CONFLICT AND CULTURE
A discourse analysis of public texts on an Indigenous New Zealand tertiary institution

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ABSTRACT

This current project begins with a brief history of Māori education since colonisation, and creates a picture of TWOA and its students and the struggle they undertook to develop into a first class education institution. Then, using Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory, I offer some deconstructive possibilities which provide alternative interpretations of the media discourse that ignited the public's vilification of the institute. I describe what transpired over the time of 2005-2006 and critically examine and analyse the language used to express the two-party attack on TWOA and its Tūmuaki, Rongo Wetere. I find that the language used by politicians and media commentators positioned TWOA as an inefficient and corrupt Māori institution in need of Pākeha (NZ European) governance and management. Through an investigation of the selection and promulgation of particular tropes, the interests of the political elite are shown as serving to marginalise the institution, limit its growth and channel its students into Pākeha educational institutions. The Wānanga brought tertiary education to those New Zealanders who had hitherto been excluded or who had failed in mainstream education. Its astonishing success caused its decline.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

FOREWORD

In New Zealand's parliament in February 2005, the Honourable Ken Shirley, MP, accused Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (TWOA) of corruption, nepotism and mismanagement of funds. Shirley's attack began a year-long investigation by the Office of the Auditor General, resulting in the reconstitution of the Wānanga Council (imposed by the Crown), the resignation of the Tūmuaki (Chief Executive Officer) of TWOA and the occupation of the institution by a Crown Manager. The discussion in parliament and the national press fermented public concern, resulting in severely reduced government funding and capped student enrolments with a subsequent reduction in the programmes TWOA was able to offer. Some students were obliged to seek education in institutions they had previously avoided or withdrew from education altogether. The reorganisation, restructuring and downsizing of TWOA was completed in August 2006.

Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, at that time New Zealand's largest tertiary education provider, is a Māori education institute that provides for Māori (and others) who seek an education that is not based on Pākeha practices. For some, this is because the mainstream system had failed them. The thesis began as a research idea examining the experiences of senior staff at TWOA as they encountered the everyday difficulties of significant political and press interference in the operation and delivery of education from TWOA. However, this project's original intention and design did not gain approval from the Massey University Ethics Committee in case allowing the senior staff of TWOA to speak brought either TWOA or Massey into disrepute.

As a senior staff member of TWOA during the investigation and trial of TWOA by media, I listened to my colleagues talk about their anger, frustrations and fears and the abuse they experienced from the public. During this period, staff driving Wānanga cars were run off the road, some were assaulted and many were subjected to verbal or physical abuse or spat on. One staff member reported having the car she was driving attacked and damaged by a group of

men at a service station resulting in her refusal to use an identifiable Wānanga car again. Crisis meetings by senior staff considered the removal of signage from vehicles and counseling for stressed staff. Staff and students were advised not to wear clothing that identified their having any connection with Te Wānanga o Aotearoa.

I wanted to move away from the political rhetoric and talk about the impact of the politicians' and press discourses on my colleagues' personal and working lives. I hoped to give them a voice to speak about how it was for them working in an institution which was vilified by the public. As has been Māori experience since colonisation, our voices were silenced and this project segued into a story about how the rhetoric of politics led to a campaign of attacks against Te Wānanga o Aotearoa.

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Chapter 1 : A short history of Māori Education

Prior to the arrival of Pākeha in Aotearoa, Māori had a sophisticated and functional system of education. There was a strong knowledge base and oral tradition and a dynamic ability to respond to new challenges and changing needs. The Māori traditional system of education while complex and diverse, was also fully integrated in that skills, teaching and learning were rationalised and sanctioned through an intricate knowledge base. The linking of these skills and knowledges was often mediated through the use of specific rituals (Salmond, 1976). In traditional Māori society, knowledge being perceived as belonging to the iwi, individuals had a responsibility to contribute and share knowledge for the benefit of the group. Their oral tradition enabled Māori to protect and pass on their knowledge. Then, missionaries introduced European style schooling into New Zealand in the early nineteenth century, with the first mission school opening in 1816 at Rangihoua. It didn't generate much interest among Māori and closed within two years. Nevertheless, Māori interest in schooling burgeoned and by the 1830s there was a growing enthusiasm for reading and writing. According to Marshall, Coxon, Jenkins, & Jones (2000) this interest in schooling arose from Māori interest in European technology and the knowledge that produced it. At this time, Europeans perceived Christianity and civilisation as interdependent and inseparable. And by stressing the superiority of European culture the missionaries linked European skills and technology to Christianity. "The agenda of the missionaries involved the replacement of Māori cultural institutions, values and practices with those of the European, with the values and practices of capitalism being presented as an integral part of 'civilisation' and Christianity" (Simon,1990: 62).

Pākeha dominance was secured during the first fifty years of colonisation by a combination of various processes rationalised through the ideologies of race and sanctioned by British law. These included the large-scale alienation of Māori land, the establishment of a capitalist mode of production and an immigration policy that favoured British and other Western Europeans. This

immigration policy resulted in Māori being outnumbered by Pākeha less than twenty years after the signing of the Treaty. In spite of violent struggle and passive resistance by Māori, by the end of the century Māori were both economically and politically dislocated and impoverished.

Māori and Pākeha relations in New Zealand have not been a partnership of two peoples developing a nation, regardless of the promises of the Treaty of Waitangi. Instead, New Zealand has been dominated politically, socially and economically by the Pākeha majority who have marginalised Māori through strategic processes of armed struggle, biased legislation, and educational initiatives which promoted Pākeha knowledge at the expense of Māori wisdom (Bishop & Glynn: 1999).

At the time of colonisation, Europeans were concerned to replace the institutions, customs and values of Māori culture with those of European culture because colonisation was as much about controlling the mind and spirit as it was about acquiring resources. The assimilation policy became a critical feature of government policy for Māori education which was intimately tied up with the acquisition of Māori land and which aimed at destroying Māori traditional forms of social control. With the erosion of Māori governance there would be less likelihood of united protest and opposition to the European practices of land acquisition. The process was effected primarily through the church and the school by which missionaries and the settler government set out to civilise Māori through policies and practices, continuing for more than a century, intended to assimilate them to European attitudes and practices. Although the motives of the missionaries and government were not always synchronous, the policies of both, nevertheless, were rationalised through the belief in the superiority of the white race and European civilisation. Governor Grey refined the ideology of "one people" (enunciated by Governor Hobson in 1840) into a policy of assimilation as the solution to what was becoming the Māori problem. The aim was to assimilate Māori as quickly as possible into European ways: accordingly the Māori language was banned from church schools which were granted one twentieth of state revenue, provided instruction was conducted in English (Walker: 1991). Under the Native Schools Code, all teaching was to be

conducted in English, and from 1903, Te Reo Māori was forbidden at school. Many Māori were anxious for their children to learn English and supported the idea of teaching being conducted only in English; however, it is unlikely that in privileging the English language they realised the inherent danger of their own language being silenced by the foreign tongue.

Because of this, Māori interest in literacy began to decline, and in response, missionaries set up larger boarding schools hoping that by moving Māori children away from their parents, the assimilation process would be hastened. A number of Māori responded with enthusiasm and provided land and money for establishing these schools. And for some, schooling did fulfil their hopes of succeeding and even flourishing within a Pākeha world. But for the majority of Māori, the promise was never realised and schooling served instead to reinforce their subordinate status. Schooling became a means to further Pākeha economic and political interests. Interestingly, in the second half of the twentieth century, the policies and practices that serve to maintain the asymmetry in the social relations of Māori and Pākeha came to be rationalised not through claims of cultural superiority but increasingly through ideologies of education, chief among them the quest for improved literacy and numeracy.

A recent example illustrates the continuing struggle against subordination and assimilation: Following concerns about the decline of Te Reo, Māori set up *Kōhanga Reo,* then *Kura Kaupapa* in the 1980s. Meanwhile, through the early 1990s, the Ministry of Education (MoE) contracted out the writing of national policies for seven curriculum areas. Mathematics was the first curriculum policy developed (written in English) but after lobbying from Māori groups, the MoE began writing these policies in Māori. Two years after the start of the national curricula in English, the MoE employed a Māori educator to oversee, first, the Māori medium mathematics curriculum and then four of the subsequent curricula written in Māori, no doubt intending to conscript Māori aspirations into state structures. The MoE provided few resources in the budget for consultation of iwi, nor were the writing group allowed to participate in decision making (McMurchy & Pilkington, 2008).

A major source of contention was the content of the curriculum. The writing group wanted a curriculum that reflected Māori knowledge and worldview, but the ministry stated that Pāngarau was to have the same achievement objectives and structure as the English medium maths curriculum. Even the preferred word for mathematics - *tatai* – was disallowed. Nevertheless, some resistances resulted. The group were able to incorporate some tikanga Māori into the curriculum, and Māori gained some benefits from exercising agency. Ultimately, however, the structures remained largely the same. Māori were empowered to a greater degree than previously but not emancipated, because knowing about oppressive structures does not necessarily change them. What did eventuate, reports McMurchy & Pilkington, is a process that allows Māori to become, to some degree, agents of change in their own social and cultural milieux. In the project, Māori exercised power to obtain a different vision of the future than hitherto had been available.

Because productive practice is always conducted within the conditions of the rule of a particular class, the concealing of contradictions by ideology necessarily serves the interest of that class. Thus, as well as being the result of the division of labour and of the objectification of practice into contradictory classes, ideology is also a necessary condition for a system of class domination to function and reproduce. It fulfils this role by concealing the true relations between classes, and by explaining away relations of domination and subordination. As a result, social relations can appear harmonious and individuals can go about their work without disruption. Ideology, then, serves to legitimate not only a class structure but the social structure in general, and thus becomes essential for its reproduction. The notion that knowledge is neutral is not therefore credible (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985).

This argument is valid for education at every level. Universities, as the pinnacle of academic achievement, symbolise and legitimise the system itself with all its constituent curricular ethnocentrism. The decision to define a particular group's knowledge as significant while other groups' cultures and histories are subordinated makes an imperative assertion about who possesses and exercises the power in society. The cultural domination inherent in the

production and distribution of knowledge is thus located in what Gramsci calls the 'war of position', which is to say, the struggle for the power to "define the terms of reference or ground-rules of the definitions of meaning" (Gramsci, 1981:28). Pākeha have produced knowledge about Māori people but their way of knowing is never considered by Pākeha as being racialised despite whiteness being exercised epistemologically. As Said (1978) has argued, the West interpreted and made sense of the Orient, producing knowledge and constructing representations as signifiers of its reality. This is because in the West, whiteness defines itself as the norm and "is always glimpsed only negatively: it is what allows us to see the deficient and abnormal without itself being seen" (Moreton-Robinson 2004:75). In this way whiteness is constitutive of the epistemology of the West; it is an invisible regime of power that secures hegemony through discourse and has material effects in everyday life wherever it colonises.

Māori have had their interests curbed and have been undermined from the first missionary schools through to policies and practices of assimilation and biculturalism. Schooling in New Zealand since colonisation has had the effect of promoting and perpetuating the values, culture, attitudes and language of Pākeha while simultaneously pushing Māori and their kaupapa to the periphery. The underlying messages that have been perpetuated through the schooling with regard to the values of Māori, their culture and language, are associated with being inferior and second rate. The process of inculcating such beliefs, values and attitudes, results in their becoming anchored in the psyche of individuals. This occurs to the degree that the repressive institutions become successful in universalising the belief system of the dominant class. As a consequence, the education domain in New Zealand, never neutral or innocent, has served as an agent in the reproduction of attitudes and practices that place a higher value on the cultural norms of Pākeha as opposed to those of Māori. Such practices have been instrumental in creating racist values, attitudes and actions. "By the early years of the twentieth century many Māori had retreated into a state of despondency and a pattern of underachievement in schooling was becoming entrenched" (Marshall et al 2000:53). A central part of this process has been to explain Māori failure over the years in terms of deficit and

deficiency, requiring remediation. Such explanations have been instrumental in the blame being laid on the victim. This has resulted in Māori being made to feel that their failure and underachievement has been due to their own deficiencies.

