Chapter Three

Re-imagining Education.

The faculty of imagination is not strongly developed among them, although they permitted it to run wild in believing absurd superstitions. Not one good example of invention, the highest function of this Faculty, can be quoted from among their works; nor was the lowest function of imagination extensively diffused among the people, which is seen in the mental act of imagining ourselves in the situation of others, or “doing unto others as we would that others should do unto us.”

Native peoples are a cinematographic people. I utilize this term in so far as we are a people in constant movement.  

Introduction.

In this chapter I will discuss 'nga aho' or the 'threads' which weave in and out of the different sections and chapters. I have hinted at these themes in the previous two chapters, intending that the reader will have been given the necessary clues and cues to position themselves within the field and within this particular text. To put it simply first, one of the threads is about a way of looking and seeing. To look is to direct your gaze, to position yourself, and to see is to observe, perceive, make sense of what you are looking at. To claim a way of looking and a way of seeing is to imply that there is more than one way to do this, and to imply further, that these ways can be selected self-consciously and reflexively. More traditional academic writing would assume that the one looking and observing is somehow

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neutral and dispassionate, not actually part of the picture itself. This thesis clearly does not conform to that view.

A second thread is about a way of looking, seeing and writing about several things as they come together. While our eyes and other senses can take in and make sense of complex data instantaneously, writing makes this process difficult to reproduce. Usually we resort to certain conventions in order to construct a narrative. These conventions have been the subject of critique from both western writers and writers whose literary or intellectual traditions have been excluded from the shaping and defining of academic writing styles. Another aspect of this theme, however, is concerned with the spaces within which things come together and are struggled over, re-created, transformed or separated out again. A third thread is about a way of looking and seeing several things coming together all at the same time. Making a movie may be an easier way to achieve this aim. However, the concept of multiple discourses has facilitated approaches to writing which take into account the idea that in real life things often happen at the same time, and not in some ordered sequence of events which can be tracked systematically by following unilinear patterns of behaviour. The fourth thread is about a way of connecting and making sense of the images, the ideas invoked by these images, and the relationships between the different images. At the surface level I have argued that everything connects simply because I say it connects. However, I am also arguing that the ways in which I have made sense of, and have made connections between, all the different topics and ideas addressed in this thesis are important, not just for me, but for others who work in this field, and add something new to our current understandings of Maori and the articulation of Maori resistances with colonial power.

What these four threads suggest is that there are multiple struggles, occurring simultaneously across multiple sites and multiple time zones. The past is still incomplete, what happens to Maori does not just occur in sites where Maori are present. A few Maori are having to contest these multiple struggles, sometimes simultaneously, sometimes moving in and out of

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different contexts, shifting across cultures, changing languages from *Maori* to English to *Maori*, and changing registers, repositioning in response to the place, the context, the topic, the people, the time, the politics. It is an approach which attempts to imbue a sense of the reality of what it means to be a *Maori* into a thesis, written by a *Maori* that is concerned with *Maori* issues. The difficulties, however, are related to the problem that in order to look, to see and to write, to structure and fit images, texts, words and social dynamics together which make sense, it is necessary to control for a moment, to freeze an image just long enough, to capture it and write it before releasing it.

The first of these threads I will define as a way of re-imagining the world and our position as *Maori* within the world. The second is concerned with ways in which different ideas, social categories and tendencies intersect. The third I have defined simply as movement, the movements or tendencies which transverse sites of struggle. The fourth which underpins all of the sites visited in this thesis, is the concept of code. What I am suggesting by privileging these themes over others is that separately, together, and in combination with other ideas, these four themes help map the conceptual terrain being covered here. The categorical terms being used are not of the same type and have not been motivated by a particular 'model'. Rather, they reflect the multiple positions, spaces, discourses, languages, histories, textures and world-views which are being contested, struggled over, resisted and reformulated by *Maori* both in and out of the field of education. It is possible, and perhaps more usual, to analyse a problem with one set of conceptual tools, however, as I discussed in chapter one, I have drawn from several different conceptual fields and have made sense of each of them by asking, 'What does this way of looking at *Maori* issues tell me? If I looked at these issues from this angle or through these ideas what else will I see?' and 'If I overlay each perspective, one on top of the other, what patterns emerge?' Finally, to elaborate a little further on the metaphor of weaving, that is, *nga aho o te kahahu matauranga*, not all threads are, or need to be, dominant. It is their combinations which produce the patterns.4

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4 The central thread in weaving is known either as *Te Aho Tapu* or *Te Aho Matua* which also invokes whakapapa, for example a single line of descent. I have assumed that being *Maori* is the central thread but my interest in the thesis is in the other threads which create the patterns, textures and nuances. I think that my own experiences which are used to inform this thesis could also be a singular connecting thread.
The chapter is divided into three sections. To begin with I will discuss the threads of intersection and movement together. I do not think that as ideas they need too much expansion. In the second part of the chapter I will discuss the theme of imagination in the context of a colonialism which denied indigenous people the capacity to dream and be creative. I will then argue the reasons for the significance of *Te Kohanga Reo* as an educational and cultural intervention that has shifted the way *Maori* people have engaged with education from a space of powerlessness to one which speaks to new possibilities. This is the more substantive part of the chapter because there are background and contextual issues needed at this point of the thesis which will be simply assumed in the chapters to follow. In the third part of the chapter I will discuss the concept of code which has been applied at two levels of analysis, the imperial and the local. I intend to show how these can be seen as conveying the same sets of ideas.

Part One: Intersecting Movements.

Critical analyses of society based on concepts of race, gender and class have never provided adequate explanations for *Maori* of our circumstances as indigenous people living in New Zealand. The imperial view of social difference has often been reflected and reproduced in dominant discourses on social inequality. Different explanations for *Maori* social disadvantage have frequently been underpinned by racist views, by deficit theories and by an historical amnesia. Recent analyses of race/class/gender differences have been greatly influenced by the voices of difference represented by African American writers such as bell hooks, Third World writers such as Chandra Mohanty, indigenous writers like Haunani Kay Trask, and feminist writers, which have argued that disadvantaged groups do not exist on the margins eking out a meaningless and passive existence, having become so disempowered that exercising agency has not been possible. Such analyses have argued that people can and do resist, that there are possibilities in marginal spaces which enable power to be contested, that cultural life in the margins is rich and imbued with its own politics, and that even within

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limited spaces people engage in constant acts of struggle.⁶

Furthermore, these voices have added. the cultural politics within marginal groups are themselves sites of contestation and co-option as well as of resistance. Within these groups there are also power relations which are struggled over, and competing interest groups which shape cultural politics in the margins. These cultural politics are much more than a set of oppositional and resistance politics. They have not been created simply as a resistance to the dominant group, as if people have no other way of making sense of their own lives and have no other purpose in their lives. They have histories, they have contested accounts of world views, they have been created and recreated in response to both external influences and the logic of internal politics. They do not exist in isolation from the politics which occur nationally or internationally. Indigenous communities do not always speak with one voice, have one chief, eat our own food and wear colourful clothing decorated with feathers, bones and pretty shells. Some may eat at MacDonals while others may choose to listen to the rhythms of American rap music or adhere to rastafarianism. We do not entirely live according to the way our lives have been represented by the west.

