and intertextuality to slide over the top of other discourses and uplift its own regimes of truth.

5.6.4 The Neoliberal Discourse’s Presuppositions: *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b)

By including presuppositions, *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b) seemingly facilitated the neoliberal discourse. The updated curriculum described how “the *diversity* of services is a valued feature of early learning provision in New Zealand” (Ministry of Education, 2017b, p. 8; Table 20, 1b). Close to this unsubstantiated claim came another presupposition that asserted “parents and whānau *choose* from the available early learning services based on their needs and preferences. Accessibility, values and cultural fit are often key considerations” (Ministry of Education, 2017b, p. 8). These unsupported claims (emphasis added) in the updated curriculum supported the neoliberal discourse’s power/knowledge and regimes of truth. This is because these presuppositions are associated with the neoliberal discourse’s necessity for, and benefits of free-markets in ECE via the inclusion of ‘valued’ ‘diversity’, as well as empowering consumers through their ability to ‘choose’ services (2.1.1). Each of these presuppositions, therefore, uplifts the neoliberal discourse’s regimes of truth in dormant ways that naturalise themselves within the landscape.

5.6.5 Neoliberal Discourse's Gains and Losses: From *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) to *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b)

Although the neoliberal discourse makes some clear advancements in the original to updated ECE curriculum, it also suffers some losses. *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) incorporates 'individual' 54 times, however, the usage drops to only 25 times in the updated curriculum, resulting in a 53.70 percent reduction between the documents (Table 5). The significant decrease of 'individual', which comprises neoliberalism's most formative value of individualism, indicates a loss of the discourse's regimes of truth in *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b), minimising its power/knowledge in the updated curriculum. However, there are also gains to the neoliberal discourse between the original and updated curriculum. These findings were highlighted in the growth of 'future' that *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) only used three times, but *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b) incorporated 16 times, resulting in an 81.25 percent increase (Table 5). Additionally, it was also reflected in 'potential' that was increased 37.50 percent within *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b; Table 5; Table 9, 2a-2d; Table 10, 2a to 2j). These changes appear to typify how discourses are constantly evolving and devolving in their interplaying regimes of truth and power/knowledges, processes that are enabled via their power and intertextualities. These pushes and pulls of discourse appear to result in gains and losses of regimes of truth and power/knowledges within and across the curricula.

These shifts between the original and updated *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996; Ministry of Education, 2017b) could potentially indicate discourses as constantly embodied in battles within ECE policy texts. These major conflicts which comprise competing educational visions are described by Apple (2004) as never having an equal hold of power. Thus, these power battles are a pivotal aspect of educational analysis. They are at the 'very core' of, "ongoing struggles that constantly shape the terrain on which education operates" (Apple, 2004, p. 15).

Table 5: Percentage of Keywords in Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 1996) and Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 2017b)

	Choose	Choice	Individual	Potential	Future	Economic	Performance	Market	Business	Stakeholders	Invest	Investment	Entrepreneur	Economy	Standards
Te Whāriki (1996)	3	10	54	5	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Te Whāriki (2017b)	4	9	25	8	16	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Percentage change	25.00%	-10.00%	-53.70%	37.50%	81.25%	-66.67%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Quantity change	1	-1	-29	3	13	-2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

These interplaying power battles by discourses and governmentalities are, therefore, constantly attempting to assert themselves. In doing so, they are enabled to grow their regimes of truth, power/knowledges, as well as power and intertextualities.

5.6.6 Neoliberalism's Modification of te Ao Māori Discourse

The aforementioned increased usage of 'future', within *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b), was often presented from a te Ao Māori discourse that appeared modified by neoliberalism. *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b; Table 10, 2e, 2f, 2g, and 2i) often discussed the concept of 'future' from a te Ao Māori discourse. Explained in the following quote,

kaiako recognise mokopuna as connected across time and space and as a link between past, present and future: 'He purapura i ruia mai i Rangiātea'. They celebrate and share appropriate kōrero and waiata that support mokopuna to maintain this link. (Ministry of Education, 2017b, p. 38; Table 10, 2g)

However, this discourse's power/knowledges and regimes of truth in *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b) often appeared commodified to suite neoliberalism's power/knowledges.

Frequently te Ao Māori incorporation of past, present, and future, was used to implicate the 'livings links' that are a 'reflection' of ancestors (Ministry of Education, 2017b). However, the use of te Ao Māori often appeared commodified by neoliberal discourse. This was highlighted in the following extract, which states "a curriculum must speak to our past, present and future. As global citizens in a rapidly changing and increasingly connected world, children need to be adaptive, creative and resilient" (Ministry of Education, 2017b, p. 7; Table 22, 5b). The inclusion of 'global citizens' in the quote implies the neoliberal governmentality of globalisation, as does the implied necessity for children to be 'adaptive, creative and resilient', potentially implicating competence within a free-market. This excerpt, therefore, appears to provide an example of the commodification of te Ao

Māori in support of the neoliberal discourse's power/knowledges, that in its consumption, narrows Māori worldviews and human development appreciations.

Explaining the essential elements of Māori human development is the *He Māpuna te Tamaiti* (*Children are Precious Treasures*) model. It includes mana (prestige and potential power), mauri (life essence), and wairua (spirituality), that have each been passed down through whakapapa (genealogies) (Grace, 2005, as cited in Macfarlane, Glynn, Grace, Penetito, & Bateman, 2008). However, *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b) does not establish all these essential concepts. Instead, it incorporates mana 128 times, mauri once in the glossary terms, and completely excludes wairua. The heavily included mana that encapsulates children's future potential aligns with the neoliberal discourse's human capital. However, mauri and wairua that deal with life essence and spirituality, described as the 'most basic and essential' of te Ao Māori health and wellbeing dimensions (Durie, 1985; 2.9), do not fit neoliberalism's regimes of truth. Their exclusion but the high inclusion of mana indicates the picking and choosing of essential elements that comprise the Māori worldview. These findings could provide an example of how discourses can roll over the top of and, therefore, alter other discourses. Such struggles and interplays appear to accommodate a more powerful discourse's power/knowledge and regimes of truth. This commodification is seemingly enabled by a discourse's lesser power. Attempting to signify these forces abilities, drivers, and processes this thesis' research has conceptualised the abstract shifts of discourses and governmentalities as tectonic plates and the Foucauldian and Kristevan geological process that enable them.

5.7 The Tectonic Force of Discourse

Figure 5 displays discourses as tectonic plates. These are continually sliding under and over one another, pressing against, as well as pulling in oppositional directions. Beneath these are governmentalities, although their force is not as powerful as a discourses' tectonic plates they still apply their own pressure. The productivity and

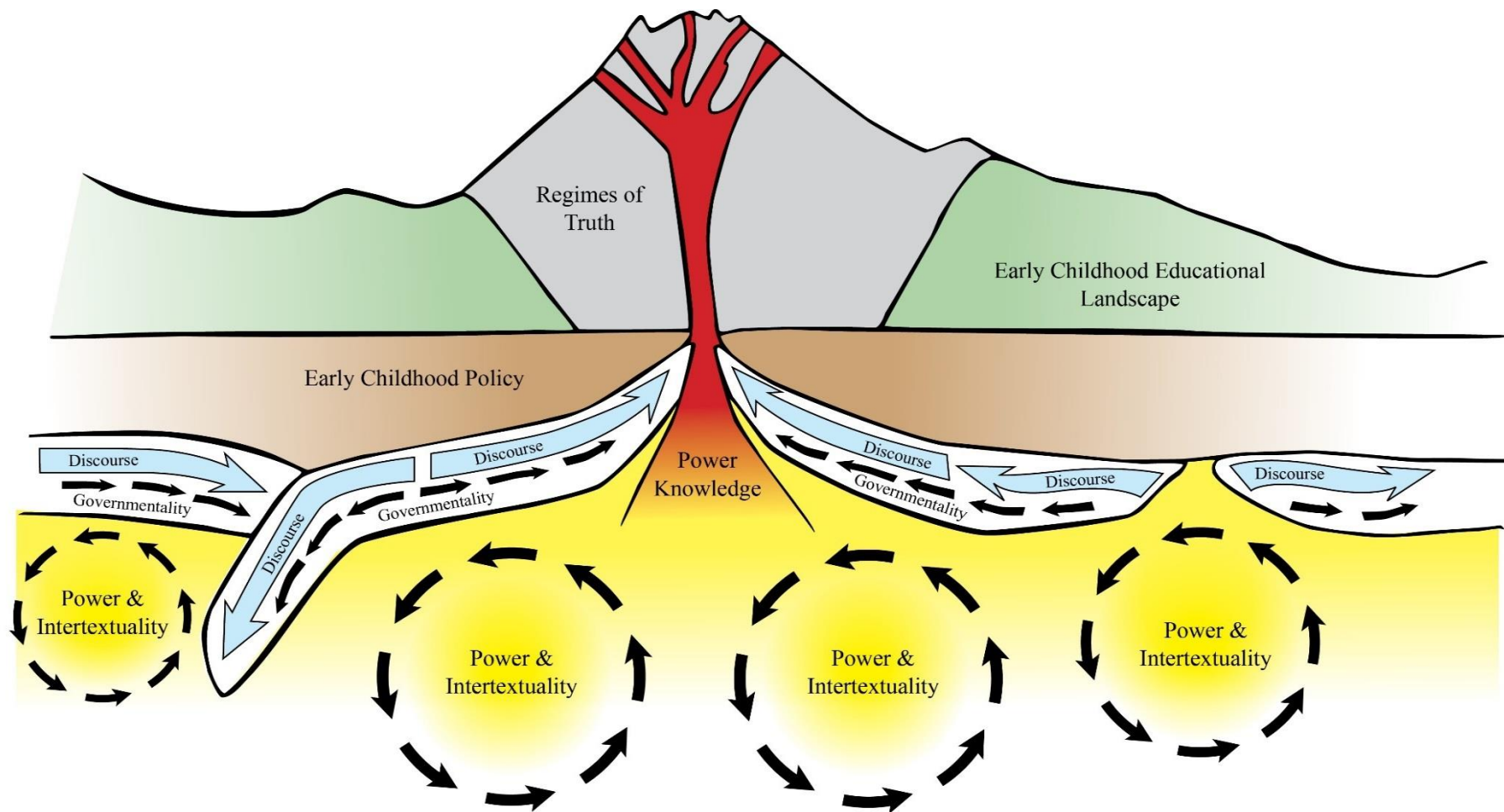


Figure 5: The Tectonic Force of Discourse

movement of these discourses and governmentalities are enabled by the power and intertextuality of each discourse (magma flow that causes plate movement). This geological process implies the quantity of ‘drivers’ that fuel discourses, and their associated intertextualities and power. These movements of discourses and governmentalities enable volcanoes (regimes of truth) to rise within the landscape. Their regimes of truth can be both erupting and dormant, states dependent on the flow of power/knowledge (lava) that solidifies ‘common sense’ assumptions, marking the ECE sector’s landscape. The naturalisation of these geological processes is balanced upon, and deeply connected to, the Earth’s upper crust (the selected and analysed ECE policy texts). Above the crust, the tectonic movements and geological processes is the ECE landscape. A terrain that is greatly varied, scattered with valleys, rivers, ravines, plateaus, and mountains that signify the values, beliefs, practices, interactions, and pedagogies promoted by the fluid, battling discourses and governmentalities. These varied configurations are the very soil that the sector stands on, resulting in shifting foundations that are likely to continually alter the compositional landscape.