Bourdieu's (1973) work is relevant here as providing one of the most coherent accounts of the central role that schools have in reproducing social and cultural inequalities between generations. "Cultural capital has three components – dispositions of body and mind, cultural goods and educational credentials. [Bourdieu] claims that it is the dominant group (the group controlling the economic, social and political resources) whose culture is embodied in schools" (Codd, Harker & Nash, 1990:34). Theoretically, education provides opportunity for upward mobility, but in practice it does not. In a hierarchically structured society where knowledge is a form of power, schooling operates as a status-maintaining device to perpetuate relations of inequality. Schools, Bourdieu argues, take the cultural capital of the dominant group as the natural and only appropriate type of capital and treat all children as if they had equal access to it (Bourdieu, 1973). Hence the cultural capital that the schools take for granted acts as a filter in the reproductive processes of a hierarchical society. The unstated agenda of education is a structural imperative in a system where there is limited space in the upper levels of the social structure and the means used to fulfil this agenda included streaming, examination, and statistical manipulation of raw scores. "Those who are certificated and credentialled slot into appropriate prestigious occupations while those who do not are deemed failures and form a reserve pool of workers" (Walker,1991:2). In New Zealand, the numerical advantage and hegemony of Pākeha ensure the maintenance of Pākeha control over all political, social and economic resources. It is therefore the dominant culture that is endorsed as the culture of the state school system. It is the dominant culture whose interests are able to influence what is to count as acceptable knowledge. This knowledge is maintained and protected by strategies that ensure that what counts as 'success' within the school system is predetermined by rules prescribed by the dominant group. "Also, classroom practices, focusing on the need to assimilate Māori to the superior cultures' world view, have promoted and developed an education system that has ensured that the beneficiaries will be those most like the ones who designed

and implemented the system" (Bishop & Glynn, 1999:17). Thus, schooling facilitates the reproduction of the processes of domination found in society; schools actively protect the accepted cultural capital of the dominant group and maintain their privileged position of power and control by creating and then upholding the integrity of accepted cultural capital. Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital sees the major function of education as the reproduction of social inequalities because of the way it reproduces only the culture of the dominant group.

Another form of capital is that which Bourdieu calls social capital, which may be simply described as 'who you know'. Like educational credentials, social capital acts both as a resource in itself and as a means of getting more out of other resources. "There is a powerful strand in the sociology of education that has seen the legitimation of wider social inequality as a major purpose – and achievement – of education systems" (Dale, 2000:132). As Bourdieu (1974:39) puts it:

> By giving individuals educational aspirations strictly tailored to their position in the social hierarchy, and by operating a selection procedure which, although apparently formally equitable, endorses real inequalities, schools help both to perpetuate and legitimise inequalities. By awarding allegedly impartial qualifications (which are largely accepted as such) for socially conditioned attributes which it treats as unequal 'gifts', it transforms *de facto* inequalities into *de jure* ones and *economic and social* differences into *distinctions of quality*, and legitimates the transmission of cultural heritage. In doing so, it is performing a confidence trick. Apart from enabling the elite to justify being what it is, the *ideology of giftedness*, the cornerstone of the whole educational and social system, helps to enclose the underprivileged classes in the roles which society has given them by making them see as natural inability things which are only a result of their inferior social status, and by persuading them that they owe their social fate (which is increasingly tied to their educational fate as society becomes more rationalised) to their individual nature and their lack of gifts. The exceptional success of those few individuals who escape the collective fate of their class apparently justify educational selection and give credence to the myth of the school as a liberating force among those who have been eliminated by giving the impression that success is exclusively a matter of gifts.

So the history of the Māori encounter with schooling shows that the education system has played a significant role in the securing of Pākeha economic and political dominance during the nineteenth century and in maintaining that

dominance throughout the twentieth century and at least the first part of this century. For the majority of Māori the policy of knowledge control established a pattern of limited educational achievement that placed severe restrictions upon their life-chances. Coupled with Pākeha's low expectations of Māori capabilities and reinforced by the assimilation policies, this belief in their low educational ability served to convince some Māori that they were, indeed, suited only to manual labour and that intellectual endeavour was the natural domain of Pākeha. Affirmed by the growing evidence of Pākeha economic and political power, these understandings inevitably have been manifested in a progressive lowering of aspirations and self esteem. Through the education system the government's deliberate limiting of the opportunities available to Māori in its efforts to retain control over their lives parallels and reinforces sharing to Māori of only a limited share of state power. As a consequence schooling of Māori during the nineteenth century played a significant role in the subordination of Māori to Pākeha political and economic power. Through hegemony (Gramsci, 2004) many Māori have come to accept the set of meanings and practices of the common sense interpretations of the world that these interpretations have become the educational, economic and social world they see and with which they interact.

Policies on Māori education have been closely tied to the fulfilment of Pākeha economic and political goals and to the issue of social control. For the first century, these policies were largely rationalised through ideologies of race. Māori education has been the focus of government policy since 1847 when the first Ordinance was signed by the Governor providing assistance to Mission Schools. The 1867 Native Schools Act preceded the Education Act by a decade. Initially, along with other legislation regarding Native Policy - this was administered by the Native Affairs Department. When it was transferred to the Education Department, the Native Schools kept their separate teaching service and Inspectorate. Government policies have shaped the education of Māori at every level possible and many of these policies have resulted in significant educational inequalities. These inequalities are visible in the denial of genuine access to all levels of education and most importantly to appropriate achievement outcomes. Since the 1950s these inequalities have been

rationalised through ideologies of culture, including deficit theories and projects. In the guise of the invisible human universal, whiteness secures hegemony through discourse by normalising itself as the cultural space of the West. Sustained by imperialism and global capitalism, whiteness in Aotearoa travelled culturally and physically, impacting on the formation of nationhood, class and empire. Whiteness is not necessarily about skin colour it is "more about the discursive practices that, because of colonialism and neo-colonialism, privilege and sustain global dominance of white imperial subjects" (Moreton-Robinson, 2004:77).

Education was regarded as the most effective way of assimilating Māori children into Pākeha culture by actively discouraging Māori beliefs and practices and replacing these with Pākeha belief systems. Assimilation required the complete absorption, amalgamation and finally destruction of Māori culture. As policy assimilation persisted for more than a hundred years it is debatable whether the policy has actually disappeared completely. "From 1844 until 1960, assimilation was official government policy, a policy that was based on a racist assumption; namely, that which had been brought by the colonialists was the best for Māori people" (Bishop & Glynn, 1999:16). In 1960, the Report on the Department of Māori Affairs (the Hunn Report) produced statistical data revealing for the first time the extent to which the Māori were disadvantaged in relation to Pākeha in housing, employment, health and education. The report identified a "statistical blackout" of Māori in higher levels of education. Only 0.95% of Māori children reached the seventh form compared with 3.78% of Pākeha children and Māori numbers at university only 1.8% of what they should have been (Hunn, 1960:25). Hunn concluded that Māori were a depressed ethnic minority. Education, he declared, had a major role to play in the economic and social advance of Māori: "Better education promotes better employment which promotes better housing, which promotes better health and social standing, which promotes better education and thus closes the circle" (Hunn, 1960:13). The report also announced the official end of the assimilation policy, proclaiming that in the future New Zealand's official 'racial policy' would be one of integration, which it defined as one which would "combine (not fuse)

the Māori and Pākeha elements to form one nation where Māori culture remains distinct" (Hunn, 1960:15).

Integration as a social policy was intended to create a singular New Zealand culture. It was a policy intended to lift the vestiges of a 'primitive culture' up to a modern way of life (Hunn, 1960:16). Schools were encouraged to offer selected aspects of Māori culture but while there was still a compulsion for Māori children to learn Pākeha culture, there was no requirement for Pākeha children to learn any part of Māori culture. In permitting the continuance of acceptable features of Māori culture, the policy did make some concessions to Māori, and while the remedial measures proposed were assimilationist in philosophy, the Hunn report did signal the enormous disparities in educational achievement between Māori and non-Māori New Zealanders. This asymmetry in Māori-Pākeha relations was, however, concealed in the implied egalitarianism required to make integration workable. The reality for Māori people was that there was very little difference between the policies of assimilation and integration, and the assimilationist policy remained pervasive in education. The increasing disparities across all social indices and educational achievement in particular, combined with the loss of cultural knowledge and language became part of the catalyst for renewed Māori resistance to the assimilatory agenda.

In the post-war years, 70% of the Māori population migrated to towns and cities. Before the urban drift of the Māori, the language and oral history of the culture struggled to survive. The marae setting undoubtedly helped to keep the Māori language alive. Māori was often spoken at home, although parents were encouraged to speak to their children in English. At this stage of their development within a metropolitan society Māori cooperated with the education authorities. Nevertheless, lower standards of educational attainment led to lower-income jobs and un(der)employment, which meant lower standards of housing and health, which correlated with higher rates of crime, which led back to lower educational attainment in an unbreakable spiral of poverty and social disintegration. By the time the Hunn Report was commissioned and new policies devised from it, many Māori families were two generations into the poverty trap, living on welfare in substandard accommodation and without any

sense of identity or belonging, consequently contributing to negative social statistics. Strategies for bridging the education gap were essentially responses to deficit theories, according to which, Māori, like underprivileged whites, performed poorly at school because they were 'culturally deprived' and spoke in a limited language register. Believing that education offered their children the best opportunity for a better future, Māori accepted the advice of the teachers and sacrificed their children's heritage. Neither the teachers nor the parents understood the academic benefits of maintaining and increasing fluency in Te Reo Māori.

By 1970, the previous twenty years of urbanisation had done more to fulfil the government's assimilationist agenda than had other actions over the previous 100 years. The settling of young Māori in the cities, away from the influence of their elders, their marae, and Māori speaking communities, had decimated traditional Māori social control. The result has been generations of urban-reared Māori, largely alienated from their traditional values, language, customs and knowledge. Within the system, Māori children have been considered as problematic because their poor achievement levels in Pākeha-centred skills and tests have reinforced racist stereotypes of intellectual inferiority. Māori children became deficient within the system, and needed their deficiency 'made up' by remedial work. The 'deficit' policy of the 1960s was ideological in that it focussed on the Māori child as a 'problem' for education while concealing the bias in favour of Pākeha dominance that was inherent in the education system itself.

Until the eighties, literature on Māori failure in the education system focused on the deficit approach which highlighted home based factors and cultural inadequacies as key factors (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Simon, 1990). Much of the literature that followed highlighted problems associated with the system's failure to deliver in a manner appropriate to the differing needs and background of Māori. The findings suggest a combination of factors that act as barriers to the participation and achievement. Among these are the effects of teacher expectations and negative experiences with teachers. The culture and environment of schools was also perceived as having a major impact on the

degree to which Māori achieved. Absenteeism from school is a barrier that also has ramifications for Māori. One cause of absenteeism that affects girls to a greater extent is the expectation that they will look after younger siblings or cousins or their grandparents.

There is an adage that the people experiencing the problems are those who best know how to solve them. If we take this as it stands, then we should hand over responsibility for the solutions to the people. The most obvious effect of Pākeha dominance has been educational failure and the near death of the Māori language. In response to a state education system which has failed to cater for Māori needs, Māori have moved to develop their own educational institutions. The beginning of the 1980s was a significant period in Māori educational history, marking the decade that saw the rebirth of contemporary Māori education initiatives: Te Kōhanga Reo (language nest) Kura Kaupapa Māori (total immersion primary schools) Wharekura (Māori language secondary schools) and Whare Wānanga (higher education institutions). Significant in these interventions is the reconstitution of whānau and whānaungatanga as the kaupapa or Māori philosophy in principle and practice. Kaupapa Māori theory is a politicising agent that acts as a counter-hegemonic force to increase the conscientisation of Māori, through a process of critiquing Pākeha definitions and constructions of Māori and asserting explicitly the validation and legitimation of Te Reo Māori and Tikanga (Pihama in Olssen & Mathews, 1997).

The most significant initiative developed to try and redress the failing education system for Māori has been the Te Kōhanga Reo movement. Te Kōhanga Reo was developed at the grassroots level as a response to the continual language loss by Māori and to cultural marginalisation. It was a resistance to a system that had consistently failed to provide for Māori and which laid the blame on Māori underachievement and failure (Stewart-Harawira in Olssen & Mathews, 1997). The Te Kōhanga Reo movement was officially launched at the opening of the first centre on 13 April 1982. This almost entirely Māori-funded initiative was followed within a few years by the establishment of Kura Kaupapa Māori. Kōhanga Reo became a political movement for the educational emancipation of Māori from Pākeha control. For the first time Māori were initiating change in

education instead of being mere objects of an educational policy determined by others. The irony is that ever since the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840, all of the resources Māori have contributed to the education system have been used to ensure their cultural assimilation. They have participated in a system that was set up to disempower them through the systematic erosion of their culture by a process of (assimilating) education. This has been done even though their language and their culture was protected and guaranteed under the Treaty of Waitangi. As soon as Māori decided to develop their own system of education within the framework of the law, members of the dominant Pākeha community were expressing anxiety about racism.

Te Whare Wānanga is a traditional (pre-contact) institution of formal learning. In recent years the function of the traditional institution has been co-opted into a new role. This has been a consequence of the kaupapa Māori educational initiatives and the desire by Māori to extend the notion of self-determination into tertiary education models. Wānanga offer tertiary courses in a Māori-controlled environment and play a critical role in the ongoing educational development of Māori.