One of the reasons a focus on intersection and movement is worthwhile, at a theoretical level, is not that they produce interesting and diverse indigenous politics, but that from these politics new social and political formations have emerged which challenge long-held ideas about social change amongst indigenous peoples. These ideas, for example, held that change occurs in an evolutionary pattern that is universally consistent, that change is naturally an improvement, that it equates with progress. Changes inflicted on indigenous people were believed to be for our own good, conversely, not to change (in the ways demanded under colonialism), was viewed as remaining in the past in a static position. One of the problems with such a view is that it contains self-fulfilling justifications of colonial practices. Under such a view it was possible to justify the devastating effect of western diseases on indigenous populations as a natural part of contact with civilisation. This was even prior to Social Darwinism which, by the late nineteenth century, provided a more 'scientific' justification. It was also possible to legitimate constant interventions into the lives of indigenous people,

either through direct coercion or through paternalistic policies, laws and regulations which manipulated consent. Underpinning such ideas, which were often claimed to demonstrate moral and intellectual superiority, was the belief that only the 'west' was fit to govern and that indigenous people were fit only to be governed by others. These views were and continue to be self-perpetuating. A further problem with evolutionary views of change is that they denied the possibility that colonised peoples could exercise agency in a range of imaginative, strategic and subtle ways. Once they had been brought under the control of a colonial authority it was no longer considered possible that colonised people could intervene in the progress of civilisation. This progress was unrelenting.

As already quoted in chapter one, Chandra Mohanty in writing a 'cartography' of the struggles facing Third World women has said that 'the world (is) transversed with intersecting lines'. Along such intersecting lines are ideas, categories or tensions which often connect with each other in different ways. They are not necessarily oppositions or dualisms. They create and are created by conditions which are inherently unstable, arbitrary and uncontrollable. One intersecting movement already identified occurs around the tensions of fragmentation and recentering. The fragmentation concept has been posed as a characteristic of post-modernism and is underpinned by the idea of multiple discourses or multiple voices. Fragmentation is viewed as an outcome of a number of tendencies; the breakdown of traditional western values, the collapse of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the reformation of capitalism by new rightist policies, the complexities of pluralism in western societies. In this framework fragmented-ness is posed as the alternative to universalism. This allows for multiple narratives of history, multiple voices, multiple discourses.

The term fragmentation as used in this thesis suggests that this tendency is not so much post-modern as modern. Fragmentation is linked here to the principles of disordering which are encoded in imperialism and colonialism. Colonisation involved the systematic fragmentation

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8 As Said has argued, the Arab, Islamic, Caribbean, Latin American, African and Indian worlds are still concerned with modernity and that this concern 'is still far from exhausted'. Said, E., 1993. Culture and Imperialism. London, Vintage Books, p.399.
of indigenous world views, values, lands, resources and social order. It is an essential feature of re-presentation of the 'other', part of a process of selection, interpretation, arrangement and eventually of distribution. It is a tendency which does more than break down stable categories, it disrupts the value system, the knowledge base, the material base.\(^9\) It disrupts the history of those who are subjugated under colonialism. Fragmentation results in the renaming of a world, a reclassifying of the different parts of that world and an appropriation of those aspects desired by the colonising power.

Whilst the west may be concerned with fragmentation of itself, the indigenous world has been concerned, in the last two decades at least, with such things as the repatriation of artifacts, the reclaiming of languages, the reassertion of sovereignty. I have named this tendency as one of 'recentering', bringing back into the centre of our reality our world views and using these views as a platform for determining our own lives. The concept of centre is an important one for indigenous people to claim because of its conceptual significance to the imperial world. Imperial order emanated from a central authority. Culture, intellectual thought, literature, these all assumed that there was a place from which intellectual and moral superiority sprang and to which it constantly returned. Recentering is a process which not only claims back what has been appropriated, but reconnects, reconstructs, repositions and reorders *Maori* language, knowledge and culture. This can be framed as a reclaiming of authenticity which does not, in my view, mean a return to the traditional world, nor is it a complete rejection of everything gained under colonialism. Rather, authenticity is about emancipation, it is about being able to define who we are, what we are and being able to live as we choose.

Intersections can be conceptualised as lines which intersect or meet other lines but they can also be conceived of as spaces which are created at the points where intersecting lines meet. Spaces created by intersecting ideas, tendencies or issues are sites of struggle which offer possibilities for people to resist. Making space within such sites has become a characteristic of many *Maori* struggles in education. What is slightly different between this notion and the idea of struggles 'in the margins' is that, when attached to a political idea such as *rangatiratanga*, then all space in New Zealand can be regarded as *Maori* space. This takes

\(^9\) This includes the fragmentation of lands through the imposition of individual titles.
the struggle out of specifically 'Maori contexts' and into the spaces once regarded as Pekeha. such as large institutions like universities where Maori really are a small minority.\textsuperscript{10} Rather than see ourselves as existing in the margins as minorities, resistance initiatives have assumed that Aotearoa is 'our place', all of it, and that there is little difference, except in the mind, between, for example, a Te Kohanga Reo where we may all be Maori but the state is still there, and a university, where we may occupy a smaller site.\textsuperscript{11}

Whereas we can conceive of space geographically and politically, it is important to claim those spaces which are still taken for granted as being possessed by the west. Such spaces are concerned with intellectual, theoretical and imaginative spaces. In the following section on research this idea is pursued in relation to the development of a space called Kaupapa Maori. This concept has emerged from lessons learned through Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori and has been developed as a theory in action by Maori people. Graham Smith has argued for Kaupapa Maori as an intervention into theoretical spaces, particularly within the sphere of education.\textsuperscript{12} Kaupapa Maori research refers to Maori struggles to claim research as a field within which Maori can also operate. Given the history of the western research gaze of indigenous peoples it may seem unusual that Maori should take hold of the idea of research and attempt to apply it to our own questions. There are imperatives which have forced that upon us, such as the constant need to prove our own history and to prove the worth of our language and values but, as stated earlier, we also have our own questions. Searching for solutions is very much part of our struggles to survive, it is represented within our own 'traditions' for example, through our creation stories, voyaging stories and settlement stories. The concept of 'searching' is embedded in our world views. Researching in this sense then is not something owned by the west, it is simply controlled by the west and as such, the issue is one of power and knowledge.

\textsuperscript{10} This idea is developed in chapter four and again in the introduction to section four.

\textsuperscript{11} This is elaborated further in section four.

\textsuperscript{12} Smith, G.H., 1995. 'The Cultural Politics of Making Space', seminar presented at Winter Seminar Series, Education Department, University of Auckland.
Part Two: Re-imagining the World.