5.7.1 A Discourse’s ‘Drivers’ of Power

Through Figure 5 the power relations, agency and autonomy of every individual within the sector becomes significant. This is because a discourse’s power is established through its capillaries (magma, Figure 5), with the larger and more complex these ‘drivers’ being the more power is generated for that discourse (Sidhu, 2003). Therefore, as people are the ‘drivers’ of power and intertextualities (magma flow that causes plate movement), without them, discourses (tectonic plates) would not have enough power to battle oppositional governmentalities and discourses. Thus, if ‘drivers’ do not power discourses movements, then it is unlikely that the sector’s appropriate discourses of socialism and te Ao Māori would have any influence over the ECE sector’s topography, diminishing their naturalisation within the landscape. This could be exemplified in the modification of te Ao Māori in *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b).

When examining te Ao Māori, research has revealed New Zealand's substantial, entrenched discrimination toward Māori that is often thinly submersed within the population (Human Rights Commission, 2012). The country's discrimination has potentially established a lesser discourse's power that, because of its limited capillaries, is more easily consumed, commodified and transformed by other dominant discourses, such as neoliberalism. This process of consumption and modification seems to have occurred in *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b), inducing powerful implications for those in the sector, further explored in the final Chapter (6.3).

5.8 Chapter Summary

Throughout the multiple channels of analysis applied to the selected ECE policies, the neoliberal discourse's predominance was found to be less evident than previously asserted in the literature (1.1; 2.2.2; 2.2.5). These findings seem particularly significant in regards to the applied governmentality of the Fifth National Government, which were revealed to be discursively neoliberal (4.5; 5.2). However, throughout this Chapter it has been indicated that this governmentality's discourse and power/knowledge were not successfully absorbed within the sector, implicating that a government's power is not as significant as the ECE sector's discourses. Therefore, socialism and te Ao Māori were revealed to be powerful and major players in the discursive interplays within the policies. Collectively, these three discourses were embodied within a variety of conflicts, accommodations, consumptions, and competitions. The intricate ensemble of diminutive and demonstrative power/knowledges of socialism, neoliberalism and te Ao Māori is asserted by this thesis' research to be appreciable as tectonic plates and their geological processes. Figure 5's visualisation exemplifies these forces and processes through the continual pressures and shifts of discourses and the other inter-related concepts that were engaged within this thesis, such as regimes of truth, power, intertextuality, and power/knowledge. Although this has resulted in neoliberalism's ability to make progress in the sector, it has also enabled the progression of socialism and te Ao Māori, each of which underwrote, constituted, concealed and naturalised one another in a mixture of ways within the selected policies.

Chapter Six: Concluding on the Pluralised Shifting Discourses

This thesis began as a personal concern regarding neoliberalism, questioning: To what extent and how is neoliberal discourse predominant in ECE policy texts? What interplay do socialist and te Ao Maori discourses have with neoliberalism? In an attempt to answer these questions and resolve my own researcher concerns, a CDA was utilised through a poststructuralist paradigm that embodied Julia Kristeva and Michel Foucault in conversation with one another. Through these philosophical tools, this thesis presented the discovery that my initial concerns as a researcher were unfounded regarding the analysed documents. In illuminating this, the findings uncovered that, although the neoliberal discourse was present, it was not predominant in the selected ECE policy texts. Instead, what became apparent were the pluralised shifting discourses of socialism, te Ao Māori and neoliberalism, which were embodied in constant battles. Reflecting on the discovery and the literature introduced, this concluding chapter considers the implications of these findings, the limitations of the research, as well as the suitability of the philosophical framework employed. These facets conclude the thesis as a means of summarising the uncovering of new knowledge.

6.1 Revisiting the Tools Employed

Informed by a poststructuralist paradigm, this thesis employed Kristeva's notion of intertextuality and Foucault's concepts of discourse, governmentality and power/knowledge to establish its findings. Building on these schools of thought a CDA was employed, utilising Foucault's fourth structural definition of discourse, Kristeva's intertextuality, Fairclough's manifest intertextuality, and interdiscursivity, as well as a keyword search. The conceptual and research frameworks, exemplified in Figure 1 and Figure 2, were applied to the *Education Act 1989* (N.Z.), *Education (Early Childhood Services) Regulations* (2008), *Licensing Criteria For Early Childhood and Care Services* (Ministry of Education, 2008), *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996), *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b), and the *Four Year Plan 2016-2020* (Ministry of Education,

2016). From these powerful policies that legislate New Zealand early childhood education and environment, this thesis' research discovered that my concern regarding the neoliberal discourse's predominance and socialism's and te Ao Māori discourses minimisation was unwarranted. Instead, it found these discourses each to be thriving in the selected policies, embodied in continual and fluid struggles resulting in small losses and acquisitions in multiple directions.

6.2 Tectonic Shifts in the Discourse

The findings of this research indicated the pluralised shifting discourses were constantly embodied within conflicts, consumptions and competitions with one another. These conflicts resulted in small progressions and diminishments of their intertextuality, power/knowledge and regimes of truth. These findings were particularly interesting regarding the governmentality applied by the Fifth National Government through the *Four Year Plan 2016-2020* (Ministry of Education, 2016), which the data indicated to be overtly neoliberal. Because this discourse was only shallowly and partially applied to the analysed ECE policy texts, it indicates that even though this governmentality attempted to align citizens with neoliberal state forms, this did not occur. Instead the interplay of socialism, te Ao Māori and neoliberalism were often discovered in combination, dispelling any notions of one discourses predominance. Therefore, socialism and te Ao Māori were revealed to be capable of fighting and winning some battles with neoliberalism, offering a resistance to the discourse that has been described as a dominant ideology in our current Western society (Davies & Bansel, 2007; Fitzsimons, 2000; Henderson and Hursh, 2014). In their ability to combat neoliberalism, the discourses of socialism and te Ao Māori must have a significant amount of power/knowledge in New Zealand's ECE sector that supplants the interplay of their own regimes of truth in the selected policies.

Conceptualising the findings as tectonic plates and the components that eventuate as well as enable them as geological processes (Figure 5), this thesis' research established a concrete image of the abstract concepts at play in the selected policies. Figure 5 displayed this concept, exhibiting the movement of tectonic plates

(discourses) and the seemingly less powerful, but still applied pressure of governmentality. Its visual metaphor highlighted the way power/knowledge, intertextuality and power are related to the movement of discourses. Furthermore, it showcased how these forces and movements are likely to affect the interrelated early childhood landscape, resulting in erupting and dormant regimes of truth (volcanoes) that naturalise themselves within the environment (Figure 5).

These findings challenged the preliminary assertion of this research and refuted this research questions' underlying assumptions regarding the neoliberal discourse's predominance. This came as a surprise to me as the researcher and contradicted some of the literature on the topic. In 2.2 Henderson and Hursh (2014), as well as Kaščák and Pupala (2011), described neoliberalism as a totalising metanarrative that has re-conceptualised education. Similarly, when depicting New Zealand's ECE context, Duhn (2010) defines the sector as being deeply embedded within the neoliberal discourse and increasingly marketised. Reflecting on the intertextual analysis of the selected ECE policy texts, this positioning is appreciable. The monopolisation of neoliberal discourse, both completely and partially, has been evident within New Zealand's governmentality since 1984, and is indicated throughout this thesis (2.2.4; 2.5; 2.6; 2.6.1; 2.6.2; 4.3; 4.4; 4.5; 5.2). Furthermore, *prima facie* the current policies and their historical foundations imply the domination of neoliberal discourse in New Zealand ECE (Figure 4). However, the findings presented in this thesis indicate the opposite (5.3), as it was discovered that socialist and te Ao Māori discourses that interplay had not been consumed in the selected policies. The contradictory position the research revealed established a sense of optimism toward a topic that can become forlorn (Connell, 2013; Davies & Bansel, 2007; De Lissovoy, 2015; Duhn, 2010; Farquhar, 2012; Henderson & Hursh, 2014; Gordon & Whitty, 1997; Kaščák & Pupala, 2011).

Re-investigating the literature reviewed in Chapter Two affirmed several of the findings presented in this thesis. In 2.2 Davie and Bansel (2007) indicated that "neoliberalism both competes with other discourses and also cannibalizes them in such a way that neoliberalism itself appears more desirable" (Davie & Bansel, 2007,

p. 258). Their suggestion was substantiated in 5.6.6 where te Ao Māori was seemingly cannibalised and commodified to fit neoliberalism's power/knowledge through the appropriation of mana to include children's future potential, and the mitigation of the spiritual elements of wairua and muri. Although this particular instance resulted in neoliberalism's growth of power/knowledge, it still did not emerge as an 'inevitable' way of life, as Davie and Bansel (2007) suggested. Neoliberalism was present (5.4), but was never predominant in the ECE policy texts (5.6.1; 5.6.2). Thus, socialism and te Ao Māori were able to commodify, constitute and conceal themselves within neoliberalism, and within one another, emphasising the plural interplay and fluidity of these discourses in the selected policies.

The mixture of battling discourses discovered in this thesis' research reveals the diversities and complexities of ECE that are sometimes condensed and simplified into a singular illustration. When re-analysing the literature in Chapter Two, what often emerged in these illustrations of ECE were narrow narratives that had the potential to displace the complexities of the sector in their despairing accounts of neoliberalism (Connell, 2013; Davies & Bansel, 2007; De Lissoy, 2015; Duhn, 2010; Farquhar, 2012; Gordon & Whitty, 1997; Henderson & Hursh, 2014; Kašćák & Pupala, 2011). These singular illustrations are reminiscent of *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b) with its direct intertextual links (4.4.1). These appear to reflect a desire to say what is relevant in ECE, and in so doing delimit the boundaries of what is not. Such black and white definitudes defy the complexities that this thesis' findings have uncovered in the analysis. My findings indicated a mosaic of power, truths and knowledges situated within the influential and powerful ECE policy texts analysed. The findings led me to theorise that these policies are likely to reflect multi-dimensional composites of contested narratives within New Zealand's ECE sector. This thesis' research asserts that ignoring this plurality of discourses could be potentially detrimental, possibly diminishing the complexities, competition and conflicts evident in the ECE context, and conceivably resulting in reductive pedagogies and programmes of learning.

Affirming Press's (2017) claims, which acknowledged the plurality of ECE domains (2.10), this thesis' findings demonstrated these assertions in relation to discourses. Press (2017) described how competing domains in ECE have conflicting and competing standards, as well as visions for children's development and quality provisions. Summarising this, she defines how "each broad policy domain shapes early childhood education and care systems in distinct, and at times, competing ways" (Press, 2017, p. 1899). The research findings of the thesis have reinforced and substantiated these claims by analysing the selected ECE policy texts through a lens of discourse and intertextuality. They enabled the research to appreciate the constitution, construction and diminishment of regimes of truth, power/knowledge and intertextuality (4.6; 5.8). In doing so I, as the researcher, was able to establish evidence of competition that continually pulls and pushes at the discourses evident in the selected ECE policy texts (Figure 5). The complexity and contesting of the landscape is likely to have affected the sector's composition, as Press (2017) suggests. These complexities, that cannot be reduced to the 'truths' of a particular governmentality, have resulted in significant implications for this thesis and for the ECE sector.