Kaupapa Māori is the underlying philosophical base of whare wānanga which provides a distinctive Māori ethos to the institution. It "is a discourse that has emerged and is legitimated from within the Māori community which assumes the taken-for-granted social, political, historical, intellectual and cultural legitimacy of Māori people, in that it is a position where Māori language, culture, knowledge and values are accepted in their own right" (Bishop & Glynn, 1999:63). It is based on a number of principles: Tino Rangatiratanga; Taonga Tuku Iho; Ako Māori; Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga; Whānau; Kaupapa; and Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Tino Rangatiratanga (chiefly control) is the principle of self-determination.
It relates to sovereignty, autonomy, control, self-determination and independence. This is perhaps the most fundamental principle of kaupapa Māori as it asserts and reinforces the goal of Kaupapa Māori initiatives: allowing Māori to control their own culture, aspirations and destiny.

Taonga Tuku Iho (treasures from the ancestors) is the principle of cultural aspiration. This asserts the centrality and legitimacy of Te Reo Māori, Tikanga and Mātauranga Māori. Within a Kaupapa Māori paradigm, these Māori ways of knowing, doing and understanding the world are considered valid in their own right. In acknowledging their validity and relevance it also allows spiritual and cultural awareness and other considerations to be taken into account.

Ako Māori (to teach and to learn) is the principle of culturally preferred pedagogical practice. This acknowledges teaching and learning practices that are inherent and unique to Māori, as well as practices that may not be traditionally derived but are preferred by Māori. Ako means both to learn and teach which means that it is acceptable to shift roles and for the learner to become the teacher and the teacher to become the learner.

Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kāinga is the principle of socio-economic mediation asserts the need to mediate and assist in the alleviation of negative pressures and disadvantages experienced by Māori communities. This principle asserts a need for Kaupapa Māori research to be of positive benefit to Māori communities. It also acknowledges the relevance and success that Māori-derived initiatives have as intervention systems for addressing socio-economic issues that currently exist.

Whānau (extended family) is the principle of extended family structure which sits at the core of Kaupapa Māori. It acknowledges the relationships that Māori have to one another and to the world around them. Whānau, and the process of whakawhānaungatanga are key elements of Māori society and culture. This principle acknowledges the responsibility and obligations of the researcher to nurture and care for these relationships and also the intrinsic connection between the researcher, the researched and the research.

Kaupapa (collective vision, philosophy) is the principle of collective

philosophy- refers to the collective vision, aspiration and purpose of Māori communities. Larger than the topic of the research alone, the kaupapa refers to the aspirations of the community. The research topic or intervention systems therefore are considered to be an incremental and vital contribution to the overall 'kaupapa'.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi is the principle of the Treaty of Waitangi. This is another principle to be taken into account within Kaupapa Māori theory. Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840) is a crucial document which defines the relationship between Māori and the Crown in New Zealand. It affirms both the tangata whenua status of whānau, hapū and iwi in New Zealand, and their rights of citizenship. Te Tiriti therefore provides a basis through which Māori may critically analyse relationships, challenge the status-quo, and affirm the Māori rights.

Āta - the principle of growing respectful relationships - was developed by Pōhatu (2005) primarily as a transformative approach within the area of social services. The principle of āta relates specifically to the building and nurturing of relationships. (Smith, 1991).

Contemporary whare wānanga are higher education institutions that have been developed by Iwi and pan-tribal groups and share some common features. First they have been established in response to the traditionally poor participation rates of Māori within education. Second, they are institutions whose ideological base is distinctly Māori. Third and perhaps most important, whare wānanga usually sit within a wider iwi or pan-tribal plan as an integral mechanism through which the attainment of rangatiratanga will be realised.

It is within this context that Rongo Wetere, Ngāti Maniapoto (at the time, a member of the Te Awamutu College Board of Trustees) expressed a concern about the number of Māori students who were dropping out of high school without attaining any formal qualifications or a skill level sufficient to find employment. "Without skills or employment these young people often found themselves an alternative career path and enrolling in another institution some

20ks down the road, Waikēria Prison" (personal communication with Rongo Wetere, 2003). "Bearing in mind the proven correlation between high unemployment levels and increases in crime, 10% of Māori youth between the ages of 16-30 were incarcerated at that time although Justice Department statistics actually estimated the figure much higher, at 22% (Ward & Shueng, 1992). Because of these concerns, from the beginning, Wetere aspired to grow a Wānanga that could provide opportunities for people disadvantaged by and alienated from existing educational institutions. His primary aim was to provide these opportunities to as many people – Pākeha as well as Māori - as possible within a Māori learning environment. And so began a long struggle to establish what became known as Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, at one stage New Zealand's largest tertiary institution.

The state, through the 1989 Education Amendment Act (section 162), specifies the requirements of a contemporary wānanga, as follows:

> A wānanga is characterised by teaching and research that maintains, advances and disseminates knowledge and develops intellectual independence and assists the application of knowledge regarding ahuatanga Māori (Māori tradition) according to tikanga Māori (Māori custom)."

This places a statutory responsibility on wānanga to teach and conduct research within traditional Māori social structures. To meet this requirement, Wetere proposed to build a marae in the small farming community of Te Awamutu and to use the project as an opportunity to train unemployed Māori youth. Wetere believed that building a marae would solve a number of issues by giving disengaged and unemployed Māori youth some work skills in a marae-based environment which would become a place for young Māori to learn about their culture and values. Building a marae would also be an opportunity for youth to learn about the tikanga involved in the building process and about the operation of a marae. In 1983, Wetere developed a proposal to build the marae and approached the Te Awamutu College Board of Governors. Initially the response was positive; however, opposition from some people within the school and the Te Awamutu community soon became apparent. After much discussion the Board agreed to support the project provided Wetere funded it. With some friends and supporters, Wetere then formed a committee which became the

Waipā Kōkiri Arts Centre Committee (later the Aotearoa Institute Te Kuratini o Ngā Waka Trust) and secured funding for the marae from the Labour Department under a Work Skills Training Scheme. The committee also obtained grants from the Department of Internal Affairs with the shortfall being made up through funding and cash donations from the community. Te Awamutu Dairy Company donated a shed as a workspace for the carving and weaving teams. Through their networks and iwi affiliations, the committee engaged the services of some greatly respected Māori carvers and weavers to be part of the project. Pakariki Harrison led the carving and Hinemoa Harrison led the creation of the tukutuku panels. Ōtāwhao Marae took two years to complete and was opened in 1985 and was such a sucess that Wetere decided to continue with the builing of Waipā Kōkiri Arts Centre. He had already established a committed team of tutors and supporters and set about finding another location and funding.

Wetere negotiated with the Department of Māori Affairs for a grant of $80,000, and while this was encouraging support, it was not sufficient to finance the project. Banks refused to lend money to Waipā Kōkiri Arts Centre Committee without security so the members of the Committee used their homes as collateral to secure loans. The Te Awamutu Borough Council also provided a guarantee for a loan of up to $30,000. The shortfall was made up by short-term loans through finance companies and Wetere also used his personal funds and did not collect any remuneration for his work for five years. Two sites were selected for the building; however, both were blocked by objections from the community. The first site that was near the township of Te Awamutu received ninety objections and the second location at a site near Kihikihi was blocked during a town meeting where locals made it clear that the Waipā Kōkiri Arts Centre was not welcome. These applications for consent had cost around twenty thousand dollars each which did not leave a great deal of the original Māori Affairs grant. In desperation, Wetere approached the College Board of Governers and asked them to lease him the old rubbish tip located behind the college for thirty years. The Dairy Company donated a building provided it was removed within two weeks. Wetere approached the NZ Army to provide labour to assist with the demolition and re-assembling of the donated building. Initially this request was denied; however, "Rongo pointed out that the last time soldiers

paid a visit to Māori in the region, they burned down their homes and marae and sent them fleeing into the surrounding bush" (personal communication with Rewi Panapa, 2003). The NZ Army, volunteer labour and recycled materials from demolished buildings enabled staff and students of the Waipā Kōkiri Arts Centre to provide facilities for themselves. By the time the Centre was completed, the Government had made available new funding oportunities and programmes were expanded to include trades training in building and plumbing, office adminstration and computer studies (personal communication with Edwin Te Moananui, 2003).

A central theme of the kaupapa of the Waipā Kōkiri Arts Centre was the belief that it would increase Māori participation in education by taking the education to the people. By 1987, the Centre was ready to apply for Tertiary Education Institution (TEI) status. At that time it had a roll of 212 students – 86 Pākeha and 126 Māori. Wetere believed that full TEI status could facilitate the provision of the best education for the growing roll. Wetere approached the Ministry of Education to outline his ideas about setting up campuses in other communities. The response was negative and he continued despite their lack of support. In 1988 the Waipā Kōkiri Arts Centre opened a new campus in Te Kuiti.

The Centre's trustees wanted to create an institution that had no entry barriers, was user friendly and accessible. The Centre tendered for building contracts within the community and won building, plumbing and drain-laying contracts. Students on the carving and weaving modules completed work on over 50 marae and an aluminium boat-building module called Leader Craft that built over 300 boats throughout New Zealand. Under the Labour Department, a demolition team was set up to pull down buildings and recycle materials from the demolished buildings for the Centre's projects. These commercial projects, along with money from Government grants such as MACCESS (Māori Access), provided the finance to continue and expand. The projects undertaken by the Centre served a multitude of purposes: they gave trainees an opportunity to practise their skills, they involved creating or upgrading a community facility; they provided income for the Centre and they created a sense of community which encouraged others to join.

The philosophy expanded to meet demand and the Centre experienced such dramatic growth that by 1988 it had opened additional campuses in Hamilton and Manukau. Because of the expansion into other tribal areas, in 1989 Waipā Kōkiri Arts Centre changed its name to Aotearoa Institute Te Kuratini o Ngā Waka Trust Board (AI), a name that reflected its pan-tribal nature. Aotearoa Institute was established as a Private Training Provider (PTE) in 1990 and obtained capital assets through its own endeavours (donations, voluntary labour and retained earnings) and with little material support from the Crown. The expansion continued into towns and cities where Māori unemployment was high. It was important to the institute that each area maintained the kawa (Māori ways of doing things) specific to the area and the institute employed a specialist within the local community to help run each local campus. Aotearoa Institute believed that full Tertiary Education Institute (TEI) status would facilitate the provision of the best education for its increasing role and continued to make further applications to government for funding from1989. Accordingly, AI unsuccessfully applied for TEI status as a polytechnic. The Ministry of Education claimed it had lost the application. Aotearoa Institute was not established as a wānanga until 1 July 1993; then in 1994 it changed its name to Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (TWOA). Te Wānanga o Aotearoa took over the education delivery functions of AI, and the latter continued to exist as a charitable trust holding its own assets for charitable purposes. Since the time it was established TWOA has been the focus of AI's charitable activities and TWOA and AI have maintained a commercial relationship.

Chapter 2 : Te Wānanga o Aotearora, the beginnings

Before 1990, whare wānanga operated independently of the state. They were nurtured, developed and operated under the authority of Māori groups and outside of government legislation. However, since the Education Amendment Act 1990, whare wānanga have had the option to be included under the auspices of the state, and as such, qualify to receive state funding. The issue of funding is a major consideration for wānanga; in some cases, it is the determining factor of their existence. Therefore, the option is an attractive, and in some instances, a necessary choice. As a consequence, the relative autonomy whare wānanga possess is curbed when the option is taken and a critical need to maintain monitoring and strategising processes in order to negotiate the tensions and contradictions that occur as a result of the new relationship with the state is created.

Until 1990, the state provided capital funding to Tertiary Education Institutes (TEIs) via the two conduits of the University Grants Committee and the Department of Education. Through these channels, institutions received funding for land and buildings over and above their operation funding. Since their acceptance as TEIs, wānanga had applied for supplementary grants for special capital injections for campus, library and information technology purposes. The capital base of wānanga was too small to operate effectively and because of this wānanga asked for capital injections from the government to ensure their continued viability. However, every application had been unsuccessful. Despite the state's continued denial of a capital injection to the wànanga, it gave moneys to other TEIs. They included: the New Zealand School of Dance and the New Zealand Drama School (PTEs) in 1993; Wairarapa Community Polytechnic in 1994; Northland Polytechnic in 1996 and the Wanganui Regional Community in 1997.

Currently there are three officially recognised wānanga: Te Wānanga o Raukawa in Ōtaki, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, and Te Wānanga o Awanuiarangi

in Whakatane. However, with the introduction of the Education Amendment Act 1990, the state failed to resource those wānanga on a similar basis to all other TEIs that were established prior to the amendment. The Government had granted wānanga TEI status but denied them the means to establish themselves. At this time, many TWOA staff worked for free. On 3 April 1997, TWOA lodged a formal application for a capital grant. "The Government had promised that provision for wānanga would be made in the 1998 Budget; however, no such provision had been made. On the 14th of May 1998, students, staff and supporters stood outside Parliament to protest" (private communication with Rongo Wetere, August 2003). Several days before the protest, on the 11 May 1998, Rongo Wetere filed a claim with the Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 718) on behalf of the three wānanga, alleging that the Crown had breached the Treaty by failing to provide adequate funding for wānanga and requesting that the Crown provide the same capital funding that it had provided to other tertiary institutions before 1990. On 22 April 1999, the Waitangi Tribunal issued a report, finding that the Crown had breached the Treaty by failing to provide adequate capital funding for wānanga and recommending that a one-off payment be made to all wānanga.