One of the criticisms made of educators who have been concerned for the emancipatory potential of schooling is that they have often ignored or diminished the role in social agency of such qualities as hope, optimism and the need to strive for utopian goals. As summarised by McLaren:

Some radical educators have, in fact, argued that the notion of hope as the basis of a language of possibility is really nothing more than a "trick of counterhegemony", and that hope is employed for ideological effect rather than for sound theoretical reasons. In other words hope as a vision of possibility contains no immanent political project and as such has to be sacrificed on the altar of empirical reality.13

I have stated previously the sense of noisy optimism which has been a characteristic of Maori politics. Here I will argue for the importance in Maori struggles of the imagination and of the capacity shown by Maori to constantly imagine and re-imagine, to create and re-create our world. In positing Maori views of education, most Maori would speak in terms of a 'holistic view' of education which incorporates the physical, intellectual, emotional and spiritual aspects of our identity.14 The missing part of western education has generally been identified by Maori as the spiritual, the taha wairua. What is argued here is that Maori spiritual beliefs were given space through christianity to be expressed, albeit in a transformed context. I am arguing that the capacity of colonised peoples to continue to imagine and to create our own worlds was the focus of quite systematic imperial and colonial practices which are encapsulated in the concept of dehumanisation. The dehumanising tendencies within


14 Various 'models' or constructions have been created to demonstrate this holistic view. The same ones are used for education, for health and for social development. Rangimarie Rose Pere at a health hui in 1984 uses the example of the whaiao or octopus to show that the different dimensions of ourselves are whaiao (spirituality), mana (status, power), maori (life force), ha (breath of life), whatumanawa (emotions), whanaungatanga (relationships), hinengaro (mind). A health model, the four cornerstones lists the taha wairua (spiritual), the taha hinengaro (mental and emotional), the taha whanau (family and community) and the taha tinana (physical). It needs to be kept in mind that these models have been developed as a way of explaining ourselves to others and are simply models. These two examples and others are summarised in Pomare, E et al., 1995. Hauora Maori Standards of Health III. Wellington, Te Ropu Rangahau a Eru Pomare, Eru Pomare Maori Health Research Centre, pp.25-30.
imperial and colonial practices are deeply encoded. These practices serve to constantly deny that colonised people actually have ideas of our own, can create new ideas and have a rich knowledge base from which to draw.

I would not claim that, on its own, imagination is a critical tool or contains within it a political project which is connected inherently to emancipation. What I will argue is that if they are to work, to be effective, political projects must also touch on, appeal to, make space for, and release, forces which are creative and imaginative. This point is made in Smith’s identification of the significant elements within *Kaupapa Maori*. He argues that the *kaupapa* has to 'grab people' emotionally, it has to excite them and 'turn them on' to new possibilities. The danger in such forces is that they do not necessarily lead to emancipatory outcomes. They are inherently uncontrollable, which is possibly why this aspect is excluded from decolonisation type programmes and other rational attempts at planned resistance. However, there is a point in the politics of decolonisation where leaps of imagination are able to connect the disparate, fragmented pieces of a puzzle, ones which have different shadings, different shapes, and different images within them, and say that, 'these pieces belong together'. The imagination allows us to strive for goals which transcend material, empirical realities. For colonised peoples this is important because the cycle of colonialism is just that, a cycle with no end point, no emancipation. The material locates us within a world of dehumanising tendencies, one which is constantly reflected back on us. To imagine a different world is to imagine us as different people in the world. To imagine is to believe in different possibilities, ones which we can create.

What is argued in this thesis is that decolonisation must offer a language of possibility, a way out of colonialism. The writing of *Maori*, of other indigenous peoples and of anticcolonial writers would suggest, quite clearly, that that language of possibility exists within our own alternative, oppositional ways of knowing. Even though these may not be seen to connect with current socio-economic realities, the fact that we adhere to, that we can imagine a connection suggests a resistance to being classified according to the definitions of a dominant group. Furthermore the language of possibility, a language which can be controlled by those who

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15 Smith, G.H., 1991. 'Reform and Maori Educational Crisis: A Grand Illusion', *Research Unit for Maori Education Monograph 3, Research Unit for Maori Education, University of Auckland*
have possession of it, allows us to make plans, to make strategic choices, to theorise solutions. Imagining a different world, or re-imagining the world, is a way into theorising the reasons why the world as it currently is is unjust, and posing alternatives to such a world from within our own world-views.

Re-imagining the Past: The Imperial Imagination: The Colonial Image of a Nation.

The concepts of imperialism and colonialism are used across a range of disciplines often with meanings which are taken for granted. The two terms are inter-connected and what is generally agreed upon is that colonialism is but one expression of imperialism. Imperialism tends to be used in at least four different ways when describing the form of European imperialism which began in the seventeenth century; imperialism as economic expansion, imperialism as the subjugation of 'others', imperialism as an idea or spirit with many forms of realisation, and imperialism as a discursive field of knowledge. These views do not necessarily contradict each other, rather they need to be seen as analyses which focus on different layers of imperialism. Initially the term was used by historians to explain a series of developments leading to the economic expansion of Europe. Imperialism in this sense could be tied to a chronology of events related to 'discovery', conquest, exploitation, distribution and appropriation. Although the Spanish and Portuguese dominated the earlier phase of European imperialism, the British assumed ascendency as an imperial power from the mid-eighteenth century. At one level it is with the later phase of British imperialism that the story of Maori colonisation begins but, as will be argued throughout the thesis, imperialism was and continues to be a complex system of ideas with many different forms of expression.

Economic explanations of imperialism were first advanced by English historian J.A. Hobson in 1902 and Lenin in 1917.¹⁶ Hobson saw imperialism as being an integral part of Europe's economic expansion. He attributed the later stages of nineteenth century imperialism to the inability of Europeans to purchase what was being produced and the need for Europe's industrialists to shift their capital to new markets which were secure. Imperialism was the

system of control which secured the markets and capital investments. Colonialism facilitated this expansion by ensuring that there was European 'hands on' control, by necessity this meant securing and subjugating the indigenous populations. Lenin's view of imperialism was concerned also with the ways in which economic expansion was linked to imperialism although he argued that the export of capital to new markets was an attempt to rescue capitalism because Europe's workers could not afford what was being produced.

A second use of the concept of imperialism focuses more upon the exploitation and subjugation of indigenous peoples. Although economic explanations might account for why people like Columbus were funded to explore and discover new sources of wealth, their impact on the indigenous people they met was overwhelmingly devastating. This was both an effect of quite deliberate practices and of much more subtle and unseen consequences. By the time contact was made with Maori, Europeans, and more particularly the British, had learned from their previous encounters with indigenous peoples and had developed much more sophisticated rules of practice. While these practices ultimately lead to forms of subjugation, they also lead to subtle differences and nuances which give an uneven-ness to the story of imperialism, even within the story of one indigenous society. While all Maori tribes, for example, lost the majority of their lands, not all tribes had their lands confiscated, were invaded militarily or were declared to be in rebellion. Similarly, while Maori signed a treaty with the British Crown, other indigenous communities have no treaties. The specificities of imperialism help to explain the different ways in which indigenous people have struggled to recover histories, lands, language and basic human dignity. The way arguments are framed, the way dissent is managed, the way settlements are made, while certainly drawing from international precedents, are also located within a more localised discursive field.

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17 There are a number of different accounts by both indigenous people and others of the impact of Columbus on Native Americans. The common theme of such accounts is that Columbus and the conquest he precipitated devastated the native populations. When on leave in Canada and the United States in 1991 I participated in a number of Native American conferences and meetings which were built around plans to counter the upcoming Columbus 500year Anniversary. Read for example, Koning, H., 1976. Columbus: His Enterprise. New York, Monthly Review Press, Sale, K., 1990. The Conquest of Paradise, Christopher Columbus and the Columbian Legacy. New York. Knopf.