6.3 A Plurality of Neoliberal, Socialist and te Ao Māori Discourses: The Implications

The unsuccessfully appropriation of the neoliberal governmentality into early childhoods policy provides some powerful implications for the sector. When the literature discusses the neoliberal discourse in relation to ECE there can be a despondency as to its permeation and potentially detractive consequences for children's education (Connell, 2013; Davies & Bansel, 2007; De Lissovoy, 2015; Gordon & Whitty, 1997; Henderson & Hursh, 2014; Kaščák & Pupala, 2011). This research, therefore, may come as a reprieve to these concerns, exhibiting how there is already an active combatant to the apprehension observed by the literature, a combatant that can periodically lessen and strengthen neoliberalism across eras, administrations, policies, and paragraphs. These findings are particularly significant when analysed against National's Fifth governmentality that applied a particularly strong neoliberal discourse in the *Four Year Plan 2016-2020* (Ministry of Education, 2016). The lack of this governmentality's absorption into the other

analysed policies suggests that the sector has its own powerful discourses that propel the governmentality and its intended state forms.

This thesis' findings have established some significant implications for those in the sector and activists in the field, in regard to recognising and responding critically to neoliberalism. The findings presented in this thesis provided examples of how a governmentality that is heavily applied is not necessarily heavily absorbed with a discourse's power/knowledge, producing a considerable influence from the ground up. As expressed in 5.7.1, the quantity of capillaries 'driving' discourse can make its power/knowledge more or less productive (Sidhu, 2003). The richer and more complex these are, the more dominant a discourse can potentially become. These findings have significant implications for the ECE sector in New Zealand. Harnessing this knowledge of discourses and their triumphs over neoliberalism emphasises the work of, and continual relevance of activists within the field, the reproduction and support of appropriate ECE discourses and policy analyst, as well as a recognition of the strengths of the sector's discourses, perhaps further powering ECE regimes of truth. Such actions may amplify these discourses' commodification, potentially diminishing the possibilities of their cannibalisation.

Conversely, if those practicing within New Zealand's ECE sector do not harness this knowledge of power working in multiple directions, there may be potential losses to the interplay of socialism and te Ao Māori. This thesis' findings have provided evidence of power and discourses pushing and pulling in multiple directions. However, if a majority of those teaching within the sector only believe in power production as a Marxist top down theory, there could be significant consequences. These consequences are due to the capillaries of power, if they do not 'drive' their own discourses, due to a possible feeling of little to no autonomy, these discourses' power/knowledges could potentially become less productive. Such an occurrence could conceivably reinforce the governmentality that has exhibited discursively neoliberal values, and diminish the socially and culturally interplay of the appropriate discourses of socialism and te Ao Māori, introduced in 2.3 and 2.4. The potential for this implication calls on those within the sector to

reflect on their own assumptions of power and their capabilities of agency regarding discourses. A lack of critical reflection by those within the ECE sector, upon the matter of power and agency, could result in significant facets of ECE being commodified and cannibalised, making this a potentiality significant and compelling topic of future inquiry.

Influencing the implications of this thesis, during the writing of the concluding chapter, the Sixth Labour Government announced significant educational modifications to come. Signalling the beginning of what could be a thorough revision of current educational structures and policies, Chris Hopkins, the Minister of Education, spoke of “wide-ranging changes to the education system” (Collins, 2018, p.1). The direction for these changes, although currently ambiguous, is signalled as transitioning away from competition (Collins, 2018), indicating a shift toward socialist rhetoric. Another recent announcement was the intended Early Learning 10 Year Strategic Plan expected to begin in September 2018 (Hopkins, 2018). Hopkins (2018) stated that, “over time, this Government’s aim is to achieve 100% qualified teachers in all centre-based teacher-led early learning services and to improve group size and teacher: child ratios for infants and toddlers” (para. 6). In connection with these implied changes, toward socialist ideals, this thesis has been aptly situated to highlight some key suggestions for any reformation of policies.

Any changes to policy texts need to critically reflect on the abilities of discourses to become hidden within one another and become naturalised. The findings of this thesis have highlighted the need to critically engage with discourses, that are revealed to be far more complex and interwoven than some literature might suggest (Connell, 2013; Davies & Bansel, 2007; De Lissovoy, 2015; Gordon & Whitty, 1997; Henderson & Hursh, 2014; Kašćák & Pupala, 2011). Reflecting on the thesis’ findings, I as a researcher would therefore suggest that if the Sixth Labour Government did intend to remove the educational sectors competition, special attention be paid to the complex interplay of discourses. Additionally, it is suggested that attention be given to the potential for neoliberalism’s competitive

and free-market values to become disguised in alternative discourses, as was reflected in this thesis analysis of *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996; 5.6.2). Consequently, policy changers that hope to change discursive directions arguably need to individually engage with, and call on, those associated with the sector to reflect on the abilities of discourses that are capable of naturalising themselves within texts in complex ways. Such a critical engagement with neoliberalism, socialism and te Ao Māori discourses by multiple bodies could potentially reduce neoliberalism's acclaimed regimes of truth and intertextual components, minimising its power/knowledge and thus reducing its influence in ECE. However, that is not to suggest that further measures could not be taken, measures that because of the limitations of this thesis could not be stipulated on.

6.4 Limitations and Other Considerations of this Thesis

This thesis, as with all research, has limitations and consideration. A challenge of this thesis has been its timing, that is entrenched within political change. At the beginning of this thesis, I did not comprehend the moveable feast of governments, directions and policies that would ensue after the 2017 September elections. The political landscape in New Zealand has been unchanging in its appointment of National for the past nine years. However, this was to alter with the election of the Sixth Labour Government, an appointment which has already begun to indicate substantial changes (6.3). With such consequential alterations being implemented and hovering over the sector, this thesis has been challenged to provide current and relevant information of the policies and directions of ECE. This thesis therefore stands as an analysis of the contextual landscape and textual surfaces of the ECE sector, as well as the analysed policies on the precipice of the shift between the National and Labour Governments.

Another one of the thesis' limitations has been the examination of discourses in a top down fashion, solely examining specific ECE policy texts. This form of examination never supported the belief that power only works in this fashion. Even though policy documents are powerful capillaries that attempt to position readers, they do not have a totalising effect. These findings reflect Foucauldian perspectives

of power that can build in the micro-levels of society within these elements fringes, building from the bottom up, and often working in opposition to discourse (McHoul & Grace, 1998).

This thesis has additionally only examined discourses and governmentalities through specific ECE policy texts and government statements of intent. It has, therefore, not amounted to a general study of power relations or politics. This is because of the multiple individuals, associations, institutions, politicians, and ideologies involved in any sector (Dean, 1999). Therefore, although assumptions have been proposed about the effects of policies and the discourse within them upon the ECE sector in New Zealand, these are merely stipulations extended from the policies analysed. Additionally, as a researcher I was only able to access the physical policy texts; this meant that I was not capable of gathering other intertextual features outside of my disposal. These included the nuanced contextual layers and groups involved in each policies development, as well as the limits of the selected keywords, which may not have picked up on subtler ‘drivers’ of discourse. A more comprehensive, qualitative and quantitative study could provide greater findings and implications if it were to analyse the sector and the policies of ECE collectively. However, this is a breadth not within the capacity of this thesis.

Another considered limitation of this thesis is the space between assumptions and interpretations of the analysed ECE policy texts. Many scholars have engaged with this gap between analysis and interpretation (Fairclough, 1992a; Locke, 2004; Yanow, 2000), with Widdowson (1995) describing the deep necessity for it to be discussed and addressed. This is because the analysis of any document is engaged in the act of interpretation, as is the reader, who brings their own interpretations (Yanow, 2000). Attempting to address this gap, this thesis has enlisted multiple components of CDA, composed within the research framework. Each of these facets were applied to each of the documents, enabling a triangulation of findings and assumptions. Smith (2014) defines how such triangulations that enable interpretations to emerge through the multiple contexts, provide some validity to research. However, there will always be a measure of interpretation that cannot be

removed, including researcher subjectivity that is declared to limit its blatant biases (Figure 1; 3.8), encouraging self-reflexivity, and the active medium of language.

Conducting a CDA has taught me as a researcher about the tendentious nature of language and how it is another limitation of the research. The language of this thesis, the documents analysed, and the documents referenced and sourced, all involved a signifying process. Defining this McAfee (1994) describes how “language is a signifying process because it is used by someone who is herself a process” (p. 29). This exemplifies how language and the people who must employ it are all active mediums. Analysis is, therefore, never capable from an external position to that which is being studied (Yanow, 2000). This inability to distance oneself from the language utilised in the examined documents and policies emphasises the key role of my own self-reflexivity exemplified in Figure 1 and in 3.8. My continual self-reflexivity has assisted me from making dogmatic interpretations, and has resulted in my own transformed subjectivity, embodied within the philosophical framework I employed.

6.5 The Suitability of the Philosophical Framework Employed

The conceptual and methodological framework (Figure 1) applied within this thesis were pivotal to the findings generated by the research. Without the selected and applied philosophical tools grounded within poststructuralism, this research’s ability to interpret the abstract concepts and phenomena in the selected ECE policy texts would have likely been unattainable. I, therefore, perceive Kristeva’s notion of intertextuality, and Foucault’s concepts of discourse, governmentality and power/knowledge to be not only suitable, but decisive to me as a researcher, giving breadth and cognitive strengths to the research. However, although these concepts were pivotal in enabling me to perforate into a philosophical mind-set providing a first step, now that they have been employed I perceive them to be limited for future philosophical contemplations. This is because Foucauldian thought provides tools that assist the transcendence of power and discourse (Selby, 2007), as well as the application of this on a societal instead of individual level (Walshaw, 2007). Although this has made it an apt philosophical tool for this thesis, after this

acquisition, further specificities toward this topic could be disobliging. Additionally, Kristeva's intertextuality, although beneficial, is limited in its tools of analysis, indicating the pluralised shifting discourses, but not providing the same level of appreciation the keyword analysis was able to deliver (5.8). This emphasises for me as the researcher its low desirability for future research of more cognitively complex philosophical phenomena.

6.6 Concluding Comments

Inquiring into the seemingly despondent neoliberal discourse in New Zealand's ECE sector, I have been inspired by this thesis' findings that have nullified this concern. The discoveries within this thesis have provided a theoretical glimpse of the oppositional early childhood discourses of socialism and te Ao Māori as constantly battling neoliberalism, in an interplay that involves some successes and some failures. Although these qualitative findings are bound to the selected ECE policy texts analysed, they could potentially be indicative of the discourses in the sector, and a wider discussion on power/knowledge in New Zealand ECE. Based upon this potential, and the influential policies that have been substantiated, the findings of this thesis have positively contributed to my appreciation of discourses and power relations, inspiring future bodies of my own research toward the topic. This thesis' findings could also potentially create significant implications for the ECE field. Centred on this are those who comprise New Zealand ECE, each of whom are the 'drivers' of power. From a Foucauldian school of thought, they collectively have the possibility to obstruct, modify and intensify the dominant discourses of the sector. These abilities infer that these individuals would be well rewarded to reflect on their own appreciation of the complexities of ECE, as well as its discourses and power relations. These are reflections that could shed light on their assistance or hindrances of New Zealand's ECE sector.

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Appendix 1

Table 1: Intertextuality of the Education Act 1989 Part 26 (N.Z.) Amendments

2006 Amendment (No. 19)	2010 Amendment (No. 25)	2013 Amendment (No. 34)	2017 Amendment (No 20).
Made 44 Changes to the <i>Act</i> (Part 26)	Made 13 Changes to the <i>Act</i> (Part 26)	Made 1 Changes to the <i>Act</i> (Part 26)	Made 4 Changes to the <i>Act</i> (Part 26)
Amendment Section 53 <i>Education Act</i> (p. 492, 494, 496. 497, 498, 499, 500, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 509, 510, 511, 515). Amendment Section 38 <i>Education Act</i> (p.502)	Amendment Section 68(1-2-3), section 34(2) <i>Education Act</i> (p. 494, 496) Amendment Section 69 <i>Education Act</i> (p. 507, 508, 509)	Amendment Section 34 <i>Education Act</i> (p. 511)	Amendment Section 137 <i>Education Act</i> (p. 502) Amendment Section 138 <i>Education Act</i> (p. 504). Amendment Section 139 <i>Education Act</i> (p. 511).