Although the Waitangi Tribunal had made these recommendations, they were not enforceable by law. The next step in the process was to take the claim to the High Court; however, the Government decided to settle the claim out of court. On the 6 November 2001, the Crown settlement for capital funding was signed. (Waitangi Report, 1999). The Government agreed to pay TWOA forty million dollars for capital establishment over the following three years.

Wānanga are iwi-based and iwi-initiated institutions but they are open to everyone, regardless of ethnicity. The difference between wānanga and mainstream institutions lies in the cultural mindset of the delivery: "Whereas universities could be described as 'tikanga Pākeha' institutions, delivering education in a Pākeha cultural paradigm, wānanga seek to deliver education in a Māori cultural paradigm" (Waitangi Report, 1999:21). This method of delivery, open entry, campuses that were easily accessible over most of the North Island and some of the South, a no fees policy, and government policies that funded

through an EFTS system, all contributed to the rapid rise in enrolments at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, taking it from a small provider to one that had more enrolments than Auckland University and that received more funding than the University of Otago. Te Wānanga o Aotearoa was enrolling people who had been demotivated by teachers and by years of employer rejection.

In 1989, the funding for tertiary institutions changed from bulk funding provision to funding on the basis of how many students were enrolled. The EFTS (equivalent full time students) funding system occurred simultaneously with the instigation of student fees and student loans and transformed tertiary education from a privilege reserved for a small elite to one accessible to all. People who had never before aspired to higher learning found they could enter the hallowed halls. As a consequence, participation in tertiary education rocketed through the 90s as tertiary institutions got 'bums on seats' - although funding became thinly and widely spread to include private training institutions. In line with the policy of the time, there was no limit on subsidised student numbers. Universities that continued to maintain academic barriers for enrolment grew slowly while other institutions invented themselves as educational cougars. The change can be observed in the astonishing transformation of the funding going to upper and lower ends of tertiary education. In the year 2000, for example, the government spent $779 million on degree level and post degree courses. In the same year it spent half that amount on the lowest level. Three years later, the amount spent on the lower end had doubled to $885 million. At the same time, institutions, mainly polytechnics, took advantage of a huge pool of 'soft money' in community education, and funding grew 800% from $12.7 million in 2000 to $105 million in 2003. (*Sunday Star Times*, 6 March 2005:4).

By 2003, Rongo Wetere's ambitions had expanded to consider including the half million New Zealanders who were functionally illiterate. Tertiary Education Commission findings at this time, were that "40 per cent of employed New Zealanders score below the minimum literacy competency levels required to comfortably read a newspaper or work out savings from sales advertising" (*Evening Standard* 26 Feb 2005:9). This was also repeated in the TEC regional facilitation document 2008. Wetere's entrepreneurship again identified the

smartest and quickest method to deliver literacy programmes. Searching for a programme that would successfully teach people to read, hui were held, staff co-opted and committees set up to discuss how best to develop and deliver literacy to as many people as possible. Ideas were tested and discarded. Experts were engaged and often swiftly dismissed. Finally, Wetere embarked on a literacy project in conjunction with the Cuban Government, which country has long held an international reputation for success in literacy, having improved its adult literacy rate from less than 5 per cent in the 1950s to 96 per cent today. Wetere travelled to Cuba where he negotiated with the Cuban government to send a team of specialist literacy academics to New Zealand to design a programme for New Zealanders. The project, called Greenlight, is a distance programme which became the subject of much discussion and condemnation from many sectors of society.

Wetere's vision of empowering uneducated Māori and Pākeha through education programmes tailored to their needs had huge social and economic implications. It was revolutionary. But, despite his success, Wetere's enemies were organising. Was it old-fashioned Māori-bashing? Was it because election year was drawing near and the ACT party wanted to score political points, or was it that other tertiary institutions were concerned that TWOA was taking too great a share of education funding? Or, was it just that TWOA had grown too large to be comfortably accommodated? In 2003, the then Associate Minister of Education, Steve Maharey, decided to set a 15 per cent growth cap for tertiary institutions. However, the only tertiary provider that had an exceptional growth rate was TWOA. Although TWOA had become one of the most heavily audited institutions in the country, (scrutinised, for example, by both Deloittes and NZQA in September 2004) Maharey made a request for assurance that there were no conflicts of interest involving TWOA, Oma Investments Ltd and the Mahi Ora Trust. He instructed the Auditor General to conduct an inquiry under sections 16 and 18 of the Public Audit Act 2001. In February 2005, then MP the Hon Ken Shirley, in conjunction with the print media, made serious allegations about corruption within and mismanagement of the wānanga. Shirley referred to a quote Maharey had made in 2003 when he told a newspaper that he was "comfortable with the level of funding the wānanga receives" (*The Press*, 3

March 2005), and then demanded a public enquiry that would be more wide-ranging than the Auditor General's investigation to be led by a High Court judge. His allegations resulted in extending the terms of reference for the Auditor General's inquiry.

The subsequent inquiry investigated:

- the relationship and business arrangements between TWOA and the AI Trust;

- how TWOA identified and managed conflicts of interest;

- how TWOA managed employment or contracting with close relatives of the chief executive;

- selected payments to members of the Council and employees of TWOA;

- TWOA's acquisition of certain land and buildings;

- TWOA's acquisition of goods and services, especially where TWOA members, employees or their close relatives were involved[1];

- how TWOA acquired and set up courses; and

- TWOA's international travel policies and practices. (Auditor General's Report, 2005:13).

The report focussed heavily on Rongo Wetere and the financial transactions and activities of the Wānanga during the 2002, 2003 and 2004 financial years.

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[1] In 2003, Adam Bellow wrote In Praise of Nepotism, arguing that, far from being a plague on modern society, nepotism is one of its foundations. Non-Indigenous cultures, says Bellow, "have slowly moved from the kinship and extended-family system to our present nuclear-family structure". But he argues that we shouldn't assume that the issue is black and white. Bellow argues there's cognitive dissonance between our professed support for meritocracy and our behaviour when our own children are involved. "We are very skilled at ignoring what the left hand is doing. Hypocrisy is the great virtue of all civilised societies."

Looking at recent New Zealand history, there is plenty of behaviour that, on the surface, could be branded nepotistic. In the economic realm, keeping business within the family has garnered not brickbats, but places on the National Business Review rich list. Forty-seven of the 187 entries in the 2004 list are family affairs. No eyebrows are raised at the Goodman family – worth $750 million – for employing the sons of company founder Sir Patrick Goodman: Gregory, Craig and Patrick. What differentiates Te Wānanga o Aotearoa from these examples and where the most stinging criticism lies concerns accounting for public money. But this accountability needs to be qualified. Although reliant on public funding, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa is not part of the core public service.

[Tariana] Turia (leader of the Māori party) says that the wānanga is "a private organisation contracted to provide particular courses and certain outcomes. I haven't read anywhere that they haven't carried out these courses, or not met the outputs the government required."

Nepotism can be a positive force, says Bellow, but there needs to be "a legal and political system which serves to regulate its abuses." (*The Listener*, Vol. 197, March 5-11, 2005: 5-11).

Wetere and members of his whānau became the targets of a campaign by the media and some politicians to discredit him and destroy a successful pan-iwi intervention into the dominant education system. From 2005 student numbers dropped significantly due in part to the negative publicity and also because many programmes and courses were cut.

During the investigation of TWOA in 2004-5, many students came forward with offers of support for the Wānanga. Their responses to the pillorying of TWOA and its leaders in the press ranged from sadness through anger to resignation. Many wanted to have a hīkoi (march) to parliament to express their support, because where their concerns are denied or ignored, Māori feel hīkoi is the best way of expressing their concerns.[2] Students organised marches in many of the areas where they attended wānanga.

Other students wanted to tell stories of their experience at the Wānanga and how it had helped them. The stories, which have never been published had Wānanga ethics approval and were recorded at the request of the students. I recorded three stories from students from each of the campuses and have included excerpts from four of the stories, two from city campuses and two from campuses in smaller towns in an attempt to give the reader some insight into what it meant for the students to be students at the Wānanga.

All the students had been considered failures or thought of themselves as failures in mainstream education. As a consequence, many had not worked or had spent years in menial jobs for most of their lives. They talked about growing up in a world where they didn't fit. Many came into the Wānanga to learn Te Reo Māori and went on to enrol in vocation courses. Ranging in age from the early 20s though to the 60s, their early schooling in mainstream education had been mostly a negative experience. Students' names have been changed and their Iwi affiliations omitted from these extracts.

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[2] Examples of this include the earlier hīkoi led by Wetere to demonstrate against the lack of Government funding in 1998, the land march led by Whina Cooper who led a hīkoi from the top of the North Island to Parliament in Wellington, and the hīkoi protesting the Foreshore and Seabed Act. This was reported by the press as having 5000 marchers when there was actually between 15 and 20 thousand.

The first, Hone, now in his late fifties, spoke of the ways in which he was inserted into the education system:

"I was brought up at a time when it (Māori) wasn't spoken in our schools and our parents never never spoke (in Māori). So we never got a grasp of the language at all…I'm the eldest in our family so that was the reason why I decided to get in to it. In our class at school and – I went to a public school and I did alright. But when we went into secondary school, all the children that you were brought up with – as you got to secondary school, they start to weed you into classes and then you find out that most of the, you know like, how they got graded into classes. They have graded classes like academic. Bang, bang down to modern. A lot of Māori were put in the classes that were down the bottom, and your Pākeha friends that you went to school with and played with and they were um in the academic classes. And their grades at primary were no better than yours. I can say that I had better grades than the ones that were put up higher." Hone thought his parents might have told the teachers to just put him in any class but when he asked his mother, she assured him that this wasn't the case. "I just gave up after that. I only did 2 years high school. I didn't even go through to school certificate".

After leaving school at 14, Hone got a job on the railway which meant living in a hostel in Auckland. He got homesick and went back up north and continued to work on the railways. "I quite enjoyed that but I still had reserves about education." Hone decided to get into education because he wanted to learn Te Reo. "I'm the eldest in our family. The other brothers below me, well you might say they look towards me as their kaumātua and to show their young mokopuna, you know, the Māori language and that." When he went to his first class he felt uncomfortable. "I was the oldest [in the class]. I was shy but after you, going through the year and doing the course by the end of the year we just, you know, one big whānau. Every time we go home now, home to the marae to a tangi, they [Hone's brothers] say, 'Well bro, looks as though you'll have to go sit on the paepae'. They leave everything for me".

After Hone graduated from his first class, he decided to go into a diploma class and was working towards a degree. He talked about what the language meant to him. "I thought, well you know, as soon as I'd made that start and I realised what, you know, what the involvement of Te Reo and the different understandings behind it, goes to, you got a lot deeper than what I thought, you know cos what I thought was, you know just another language, just spoken there and, instead of English, but it, the feelings in, in the language itself. It's, it's sort of, I think it goes deeper than any, than any other language for anyone who's, who's learning it. And then, and then, you can understand to appreciate what the, you know, what the language meant to the environment, to the land, to the people and to the whole whānau as, as can be, you know bringing them together. I got a lot of help from the wānanga staff. It's the first time I've used the library in my life. And I started, you know, picking up all these books and that on the Maori people and I started reading. Now I do a lot of reading."

Ngāpare was a woman in her late forties at the time of the interview. She attended one of the smaller campuses. Her father was Pākeha and mother Māori. "We were brought up Pākeha because my father, he's pākeha, very pākeha-fied. It was our mother's side that pulled us back to the Māori side". She married a Samoan and they had six children but the relationship was violent. "Growing up was easy for them [her children] because I protected them; our whānau was very protective towards them. I was in a very violent relationship with their father and I condoned it because the Māori side of me is like, you protect your family to the point where you don't let anybody know what's going on behind closed doors and because I knew his family and they were of high status, I decided to just keep quiet." The violence and abuse went on for years and Ngāpare was in and out of Women's Refuge. "I was in and out of hospital and I loved him unconditionally, and he's got many more children to a lot of other women and I still loved him. And then I woke up one morning and decided I've had enough and that day I planned what I was going to do, I was going to pack up and leave. I knew it was going to be embarrassing for his family. But then I, my thought wasn't of him, it was of my children and my life, I was becoming very scared."

Ngāpare phoned her whānau and told them she wanted to leave and asked if they could bring the trucks up to her house the next day. The family arrived the next morning – half of the small town she had come from and "the house was cleared in under an hour and it was fantastic, and I put a padlock on the door and left". Ngāpare went back to school and started work as a teacher's aide (she had already finished part of a teaching degree). She also did many other jobs – fruit picking and cleaning the schools where she worked. She also helped out her friend with her business. "And I got to know a lot of different sort of trades, you know, scrubbing toilets and that, and later on I became a professional, what they call a professional domestic cleaner."