A third major use of the term is much more broadly defined. It links imperialism to the Enlightenment 'spirit' which characterised Europe's global activities. John M. MacKenzie defines imperialism as being 'more than a set of economic, political and military phenomena. It is also a complex ideology which had widespread cultural, intellectual and technical expressions'. This view of imperialism locates it within the Enlightenment 'spirit' which signalled the transformation of economic, political and cultural life in Europe. In this wider Enlightenment context, imperialism becomes an integral part of the development of the modern state, of science, of ideas and of the 'modern' human person. In complex ways imperialism was also a mode through which the new states of Europe could expand their economies, through which new ideas and discoveries could be made and harnessed, and through which Europeans could develop their sense of European-ness. The imperial imagination enabled European nations to imagine the possibility that new worlds, new wealth, new possessions existed, could be discovered and could be controlled. This imagination was realised through the promotion of science, through economic expansion and through political practice.

These three interpretations of imperialism have generally reflected a view from the centre. However, a fourth use of the term has been generated by writers whose understandings of imperialism and colonialism have been based, either on their membership of or experience within colonised societies, or their interest in understanding imperialism from the perspective of local contexts. Although these views of imperialism take into account the other forms of analysis, there are some important distinctions. There is a more immediate concern for and a greater need to understand the complex ways in which people were brought within the imperial system because its impact is still being felt, despite the apparent independence gained by former colonial territories. The reach of imperialism into 'our heads' challenges those who belong to colonised communities to understand how this occurred, partly because there is a perceived need to decolonise our minds, to recover ourselves, to claim a space for us to develop a sense of authenticity over our humanity. This analysis of imperialism has been referred to more recently with terms such as 'post-colonial discourse', the 'empire writes back' and/or 'writing from the margins'. However, most writers in this area would argue that

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there is a deeper tradition which extends to the more revolutionary, anti-colonial work of various activists (some of whom, such as Frantz Fanon actually wrote their ideas down). And a further tradition of knowledge, culture and language which upholds alter/native views of the world.

Colonialism is imperialism’s outpost. Whilst colonies may have started as a means to secure ports, access to raw materials and efficient transfer of commodities from point of origin to the imperial centre, they also served other functions. It was not just indigenous populations who needed to be subjugated. Europeans also needed to be kept under control and kept in service to the greater imperial enterprise. Colonial outposts were also cultural sites which preserved an image or represented an image of what the ‘west’ or Great Britain or ‘civilisation’ stood for. Colonies were not exact replicas of the imperial centre, culturally, economically or politically. Resident Europeans were not culturally homogeneous, so there was contestability within the colonising community about its own identity. *Pakeha* interests prior to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, for example, included ships crews from many nations, American traders, French Roman Catholic missionaries, English Wesleyan missionaries, adventurers and entrepreneurs. Even within the missionary population there was considerable rivalry.²⁰ British class structure was also reflected in the class structure of its own colonial communities. Wealth and class status combined created very powerful settler interests which came to dominate the politics of the colony. Colonialism was, in part, an image of imperialism, a realisation of the imperial imagination. It was also, in part, an image of the future nation it would become. There is a tension between the imperial and the local which this thesis explores through several examples.

There was no post-World War II armed independence struggle by *Maori* in New Zealand. Unlike most of the former colonies in Africa and Asia where Europeans remained a small minority, New Zealand, like Australia, Canada and South Africa had become ‘white dominions’ of the British Empire and had already acquired a privileged status within the Empire before World War II. Whilst it may be argued that we were still engaged in an essentially violent process of colonialism with high mortality rates, poor health, poor life

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²⁰ *For example, the French Catholic missionaries competed for the ‘souls’ of Maori against the Wesleyans and other protestant groups who were mostly English. Refer to section three.*
chances, inadequate housing and educational under-achievement, it was a qualitatively different form of violence to the struggles which were taking place in the colonies of France, Holland, Britain, Portugal and Belgium. If, as Ngugi wa Thiongo or Ashis Nandy have argued, we experienced a form of colonialism which resulted in a colonisation 'of the mind', then what occurred in New Zealand has been a struggle contested at that level, a struggle in the mind. In this sense then it has been and continues to be a struggle over consciousness, ideology, thought, language, memory, and also over ways of knowing, of feeling, creating and imagining what counts as reality. These things have been critical to the strategies Maori have used to resist colonialism and to retain a sense of our own humanity, as we may choose to name and define it at any point in our history. This does not deny that Maori have resisted vigorously, or that in previous times there was armed resistance, or the possibility that in future this may eventuate, but it places in perspective the nature of the struggle as it has come to be contested between Maori and Pakeha in New Zealand in the last hundred years.

A constant reworking of our understandings of the impact of imperialism and colonialism is an important aspect of Maori cultural politics and forms the basis of a language of critique. Within this critique there are two dimensions, one draws upon a notion of authenticity, of a time before colonisation in which we were intact as a people, we had tino rangatiratanga or absolute authority over our lives, we were born into and lived in a world which was entirely of our making. We did not ask, need or want to be 'discovered' by Europe, in fact our own traditions affirmed our belief that we had discovered ourselves and other parts of Te Moana nui a Kiwa or the Pacific Ocean, long before Europeans had entered the Pacific.\textsuperscript{21} The second dimension of the language of critique demands that we understand, have an analysis of, how we were colonised, of what that has meant in terms of our immediate past and what it means for our present and future. Understanding the concept of hegemony is important because of the extent to which Maori have taken for granted the representations of Maori society reflected back to us through schooling, the media and state policies. Awatere has rephrased this notion as 'self-hatred'.\textsuperscript{22} It is the psychological mechanism through which we live out the imperial dream. However, the language of critique is only part of the framing of

\textsuperscript{21} In our voyaging traditions women travelled alongside men, we travelled back and forth across the Pacific.

this thesis. Some common sense questions asked by Maori people I have worked with is, 'Yeah but, say we do overturn colonialism, say all the Pakeha left and took all their stuff with them, we still can't be like we were, what will we have?, What will it be like?' These are legitimate concerns and ones which Maori political projects have had to address and frame within a platform of possibility. The development of a movement which involves infants and pre-school children and elders may not have seemed like a logical group from which a language of possibility may emerge but Te Kohanga Reo, the Maori Language 'nests', have had a profound impact at a number of levels on Maori cultural aspirations, politics, education, health and economic development.

Re-imagining Educational Possibilities: The Significance of Te Kohanga Reo.

Kohanga Reo (Maori language nests) began in 1982 as an attempt to revitalise Maori language as a community language, and became the fastest early childhood development in New Zealand within two years.23 It was developed as part of a wider package of initiatives under the rubric of 'Tu Tangata' programmes.24 These had been initiated by the Department of Maori Affairs which had undergone a radical shift in its role, and under the auspices of the Secretary of the Department of Maori Affairs Kara Puketapu, had embarked on a programme of proactive, positive intervention into Maori development. Te Kohanga Reo was its most successful and enduring legacy.25

Te Kohanga Reo marks a major shift in the perceptions Maori held about development, about education and about our own cultural survival. Its beginnings brought back to the centre of Maori life the role of kaumatua or elders, the relationship between kaumatua and mokopuna

23 At the beginning of 1982 there was one Te Kohanga Reo, by the end of the year there were 30. By 1983 there were 148, in 1984 there were 240, and in 1988 there were 520. Current figures put the number of Te Kohanga Reo centres at 809 with 14,500 children involved. 50% of Maori children enrolled in early childhood education programmes attend Te Kohanga Reo. See 1995. Ministry of Education, Nga Haeta Matauranga Ministry of Education Annual Report and Strategic Direction for Maori Education 1994/1995, p.29.