Table 2: Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 1996) Indirect Intertextuality

<i>Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 1996)</i>		<i>Analysis Findings</i>
<i>Ia.</i>	“If adults are to make informed observations of children, they should recognise their own beliefs, assumptions, and attitudes and the influence these will have on the children” (p. 30).	Indirect reference to socio-cultural theory. Indicating a reader’s ‘coherence’ as being educated enough in this subject to understand the reference without needing further explanation or references
<i>Ib.</i>	“connecting links between the early childhood education setting and other settings that relate to the child, such as home, school, or parent’s workplaces” (p. 56).	Indirect reference to Urie Bronfenbrenner’s ecological model. Indicating a reader’s ‘coherence’ as being educated enough in this subject to understand the reference without needing further explanation or references
<i>Ic.</i>	“adults who provide the ‘scaffolding’ necessary for children to develop and who ensure active and interactive learning	Indirect reference to Lev Vygotsky’s socio-cultural theory. Indicating a reader’s ‘coherence’ as being educated enough in this

	opportunities that are equitable for all children” (p. 64).	subject to understand the reference without needing further explanation or references
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Table 3: *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b) Direct Intertextuality

<i>Te Whāriki</i> (Ministry of Education, 2017b)		<i>Analysis Findings</i>
1a.	“The real strength of <i>Te Whāriki</i> is its capacity to establish strong and durable foundations for every culture in Aotearoa New Zealand, and in the world ... <i>Te Whāriki</i> rests on the theory that all children will succeed in education when the foundations to their learning are based on an understanding and a respect for their cultural roots” (Reddy & Reedy, 2013, as cited in Ministry of Education, 2017, p. 15).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Indicates a reader’s disposition as being minimal. This is because all the information needed about the original <i>Te Whāriki</i> is explicit, enabling uneducated ECE readers to engage with the new curriculum
1b.	“Pedagogies described or implicit in <i>Te Whāriki</i> are consistent with the four curriculum principles. These principles are a synthesis of traditional Māori thinking and sociocultural theorising” (p. 60)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explicit in referencing pedagogy and its intrinsic relation to the four principles of <i>Te Whāriki</i> Explicit toward tikanga and te Ao Māori regarding the curriculum Explicit about socio-cultural theory regarding the curriculum <p>Each of these explicit references displays the information needed to understand <i>Te Whāriki</i>, enabling uneducated ECE readers to engage with the curriculum</p>
1c.	“Recent sociocultural theorising builds on Vygotsky’s ideas that learning leads development and occurs in relationships with people, places and things, mediated by participation in valued social and cultural activities. In this framework, play is an important means by which children try out new roles and identities as they interact with others. Peers and kaiako provide forms of guidance and support. Children’s learning and development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Directly calls reference to socio-cultural theories Explicitly defines children, peers and kaiako relations to this theory Breaks learning and development into three definitive and somewhat obvious categories <p>Reveals the information</p>

	<p>are seen to be influenced by three interrelated ideas:</p> <p>» Genetic, developmental and environmental factors interact, enabling and constraining learning. » Thinking and language derive from social life.</p> <p>» Individual and social action and behaviour are influenced by participation in the child's culture” (p. 61)</p>	<p>needed to understand <i>Te Whāriki</i>, enabling uneducated ECE readers to engage with the curriculum</p>
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Table 4: Frequency of Keywords

Documents	Word Count	Choose	Choice	Individual	Potential	Future	Economic	Performance	Market	Business	Stakeholders	Invest	Investment	Entrepreneur	Economy
Education Act 1989	247,162	4	1	37	8	0	3	101	13	8	10	N/A	N/A	0	0
Regulations (2008)	15,090	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Licensing Criteria (Ministry of Education, 2008)	10,575	N/A	0	N/A	0	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education 1996)	27,949	3	10	54	5	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 2017b)	25,529	4	9	25	8	16	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Four Year Plan (2016b)	12,504	1	11	10	8	26	19	19	8	16	6	6	31	1	17
Total		12	31	130	29	45	26	120	21	24	16	6	31	1	17

Table 5: Percentage Alterations in Keywords Between *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 1996) and *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education, 2017b)

	Choose	Choice	Individual	Potential	Future	Economic	Performance	Market	Business	Stakeholders	Invest	Investment	Entrepreneur	Economy	Standards
<i>Te Whāriki</i> (1996)	3	10	54	5	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Te Whāriki</i> (2017b)	4	9	25	8	16	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Percentage change	25.00%	-10.00%	-53.70%	37.50%	81.25%	-66.67%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
Quantity change	1	-1	-29	3	13	-2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

Table 6: Keyword Pertaining to Individual (relational to independence)

1. Education Act 1989 (N.Z.)		Analysis Findings
<i>1a.</i>	“For the purposes of subsection (2), just cause includes misconduct, inability to perform the functions of office, neglect of duty, and breach of any of the collective duties of the council or the individual duties of members (depending on the seriousness of the breach)” (p. 317).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Places the onus on the ‘individual’ and their duties (neoliberalism’s individualism and independence) • Often in a regard to duties that elude collectivism by focusing on individuals’ autonomous and singular actions
<i>1b.</i>	“a council member who does not comply with his or her individual duties may be removed from office under section 176C or 222AJ (as the case requires)” (p. 319).	
<i>1c.</i>	“The council of an institution may bring an action against a council member for breach of any individual duty” (p. 319).	
<i>1d.</i>	“except as provided in subsections (2) and (3), a council member is not liable for a breach of an individual duty” (p. 319).	
2. Education (Early Childhood Service) Regulations (2008)		Analysis Findings
<i>2a.</i>	“Every application for a licence must be made, on a form provided by the Secretary for the purpose,— (a) by the service provider, where the service provider is 1 individual person; and (b) by 1 individual person on behalf of the service provider, where the service provider is a body corporate or body of persons” (p. 8).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘Individual’ refers to a person’s duties and responsibilities, this may insinuate a governmentality that perceives each community member as a single celled unit (neoliberalism’s individualism and independence) • ‘Individual’ is often given a high sentence priority but only included four times within the <i>Regulations</i> (Table 6, 2a-2c). • This high priority but lack of overall frequency could suggest that the neoliberal discourse is present but competed with by other
<i>2b.</i>	Application for a license: “(b) the individual who is the applicant and every other person described in regulation 5(b) (ie, every other person who comes within the definition of service provider) is a fit and proper person to be involved in the management of the service” (p. 9).	
<i>2c.</i>	“For the purpose of determining whether the individual who is the applicant and every other person described in regulation 5(b) is a fit and	

	proper person to be involved in the management of the service provider” (p. 10).	discourses, nullifying its predominance.
3. Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 1996)		Analysis Findings
3a.	“it is about the individual child” (p. 9).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> An appreciation of an individual as a reinforce of independence (neoliberalism’s individualism and independence)
3b.	“each child learns in his or her own way” (p. 20).	
3c.	“Assessment of children’s learning and development should always focus on individual children over a period of time and avoid making comparisons between children” (p. 29).	
3d.	“assessment should be a two-way process. Children’s self-assessment can inform adults’ assessment of learning, development, and the environment by providing insights that adults may not have identified and by highlighting areas that could be included or focused on for assessment. Children may also help to decide what should be included in the process of assessing the programme and the curriculum” (p. 30).	
3e.	“take increasing responsibility for their own learning and care;” (p. 40).	
3f.	“the early childhood curriculum builds on the child’s own experiences, knowledge, skills, attitudes, needs, interests, and views of the world within each particular setting. Children will have the opportunity to create and act on their own ideas, to develop knowledge and skills in areas that interest them, and to make an increasing number of their own decisions and judgments” (p. 40).	
3g.	“To learn and develop to their potential, children must be respected and valued as individuals” (p. 40).	
3h.	“The goals should be interpreted according to the individual needs of each child” (p. 45).	
3i.	“treating the children as individuals, explaining procedures, taking children’s fears and concerns seriously, and responding promptly to injuries or falls” (p. 47).	

3j.	“a sense of responsibility for their own well-being and that of others;” (p. 52)	
3k.	“Children experience an environment where...they are affirmed as individuals” (p. 64).	
3l.	“Adults should observe and value children as individuals, so that their interests, enthusiasms, preferences, temperaments, and abilities are the starting-points for everyday planning, and comparative approaches are avoided” (p. 65).	
3m.	“Individual endeavour, curiosity, and exploration are seen as positive” (p. 85).	
4. Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 2017b)		
4a.	“the specific learning needs of individual children” (p. 9).	
4b.	“all children have rights” (Ministry of Education, 2017, p. 12).	
4c.	“They are affirmed as individuals” (p. 24).	
4d.	“daily routines respond to individual circumstances and needs and allow for frequent outdoor experiences, regular rest times, and a variety of group and individual interactions, with one-to-one attention from adults every day” (p. 30).	
4e.	“Kaiako observe and value children as individuals” (p. 40).	
5. Four Year Plan (Ministry of Education, 2016)		Analysis Findings
5a.	“It improves individual's’ life choices and their health and employment outcomes” (p. iv).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This quote embodies neoliberalism’s independent notions of individualism, free market choices and human capital, elevating notions of entrepreneurialism
5b.	“Data: Knowledge and evidence to help individuals, providers, communities and government make better decisions” (p. 10).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Of interest in this specific quote is how ‘individual’ is given the highest priority, and ‘government’ the lowest. This placed

		<p>importance is reminiscent of neoliberalism that places the individual as the highest unit and the government at the lowest.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • However, the inclusion of community may emphasise the collective values of socialism and te Ao Māori
5c.	“educational achievement reduces future social and health problems and has positive knockon effects for individuals, and for future costs faced by the Government in terms of social outcomes in the health and justice sectors” (p. 11).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An appreciation of an individual as a reinforcer of independence (neoliberalism’s individualism and independence)
5d.	“The updates of the Education Act and the funding systems also provide opportunities to assist the system to provide the pathways, choices and responsiveness to meet the diverse needs of individuals, communities and future employers” (p. 17).	
5e.	“We aim to identify those needs using data and individual assessment to ensure every child and young person receives the necessary help” (p. 18).	

Table 7: Keyword Choice

<i>1. Education Act 1989 (N.Z.)</i>		<i>Analysis Findings</i>
1a.	“Regulations made under this Act may—.....provide for persons who do not exercise their choice within the time or in the manner provided for to be restricted to standing, voting, or both, in only 1 election” (p. 199).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Although choice is only used once it is attached to the modal auxiliary verb ‘may’. This indicates a soft government authority towards it that could suggest the neoliberal discourse of minimal government intervention that enables the free-market

2. Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 1996)		Analysis Findings
2a.	“The curriculum builds on a child’s current needs, strengths, and interests by allowing children choices and by encouraging them to take responsibility for their learning” (p. 20).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● An encouragement of independence, rationality and individualism, emphasised through available choices ● Choices that reflect a market ideology, free from government intervention ● Neoliberalism’s free-market rationality
2b.	Children develop...an increasing ability to determine their own actions and make their own choices” (p. 50).	
2c.	“Young children are asked for their ideas and allowed to make some significant decisions about the programme” (p. 59).	
2d.	“have experience in making choices and decisions, setting their own goals, and using their initiative” (p. 83).	
2e.	“In what ways, how often, and how effectively do adults encourage children to argue logically, to predict and estimate, and to give reasons for their choices?” (p. 88)	
2f.	“Children are encouraged to give reasons for their choices and to argue logically” (p. 89).	
2g.	“In what ways, how often, and how effectively do adults encourage children to argue logically, to predict and estimate, and to give reasons for their choices?” (p. 89).	
3. Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 2017)		
3a.	“Toddlers are learning to self-regulate, amidst feelings that are sometimes intense and unpredictable. Kaiako support self regulation by staying calm and offering them choices” (p. 14).	
3b.	“A sense of personal worth and cultural identity and the ability to make choices, focus attention, maintain concentration and be involved” (p. 27).	
3c.	“Young children have opportunities for independence, choice and autonomy, and they learn self-care skills” (p. 29).	