Ngāpare met her new husband and resumed her learning journey." I met my husband in 1990, he's Māori and this is where I started on the path of Māoridom because he can kōrero fluently. Then I came back to school. I decided I wanted a change in jobs. Then I came to the Wānanga to do a course to kōrero Māori fluently. That was my first experience with the Wānanga. I didn't like the politics of the Wānanga, but I loved being part of that movement. And I got my first tohu (award) and I was rapt, I didn't really believe I deserved it but I worked hard for it because I couldn't kōrero fluently and that was my aim. Then I did a computer course. Then the cancer came back and one of the kaiako said why don't you join a social services course, you could use your experience there. So I decided to apply. My doctors said I'd never make it through it. I don't know whether it was I purposely proved them wrong or I genuinely did enjoy it but I really loved the course, I thought it was fantastic. Then the staff explained that there was so much out there to help people with disabilities. And I've passed two thirds of the course but I'm flying to Sydney with my surgeon tomorrow to have another cancer operation, they can't do it here. I love the extended whānau at the Wānanga. I had it on my alarm and set two phone alarms to make sure that I could talk to you. I wanted you to know how good the Wānanga has been for me."

Angel was born in the South Island. She was in her early thirties and attended one of the smaller campuses. Her father was Scottish and her mother was Māori. Angel's mother left when Angel was three and she was brought up by

her father. She left school when she was 14. "I didn't like school and thought it was more important to help my father out financially. When I turned 15 I left home cos I didn't see eye to eye with my stepmother and which is sad cos I, I felt distance from my father." When she was 19 she became pregnant and her husband started to become violent. She left. A few years later she met another man with whom she had two more children. "By the time he [her baby] was three months, I was bored and I was reading the paper and Te Wānanga o Aotearoa was offering a social work course so I went. I was really nervous and I went for the interview. I was really scared and my first tutor gave me the confidence and support. I had lots of support from the Wānanga and my classmates and it was the best year ever and I really enjoyed it. I went to my first noho marae which was really scary and they said oh you have to do a mihimihi and I didn't know what that was so then I was learning my Māori side and it was scary cos I was learning Māori for the first time. But at the same time I was teaching my eldest son which was really good and I'm teaching my 20 month old one Māori too. I achieved my certificate and I was like, oh my god I did it. Now I'm doing my diploma and I'm having another baby. I've had a lot of support from my classmates and the Wānanga and I feel confident that I can do it. Yeah so I've learnt a lot, I've learn't different ways, people of different cultures and I buzz out now, I just learnt, I just want to, you know sponge all the knowledge".

Hine was in her mid thirties and attending a city campus. She was brought up on a farm until she was 8. There were 11 children in her family and her mother and father had had no education. Her mother had never been to school. Hine's father was killed when she was 8 and the family shifted to the city. "When I went to school I was good at sports but they put me back a class and I looked ridiculous and didn't fit into the chairs. So they put me up a class again. I don't remember my education. I just remember sitting by myself. When I went to intermediate I didn't know what they were talking about. I got pushed through without knowing anything. I followed my sisters to Girls' High. They thought it would be easier to be educated but it wasn't. So you don't even get, because you're the, the lower educated. You don't even get the proper attention from the teacher. I stayed at school till the third form. I wasn't learning anything and I

was in the lowest class. And now that I'm an adult I know more. I've learnt how to count, how to spell, how to read. I remember when I tried to read at, in the primers. I was always told. No you're not reading properly. And that's all I was told. So then to me I can't read. I went to look for a job, I was only 14. I finally got one sewing and that's when I met my husband. Then I had my daughter and I got into Māori things. I went to the Wānanga. I did Te Reo, 6 months of Te Reo and then I did weaving, raranga. And then I got into computers and then I did small business management and I graduated in May. It's a 36-week course and it was 6 till 9 and then you had your weekend Wānanga. So then I joined Greenlight to see where I'd missed, then I'll feel really complete within myself education-wise. I want to do my School C, you know I want to do English and that, what I missed out when I was in school".

Marie was in her late 30s and attended a city campus. She is the fourth child in a family of 10. When she was 13 she was expelled from secondary school because she was pregnant. She stayed home and did correspondence school. After she had had her baby, Marie returned to another secondary school but was expelled after 6 months for fighting with another girl. She loved education and did very well with correspondence. She had a further 2 children and did a variety of jobs. Her decision to start studying came some years later when one of her sisters came home to stay with her. "I used to tease her saying, Oh Māori certificate won't get you a Pākeha job – that sort of thing. This was the joke around home but eventually I turned, I wanted my Reo and I wanted to go and learn at the Wānanga, but what I was, I was a bit sceptical that I wasn't going to be up to it. So I though I'd go and do computers first so if I was going to let it down, I'd only be letting down computers not the Māori kaupapa." She passed her National Certificate in Computing and enrolled in a multimedia course. Over the next year doing Multimedia, one of the Te Reo kaiako (teachers) spent an hour each week in the class and this encouraged Marie to enrol the following year in Te Tohu Mātauranga, a two year diploma course. Once that was completed, she continued with studies to reinforce her Reo with part time courses and completed an Advanced Certificate in Tertiary Teaching, at the same time teaching children at the local intermediate school where she became a member of the board of trustees.

During her time studying she had a further two children both of whom were cared for in Te Kakano (day care centre on campus). "And I just love that they've got those places there for us Māoris that are studying. Cos they [her babies] were so young, it was important that my babies had the cuddles. She's got quite a few mums. They're just extended family. The Wānanga's become my extended family and I just found a lot of family I already have in there so, and it's good. Cos the world just keeps getting smaller where the Wānanga's concerned, everybody's related to everybody. Oh the Wānanga's grown so big in such a short time. I think it takes a lot of work from the top end to manage that kind of growth – a lot of you know, trial and error, yeah and that, that's everywhere, so I just think, you've done very well, exceedingly well even. Under the circumstances by that growth, in comparison to the growth rate, bigger than any other institution in the country and I think you can attribute a lot of success of the Wānanga to just the determination of people like you and me and every other person that comes through the door. Just the sheer determination to want to make it: to achieve whether that be as a student or as a staff member. I've had nothing but a good experience with the Wānanga. If, if you know if, if the Wānanga is, I don't see it as just a name, it's a separate entity. It's like I have aroha for the Wānanga. You know what I mean? It might sound strange to someone else when you say I love this tertiary institution, but I don't see it as the, the name of the institute or the buildings that they're in by just the collection of all those people and all that who do all the hard work, the aroha and the whānaungatanga. That's been the biggest thing for me, having another family member you can just, if you're not up to it today you can just say so. You can guarantee somebody's going to carry you and vice versa the next day when they're down.

These stories are very personal, and very meaningful for me because I shared their aspirations and dreams. Notably, for students studying at the Wānanga talk was grouped around 4 nodal points: being Maori, te Reo, whānau and school. In the media, by contrast, the talk focussed around race, taxpayer, nepotism, business, hierarchy and education. According to Althusser (2001) discourse recruits people by 'interpellating' them into positions where the

discourse provides 'obvious' meaning. In the process, patterns of relationship and their connection with the structures of the larger society are obscured as people are abstracted from social contexts. The interpellation provides meaning and identity and this meaning becomes reified as people make sense of their worlds (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The wider structures of power limit what can be said and therefore limit constructions of identity as discourse bring phenomena into categorisation. Māori participants' early schooling in mainstream had been a negative experience for all of them. But their experience at the wānanga had been very positive.

But it is not sufficient to simply describe the history of TWOA. Equally important a task is to attempt to theorise the events. For this, I adapt Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) discourse theory, including their version of hegemony. Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory has a much broader theoretical underpinning and application than ordinary discourse analysis which is usually described as a detailed analysis of speech and text. Discourse theory draws on and rewrites Gramsci's ideas of hegemony and combines elements of Marxist, post-structuralism and psychoanalysis into a coherent and justified theory. It seeks to find points of convergence among various approaches, and attempts to put forward explanations of the social and political worlds. More specifically, it is directed at the analysis of key political issues. Discourse theory assumes that all objects and actions are meaningful and that meaning is conferred by historically specific systems of rules. For example, dozens of Māori drop out of school or are suspended from school every year. They are subsequently regarded as uneducable. These events are political issues, not just social ones; making them social issues moves them into a cultural determination where they may be safely constrained. Discourse theory investigates the way in which social practices articulate and contest the discourses that constitute social reality – and thereby political reality - so Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) view is that discourses are intrinsically political. Discourse always involves the exercise of power, which is to say that the political does not emanate from the social but is an important constitutive field of articulation in its own right.

'Hegemony' here is seen as the outcomes that emerge from the tensions occurring within an undecidable domain. Because decisions regarding educational provision result from a multitude of contingent approaches for example we could not just have mainstream education without regard to race. The category of nodal points or master signifiers or Lacan's 'points de capiton' involves the notion of particular elements providing a universal structuring function within a particular discursive field – in this case the field of education where the themes coalesce around the nodal points. Two such nodal points in my reading of TWOA's history are *values* often expressed as 'value for money' (repeated 22 times in relation to the Wānanga in one week's reading of parliamentary debates) and *taxpayer,* which term Pākeha understand to be the arbitrary and abstract figure whose attributes include whiteness, not receiving welfare, being main-stream educated and believing in hard work, and meritocracy - in short the construction of pākeha values and beliefs as opposed to the otherness of Māori. Hegemony, erupting at the edge of (usually) two contested systems reveals a concerning practice where Pākeha meaning is configured as value. But paradoxically, this hegemonic practice, because it is constructed on denial of another set of practices, opens up a space to challenge the naturalised givens of the dominant ideology and provides opportunities for a more accurate expression of Māori autonomy and self-determination.

What is needed is a form of politics which is not founded on just the social but instead founded on the recognition of the contingent and conflictual character of competing *political* discourses in which the social is embedded. From this an emancipatory democracy might arise which provides a space for a multiplicity of autonomous yet interdependent voices to be heard. What Māori use to counter dominant Pākeha signifiers are kaupapa, tikanga and manaakitanga. That is the hope I maintain for the Wānanga. But that's another story.

Chapter 3 : Methodology – Laclau & Mouffe's Discourse Theory

This thesis investigates the problem of how it was possible for a flourishing and seemingly durable educational institution – Te Wānanga o Aotearoa – to decline from its pre-eminent position as the country's largest tertiary institution to its nadir as a minor player in New Zealand's education industry. The study investigates how the momentum of crisis, decline and disintegration began, how various discourses succeeded in constructing and interpellating subjects within and without the institution so as to facilitate this collapse, and how hegemony was used first one way to gain support for the Wānanga and then in another to position the institution as ineffectual, failing and ultimately lacking in viability.

In attempting to provide an account of these matters, I examine what is available to public view: from newspapers and *Hansard*, the conditions of systemic political possibilities to which individual behaviours became a less-than-autonomous response and the mechanisms through which these possibilities and responses operated and became hegemonic. Using Ernesto Laclau's and Chantal Mouffe's discourse theory, I investigate two discourses forming public textual media – newspapers and politicians' speeches - surrounding the collapse of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa during 2004 and 2005.

Laclau's theory, written with Charlotte Mouffe, and explicated chiefly through their *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (1985) aims at interpreting society and social behaviour as a set of discourses, hence a set of socially constructed phenomena, which are, in principle, analysable through the use of conventional discourse analytical tools. The 'reality' posited by the discourses surrounding political and press coverage of the time in question is the 'reality' characterised by Ulrich Beck (1992:135) as the 'subjectivisation and individualisation of risks and contradictions produced by institutions and society', where how one lives becomes the 'biographical solution to systemic contradictions' (ibid: p.137). Finding solutions became the imperative of Wānanga staff, and the interplay of contradictory discourses transformed the issues from socially produced

antinomies into ego-centred problems needing to be individually confronted and resolved. The issues and strategies of political ideology were thus taken off the agenda and their place taken by denunciations and deprecations of individuals who worked at the institution. Between the discourse of politics and the discourse of the institution there appeared a downwardly spiralling, doubly-embracing and reciprocally reinforcing helix of defeat and despair.

Approaching the analysis through an examination of the discursive constructions surrounding the event presupposes that everyday language and discursive practices are neither neutral nor innocent. Neither a "pre-discursive reality" nor "objective interests" (Norval, 1996:3) makes any sense in this context. I take as a guiding principle that all of reality is symbolically and discursively mediated and therefore that no discourse, including this one, is fully representative of the 'facts'. Discourse concerning 'reality' in this respect, is rather like "trying to make two absolutely dissimilar bodies cover one another, an attempt which always fails because however you may turn them this or that corner always protrudes" (Schopenhauer, 2004:55).