24 Tu tangata means to stand upright, stand tall as people.

25 The Department of Maori Affairs was victim to the policies of devolution which have systematically stripped it of programme delivery or any notion of accountability to people. What remains is a Ministry of Maori Development Te Puni Kokiri which serves the Minister of Maori Affairs and whose primary role is the provision of policy advice and the monitoring of Maori outcomes.
and the importance of *Te Reo Maori* as one of the foundations of our different world views and value systems.\(^{26}\) *Te Kohanga Reo* seemed to capture the entire ground in terms of a positive framing of *Maori* aspirations. It contained a language of possibility based on a number of different factors. Firstly, *Te Kohanga Reo* put direct responsibility for our language survival with *Maori* rather than with the state, but with the extra dimension of recognition by *kaumatua* of the reasons for the demise of *te reo Maori*.\(^{27}\) This removed the burden of guilt which had beset many parents for their own lack of knowledge in relation to the language. Alongside this recognition was a sense of affirmation. In its early days *Te Kohanga Reo* was very inclusive, it accepted all parents and children who agreed with its philosophy and were prepared to work for it. This was the idealistic goal of *Maori* language revitalisation. In 1982, the reasoned linguistic opinion was that the language was beyond hope, it was in its final stages of language death.\(^{28}\) This view echoed the view expressed last century that *Maori* were a dying race, beyond rescue. What *Te Kohanga Reo* did was reframe *Maori* language, knowledge and culture from *Maori* 'things’ which were slowly moving towards an inevitable death, to a way of being which was still valid, legitimate and worth striving for. It was also timely in that the generation of parents whose children would enter *Te Kohanga Reo* were parents who were not themselves fluent in *Maori* and were generally not sympathetic with existing schooling options. The appeal of *Te Kohanga Reo* to this generation was that it would give their children the things that they were either denied or had had suppressed through schooling.

In 1982 *Te Kohanga Reo* was in competition with programmes, ideologically and economically, aimed at rescuing street children, glue sniffers, the unemployed and *Maori* people 'at risk'.\(^{29}\) The tensions between the two interest groups (*Te Kohanga Reo* and

\(^{26}\) This will be discussed further in section three.

\(^{27}\) This did not mean letting the state 'off the hook'. The state was called to account through a claim to the *Waitangi Tribunal* in relation to *Maori* language.


\(^{29}\) *Hui* for example, that I attended in 1982-1984 put the needs of *Te Kohanga Reo* (that is, small children) against the needs of *Maori* adolescents who were 'killing' themselves or being killed by glue sniffing and drug abuse.
community workers) and the real contestation over resources, intensified with the policies of devolution developed as part of the reforms undertaken by the Fourth Labour Government. In the reform discourse *Te Kohanga Reo* were better positioned in that they represented new, positive and self-help frameworks which fitted into the new right models for social development. There was no systematic development of *Te Kohanga Reo* in its early phase between 1982-1984. It was driven in these years by the sheer will of parents and kaumatua, who took it out of the control of the Department of *Maori* Affairs by their enthusiasm to get started. While there were establishment grants, the guidelines were invented as things developed, and most communities had to reinvent their own rules to meet the local context.

What held the development of *Te Kohanga Reo* together was what is known as its 'kaupapa'. *Kaupapa* means philosophy, plan, programme or set of principles which incorporate *Maori* preferred ways of operating and embracing *Maori* values. It incorporates a connection between these ideas at an intellectual, spiritual and emotional level. It also implies a coherence in terms of purpose and context. It also means a way forward, an agenda which can be articulated very clearly. *Te Kohanga Reo* had a very simple kaupapa. This can be summarised as following: (i) the revitalisation of *te reo Maori*, (ii) the revitalisation of the whanau, (iii) the revitalisation of the concept of *Maori mana motuhake*. The three ideas were linked. In order for children to be immersed in the language, they had to be surrounded by people who could speak the language fluently and who could carry out the work of caring for young children. Kaumatua fulfilled the first role, parents the second. This in effect brought back the concept of whanau as a multi-generational unit within which a child was educated, with the traditional responsibility that kaumatua held for the education of mokopuna or grandchildren also restored. The major decision making of *Te Kohanga Reo* rested with each autonomous whanau unit. This gave a reality to mana motuhake or self-determination, self-control over resources and decision making at all levels. The rapid growth of *Te Kohanga Reo* seemed to demonstrate that not only were *Maori* ready for this challenge, but it was one they were able to meet.

In its beginnings all that many parents believed was that *Te Kohanga Reo* offered the only

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chance for their children to learn to speak Maori as their first language. In this sense Te Kohanga Reo contained a language of hope. What Te Kohanga Reo quickly demonstrated, however, is that it also contained a language of much wider possibilities. These included the politicisation of a new generation of Maori women. Whether they were kuia or ‘nannies’ or young mothers or even younger women ‘on the dole’ sent to work in Te Kohanga Reo as part of an unemployment scheme, women formed the flaxroots of the Kohanga Reo movement. Many of these women learned to negotiate for space, for money, for equipment. They attended and spoke out at hui, meetings with Department of Education officials, school principals and other community agencies. Urban Maori gained a place in this movement from the beginning. Te Kohanga Reo held greater appeal for urban Maori parents than for rural parents in its earliest days, largely because of the impact of cultural alienation in the cities. In many rural centres the language was heard more frequently and there was a sense of security about its survival. This has changed as middle generation Maori begin to see what lies ahead for them as they take on the role of kaumatua within their own communities.31

By 1984 it had become quite clear to many parents and Maori community leaders that mainstream schools could not cater for children whose first language was Maori. It had also become clear that parents were unwilling to send their children to local schools to go through a system that they themselves had found alienating. Groupings of parents, mostly in three urban centres, had started discussions which eventually lead to the establishment of a primary school option known as Kura Kaupapa Maori.32 The development of Kura Kaupapa Maori is discussed in more detail in section four of the thesis. In this context Kura Kaupapa Maori is just one outcome of the impact of Te Kohanga Reo. The thesis is not really about Te Kohanga Reo but rather about the ways in which Te Kohanga Reo reframed Maori educational discourse and influenced other aspects of Maori cultural life. Te Kohanga Reo demonstrated at local levels what could be possible, what was difficult and what was impossible. It demonstrated that ordinary people could achieve things and could be involved


32 These urban areas were Auckland, in particular one group based at Hoani Waititi Marae in West Auckland and a second group of parents from two different Te Kohanga Reo who set up a school known as Awhireinga, Rotorua and Palmerston North.
in education proactively, without needing teachers or academic experts. In fact, parents became the only experts because they were the only ones with access to Te Kohanga Reo. There were deliberate policies of exclusion which kept out officials and researchers. In its early years teachers were held in particular contempt, even Maori teachers, because of the dawning realisation by parents that in their everyday practice teachers were deeply implicated in the continuing colonisation of Maori language, knowledge and culture. Te Kohanga Reo also demonstrated the layers of oppressions which had become embedded in our minds, our social relations, our language, our ways of living. The whanau or extended family concept became a very real site of struggle over different notions of what it means to be Maori and to live as Maori. That these ideas could not be taken for granted came as a shock to many kaumatua and wider systems of whanau education, which intervened at the parental level, were instituted informally across many Kohanga Reo. Some Kohanga Reo had policies which linked acceptance of the child into the Kohanga Reo to a commitment by parents to attend Maori language classes or participate in marae activities.