3d.	“How does the curriculum provide genuine opportunities for children to make choices and develop independence?” (p. 30).	
3e.	“They are encouraged to give reasons for their choices and to argue logically” (p. 49).	
3f.	“Children are encouraged to use trial and error to find solutions to problems and to use previous experience as a basis for trying out alternative strategies. They are encouraged to give reasons for their choices and to argue logically” (p. 49).	
4. Four Year Plan (Ministry of Education, 2016)		
4a.	“It improves individual's' life choices and their health and employment outcomes” (p. iv).	
4b.	“Increasingly, we are getting the data and evidence to be specific about the impact of educational achievement on life choices and life outcomes” (vi).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● A focus on the investment of human capital regarding children ● Tightly interlocked to the importance of situated ‘data’ as a significant factor to raising standards ● Standards located as measures of accountability providing quantifiable information for investment in the stocks of education (discursively neoliberal)
4c.	“This gives us great information on which to base better investment choices to help all children and young people succeed” (p. 11).	

Table 8: Keyword Choose

1. Education Act 1989 (N.Z.)		Analysis Findings
1a.	“the Secretary shall choose one of the 3 people to be the arbitrator” (p. 60).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The inclusion of ‘choose’ exhibited a need for individual choice ● Neoliberalism’s free-market rationality
1b.	“Regulations made under this Act may— (a) provide for persons forbidden by section 101(6) to participate in 2 elections to choose the election in which they prefer to stand, vote, or both” (p. 199).	

1c.	“unless that person chooses to become or remain a member of that association” (p. 385).	
2. <i>Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 1996)</i>		
2a.	“ways to enjoy solitary play when they choose to be alone” (p. 70).	
2b.	“the ability to make decisions, choose their own materials, and set their own problems” (p. 84).	
2c.	“the confidence to choose and experiment with materials, to play around with ideas, and to explore actively with all the senses” (p. 88).	
3. <i>Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 2017b)</i>		
3a.	“Ability and inclination to cope with uncertainty, imagine alternatives, make decisions, choose materials and devise their own problems” (p. 47).	
4. <i>Four Year Plan (Ministry of Education, 2016)</i>		
4a.	“The Government is committed to the introduction of Rate My Qualification – standardised, accessible information that will help people choose between qualifications” (p. 21).	

Table 9: Keyword Potential

1. Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 1996)		Analysis Findings
1a.	“To learn and develop to their potential, children must be respected and valued as individuals” (p. 40).	<ul style="list-style-type: none">● A focus on human capital that places children as future citizens who will contribute to the workforce, instead of focusing on their current autonomy and current learning needs and dispositions● Examples of children’s ‘future’ ‘potential’ exhibits a preoccupation with what
2. Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 2017b)		
2a.	“Loose strands still to be woven. This acknowledges the child’s potential and their ongoing educational journey” (p. ii).	
2b.	“All children are born with immense potential. Quality early learning helps our children begin to	

	realise that potential and build a strong foundation for later learning and for life” (p. 2).	<p>children could be, instead of their current autonomy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">● A higher preoccupation with the potential that children hold for the future.● Begs at the association of children as a substance of investment (discursively neoliberal)
2c.	“To learn and develop to their potential, children must be respected and valued” (p. 18).	
2d.	“many dispositions have been identified as valuable for supporting lifelong learning” (p. 23).	
3. Four Year Plan (Ministry of Education, 2016)		
3a.	“I expect the Ministry of Education to steward the New Zealand’s education system so that all children and young people are able to appreciate their potential and make meaningful educational steps towards realising it” (p. iv).	
3b.	“New Zealand needs an education system that delivers high-quality educational outcomes from early childhood, through schooling and into tertiary education and training. Every student, no matter their background or needs, should be supported to meet their potential” (p. 10).	
3c.	“The system and all those in it should work collaboratively to raise the quality of teaching and learning and have high expectations of all students’ potential for achievement” (p. 10).	
3d.	“Bringing the Act and funding systems up to date and supporting local flexibility to enhance collaboration provides the potential to significantly increase system capability to focus on achievement” (p. 14).	

Table 10: Keyword Future

1. Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 1996)		Analysis Findings
1a.	“Learning begins at home, and early childhood programmes outside the child’s own home play a significant role in extending early learning and in laying the foundations for successful future learning” (p. 9).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (1a): Marries the neoliberal discourse and the autonomous rights of children • Includes tikanga and Māoridom in its limited uses of future • Indicates an alignment and commodification of socialism
1b	“developing memory capacity and sense of past, present, and future” (p. 21).	

1c.	“Adults should acknowledge spiritual dimensions and have a concern for how the past, present, and future influence children’s self-esteem and are of prime importance to Māori and Tagata Pasefika families” (p. 46).	and te Ao Māori with, and by, neoliberalism
2. Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 2017b)		Analysis Findings
2a.	“It emphasises our bicultural foundation, our multicultural present and the shared future we are creating.” (p. 2).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Includes tikanga and Māoridom in its uses of future • Indicates an alignment and commodification of socialism and te Ao Māori with neoliberalism • (2b, 2d, & 2h): Marries the neoliberal discourse and socialist’s discourse’s autonomous rights of children • Examples of children’s ‘future’ ‘potential’ exhibit a preoccupation with what children could be, instead of their current autonomy (discursively neoliberal) • Higher preoccupation with the potential that children hold for the future (discursively neoliberal) • Begs at the association of children as a substance of investment (discursively neoliberal)
2b.	“I also acknowledge those members of the early childhood education sector who have provided valued leadership and expertise which has shaped this document for today’s world, and for the future” (p. 2).	
2c.	“A curriculum must speak to our past, present and future” (p. 7).	
2d.	“The intention is that this update will refresh and enrich early learning curriculum for future generations of children in Aotearoa New Zealand” (p. 7).	
2e.	“In Māori tradition children are seen to be inherently competent, capable and rich, complete and gifted no matter what their age or ability. Descended from lines that stretch back to the beginning of time, they are important living links between past, present and future, and a reflection of their ancestors. These ideas are fundamental to how Māori understand teaching and learning” (p. 12).	
2f.	“Connections to past, present and future are integral to a Māori perspective of relationships” (p. 21).	
2g.	“Kaiako recognise mokopuna as connected across time and space and as a link between past, present and future: ‘He purapura i ruia mai i Rangiātea’. They celebrate and share appropriate kōrero and waiata that support mokopuna to maintain this link” (p. 38)	
2h.	“responsibility for supporting children (and the adults they become)” (p. 51).	

2i.	“Children inherit the legacy of the past and they reach for the future. This past-present-future relationship can be seen in Te Whāriki, Te Marautanga o Aotearoa and the principles of Te Aho Matua: as the child learns in kaupapa Māori settings, relationships at each stage will continue to take account of the past, present and future” (p. 58).	
2j.	Pasifika view children as treasures and hope for the future” (p. 62).	
3. Four Year Plan (Ministry of Education, 2016)		Analysis Findings
3a.	“required to meet the diverse needs of every child and student from birth to adulthood in different communities, in the context of the future economy” (p. 10).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A focus on the investment of children (human capital) tightly interlocked to the importance of situated ‘data’ as a significant factor to raising standards • Standards located as measures of accountability providing quantifiable information for investment in the stocks of education • Discursively neoliberal regarding its value of businesses performance applied to education
3b.	“The success of our future society and economy rests in large part on getting better educational achievement with less disparity” (p. 10).	
3c.	“An effective education system provides qualifications that open doors to future opportunities and the skills needed in today’s society and the modern workplace” (p. 10).	
3d.	“educational achievement reduces future social and health problems and has positive knock-on effects for individuals, and for future costs faced by the Government in terms of social outcomes in the health and justice sectors” (p. 11).	
3e.	“Outcome focused education system” (p. 14).	
3f.	“A key goal of the Education Work Programme is to develop student centred pathways through the education system and into future work and life” (p. 14).	
3g.	“It will inform future policy advice to government as well as our internal investment planning.” (p. 27).	

Table 11: Keyword Economic

1. Education Act 1989 (N.Z.)		Analysis Findings
1a.	“responds to the needs of learners, stakeholders, and the nation, in order to foster a skilled and knowledgeable population over time; and contributes to the sustainable economic and social development of the nation” (p. 261).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prioritises economics over social development via sentence placement of each concept (indicates neoliberalism dominance in this section)
1b.	“strengthens New Zealand’s knowledge base and enhances the contribution of New Zealand research capabilities to national economic development, innovation, international competitiveness, and the attainment of social and environmental goals” (p. 261).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This quote highlights neoliberal values of ‘economic development’ and ‘international competitiveness’ (indicates the presence of this discourse in the Act)
1c.	“contributes to the sustainable economic and social development of the Nation” (p. 261).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • These quotes, that have prioritised economics over social development reflect the utmost value of economics (discursively neoliberal)
1d.	“The part of the tertiary education strategy that sets out the Government’s long-term strategic direction for tertiary education must address the following: economic goals: social goals: environmental goals” (p. 269).	
2. Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 1996)		Analysis Findings
2a.	“Early childhood education services are committed to ensuring that learning opportunities are not restricted by gender, locality, or economic constraints” (p. 17).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Refers to the economic not through strictly neoliberal values, but rather as a conduit to potential greater quality ECE and equality. This could exemplify the marriage of socialist and neoliberal discourses
2b.	“The growth of full-day early childhood education services reflects social and economic changes in society as women increasingly move into employment while their children are young” (p. 18).	
2c.	“For similar economic and social reasons, early childhood education services for infants and toddlers have expanded and will continue to grow” (p. 18).	

3. Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 2017b)		Analysis Findings
3a.	Kaupapa Māori theory: “at its core is the retention of the Māori language and culture, which provides a foundation for positive transformations and brings about educational, social and economic advancement” (p. 61).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This quote could potentially exemplify the neoliberal discourse’s inclusion and commodification of te Ao Māori through the value placed on ‘economic advancement’ • However, the mention of ‘economic’ is given the lowest priority with ‘educational’ and ‘social’ receiving the highest priority. This portrays how the neoliberal discourse although present is not predominant • A tentative example of the competition and commodification between discourses.
4. Four Year Plan (Ministry of Education, 2016)		Analysis Findings
4a.	“Getting it right will mean that we have a highly-skilled workforce that continues to drive New Zealand’s economic growth and prosperity” (p. v).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasises human capital, entrepreneurialism and the importance and value of the economic (discursively neoliberal)
4b.	“Reviewing the funding model for early childhood education centres and schools will help us improve the effectiveness of that investment and its responsiveness to learner needs. We are also establishing an investment approach to education, to ensure we are investing in the right services for the right learners to maximise educational achievement and longer-term social and economic benefits” (p. 6).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stresses a human capital theory • This quote highlights ECE as an investment that is most interested in assisting ‘vulnerable children’. Children who will need the most support if they are to successfully assist with the country’s ‘economic benefit’, inferring human capital discursively neoliberal • Reminiscent of <i>No Child Left Behind</i> and <i>British Troubled Families Programme</i>, investing in the most vulnerable children to raise their future likelihood of success in the market (discursively neoliberal)

4c.	“ <i>RESEARCH</i> : To support quality, research-led teaching and drive economic growth” (p. 8).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Emphasises neoliberal tenets of human capital, notions of investment, an interconnected attachment investment and standards, entrepreneurialism, as well as the value of the economic (discursively neoliberal)
4d.	Well-educated people: “are also more likely to contribute to economic prosperity and growth.” (p. 11).	
4e.	“this will focus investment decisions by Ministers and within the Ministry on the most effective services for individuals and groups that maximise educational achievement and long-term social and economic outcomes” (p. 27).	