No discourse, political or otherwise, entirely succeeds in concealing its socially constructed and therefore contingent nature. Nevertheless, wearing an Orwellian mask shapes the wearer's face to its contours, and operating within a discourse moulds the speaker's language. Examining particular discourses reveals the mechanisms and the - sometimes unconscious – strategies through which naturalisation occurs and also the means by which a set of alternative, opposing symbolisations of reality may be constructed to contest the dominance of the prevailing operations of contemporary power. This power, as Foucault says,

> is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power …. The individual, that is, is not the *vis-á-vis* of power; it is I believe, one of its prime effects. The individual is an effect of power, and at the same time … it is the element of its articulation. The individual which power has constituted is at the same time its vehicle.
>
> Foucault, 1980: 98

Many varieties of discourse theories are appropriate as theoretical frameworks for examining social practice because they allow for the continually evolving meanings and orientations of society. But Laclau and Mouffe's version deconstructs other discourse theories, revealing their hidden assumptions, contradictions and inconsistencies and their internal resistances to examination. The ideological content of these other theories, once identified and exposed, can then be used as a hermeneutic for investigating social behaviour within a range of new conceptualisations and through the introjection of new content into existing concepts.

Laclau and Mouffe's theory clearly rests on Derrida's (2003) concept of deconstruction, which views 'structure' as standing in for an event which has no centre "but a function, a sort of nonlocus in which an infinite number of sign-substitutions came into play. …The absence of the transcendental signified extends the domain and play of signification infinitely" (Derrida, 2003:353-354). Discourse is infinitely open and no hegemonic determination can ever fully close it; there remains always a surplus of meaning which escapes its icy grasp. One other major theoretical tradition - Marxism - provides a second significant basis for Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory. Marxism provides the basis for thinking about the social as a series of contestations between economic classes, where structuralism allows finer detail by offering a theory of meaning which introduces a diachronic element into the essentially synchronic nature of the former theory. The synthesis thus formed constructs a *post*-structuralist account whereby the social arena is recast as a metaphorical four-dimensional net, in which signifiers are considered as 'knots' in the asymmetrical weave and in which each signifier derives its 'significance' by its position relative to all others. The net image incorporates the structuralist theoretical claim of spatial and historical consistency, and post-structuralism is served through the notion that ideas are never fixed unambiguously and definitively once and for all, but are determined by their elastic relation to each other, perceived and appropriated for various uses through time. By convention and negotiation, contestation and clash, structures of meaning arrive at consensus or challenge or refusal.

Socialist strategy in contemporary society, argue Laclau and Mouffe, consists in developing as broad a net of 'equivalences' as possible, without minimising the incommensurable differences between opposing groups or ignoring the extra-discursive realities of everyday life. The creation of meaning itself is a structuralist idea, at odds with the poststructuralist notion that meaning can never be fixed. Creation of meaning is a social process of attempting to fix sense so that the significance of each signifier resides in its fixed relationship to all other signifiers. The moral is that of Berkeley's adjuring his readers to

> … not stick in this or that phrase, or manner of expression, but candidly collect my meaning from the whole sum and tenor of my discourse, and laying aside the words as much as possible, consider the bare notions themselves …" (Berkeley, 1965, CXX).

But we cannot "lay aside the words" to consider the "bare notions". There is no natural connection, as Aristotle said, between the sound and the thing signified. "The view that meanings belong to words in their own right … are a branch of sorcery, a relic of the magical theory of names" (Richards, 1964:71). There is no getting hold of ideas and notions, except through words and what they do and how they do it. The attempt to covey neutral exposition or to assign rigid designation, *á la* Kripke (1996:61-164 *ff*), is not however futile although ultimately unachievable since every notion of a signifier's stable meaning is always dependent upon individuals' histories and other social contexts, most importantly an untheorisable concept of time[3] (Harvey, 1996). We struggle daily with misunderstandings in communication and the meanings we assign are often 'agreed misinterpretations'. Nevertheless, analysis can identify and examine the *interpenetrative* (Bergson, 1955) processes whereby groups accept and conventionalise signs so that they appear natural, or alternatively, challenge and contest them in order to privilege a different meaning. From their reading of Freud and Althusser, Laclau and Mouffe explicitly outline this:

> ...everything existing in the social is overdetermined …. The symbolic – i.e., overdetermined – character of social relations therefore implies that they lack an ultimate literality which would reduce them to necessary moments of an immanent law.   Laclau & Mouffe, 1985: 97, 98.

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[3] Space and time are social constructs, according to Harvey (1996). They are differently constructed in different societies and change in their construction is so tied in with social change, that in any social order, there will always be disagreement and contestation.

Laclau and Mouffe claim that there are not two levels of social order, the first essential, causal and immutable, the other resembling a Kantian apprehension of noumena. Society and agents within society lack any essential base, not even a Marxist economic determinative one, and so there cannot be any support for a lawful, symbolically literal interpretative level which fixes the sense of a given social order. This is to say, *contra* Marx, that because there is no necessary structure to social formation arising from the modes and sets of relations among productive forces, there can be no totalising conceptualisation of an exegesis of the effects at the social level. So an individual's class position becomes comprehensible through a persuasive political discourse. To cite Anna Marie Smith:

> We could imagine the way this might work for different workers on the same assembly line in an American factory. One worker might be influenced by neo-conservatism. She might believe that her position as a worker results from the fact that she made a greater effort in life than her neighbours on welfare … the second worker might be influenced by right-wing religious fundamentalism. She might claim that her neighbours are living lives of sinful sloth and sexual immorality, and that her own industriousness is a reflection of her Christian way of life … The third worker might be influenced by leftist leaders and the progressive wing of her trade union. She might believe that her position as a propertyless worker results from systematic exploitation, that she has in this sense much in common with her neighbour on welfare …
>
> Smith, 1998, p. 57

Because of this multiplicity and because of the overdetermined character of social relations, the possibility of alternative articulations other than the preferential discourse – here understood as the fixing of meaning in a particular domain – has the potential to challenge and supersede prior expressions with consequent restructurings of the relations between oppositional groups.

This leads to a move, deemed by Laclau and Mouffe to be illegitimate: that of claiming that a discourse and institutional practice secures the conditions of existence of an abstract entity which rightly belongs to another discursive field. A relation between concepts should not imply a relation between the objects identified in those concepts. An institution always presupposes a set of rules, but these rules are always social before they are logical. To take the case of this thesis, for instance, there are rules about the conduct of discourse analysis

which presuppose considered knowledge and preferred ways of acting combining theory and perspective. Nevertheless, my resistance to the personal power of individuals and the anonymous power of oppressive organisations colours my attitude and picks out and captures different aspects of social reality. My interpretations therefore are predicated on a discursive field of assigned identities and the endeavours of political forces to enforce a finite and limited meaning upon them, and it is through this domain that I gingerly negotiate. The set of relations that establishes itself *between* terms, like my discursive manoeuvering between logical sites and groups where these relations are external to their terms can be seen as attempts to construct and stabilise and map one set of meanings over another.

Moreover, relations may change without the terms changing. And relations exist in the middle between object/practice and theory/codification. This exteriority of relations, insist Laclau and Mouffe, is a strategy for examining the guiding principles of 'objective' determinations. So saying, Laclau and Mouffe's 'floating signifiers' articulate opposed and resistant political projects (Howarth, 2000). This is not to valorise signifiers, because, since the discovery (invention?) of semiotics, language has set about interpreting itself and in the process, humans as well. Laclau and Mouffe's project is an attempt to identify the tyranny of the signifier and to interrogate the points and positions which are conventionally constructed by cuts and sections instead of proceeding by lines and planes, where what little movement there is becomes procession rather than process. They maintain that there are indeed states of things and discourses surrounding them, where signs are constantly circulating, interconnecting with each other, becoming organised in different ways and provoking new organisations, new formulations, new beliefs, understandings and behaviours. But the specious perceived unity of connection between signifier and referent derives merely from the fact that the expressed content of a discourse and the occasion of the expression appear to be one and the same event – better to regard articulation as a function stretching into the future as promise and potential and retreating into the past as rule, convention, 'contract'.

All discourse, say Laclau and Mouffe, (1985:112) is formed by the contingent fixation of meaning around nodal points ('knots' in the net, Lacan's *points de capiton*: Lacan, 1997, ch.21). These *points* are quilting ties, used literally in upholstery to secure a button to fabric in a couch, where the button and the fabric are held together not in reference to anything else but simply in regard to each other. The effect of the metaphor is to tie specific meaning to particular words without connection to any referent in reality. The aim of completion is not futile but ultimately impossible because every fixation of a signifier's meaning is always contingent, never necessary. Nevertheless, analysis can identify and examine the processes whereby groups accept and conventionalise signs so that they appear natural, or alternatively, challenge and contest them in order to privilege a different meaning.

These nodal points are privileged signs around which other signs are ordered and around which they move from connotation to a more fixed denotation. In New Zealand's social discourse, for instance, the term 'All Blacks' carries a masculine resonance about which other signifiers like 'manliness', 'courage', 'determination', 'pride' and 'humility' condense. These signifiers accrue meaning through their relation to 'All Blacks' in particular ways and the discourse is established and defended against challenge by the ways in which each signifier appears fixed in relation to other signs in such manner as to resist other possible combinations. Thus, a discourse is a reduction of possibilities and an attempt to create a unified system of fixed sense. The possibilities that are excluded from the discourse are said to be the 'field of discursivity' (Laclau and Mouffe 1985:111) which term identifies a superset for the 'surplus meaning' (Žižek, 1989:87 *ff*) produced and repressed by the dominant articulatory practices. In the rugby discourse, 'manliness' excludes alternative discourses of sensitivity, compassion and collaboration which are arguably also part of a masculine discourse.

Discourses then, are only contingently stable fixations within domains of discursivity. Beyond discursive formations, there exist exteriors which define interiors as well as constructing their discourses as incomplete – and therefore as inviting structural change. Exteriors also provide a space for theorising about

power, and on this Laclau and Mouffe's concept of the 'floating signifier' (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985:113) can be brought to bear. A floating signifier is a sign that has a considerable polysemy and exists as a site of contestation in the struggle between dominant and subordinate discourses. The prevailing discourse aims to disambiguate these signifiers by turning 'elements': 'any difference that is not discursively articulated' (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985:105), i.e. those signs whose meanings have not been fixed, into 'moments' and thereby establishing closure. The goal is never quite achieved; there is never permanent closure, as the possibilities of meaning that the dominant discourse displaces to the field of discursivity always remain to threaten revolt and usurpation. All moments are therefore potentially reducible to their former status as elements. All elements are potentially recruitable into moments. A discourse is a temporary, contingent closure and the empty signifier just *is* the discursive centre, the nodal point which attracts a host of differential elements and binds them into the discourse. It is by selecting those signifiers that have tendentiously emotional or morphemic resonance or by emptying signifiers of their customary content that the signifiers are able to represent greater or lesser parts of the whole discourse. The power of signifiers is therefore coeval with their (potential) emptiness. This emptiness provides the nodal points with a specious universality, though never completely, because the points are only given meaning by the particular elements which they suborn and subsume, and of which they are composed. Rather they become signifiers of an absent universality – of a lack within the discourse's core. It is '… present as that which is absent; it becomes an empty signifier … the signifier of this absence' (Laclau, 1996:44). The centre's hollow core makes discourse possible, but at the same time its negativity indicates that which the discourse lacks. This outside poses a threat to the inside as well as marking a constitutive lack that the outside helps to fill.

This emptiness is related to power - the power to construct a discursive formation, and also the power struggle between formations which is, for Laclau, the driving force of politics. Politics, then, becomes a struggle to fill the emptiness with a given content - to suture the rift of the discursive centre and to create a universal hegemony. The political struggle is therefore a struggle to

obtain full, positive and 'natural' identification, a project aiming at the completion of meaning and towards '… the realisation of a society fully reconciled with itself' (Laclau, 1996:69). Given the impossibility of this project, antagonisms are introduced as the '… symbol of my non-being' (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985:125), of what keeps the political project from realising itself, ie. from obtaining a positive identity and thus establishing hegemony. The antagonistic relationship – that which keeps us from ourselves - is the only identity we can obtain. Partial, perhaps, but at least semi-stable. This is exactly what privileges the antagonistic relationship in Laclau's body of theory, because it constructs the antagonistic relationship as the moment of individuation, as constitutive of the discursive formation.

The discursive centre is empty and needs to be filled with content, which is precisely Laclau's notion of how politics engages; a performance that produces antagonisms. The field of discursivity prevents us from filling the gap and is articulated as an antagonism. If we could portray that inherent emptiness in terms which still address discourses as lacking identity, but which do not necessarily adumbrate their centres as *needing* to be filled - or even identified as *possible* to be filled - by political or self-identificatory projects which inevitably produce a symbol for those projects' failure - the antagonistic other - what effects would that reformulation have for the analyses of social relations and of processes of identification? Instead of focussing *a priori* on one type of relationship, there would be an abundance of relationships - all partaking in processes of identification and in moments of individuation. Such a reformulation might open up social space and permit a nuanced discourse analysis more in tune with the social.