The political notion of rangatiratanga, variously and inadequately defined in English as chieftainship, sovereignty, control, self-determination and/or autonomy, was contested at the level of Te Kohanga Reo as a ‘lived’ practice. Te Kohanga Reo politics indicated how difficult it was in real life to reconcile different ideas about such things as our value system, about spirituality, gender relations, whanaungatanga or relationship building, and child rearing, within a site such as a Kohanga Reo. It could not be taken for granted that every member of the whanau had the same idea about such things, or had indeed grown up in an intact whanau in which tikanga Maori or Maori values and behaviours was practised on a daily basis. What this often meant was that models of leadership, of support, of decision

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34 One of the problems with English translations is that the Maori terms become alienated from a value system, and a set of spiritual and emotional attachments, which are embedded in the words themselves.

35 For example, respect for tapu which is exercised through they way all things related to food is kept separate from things related to the body, which governs the way people sit, where they sit, how they handle food, serve food. T-towels are washed separately from other clothes, buckets and cleaning cloths used in the kitchen are kept separate from the ones used elsewhere, people do not sit on tables or benches, hair is not brushed near food, brushes and combs are not taken into a dining room or left on a table. There are a wide range of behaviours based on the concept of tapu still in use within contemporary Maori homes.

78
making, had to be re-created within the *Kohanga Reo* context and using whatever resources were available from within the *whanau, Kaumatua* exercised considerable influence in this area and, as a significant proportion of this group were women, it also meant the development of very different styles of leadership, decision making, mentoring and working together. The small unit of a single *Kohanga Reo* demanded that every adult involved had an important role, in some cases they could not choose such a role, the jobs were simply handed out. One person became a treasurer, another had to negotiate meetings with agencies, someone else had to write up a *whanau* policy on health, someone else had to find out Health Department regulations. There was no real training. What this system produced, however, was a very skilled group of people, mostly women, who emerged in a range of leadership roles within the *Kohanga Reo* structure, within *Kura Kaupapa Maori* and across a range of other *Maori* developments. *Te Kohanga Reo* showed that, even though conditions may be created structurally and spatially for *rangatiratanga*, there are other conditions, which can not be taken for granted, but which are also necessary for the development of *rangatiratanga*. Some *Te Kohanga Reo whanau* have attempted to put in place *whanau* development, decolonisation programmes and *Maori* language classes.

In terms of *Maori* educational discourse, the development and continuing existence of *Te Kohanga Reo* is a significant part of a wider transformation in *Maori* education.\(^{36}\) This is despite the continuing crisis in *Maori* educational achievement and related socio-economic factors.\(^{37}\) The greater part of that transformation has been in the ways *Maori* people have engaged in education. It is linked to the wider aspirations of *Maori* for *rangatiratanga*, for *iwi* development, for retention of *Maori* language, knowledge and culture. *Te Kohanga Reo* has provided a site over which *Maori* have a sense of control even though there are still

\(^{36}\) *Te Kohanga Reo* played a significant part in the *Maori* Education Development Conference in 1984. This is discussed in Section Four. The World Indigenous Peoples Conferences in Education held every two years have included *Te Kohanga Reo* as one of their major initiatives. The National *Te Kohanga Reo* Trust administered this Conference when it was held in New Zealand in 1990.

\(^{37}\) Such as an increasing gap in secondary school achievements between *Pakeha* and *Maori* and continuing levels of unemployment.
external and state intrusions. In relation to the three major areas covered by this thesis: research, social relations and the curriculum, the development of Te Kohanga Reo has had different sorts of effects. In the research area, the resistance by Maori to scientific research emerged prior to Te Kohanga Reo. However, the National Te Kohanga Reo Trust had an active policy of excluding all research. At the same time Maori people in Te Kohanga Reo were wanting to find answers to questions which were being generated from the Kohanga Reo context, questions such as, 'When is the right time to introduce English? Is Maori really easier to read than English or are we doing something different? What will happen when these children are older? What do we have to do to keep these children immersed in Maori? How do we start our own school?' These questions in effect forced those interested in Maori education to re-prioritise research goals. It also suggested to parents that the only way such questions could be answered would be if Maori were trained and supported to do the research required. This process on its own may not have had much effect, but in association with the wider critique of social science research from other indigenous people, from minority groups and from women, the position taken by Te Kohanga Reo inflected the more distant, more academic critiques with an immediacy which challenged the research community to take note. How this occurred, and Maori responses to research, are explored in section two.

In terms of Maori social relations, Te Kohanga Reo has had a major impact on restoring Maori concepts of childhood, recovering and re-empowering the relationships between kaumatua and mokopuna and providing Maori women with spaces which at one level may have looked domesticating, but at another level have been emancipatory. Once again this is not to say that these things were not happening or were not important prior to Te Kohanga Reo. They were important but were becoming increasingly nostalgic memories of a particular generation with rural roots and close contact to marae and whanau links. Urbanisation disrupted the cultural systems which kept many of these relationships in place. Te Kohanga

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38 Such as funding regimes which affect parents who are on state benefits and a general level of poverty which means that access to additional resources are hard to attain. Parents are often burdened by heavy commitments to fundraising.

39 The National Te Kohanga Reo Trust is the national body of Te Kohanga Reo. It is funded by the state but is accountable for the development of policies for Kohanga Reo. There are regional or district offices of the National Trust and then each Te Kohanga Reo operates its own administration. Refer to the introduction to section four.
Reo reinjected the importance of social relations based on whanau, hapu and iwi with a
different set of cultural politics. Recovering in part and re-ordering social relations begin to
define our own sense of humanity. They are humanising processes generated from within
ourselves. They were appropriated within a new political project, reprioritised, and reframed.
Te Kohanga Reo brought into focus a wide range of social relations and provided a site in
which different ideas about being Maori could be contested and worked through, away from
the prying gaze of Pakeha researchers, Pakeha media. In this frame, an analysis of Maori
childhood and Maori women is carried out in section three.

In section four the area of study is the school curriculum. Te Kohanga Reo’s impact has been
in relation to the development of an entirely different primary school option known as Kura
Kaupapa Maori. This new alternative form of schooling challenged the existing offerings
related to Maori studies in mainstream schools which had progressed from Maori arts and
crafts and Maoritanga to Taha Maori. A more detailed analysis of how Maori ways of
knowing actually ends up in the classroom is examined in chapter twelve. Following this
chapter is a critical discussion on the alternative model offered by Kura Kaupapa Maori.

Part Three: The Code of Imperialism and the Production of Dominant Discourses.