Table 12: Keyword Market

1. Education Act 1989 (N.Z.)		Analysis Findings
1a.	“senior manager, in relation to a private training establishment, means— any member of staff in charge of academic issues, marketing, administration, finance, student fee trust funds, or student services” (Ministry of Education, 1989, p. 387).	<ul style="list-style-type: none">● An inclusion of market rationality in the socialist sector of education, and ECE (discursively neoliberal)● For the <i>Education Act 1989</i> (N.Z.) seven of its twelve instances of ‘market’ referred to the <i>Financial Markets Conduct Act</i> (2013) that has become part of its intertextual chain. This could indicate education as a financial product.● The application of a business discourse to educational management, reinforcing the marketisation of education.● Of interest in quote 1b is the priority of marketing which is secondary to academic issues. This appears to emphasise an encouragement of
1b	“(2) The functions of Education New Zealand are— ...(e) to carry out research on international education markets and marketing strategies;” (p. 450).	
2. Four Year Plan (Ministry of Education, 2016)		
2a.	“Education is critical to building a strong and successful New Zealand. It underpins our economy and how well we compete in the global market for jobs and innovation” (p. iv).	
2b.	“will make better use of information on post-study outcomes, including employment, to improve decision making and strengthen linkages between education and the labour market” (p. v).	

2c.	“We contribute to three of the work streams – skilled and safe workplaces, innovation, and export markets” (p. 4).	marketisation in education that encourages choice
2d.	“New Zealand’s strength in the international education market helps build our learners’ cultural skills and capability by living and studying alongside international students” (p. 10).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Marketing is given only a midpoint priority in the <i>Education Act 1989</i> (N.Z.), suggesting shifting and competing discourses ● (2a to 2d): Although each instance of markets in the <i>Four Year Plan</i> (Ministry of Education, 2016) did not receive a high priority it did stress the application of ‘markets’ to multiple areas, including the educational sector ● Revealed an inclination for globalisation (discursively neoliberal) ● The low placement, and thus priority of economic, but continual inference could suggest competing and conflicting discourses

Table 13: Keyword Performance

1. <i>Education Act 1989</i> (N.Z.)		<i>Analysis Findings</i>
1a.	“ national standards ... are standards, in regard to matters such as literacy and numeracy” (p. 120), these Standards are interested in “school performance” (p. 121).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● ‘Performance’ is often associated with the discourse of business that quantifies performance for a review of market effectiveness and worth of resources
1b.	“The report must include information on—the performance of the schools’ sector in the supply of outputs: the performance of the schools’ sector in the supply of outputs: the management performance in the schools’ sector, including the quality of the management systems and practices in the schools’ sector and the management of all the assets used in the schools’ sector: the	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● (1b): This excerpt states that schools need to write annual reports on their ‘supply of outputs’, ‘performance’ regarding outputs, ‘management performance’, as well as their

	effectiveness of the schools’ sector in terms of educational achievement” (p. 157).	<p>‘effectiveness’ in relation to educational achievement (discursively neoliberal)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">● This seems to conceptualise the business discourse of performance reviews and their application to the educational sector (discursively neoliberal)
1c.	“if an organisation’s proposed plan receives funding approval, the Commission monitors the organisation’s performance to determine if it is achieving, or has achieved, the outcomes it has specified in its plan” (p. 272).	
1d.	“any other records that are necessary to enable the service’s performance to be monitored adequately” (p. 498).	
2. Four Year Plan (Ministry of Education, 2016)		
2a.	“Better targeting need, and reinvesting the resulting savings in policies to improve system performance” (p. v).	
2b.	“I am satisfied that the information on strategic intentions prepared by the Ministry of Education is consistent with the policies and performance expectations of the Government” (p. iv).	
2c.	“a focus on the long-term health and performance of the education system as a whole” (p. 2).	
2d.	“As stewards, we focus on the long-term health and performance of the education system as a whole” (p. 2).	
2e.	“These high-level measures are supported by a comprehensive set of performance indicators across the breadth of Ministry activity and funding, set out in the information supporting the Estimates of Appropriation each year” (p. 14).	
2f.	“we will consider how performance measures can be extended to incentivise outcomes as well as outputs” (p. 20).	

Table 14: Keyword Stakeholders

1. Education Act 1989 (N.Z.)		Analysis Findings
1a.	“Before issuing a statement under this section, the Minister must consult with those stakeholders in the early childhood and compulsory education sectors that he or she considers ought to be consulted” (p. 40).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The term stakeholders is defined as a group of participants with an interest, share, or investment, usually within an industry of business (Oxford Dictionary, 2017) • This terminology is thus an apt example of how business language, that is part of the economic market, has seeped into the educational field (discursively neoliberal)
1b.	“responds to the needs of learners, stakeholders, and the nation, in order to foster a skilled and knowledgeable population over time” (p. 261).	
1c.	“in consultation with the stakeholders the organisation considers ought to be consulted and any other persons specified by the Commission” (p. 271).	
1d.	“describe how an organisation will address the needs of its stakeholders” (p. 285).	
1e.	“the stakeholders that the organisation considers ought to be consulted” (p. 287).	
2. Four Year Plan (Ministry of Education, 2016)		
2a.	“We will work with local communities, iwi, the education sector and other stakeholders to inform our thinking and jointly plan our action” (p. 11).	
2b.	“The priorities build on initiatives underway and introduce system reviews that will be undertaken with the education sector and wider stakeholders including teachers, parents, employers and learners” (p. 15).	
2c.	“We consulted with stakeholders to get their views and inform the Act Update” (p. 16).	
2d.	“It supports innovative learning and enables parents and other stakeholders to have the information and data they need to make the best decisions for learners” (p. 30).	

Table 15: Keyword Entrepreneur

1. Four Year Plan (Ministry of Education, 2016)		Analysis Findings
1a.	<p><i>“Building a more competitive and productive economy: Education makes a huge difference to the economy by developing tomorrow’s entrepreneurs and employees and by building the capability of our existing workforce – we help ensure New Zealanders have skills and knowledge for work and life” (p. 4).</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The Oxford Dictionary (2017) defines an entrepreneur as “a person who sets up a business or businesses, taking on financial risks in the hope of profit” (para. 1), giving the example “<i>many entrepreneurs see potential in this market</i>” (para. 1) ● The inclusion of this word in education is, therefore, a pertinent example of the neoliberal discourse in the <i>Four Year Plan</i> (Ministry of Education, 2016) ● Priorities ‘workforce’ that is given a higher importance than ‘life’ (discursively neoliberal) ● Conceptualised within human capital theory

Table 16: Keyword Economy

1. Four Year Plan (Ministry of Education, 2016)		Analysis Findings
1a.	<p>“Education is critical to building a strong and successful New Zealand. It underpins our economy and how well we compete in the global market for jobs and innovation” (p. iv).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The word ‘economy’ has an equally distributed priority in both high and low positions. This suggests its varied value and application to the educational sector ● ‘Economy’ encapsulates education as an “an <i>investment</i> with a <i>big return</i>” (Ministry of Education, 2016, p. i). This re-emphasises the concept of human capital, which engages
1b.	<p>“As we move into a global knowledge economy we need to equip our kids for a future we cannot fully see and for jobs that don’t yet exist” (p. iv).</p>	
1c.	<p>“We all know that a great education is one of the strongest foundations for a prosperous life, a flourishing society and a strong economy” (p. vi).</p>	

<i>Id.</i>	“In a rapidly evolving economy, New Zealanders need the ability to adapt and thrive in an increasingly global world” (p. v).	with children as future products in an economic market (discursively neoliberal)
<i>Ie.</i>	“building a more competitive and productive economy (the Government’s Business Growth Agenda or BGA)” (p. 4).	
<i>If.</i>	“These aim to ensure New Zealanders gain the qualifications and skills they need to be part of a successful society and economy” (p. 4).	
<i>Ig.</i>	“We will ensure the system provides the tailored education required to meet the diverse needs of every child and student from birth to adulthood in different communities, in the context of the future economy” (p. 10).	
<i>Ih.</i>	“New Zealand needs an education system that provides its people with the skills and knowledge they require to be successful in life and in an increasingly global economy” (p. 10).	

Table 17: Keyword Invest

1. Four Year Plan (Ministry of Education, 2016)		Analysis Finding
<i>Ia.</i>	“We will invest more effectively to raise achievement” (p. 5).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● A focus on the investment of the human capital of children tightly interlocked with the importance of situated ‘data’, as a significant factor to raising standards ● Standards located as measures of accountability providing quantifiable information for investment in the stocks of education (discursively neoliberal, business orientation).
<i>Ib.</i>	“Invest more effectively to raise achievement” (p. 8).	
<i>Ic.</i>	“These subsidy increases will encourage providers to invest in these areas” (p. 24).	

Table 18: Keyword Investment

1. Four Year Plan (Ministry of Education, 2016)		Analysis Finding
<i>1a.</i>	Education, “It is an investment, and an investment with a big return” (p. iv).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● A human capital theory of ECE ● A focus on the investment of human capital interlocked with situated ‘data’ ● Accountability via data perceived as a significant factor to raising standards (discursively neoliberal)
<i>1b.</i>	“We are also much more able to identify the obstacles to educational achievement some young people face. This data is helping us focus our efforts and Government’s investments” (p. vi).	
<i>1c.</i>	“Our work and investment priorities are focused on activities that will help the education system flourish and make it possible for everyone to succeed” (p. 2).	
<i>1d.</i>	“We fund the system and make investment decisions that support its long-term sustainability” (p. 2).	
<i>1e.</i>	“There has been a shift towards driving better results from the system and implementing an investment approach” (p. 6).	
<i>1f.</i>	“Reviewing the funding model for early childhood education centres and schools will help us improve the effectiveness of that investment and its responsiveness to learner needs” (p. 6).	
<i>1g.</i>	“Better targeting of investment, resources, support and expertise to drive innovation and improve results” (p. 8).	
<i>1h.</i>	“We are also now able to demonstrate more clearly how educational achievement contributes to successful life outcomes as adults and the long term costs associated with poor educational achievement that fall to the Government. This gives us great information on which to base better investment choices to help all children and young people succeed.” (p. 11).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● A human capital theory of ECE ● A focus on the investment of human capital interlocked with situated ‘data’ ● Accountability via data perceived as a significant factor to raising standards ● (1m): Although the private sector is incorporated it is given the minimalist priority, foregrounded by both the Government and public sector.
<i>1i.</i>	“we will align our resources and efforts through annual budget processes, investment and business planning” (p. 14).	

<i>1j.</i>	“improving investment decisions” (p. 19).	This higher placed importance of Government could be perceived as aligning with socialist discourse
<i>1k.</i>	“We are developing an investment approach for education” (p. 27).	
<i>1l.</i>	Data, “it will inform future policy advice to government as well as our internal investment planning” (p. 29).	
<i>1m.</i>	The education plan: “the Government, the public and the private sector all make significant investments in education in New Zealand” (p. 29).	