This is to say that there are several ways of understanding elements in a discourse, and it is the effort of the dominant group to confine elements to 'moments' by defining them in specific and unambiguous ways. This is done by positioning signifiers in particular ways in relation to other signs in order to produce sense.

Together with Gramsci's theory of hegemony, Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory provides a clearer sense of how power relations become naturalised and so much a part of common sense that they become unquestioned and 'sedimented'. For this reason, an adoption and adaptation of discourse theory is a viable heuristic device for examining the discourses that surround Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and which variously support, resist or challenge the existing conditions. The study may also open up the possibility for staff and students to envisage alternative ways of organising the institution and offer an invitation to adopt different subject positions within newly elevated, more life-affirming discursive structures. Discursive identifications which posit staff and students as 'other' in the logic of equivalence of the dominant educational discourse may be exposed and resisted in favour of a logic of difference in which are offered a larger number of potential subject positions. Then the notion of the *social* regulation of the education process which acquires content through its opposition to the *individual* aspirations of invisible market forces means that the nature of community must be accepted. And this means giving the voices of those people most directly affected by the restructuring of the Wānanga a new dignity.

Throughout this investigation into Te Wānanga o Aotearoa's structure and practice, Laclau and Mouffe's theories of radical democracy offer a point of entry into the understanding of the decline and fall of a once-strong educational institution. This thesis, like their insights, should be read as a resistance to a specific historical event rather than as a dry academic exercise. The study is theoretical only in that it might become practical. I was there. I lived through and fought against the attacks that were introduced as part of the government's cost-cutting disciplinary measures. I challenged the restructuring that led to the institution's reformation, and when I could do no more, I left. Events have continued since that time as part of what I believe to be determined attempts at a resolution of wider 'Māori' issues, while for the Wānanga, its restructuring has resulted in the implementation of drastic austerity measures, falling levels of student retention and staff disenchantment and exhaustion.

At a time when a Labour-led government might have been expected to provide some encouragement for education in a competitive world and for Māori education in particular, the years of this study show instead a general decline in living standards in Aotearoa, the highest recorded division in the OECD between rich and poor, the offshore outsourcing of jobs, progressive and systematic deskilling of labour, the diminution of unionisation, the parallel growth and influence of business policies and the government's unremarked dropping of its 'closing the gaps' policy, designed to support Māori in their quest for equality. Few New Zealand citizens believe any longer in an egalitarian society and most recognise the growing disparity, not just between the highest and the lowest paid sectors of the community, but also between the quality of education that the elite and the poorest receive. The structure of political and economic influence has been transformed since the 80s' Rogernomics era and the transformation has brought with it a corresponding attenuation of the aspirations of the underclasses (Trotter, 2007; Social Report 2003).

The choice to use Laclau and Mouffe's discourse-theoretical approach in this particular social and political analysis allows an investigation into the dominating forms and content of the discursive policies and practices of the decision-makers - and also those of the staff and students at the Wānanga. My motivation for the study was a realisation of how the institution's ideals and aspirations had been captured by the ambitions of a powerful elite. Investigating how the multiple forms of suppression and repression subdue majority interests might, I thought, address the question of how subjecthood and identity were constructed and maintained in an institution where, despite an Althusserian (1969) overdetermination of social relations and political disparities - each capable of channelling streams of different meanings into particular symbolic condensations, each constructing genuine effects on the social behaviours and political life of its workers, each offering, in short, a variety of subject positions - only one main account, one political imaginary, one prevailing discourse, triumphed.

Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory is characterised by a strong historicist, constructionist and relationalist perspective of social identity, together with an

insistence on the governing power of discourse to effect social identity (MacDonnell, 1986:6; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). Social identities are constructed as Saussurean negative differences within the relational system of language, in such manner as to proscribe any linguistic system as being total or closed. Following from this, discourse theory has abandoned the idea of a fully autonomous and self-constituted subject and adopted the theoretical terrain of post-Marxism together with the insights of Lacanian psychoanalysis, which latter emphasises the polyvalent and fragmented nature of subjects at the level of symbolic signification. In this way, discourse theory explores social practices, including speech acts that articulate and resist the plethora of discourses constituting social reality. Systems of meaning are always contingent upon several factors and any one interpretation cannot exhaust the field of potential meanings.

Laclau and Mouffe's *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (1985) is the text used to provide specific interpretations of key concepts for this study. Here, the authors insist that identity is discursively constructed:

> … we will call *articulation* any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice. The structured totality resulting from the articulatory practice, we will call *discourse.*
>
> Laclau and Mouffe. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, 1985:105.

Further, Laclau and Mouffe state that:

> The fact that every object is constituted as an object of discourse has *nothing to do* with whether there is a world external to thought, or with the realism/idealism opposition. …. The objective world is structured in relational sequences which do not necessarily have a finalistic sense and which, in most cases, do not actually require any meaning at all: it is sufficient that certain regularities establish differential positions for us to be able to speak of a discursive formation. Two important conclusions follow from this. The first is that the material character of discourse cannot be unified in the experience or consciousness of a founding subject; on the contrary, diverse *subject positions* appear dispersed within a discursive formation. The second consequence is that the practice of articulation, as fixation/dislocation of a system of differences, cannot consist of purely linguistic phenomena; but must instead pierce the entire material density of the multifarious institutions, rituals and practices through which a discursive formation is structured.
>
> *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, 1985:108-9

So saying, Laclau and Mouffe reject the difference between discursive and non-discursive practices. They claim that the discursive is a theoretical domain within which all objects are potential objects of discourse, as their meaning depends upon a socially constructed system of rules and distinctions. All identity is relational, is an exclusively discursive construction or a discursive *articulation* (Laclau and Mouffe 1985:105) and that all values are relative, 'defined only by their difference' (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985:106). Identity thus can never be complete. It can only be established by difference, by drawing a line between something inside and something other. All principles and values, therefore, receive their meaning from relationships of difference and opposition (Laclau 1990:21, 58). At a time in New Zealand's history when the state and society have penetrated each other, so that ostensibly neutral domains – education, culture and the economy amongst them – are at least potentially political, the specific political distinction to which political actions and motives was adduced was that between friend and enemy: the other, the alien or stranger (Schmitt, 2007:2) The Wānanga was subjected to the latter positioning.

People in social practices are continually enacting the processes of objectification and differentiation in their behaviours of articulation and disarticulation (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985:105 *ff*) but the authors claim the impossibilty of achieving any kind of social identity under 'antagonism', defined as the position and presence of the other' who prevents people from being fully themselves (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985:125) – in the case of this study, the antagonism between the state on the one hand and the students and tutors of Te Wānanga on the other. This was based upon a conflict of the state's depriving the Wānanga of the resources the members of that institution required to be students and tutors. It manifested through the discursive construction of 'equivalences' which sometimes subvert differences by privileging particular nodal points and suppressing others in a variety of contents and a difference of language.

The potential to challenge and supersede prior expressions with consequent restructurings of the relations between oppositional groups arises from alternative articulations other than the privileged discourse –understood as the

fixing of meaning in a particular domain – that are enabled by the overdetermined character of social relations and the discursive construction of 'equivalences'. Any vocalisation may include attributes or refer to circumstances that are implied, but are not made explicit. The logical relationship between implicitness and explicitness is often generated by means of binary constructions. It is only by reference to an outside other, that identity constructions of the *self* become achievable. At the centre of such a discourse, there is an empty signifier, which arises from the need to signify something that is both impossible but necessary at the same time. The empty signifier that symbolises the hegemonic operation has a deeply catachrestical character; in fact, it often takes the form of a synecdoche, as a part comes to represent the whole (Laclau 2005:72).

Laclau and Mouffe use the terms 'subject' and 'subject position' in a discourse to describe individuals' attempts to fill gaps in a structure. Finding they cannot identify with the subject position of the discourse, individuals may strive to fill these gaps through identification with particular projects in an ultimately futile effort to gain full identity. There are two different logics operating here: a logic of 'difference' that creates differences and antagonisms and a logic of 'equivalence' that challenges these differences and divisions (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985:127 *ff*). The writers claim that dominant interpretative domains emerge from the dialectic relationship between these logics. '[E]quivalence subverts all differences by reducing them to an underlying sameness' (Critchley & Marchant, 2004:39). Hegemonic discourse thus depends on the construction of a threatening outside, and a radical exclusion becomes the condition of all differences and the unifying ground of the system.

Difference contradicts this notion. Different identifications combine to oppose another in a chain of equivalence. Equivalence thus announces the construction of a perceived enemy where the demands of different social groups are articulated into a larger common movement (Critchley & Marchant, 2004:4). By contrast, the community – here the state - is constructed in non-antagonistic terms within the logic of difference. Language as a system of differences operates for the latter. In the state/society, homogeneity constitutes the

symbolic framework of the community. What follows from this is that there are relations of equivalence in the dominant class, which creates antagonisms to subordinate groups. In this fashion, hegemony gains the character of an innovative articulation, an attractive and attracting nodal point, based on the 'political construction of a social formation from dissimilar elements' (Dallmayr, 1989:121).

Opposing excluded elements, all other internal elements are equivalent to one other because they negate the alien identity: 'My enemy's enemy …'. Thus the emergence of a unified community entails the passage from previously disconnected social stances and desires to a universal one through the construction of a chain of equivalences and the creation of an external, antagonistic force. The universal here is an open set of unsatisfied demands, while a kind of solidarity is established between them (Laclau, 2005). But equivalence does not eliminate all differences: difference continues to exist within the equivalential chain, because both equivalence and difference are necessary to construct the social, which evolves from the tension between them.

This means that to be something is always not to be something else (Laclau and Mouffe 1985:128-9; Schmitt, 2007:88) which also implies that equivalence is not synonymous with identity: equivalence presupposes difference, but can eventually lead to the formation of contingent collective identities. 'It is because a *particular* demand is unfulfilled that with other unfulfilled demands a solidarity is established' (Laclau, 2005:120.) The logic of equivalence never constitutes a completely sutured space nor dissolves differences, but neither does the logic of difference achieve this (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985:129).

If identity is constituted on the opposing logics of equivalence and difference and the construction of an excluded outside, then the process of multiple constructions in identity politics obliges a focus on methods that reveal the web of different, reciprocally constitutive discourses. Texts, on this view, are part of a bigger picture, in which it should be possible to generate broader meanings of what has been said through methods such as intertextual and contextual

analysis.

A discourse is at once a particular way of viewing social action and interaction and of regarding forms of knowledge as social constructions of reality. I use both of these descriptions. Following Fairclough, (2003, 2006) I distinguish three levels of abstraction within this analysis: social structures, social events and social practices, the last of which is notably absent from Laclau and Mouffe's account. People stand in differing relations to the various discourses depending on their positions inside the discourse and within the institution and the struggle to articulate hegemonic differences becomes the struggle to speak one's own discourse.

'Events' is used in a broad sense to include the occurrences which, taken together, make up the social process. Discourse is an element or 'moment' (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 2002:37) of social events which is dialectically interwoven with other elements in the signifying net. Not just written texts, but also interviews, speech and items from other semiotic forms may be included as elements.

At the most abstract level, social structures are the most enduring and dominating characteristics of a society and delimit what is possible. These structures then subsume and order social events, which constitute what actually occurs and social practices mediate these happenings. These last are the habitual ways of behaving, ritualised schemas and institutionalised performances associated with particular institutions, such as an educational institution, although no organisation is limited to a single social practice.

Intertextuality, states Fairclough (2003) - by referring to, recontextualising and communicating with other texts – permits a theorisation which inserts speakers' stories into a wider context. Accordingly I enquire into not just what is present but also what is absent in texts (Potter 1996:70). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) the variety of discourse analysis that comes closest to this mode of enquiry and to Laclau and Mouffe's theory, describes discourse as 'an element of social life which is closely interconnected with other elements' (Fairclough

2003:3). Moreover, it highlights discursive differences (Wodak and Meyer 2001:11). Emphasising the social character of texts, methodologically the dimension of their external relations will be of primary concern, i.e. the question of how elements of other texts are 'intertextually' incorporated and interpreted, how other texts are alluded to, assumed and discussed (Fairclough 2003:36, 47).

This permits an examination of relations of equivalence and difference in texts. Using Fairclough's strand of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 2003:88-89, 100-103) provides a ready pathway into interpretation. Equivalence and difference correspond respectively to the syntagmatic relations of *combination* and paradigmatic relations of *substitution*. Relations of equivalence are those of addition, elaboration, synonymy and hyponymy and relations of difference are those that are contrastive and subordinate. Examples of the former involve elaboration, parataxis and including entities in lists as co-members of a common good; examples of the latter are the use of hypotaxis, contrast and conjunctions such as 'but', 'instead of' and adverbs like 'however'. Critical linguists call this mechanism 'overlexicalisation', meaning that antagonists are categorised in certain ways. For difference, the effect is to create and enlarge differences between people, objects and events; for equivalence, to collapse and subvert differences by representing people, objects and events as equivalent to each other. These classificatory measures privilege certain readings and shape how people think and act.