The fourth theme of the thesis is concerned with the underlying structures which connect the
different ways in which imperialism and colonialism are realised within localised contexts,
such as schools, and across the wider imperial world. The concept of code is employed to
analyse different sites of struggle between imperial/colonial interests and Maori. Code theory
has a history in socio-linguistics but has since been applied as a means to understand the
underlying grammar of social change. By grammar it is meant the invisible structures and
rules which are embedded in a system and which determine the multiple ways in which the
system reproduces itself through forms which it recognises as making sense. In the thesis two
perspectives on code theory are reflected. The first perspective is in relation to the code of
imperialism. The second is in relation to pedagogical code. The two perspectives are
connected. The questions which integrate the two applications of code relate to the ways in
which power relations are realised through the production of dominant discourses.
The Code of Imperialism.

In the case of imperialism and colonialism the concept of code has been used to analyse the reasons why imperialism as a cultural, political and economic system worked so effectively even after the physical withdrawal and eventual collapse of 'empires', why colonised people came to participate in imperial culture unconsciously, and why imperialism as a system of power has generated a wide range of formations which seem to share characteristics despite contextual differences. In other words, how did imperialism get inside our minds in much the same way as it penetrated the minds of people living in diverse communities across the world? What is the grammar of imperialism which makes it a shared culture and gives all who are born within it a set of common understandings? Code in the sense used here has been applied to the ways in which a culture of imperialism was developed, in which different peoples were positioned in relation to each other, in which world-views were transformed and incorporated into a wider system, in which intellectual life was shaped and co-opted, in which indigenous hierarchies were incorporated within the imperial system, which has been vigorous and robust enough to reproduce itself, and over which the 'west', or imperial centre, has been able to maintain what Said refers to as a 'flexible positional superiority'.

Code is understood by the principles and sets of rules which determine what makes sense and what does not make sense. These principles govern what gets recognised, what is privileged, what is rewarded. Under imperialism these principles were laid down both coercively through military force, and through the manipulation of consent. Several anticolonial writers have argued that these principles are internalised as psychological categories which then determine the behaviours of the colonised and the colonisers. One significant principle in imperialism is the principle of humanity; which indigenous groups were recognised as human? how were humanisation and de-humanisation discourses produced and legitimated? Ideas around what counts as human seem to be fundamental to understanding the impact of imperialism and colonialism on indigenous peoples and I intend here to track this principle out further.

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The Principle of Humanity.

One of the supposed characteristics of primitive peoples was that we could not use our minds or intellects. We could not invent things, we could not create institutions or history, we could not imagine, we could not produce anything of value, we did not know how to use land and other resources from the natural world, we did not practice the 'arts' of civilisation. By lacking such virtues we disqualified ourselves, not just from civilisation (even working class English people, the Irish, women and children generally were disqualified from this status) but from humanity itself. We were not fully human, some of us were not even considered partially human.41 Ideas about what counted as human in association with the power to define people as human or not human, were already encoded in imperial and colonial discourses prior to the period of imperialism covered here.42 Imperialism provided the means through which concepts of what counts as human could be applied systematically as forms of classification, for example through hierarchies of race, typologies of different societies. In conjunction with imperial power and with 'science', these classification systems came to shape relations between imperial powers and indigenous societies.

Said has argued that the oriental was partially a creation of the west, based on a combination of images formed through scholarly and imaginative works. Fanon argued earlier that the colonised were brought into existence by the settler and the two, settler and colonised, are mutual constructions of colonialism. In Fanon's words 'we know each other well'. This familiarity with the 'other' was particularly pertinent for Maori because Britain had already formed its Empire by the time Aotearoa came to feature as a potential outpost. Britain had already established systems of rule and established forms of social relations which governed the rules of social interaction, with the indigenous people being colonised. These relations were gendered, hierarchical and supported by hidden and explicit rules. The principle of

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41 These categories were used to deny the prior rights of indigenous people to their lands, for example, by declaring Australia 'Terra Nullius' or empty land the 40,000 year occupation by Aborigine communities of Australia was also denied. This in turn denied the official acknowledgement of Aborigines as 'citizens' which provided the justification for official neglect of Aborigine rights.

humanity was one way through which these hidden rules could be shaped. To consider indigenous people as not fully human, or not human at all, enabled distance to be maintained and justified various policies of domestication, that is, for taming 'creatures'.

The struggle to assert and claim our humanity has been a consistent thread of anticolonial discourses on colonialism and oppression. This struggle for humanity has generally been framed within the wider discourse of humanism, the appeals to human 'rights', the notion of a universal human subject, and the connections between being human and being capable of creating history, knowledge and society. The focus on asserting humanity has to be seen within the anticolonial analysis of imperialism and its de-humanising impulses which were structured into language, the economy, social relations and the cultural life of colonial societies. The justifications for imperialism and colonialism, however, particularly from the nineteenth century, were clothed within an ideology of humanism, liberalism and of moral claims, related to a higher order of civilisation. Macaulay's 'Minute on Indian Education' gives a very clear view that English language, and by implication, everything associated with English society, was 'pre-eminent':

*It (English) abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us; with models of every species of eloquence; with historical compositions, which, considered merely as narratives, have seldom being surpassed, and, which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equalled; with just and lively representations of human life, and human nature; with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisprudence, and trade; with full and correct information respecting every experimental science tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of man.*

Of the contradiction between how the 'west' represented itself and the material effects of imperial and colonial practices, Fanon's response was to incorporate the critique of western humanism into a platform for decolonisation at both a material and psychological level:

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Leave this Europe where they are never done talking of Man, yet murder men everywhere they find them.... That same Europe where they were never done talking of Man, and where they never stopped proclaiming that they were only anxious for the welfare of Man: today we know with what sufferings humanity has paid for every one of their triumphs of the mind.44

Fanon recognised well that the construction of 'man', as determined by imperialism, was lived inside the relations of the colonised society as well as through the relations between colonised and coloniser societies. This was the significance both of the concept of mimicry, in which natives were seen as taking on the external behaviours of the colonisers as a form of mimicry, and Fanon's notion of 'black skin, white mask' in which the conflicting duality of colonialism is taken on psychologically as a characteristic of colonised people.45

A problem, however, is that in seeking to contest our humanity by overthrowing the ideologies relating to our lack of humanity and/or inhumanity the arguments of Fanon and many writers since Fanon have been criticised for essentialising our 'nature', for taking for granted the binary categories of western thought, for accepting arguments supporting cultural relativity, for claiming an authenticity which is overly idealistic and romantic, and for simply engaging in an inversion of the coloniser/colonised relationship which does not address the more fundamental problems of power relations and colonial structure. Colonised people have sought to define our own humanity(s) but the difficulties of this process have been bound inextricably to the construction of coloniser and colonised as intersecting parts of the whole. I do not view these categories as two simple oppositions but of several, some of which are more clearly oppositional to each other than others. Unlocking one part requires unlocking and unsettling the different constituent parts. The dichotomy of coloniser/colonised does not take into account the development of different layering which have developed within each group and across the two groups. Other indigenous peoples, for example, were transported to


45 Fanon, F., 1952. Black Skin, White Mask. London, Pluto Press. A popular Maori version of the 'black skin, white mask' idea is what is known as the 'potato Maori', brown on the outside and white on the inside.
various outposts in the same way as interesting plants and animals. Hence there are large populations in some places of non-indigenous groups, also victims of colonialism, but who owe their loyalty to the imperial power rather than to the colonised people of the place to which they themselves have been brought. There were also relationships between colonisers and colonised which lead to communities who were 'half-castes', who were often excluded from belonging to either settler or indigenous societies. In early Maori educational policies 'half-caste' children were considered half-way civilised and were initially thought of as needing to be educated apart from other Maori. These groups intersect the coloniser/colonised dichotomy, but this relationship can not simply be put aside.