Table 19: Keyword Standards

<i>1.Education Act 1989 (N.Z.)</i>		<i>Analysis Findings</i>
<i>1a.</i>	Standards, “set out statements of desirable codes” (p. 120).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Quote appears to be positively framing standards ● This apparent positive framing and high word frequency (Table 4) may exhibit a preoccupation with standardisation (discursively neoliberal)
<i>1b.</i>	“prescribe minimum standards relating to premises, facilities, programmes of education, practices in relation to children’s learning and development, staffing and parental or caregiver participation (including adult:child ratios), health and safety, practices in relation to behaviour management and limits on the use of physical restraint, implementation of the curriculum framework, communication and consultation with parents, the operation or administration of those services, or any of them, to be complied with to ensure the health, comfort, care, education, and safety of children attending licensed early childhood services” (p. 500).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● The prescribed minimum standards reveal a preoccupation with premises and facilities, and a low interest toward the operation of services ● Within this list are fifteen standards of regulations, with the first and second priority given to premises and facilities ● This could indicate that what the governmentality is most interested in is these two factors that are likely to receive the biggest push to align with government discourses ● The eleventh listed aspect in this reference is “the operation or

		<p>administration of those services” (Ministry of Education, 1989, p. 500). Such a low priority of operation and administration may point toward a lack of government interest and wish for involvement</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The low interest of the government toward this aspect that could result in the deregulation of services, and perhaps even the privatisation of centres (discursively neoliberal)
1c.	<p>“Criteria prescribed by the Minister for use in assessing compliance with minimum standards imposed by regulations made under this section are a disallowable instrument, but not a legislative instrument, for the purposes of the Legislation Act 2012 and must be presented to the House of Representatives under section 41 of that Act” (p. 504).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The use of minimum standards implies the selected market choice of other providers, producing other options (discursively neoliberal)
<p>2. Education (Early Childhood Service) Regulations (2008)</p>		
2a.	<p>“The purpose of the minimum standards is to ensure the education, care, health, comfort, and safety of children attending licensed early childhood services” (p. 30).</p>	
2b.	<p>“Subpart 2 requires each licensed service provider to comply with each of the following minimum standards:” (p. 31).</p>	
2c.	<p>“the purpose of criteria prescribed by the Minister is to enable those criteria to be used by the Secretary to assess whether service providers have complied with the minimum standards prescribed under Regulations” (p. 32).</p>	
2d.	<p>“the purpose of the minimum standards is to ensure the education, care, health, comfort, and safety of children attending licensed early childhood services” (2008, p. 32).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Standards in this specific quote are positively framed, aligning with neoliberalism

3. Licensing Criteria (Ministry of Education, 2008)		Analysis Findings
3a.	“The criteria are used by the Secretary for Education to assess compliance with regulated standards of education and care” (p. 3).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appears to be positively implying the necessity of standards, potentially revealing neoliberal values
3b.	“The criteria are to be used by the Secretary of Education to assess compliance with the minimum standards set out under regulations 43 and 45 to 47 of the Education (Early Childhood Services) Regulations 2008” (p. 7).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The use of minimum implies that these are the lowest denominators but that centres have the option to operate above these limits • This could stress a choice that may reinforce the neoliberal discourse of diversity of choices within a free-market of providers
3c.	“Regulations 43 and 45 to 47 impose minimum standards that each licensed service provider is required to comply with, and are set out in these criteria so that readers can see how the regulations and criteria fit together” (p. 7).	
3d.	“The purpose of the Curriculum Framework is to provide the basis and context underpinning specific curriculum regulatory requirements in the Education (Early Childhood Services) Regulations 2008 or the Education (Playgroups) Regulations 2008 relating to the standards of education and care and to the associated curriculum criteria” (p. 37).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appears to be positively implying the necessity for standards, potentially revealing neoliberalism’s values
4. Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 2017)		Analysis Findings
4a.	“New Zealand’s early learning <i>standards</i> are amongst the highest in the world and almost all of our children are participating and benefitting from a rich array of relationships and experiences in our early learning settings” (p. 2).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appears to be positively framing standards, potentially revealing neoliberal values
5. Four Year Plan (Ministry of Education, 2016)		
5a	The Education Council will set high <i>standards</i> for teachers, and will also improve and streamline the existing disciplinary regime for teachers” (p. 18).	

5b.	“We aim to identify those needs using standards and individual assessment to ensure every child and young person receives the necessary help” (p. 18).	
5c.	“We will work with our partner agencies to maintain high-quality standards across all aspects of education delivered to international Students” (p. 24).	

Table 20: *Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 2017b): Presuppositions Defining Early Childhood Education*

<i>Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 2017b)</i>		<i>Analysis Findings</i>
1a.	“Early ECE services included community-based kindergartens staffed by teachers, and parent led playcentres. These remain an important part of our educational landscape today” (p, 8)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • These unsupported claims in the updated curriculum support the neoliberal discourse’s power/knowledge and regimes of truth. • This is because these presuppositions are associated with the neoliberal discourse’s necessity for, and benefits of free-markets in ECE via the inclusion of ‘valued’ ‘diversity’, as well as empowering consumers through their ability to ‘choose’ services
1a.	“The services available are very diverse. They have a wide range of ownership and governance structures as well as different philosophies and operating models. These different philosophies and models have emerged over time in response to changing social contexts, educational aims, parental values and employment patterns. The diversity of services is a valued feature of early learning provision in New Zealand” (p. 8).	
1b.	“Early ECE services included <i>community-based kindergartens</i> staffed by teachers, and parent-led playcentres. These remain an important part of our educational landscape today. Over time there has been large-scale expansion of early childhood education and care throughout New Zealand, including centre-based, home-based and hospital-based services, which typically operate longer hours and accommodate wider age ranges. In addition, community-based, certificated playgroups can be found in many areas” (p.8).	

Table 21: Socialist Regimes of Truth

<i>1. Education Act 1989 (N.Z.)</i>		<i>Analysis Findings</i>
<i>1a.</i>	“The parent or guardian of a child has a right of entry to a licensed early child-hood education and care centre or to the premises where a licensed home-based education and care service is provided” (p. 504).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acknowledging the importance of <i>family as a collective</i>, who are implied in this quote to be a necessary visitor and thus component of children’s early education (discursively socialist)
<i>2. Education (Early Childhood Service) Regulations (2008)</i>		<i>Analysis Findings</i>
<i>2a.</i>	“make all reasonable efforts to ensure that the service provider collaborates with the parents and, where appropriate, the family or whānau of the enrolled children in relation to the learning and development of, and decision making about, those children” (p. 33-34).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acknowledges the rights of the child • Makes vital the <i>family as a collective</i> (discursively socialist)
<i>3. Licensing Criteria (Ministry of Education, 2008)</i>		<i>Analysis Findings</i>
<i>3a.</i>	“service curriculum is informed by assessment, planning, and evaluation (documented and undocumented) that demonstrates an understanding of children’s learning, their interests, whānau, and life contexts” (p. 9).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasises the importance of the <i>family as a collective</i> • Acknowledges the rights for the child • Promotes equality for all cultures (discursively socialist)
<i>3b.</i>	“The service curriculum respects and supports the right of each child to be confident in their own culture and encourages children to understand and respect other cultures” (p. 9)	
<i>3c.</i>	Regular opportunities (formal and informal) are provided for parents to: ...be involved in decision-making concerning their child’s learning” (p. 10)	

4. <i>Te Whāriki</i> (Ministry of Education, 1996)		<i>Analysis Findings</i>
4a.	“Activities will be age appropriate and developmentally appropriate and will enable children with special needs to be actively engaged in learning... <i>Te Whāriki</i> is designed to be inclusive and appropriate for all children and anticipates that special needs will be met as children learn together in all kinds of early childhood education settings.” (p. 11)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socialist regimes of truth via equality
4b.	“The wider world of family and community is an integral part of the early childhood curriculum” (p. 14).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socialist and te Ao Māori regimes of truth via the family as a collective
4c.	“Early childhood care and education services assist children and their families to develop independence and to access the resources necessary to enable them to direct their own lives” (p. 40).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Combines discourses • To ‘assist children and their families...to access resources’ implies a level of socialist equality, and the value of families as collectives. • The inclusion of ‘to develop independence and to access the resources necessary to enable them to direct their own lives’ includes components of neoliberal discourse, via the encouragement of independence often linked to individualism and ‘resource’ that hints at a human capital theory.
4d.	“To learn and develop to their potential, children must be respected and valued as individuals. Their rights to personal dignity, to equitable opportunities for participation” (p. 40).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Implies neoliberal discourse (Also in Table 8, 2c). • Equality indicates social discourse
4e.	“Adults, as well as children, need emotional support, some flexibility in their routines, and the opportunity to share and discuss their experiences in a comfortable setting”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emphasises socialist regimes of truth via equality. This emphasises flexibility that is appropriate for the opportunity.

4f.	<p>“Acknowledgment of different family styles, and knowledge of the cultures of the children in the programme, are also important” (p. 55).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Equality practices (discursively socialist)
4g.	<p>Strand 3 -Contribution Goals “<i>Children experience an environment where:</i></p> <p><i>there are equitable opportunities for learning, irrespective of gender, ability, age, ethnicity, or background;</i></p> <p><i>they are affirmed as individuals;</i></p> <p><i>they are encouraged to learn with and alongside others”</i> (p. 64).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> These key goals of the curriculum reflect pluralised shifting discourses This includes the socialist value of equality and feminism (‘irrespective of gender’) linked in part to women’s rights movements ‘Affirmed as individuals’ implicates the neoliberal discourse that is centred around notions of individualism Implies a possible te Ao Māori discourse in the last goal that incorporates working with and alongside others. This could potentially imply collectivist regimes of truth associated with this discourse
5. Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 2017b)		Analysis Findings
5a.	<p>“This vision is expressed in different ways as early learning services work with parents, whānau and communities to design and implement a programme of learning and development that reflects local priorities and supports each child’s personalised learning pathway” (p. 2)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The ‘different ways’ of ‘design and implement’ implies equality regimes of truth via socialism Working with ‘parents, whānau and communities’ incorporates families as collectives and notions of te Ao Māori collectivism and socialism
5b.	<p>“This curriculum acknowledges that all children have rights to protection and promotion of their health and wellbeing, to equitable access to learning opportunities, to recognition of their language, culture and identity and, increasingly, to agency in their own lives. These rights align closely with the concept of mana” (p. 12).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Embodies te Ao Māori through the incorporation of mana Foregrounded by ‘agency in their own lives’ that may indicate neoliberalism value of independence, oppositional to te Ao Māori Socialism regimes of truth via ‘equitability’