Post-World War II wars of independence and struggles for decolonisation by former parts of European empires have shown us that these attempts to break free have involved enormous violence; physical, social, economic, cultural and psychological. This has been viewed by writers such as Fanon as a necessarily, inevitably violent process between 'two forces opposed to each other by their very nature'. Fanon argues further that 'Decolonisation which sets out to change the order of the world is, obviously a programme of complete disorder'. This point leads into a second important principle through which code works, namely the principle of order. This principle provides the underlying connection between the nature of imperial social relations, the activities of western science, the establishment of trade, the appropriation of sovereignty, and the establishment of law and order. The fact that indigenous societies had their own systems of order was dismissed through a series of negations; they were not fully human, they were not civilised enough to have systems, they were not literate, their languages and modes of thought were inadequate. As Fanon implied and other writers such as Nandy have claimed, imperialism and colonialism brought complete disorder to colonised peoples. It was a programme which disconnected people from their histories, their landscape, their language, their social relations, and their own ways of thinking, feeling and interacting with the world. Section two explores some of the ways this principle was established in New

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47 Fanon, pp.27-28.

48 Ibid., p.27.
Zealand through science, and particularly through educational research. Section three examines the disordering of social relations particularly through education and the attempts by Maori to reprioritise and reorder the world.

Code and the Production of Dominant Discourses.

One of the difficulties of applying a metatheory such as the code of imperialism which, furthermore, is said to be invisible, is that it can become difficult to 'see' it empirically. It is for this reason primarily that I turned to the work of Basil Bernstein, an educational sociologist who has worked empirically and theoretically on the concept of code. Bernstein argues that code is an underlying principle which regulates and controls the ways in which language is realised as a form of social interaction. His initial work on the concept of code developed in the early 1970s was an attempt to analyse the differential access by social class groups to the language used and legitimated through schooling. Bernstein's more recent work on pedagogic discourse was used as the basis of a study which is reported in section four which examines the processes through which Maori knowledge is recontextualised into official school knowledge. This work assumes that there is a deeper structure which is invisible, but which regulates and legitimates the production of official discourses.

Bernstein argues that the production of pedagogic discourse as its own discourse has been seriously overlooked by educational theorists who have instead chosen to regard pedagogy as the means by which other discourses of race, gender and class are constructed and given social meaning. According to Bernstein, other educational theorists have regarded pedagogy as an unproblematic relay of external power relations. He argues that 'what is absent from pedagogic discourse is its own voice' and what is needed is a pedagogic grammar which can be applied to understand the underlying or deep structures, or ordering principles and rules, upon which pedagogy is based. Because pedagogy is socially constructed and because it occurs within different sites, local and official or family and school, it is constructed with

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implicit and explicit rules which take visible and invisible forms.

Pedagogy is the mechanism by which official discourses are relayed to learners and by which unofficial discourses are screened out of the process of transmitting and acquiring legitimate knowledge. It is not only the process for giving voice to structural relations of race, gender and class, but a process for giving voice to cultural forms or codes, which regulate relationships and position subjects in terms of dominant and dominated forms of communication. The concept of code is central to Bernstein’s theory of a pedagogic grammar. He argues that codes represent underlying principles which regulate how we make sense of communication, that is *relevant meanings*, how we produce meaningful communication with others, that is *forms of realisation*, and how we achieve this in relation to our social settings, that is *evoking contexts*. Bernstein’s theory of pedagogy is built on his theories of language, particularly the ways in which language structures experience and regulates the classification and framing of official knowledge. Official knowledge is the knowledge which is selected, classified, distributed, transmitted and legitimated through schooling and other ‘public’ sites. Codes are unseen, but are realised in schooling through curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation.

*Classification* is concerned with educational forms of knowledge, the content of the knowledge, and the relationship between contents. Official knowledge in schools takes the form of a curriculum which is constructed into subjects selected by society as having different degrees of significance. Subjects have their own language and content which is *insulated* from other languages and contents by the boundaries which are *maintained* between these forms of knowledge. In schools and classrooms these subjects form the official discourses which children are taught to read and to talk. Official knowledge is socially constructed by society and the process of this social construction is driven by the underlying principles which regulate or order social relations, in other words, by codes.

*Framing* as used by Bernstein is concerned with the message system which delivers classified knowledge and the structure of this message system. It is not concerned necessarily with the

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*Bernstein, 1990.*
messages themselves, but rather how they are coded into recognisable language which can be read by the message system, transmitted and acquired, somewhat like a postal service. The concept of frame suggests that teachers and learners have some control over this system and can mediate the ways in which messages are transmitted. This is achieved through a process of selection, organisation and pacing of knowledge. Pedagogy is more limited a concept than frame in that it is simply one form of an official message system.

Schools are sites in which coding is realised and made visible through the production of discourses, texts and literacies. Schools are agencies of symbolic control, which specialise in the production of specific discourses which are generated by elaborated codes. Schools are also pedagogizing sites in which the pedagogic message system functions as a cultural relay, a means by which culture is produced and reproduced. Teachers and children interact in a context in which teachers transmit official discourses which are underpinned by regulating and discursive rules. These rules, and the social categories which the rules privilege and legitimate, form the basis of the pedagogic grammar, the mastery of which is dependent on the elaborated codes which are established initially in the local context or home, and then realised as official discourse patterns at school.

In the New Zealand schooling context the boundary between what counts as official and therefore, what counts as unofficial knowledge, is sharply delineated when we examine the development of Maori curriculum programmes in schools. This is because the context of colonialism ensured that sharp distinctions were made between what counted as the civilising knowledge of Pakeha colonisers and the primitive forms of knowledge held by Maori. It was also marked by language differences and the active policies which were enacted to exclude Maori language from the classroom. Schooling, then, provided one context in which official discourses were transmitted. The development of Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori suggest that alternative ways of knowing and speaking operate from a different code. There are a number of issues which arise from this suggestion which require further research. Section four, however, sets up some of the tensions which intersect with this possibility. One such tension is that the state will co-opt Kura Kaupapa Maori entirely, in which case the preferred code for Maori may be de-legitimated. Another tension is that the system may not be sustainable in that other pressures and movements, such as employment and socio-
economic pressures, may limit more radical possibilities in favour of more instrumental approaches to schooling for Maori.

In summary.

In this chapter I have identified a set of 'threads' which connect the different sites of struggle to be discussed in the sections to follow. As I have argued, these threads weave in and out of the chapters, some will feature more prominently in some chapters and then be retired to the background in others. In the following chapter I examine the intersection of Maori/Woman/Academic framed against the background of the colonial history of universities in New Zealand. I explore the nature of intellectual work for me as a Maori woman and attempt to show the struggles associated with claiming space for Maori within the Academy.