5c.	<p>“<i>Te Whāriki</i> is an inclusive curriculum – a curriculum for all children. Inclusion encompasses gender and ethnicity, diversity of ability and learning needs, family structure and values, socio-economic status and religion.</p> <p><i>Te Whāriki</i> holds the promise that all children will be empowered to learn with and alongside others by engaging in experiences that have meaning for them. This requires kaiako to actively respond to the strengths, interests, abilities and needs of each child and, at times, provide them with additional support in relation to learning, behaviour, development or communication” (p. 13).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Embodies socialist regimes of truth via inclusion, equality, feminist connections of gender rights • Te reo use of teacher (kaiako)
5d.	<p>“Every child has the right to equitable opportunities to participate actively in the learning community” (p. 36),</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socialist regimes of truth via ‘equitable opportunities’
5e.	<p>“Respect for others, the ability to identify and accept another point of view, and acceptance of and ease of interaction with children of other genders, capabilities and ethnic groups” (p. 37).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promoting socialist regimes of truth via equality, linked to feminist movements that incorporated ‘gender’ and ‘capabilities’
5f.	<p>“Kaiako encourage all toddlers to engage in a range of caring and domestic routines. They accept toddlers’ exploration of gender and diversity” (p. 38).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Te reo use of teacher • Feminist regimes of truth via gender that promotes equality between ‘all toddlers’ ‘exploration of gender and diversity’ • Related to socialist discourse
5g.	<p>“Kaiako promote equitable opportunities for children and counter actions or comments that categorise, stereotype or exclude people” (p. 40).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Te reo use of teacher • Socialist value of equitable opportunities that mitigates the related feminist regimes of truth via inclusion

6. Four Year Plan (Ministry of Education, 2016)		Analysis Findings
6a.	“An important focus for us is to work more closely with parents, family and whānau, communities and employers, and connect them to efforts in raising student achievement” (p. vi)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Embodies the socialist, neoliberal, and te Ao Māori discourses • Importance placed on socialist and te Ao Māori regimes of truth via families as collectives, the crucial place of communities • Importance placed on neoliberal market and application of employers and achievements
6b.	“As stewards, the agencies involved each play a crucial role in shaping, supporting and enabling the system to accelerate learner achievement. Working together we can help students, parents and whānau, employers, professionals and the Government to get the most from the huge commitment in time, energy and resources they make to the system” (p. 10)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indicates notions of equality by ‘shaping, supporting and enabling the [educational] system’; defining socialist regimes of truth • The family as a collective and the vital role of the community are included; defining te Ao Māori discourse • The inclusion of ‘employers’, ‘achievement’ insinuate the neoliberal discourse through the value of the future market that is enabled to thrive via children’s achievement, indicating notions of human capital

Table 22: Te Ao Māori Regimes of Truth

1. Education Act 1989 (N.Z.)		Analysis Findings
1a.	“The parent or guardian of a child has a right of entry to a licensed early child-hood education and care centre or to the premises where a licensed home-based education and care service is provided” (p. 504).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acknowledging the importance of <i>family as a collective</i>, who are implied in this quote to be a necessary visitor and thus component of children’s early education (discursively te Ao Māori)

2. Education (Early Childhood Service) Regulations (2008)		Analysis Findings
2a.	“acknowledges and reflects the unique place of Māori as tangata whenua” (p. 33)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acknowledges Māori as indigenous and integral to New Zealand and its ECE • Uses te reo, emphasising the strength of te Ao Māori discourse by incorporating it from within its own language
3. Licensing Criteria (Ministry of Education, 2008)		Analysis Findings
3a.	“Parents means –... ii. may include a biological or adoptive parent, step parent, partner of a parent of a child, legal guardian or member of the child’s family, whānau or other culturally recognised family group” (p. 6)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indicates families as collectivists who are not restricted to mothers and fathers but supported by the wider whānau, encapsulated within the ‘culturally recognised family group’ ‘or’ hapu and iwi (discursively te Ao Māori)
3d.	“The service curriculum acknowledges and reflects the unique place of Māori as tangata whenua. Children are given the opportunity to develop knowledge and an understanding of the cultural heritages of both parties to Te Tiriti o Waitangi” (p. 9)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acknowledges Māori as indigenous and integral to New Zealand and its ECE. • Uses te reo, emphasising the strength of te Ao Māori discourse by incorporating it from within its own language
3c.	“Medicines: “provided by a parent for the use of that child only or, in relation to Rongoa Māori (Māori plant medicines), that is prepared by other adults at the service” (p. 34)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognises and affirms Māori ways of doing and being regarding health (discursively te Ao Māori)
3d.	“Licensed early childhood education and care services and certificated playgroups must implement the Principles and the Strands, and can opt to use either the English or the te reo Māori versions set out in Part A or Part B of clause 6, or both. Kōhanga reo affiliated with Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust must implement Part C of clause 6” (p. 37)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enables inclusive and embodied Māori regimes of truth by providing principles and strands in te reo Māori

4. Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 1996)		Analysis Findings
4a.	“Tēnā koutou ngā kaiāwhina, kaiako a ō tātou tamariki nohinohi” (p. 7).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The very first page of text (the foreword) is in te reo Māori. This stresses the integral value of this discourse to the curriculum
4b.	“The English and Māori texts parallel and complement each other. The Māori curriculum is designed specifically to provide a basis for appropriate practice in ngā kōhanga reo. It is also applicable within other Māori immersion programmes. The Māori curriculum is an integral part of the document and provides a basis for bicultural early childhood education in New Zealand” (p. 10)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The inclusion of the Māori curriculum in te reo within <i>Te Whāriki</i> (Ministry of Education, 1996) establishes this discourse as influential. Additionally, it produces greater challenges for its commodification, encased within its own language
4c.	“The early childhood curriculum has been envisaged as a whāriki, or mat, woven from the principles, strands, and goals defined in this document” (p. 11).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The integral concept and use of whāriki in te reo is discursively te Ao Māori Incorporates the visual and metaphorical framework and title of this curriculum Embodies Māori regimes of truth, language and use of metaphor This is substantiated in the quote: “Whāriki and raranga have symbolic and spiritual meaning for Māori” (Ministry of Education, 2017b, p. 10)
4d.	“Cognitive, social, cultural, physical, emotional, and spiritual dimensions of human development are integrally interwoven”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reminiscent of spiritual regimes of truth via te Ao Māori (including wairua and muri) - (discursively te Ao Māori)
4e.	“New Zealand is the home of Māori language and culture: curriculum in early childhood settings should promote te reo and ngā tikanga Māori, making them visible and affirming their value for children from all cultural backgrounds. Adults working with children should demonstrate an understanding of the different iwi and the meaning of whānau and whānauanga. They should also respect the aspirations of parents and families for their children” (p. 42)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Incorporates, encourages and emphasises the use of, and for, te reo and tikanga in centres (discursively te Ao Māori)

4f.	“Interdependence between children, their extended family, and the community should be supported, particularly for Māori and Tangata Pasefika families and their children” (p. 55).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A crucial component of te Ao Māori is collectivism. This quote supports this through the iteration of interdependence (discursively to Ao Māori)
5. Te Whāriki (Ministry of Education, 2017b)		Analysis Findings
5a.	<p>“THE COVER WHĀRIKI</p> <p>The cover represents part of the underside of a whāriki or woven mat. The green symbolises new life, growth and potential and references harakeke and pandanus, which are used throughout Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa as materials for weaving” (p. i)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • As with <i>Te Whāriki</i> (Ministry of Education, 1996) the updated curriculum begins with te Ao Māori regimes of truth • Although this time not in te reo, it is embodied within a metaphorical and storytelling language (reflecting te Ao Māori)
5b.	“A curriculum must speak to our past, present and future. As global citizens in a rapidly changing and increasingly connected world, children need to be adaptive, creative and resilient” (p. 7).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incorporates notions of whakapapa and whanaungatanga via ‘past, present and future’ (te Ao Māori) • Includes neoliberal regimes of truth via globalisation, and encouragement of market principles of adaption, creativeness and resilience (discourse commodification and alignments)
5c.	“Kaiako in ECE settings weave together the principles and strands, in collaboration with children, parents, whānau and communities, to create a local curriculum for their setting. Understood in this way, the curriculum or whāriki is a ‘mat for all to stand on’” (p. 10).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Te reo use of teacher (kaiako) • Metaphorical language (weave) induces Māori tikanga (discursively te Ao Māori) • This is substantiated in the quote: “Whāriki and raranga have symbolic and spiritual meaning for Māori” (Ministry of Education, 2017b, p. 10)
5d.	“This curriculum acknowledges that all children have rights to protection and promotion of their health and wellbeing, to equitable access to learning opportunities, to recognition of their language, culture and identity and, increasingly, to agency in their own lives. These rights align closely with the concept of mana” (p. 12).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Displays te Ao Māori through the incorporation of, and valued placed upon, mana • Foregrounded by ‘agency in their own lives’ that may indicate neoliberalism value of independence, oppositional to te Ao Māori • Socialism regimes of truth via ‘equitability’

5e.	<p>“Tū mai e moko. Te whakaata o ō mātua. Te moko o ō tīpuna:</p> <p>Stand strong, O moko. The reflection of your parents. The blueprint of your ancestors.</p> <p>This whakataukī encourages mokopuna to stand strong, proud in the knowledge that they are the embodiment of all those who have gone before them” (p. 17).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This excerpt provides an example of the multiple whakataukī scattered throughout <i>Te Whāriki</i> (Ministry of Education, 2017b). • Displays te Ao Māori power/knowledges through te reo, tikanga and whakapapa
5f.	<p>“Respect for tapu as it relates to themselves and others” (p. 27).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Displays te Ao Māori regimes of truth through tikanga
5g.	<p>“Knowledge about features of the local area, such as a river or mountain (this may include their spiritual significance)” (p. 32).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Displays te Ao Māori ways of being by acknowledging the land as Papatūanoko (Earth Mother) and the many ancestral stories and locality specific knowledges of each iwi (Māori tribe associated with a distinct territory)
5h.	<p>“An appreciation of te reo Māori as a living and relevant language” (p. 42).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An incorporation, ‘relevance’ and value for te Ao Māori via the use of te reo
6. Four Year Plan (Ministry of Education, 2016)		Analysis Findings
6a.	<p>“An important focus for us is to work more closely with parents, family and whānau, communities and employers, and connect them to efforts in raising student achievement” (p. vi)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Embodies socialist, neoliberal and te Ao Māori discourses • Reflected in the importance placed on socialist and te Ao Māori regimes of truth via families as collectives, as well as the crucial value of communities • Followed by a neoliberal market importance and application of employers and achievements
6b.	<p>“As stewards, the agencies involved each play a crucial role in shaping, supporting and enabling the system to accelerate learner achievement. Working together we can help students, parents and whānau, employers, professionals and the Government to get the</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (6b): Indicates notions of equality by ‘shaping, supporting and enabling the (educational) system’, defines socialist regimes of truth • The family as collectives and vital role of the community are also

	<p>most from the huge commitment in time, energy and resources they make to the system” (p. 10)</p>	<p>included, defines te Ao Māori discourse</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The inclusion of ‘employers’, ‘achievement’ insinuate the neoliberal discourse through the value of the future market that is enabled to thrive via children’s achievement, indicating notions of human capital (commodification and alignment of discourses)
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Appendix 2

Fiona Westbrook
1a River Road
Ngaruawahia
22.02.2018

Dear Terry Locke

My name is Fiona Westbrook. I am a Masters student at the University of Waikato, and am writing a thesis on the neoliberal discourse in New Zealand's early childhood sector for a Masters of Education. A print copy of this thesis when completed will be deposited in the University Library, and a digital copy will also be made available online via the University's digital repository the Research Commons. This is a not-for-profit research repository for scholarly work which is intended to make research undertaken in the University available to as wide an audience as possible.

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Locke, T. (2004). *Critical discourse analysis. Continuum research methods series*. London, England: Continuum.

Figure 3.1 Self and the discourse on page 36. I have adapted this figure, included below, into my researches methodological overview, illustrating how it is conceptualised within a continual process of self-reflexivity.

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p. 42	Adapted Locke (2004, p. 36) Figure 3.1 <i>Self and the discourse</i> into this thesis Methodological overview, (Figure 1).	22.2.18	Yes 25.2.18	Yes 25.2.18	None