Laclau and Mouffe's 'radical democracy' and CDA offer valuable tools for theorising and analysing the fluidity and the constraining features characterising the middle period of Te Wānanga. An examination of the selected texts identifies the articulation of powerful signifying practices used strategically to obtain and justify the delineation of boundaries. As well, I point out the precariousness of these signifiers and their accompanying social practices, identifications and political constructions. In what follows, I apply the theorists' focus to reveal the discourse aspect to totalising, reproducing and fragmenting tendencies in the clash between agents of the state and the people of the Wānanga in order to disclose a view in which deep respect for the participants

is paramount and where one woman's speaking out may be a voice for collective social shift.

Chapter 4 : Discourse analysis of selected media articles

In 1999 Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (TWOA) had just over 1000 students; by 2003 it had 63,387. Measured in enrolments, it had become the largest tertiary education institution in New Zealand, and in 2004 it received $156 million in Crown funding. At that time the Wānanga had 13 campuses and 1232 staff around New Zealand as well as several other satellite sites, and offered some 100 courses. In addition to Māori students, TWOA also had a high proportion of mature students and students with no previous qualifications. Such rapid growth over five years propelled TWOA from a small organisation of moderate means to a large and complex one that managed significant public funds. The rate of change was related to many difficulties – organisational infrastructure, skill and ability to manage itself as a large public sector entity. TWOA's approach to making important decisions was often informal and oral and because of its rapid growth, decisions were sometimes made quickly.

So what happened to make a Labour Government that had pledged itself to 'closing the gaps' become disenchanted with Te Wānanga o Aotearoa? 'Closing the Gaps' was a government policy introduced by the Labour Party to assist socially disadvantaged ethnic groups, particularly Māori and Pacific Islanders, through especially targeted programmes.[4] But it appears that Rongo Wetere's first serious enemies were located in Treasury rather than the Ministry of Social Development or the Ministry of Education. By 2003, concerns were being raised over Te Wānanga o Aotearoa's enrolment boom, which was blamed for a tertiary education budget blowout. The Wānanga's spectacular success and the tens of millions of dollars of funding to which it was entitled, together with its exponential rate of growth had consumed an unsustainable amount of state revenue. Universities' administrators were also troubled – they believed that the money available to be spent on the tertiary sector should be spent on universities rather than on the low level courses offered at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (where most courses were at levels 1-4). Under the heading,

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[4] And in the process, exposed the myth of New Zealand's being a non-racist society.

'Controversial school now NZ's biggest', Pro Vice-Chancellor for Māori at University of Auckland, Professor Mick Brown, said:

> **Extract 1:** … there was no comparison between a research-led university and Wānanga in their present form, it's not a case of which of us can pee the furtherest, as it were. It's a different world.
>
> (*Sunday Star Times*, 17 August, 2003)

Texts as parts of social events often have causal effects, that is, they are intended to bring about changes in people's knowledge, attitudes, beliefs and values. They may also have longer term effects – we might argue, for instance, that the prolonged effect of derogatory political comments on a specific group of people contributes to shaping their identifications as subordinate and their institute as inferior. In this way, texts contribute to changes in education, social relationships, material consequences and governmental policies. Simultaneously, texts and the people involved in manufacturing and interpreting them represent aspects of the social world, construct social relations between participating correspondents and connect the discourses with(in) their situational contexts.

Causality is not necessarily direct or covariant, however. Particular features of texts may not evince a correlative cause-effect automaticity. Nor will a particular type of text or rhetorical device bring about a predictable result (often termed 'Humean causality' after the Scottish philosopher). And texts can have different effects on different people at different times. Furthermore, if texts have a powerful capacity to direct language into constrained interpretations, they also possess the susceptibility to yield different construals, according to the different situations of people possessing different possibilities of language use. Nevertheless, the effects of texts to represent aspects of the world which sustain ruling ideologies of domination and exploitation do not make these texts inviolable to attack any more than their representations need be taken as 'laws of nature'. So, in this first extract, adapting Fairclough's discourse analysis approach (2003, 1995, 1992) I locate the interactive process of meaning-making as involving four separable elements: the production of the text, the text

itself, the author of the text and the reception of the text, though the last is not developed. Ultimately, I place ethical considerations at the deepest level of analysis, seeking to confront the conflicting moral issues embedded in the texts and suggesting that many of the statements of reality as given 'under the umbrella of existing frame factors' (Elgström and Riis, 1992:105) are not impossible to change. A small number of people in this set of adventures had privileged access to the media and it is these people who were able to influence public opinion and promote their own interests. Examining particular texts allows some insight into how power was distributed and exercised and it is to the first of these I now turn.

The production of the first example, emanating from the stable of the Fairfax–owned media giant might be expected to maintain and support the status quo of the large business that tertiary education had become. To take the first sentence: what is being explicitly represented is a relation between two entities - 'x is different from y'. There is also an action, which implies some kind of social relation: the Pro Vice-Chancellor is giving the interviewer some information. What is suppressed are the dynamic interactions of power relationships and associated interests which serve to subjugate subordinate groups while maintaining the hegemony of privileged individuals and positions, existing dominant structures, access to resources and control of productive capacity. Attention must therefore be taken of the position, identity and purpose of the speaker – in this case, Mick Brown, Pro Vice-Chancellor for Māori at Auckland University. This actor exercises power derived from his position in a prominent university and from his capacity to speak for a large number of people, both Māori and university administrators and there is clearly a complex interplay between his identity, interests and power. It is not possible of course to determine Brown's motivations completely, nor is analysis made easier when a spoken dialogue, mediated initially in the interview situation, moves into reported speech in a national Sunday newspaper. Problems of interpretation are multiplied because the play of interlocution between participants has been removed so that readers no longer have the opportunity of investigating the ongoing negotiations of meaning in dialogue. And a published text is open to diverse, ambiguous and sometimes contrasting interpretations, though it is

difficult to assume that Mick Brown substantively consulted with and took account of the interests of all agents in this issue in a democratic and collaborative way.

So meaning-making depends not only on what is explicit in the text but also what is to be understood implicitly. Here, there is an assumption that the judge (Mick Brown was a Youth Court judge in his previous employment) is qualified to make a judgement about the contrasting merits of universities and wānanga and that he is capable of making credible evaluations of the relative academic levels of both kinds of educational institutions at the time. This is reinforced by the uncontested assumption that a 'research-led university' is academically superior to a wānanga. Because he is Māori, the Pro Vice-Chancellor's claims are additionally weighty. He might be expected to favour Māori wānanga in their requests for university status and that he does not conveys a measured impartiality, based on objective consideration of the evidence. Because he is a manager, his way of using language is a resource for personal identification and validation. And because he is writing for more than one intended audience, his language operates as dialogue through which perspectives from one register can be drawn upon in the development and persuasiveness of another. Another reading might suggest his capture by the organisation and belief-system that provides him with employment and status[5].

Interpretation is a complex process: it involves understanding how words and sentences combine to convey sense, understanding what speakers and writers (problematically) intend and evaluating the sincerity and truth of the words of their texts. This means judging whether agents are speaking or writing in ways that accord with the social and institutional relations of the addressed community and determining whether these relations are being obscured or mystified in ways that obscure the contingent nature of their being. Analysing texts in light of Laclau and Mouffe's version of Gramsci's notion of hegemony, encourages the idea that social reality relies on identity claims, in which

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[5] Mick Brown was raised by Pākeha foster parents.

'identity' itself is never fully articulated or constituted and in which a viable theory of agency for political and social life is a negotiable venture in a domain of contestable linguistic terms. Causal effects may be attributable to particular linguistic forms (particularly when patterns of choice may be identified). One such form is nominalisation which is the action of representing processes as agentic nominal entities. It works to absent people or processes from their initiatory roles and functions in place of that which might be seen as unstoppable forces. In Extract 1, the people of the university and of the Wānanga are elided from their functions and it is the institutions themselves that are constructed as active powers. Furthermore, such is the ambiguous nature of English that the use of the verbs 'was' and 'is' carry an perlocutionary force beyond their customary adjectival function towards an existential predicative role. This conveys the effect of categorical, authoritative truth.

Another semantic relation, that of meronymy, is constructed within the implicit 'them and us' strategy in Extract 1. Meronymy is a relation between the whole and its parts. The implicit whole is the traditional full university apparatus and the parts are the divergent aspects of education, as embodied in the Wānanga: "… it's a different [lesser] world". But when these institutions are analysed, their differences can be seen to emerge not so much from any necessity external to the system structuring them, not so much the entities themselves or the relations between them, but rather in the discursive articulations constituting them. The 'relation' is here (con)textured as one of Laclau's *difference,* where meaning-making, clearly indicated and intended by the author, puts existing frames of reference and terms into a relation where the instances are those of a lesser, inferior establishment.

"[I]t's not a case of which of us can pee the furtherest", Mick Brown states vulgarly, from which expression he immediately dissociates by using academese: "as it were". But a derisory taint of brutish juvenility remains, and I do not believe it was accidental. By contrast with the physicality of his less well-educated cousins, he has acquired a sophistication and rationality much superior to theirs. A further effect of the metaphor is to invite the vision of a pissing contest between juvenile boys, thereby reducing the complexity of the

issues into a straightforward clash of abilities. Implicit in this argument is the idea that the entity with the greater resources would win such a contest. And categorical assertions with their absence of modality, "there was no comparison …"; "it's not a case …"; "It's a different world", parade as statements of fact. These, together with the nominalisation of process as static event ('it's') disguise the paradigmatic elisions, accentuating certain lexis and suppressing other choices that were possible and might have been selected.

All these assertions are contestable. Mick Brown might have said, for instance, that, "it may be difficult to compare universities and wānanga", or "it seems to be a different world", or "there is much room for comparison" but the assertions he makes reify his assumptions into existence. There *is* no comparison. It *is* a different world. It is also assumed that a research-led institution's superiority is a reality, though under threat from aspirational forces emerging from a hitherto 'massified'[6] population. The convergent and collaborative potentialities of the university and the Wānanga are made to appear divergent and incompatible in an apparent domain of difference and incompatibility.

What is 'said' in any text is said against a paradigmatic background of what might have been said but is left, like an audible shadow, unspoken and only dimly noticed. Texts always make assumptions – in terms of what has been said elsewhere, in understandings that have entered the lexicon of auditors and in acceptances of particular social identities. One of the major themes of the clash between the Wānanga and government was, as I have noted, the salience of social equivalences and differences, where the struggle of class-based politics has been recast as a contestation around the interests and identities of particular groups. Especially interesting in this respect is how specific claims aligned with the identities and self-interest of the universities are represented as universal truths. Issues of hegemony allow a reading of the textual achievement of this process where hegemony projects certain individual

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[6] 'massified' occurs in Friere's *Education for Critical Consciousness*, 2008, p.16. He glosses: 'A 'massified' society is one in which the people, after entering the historical process, have been manipulated by the elite into an unthinking, manageable agglomeration …'

items as universals. Chiefly, this is effected here through the development of difference. The second extract, below, illustrates this:

Extract 2: Academic elite riled by Wānanga university ads

The heads of New Zealand universities have complained about the country's largest tertiary institution using the term "university".

The New Zealand Vice-Chancellors Committee has told the Advertising Standards Authority Te Wānanga o Aotearoa is using misleading television advertisements.

The academic elite are unhappy the institution is calling itself a university, "when clearly it is not".

New Zealand Vice-Chancellors Committee executive director Lindsay Taiaroa confirmed his organisation had last week complained about the advertisements.

A letter of complaint had also been sent to the Ministry of Education, asking that action be taken to prevent the Wānanga continuing to label itself a university.

Mr Taiaroa said his organisation had no particular beef with the Wānanga, but wanted to protect the word university.

Auckland's Unitec was applying through the correct channels to become a university, but the Wānanga was not.

A university was primarily concerned with more advanced learning, independent intelligence, and had a rigorous research component that was reflected by its place on the Performance Based Research Fund ladder, Mr Taiaroa said.

"The Wānanga is for remedial type people who didn't do very well at school, as far as I can see," he said.

But Te Wānanga O Aotearoa chief executive Dr Rongo Wetere rejected the claims that his institution was using misleading advertising.

"I think we've mainly referred to it as a Maori university ever since it was first established. We don't seek to be a university under the narrow definition of a university."

If universities could call themselves Wānanga then why could Wānanga not call themselves universities, Dr Wetere asked.

"There is little difference between them."

> Previously the word "translation" had appeared in television advertising material, but that had been removed because students felt it was demeaning, he said.
>
> The issue was raised last August when the Waikato Times reported that vice-chancellors were fuming that Mr Wetere had registered the name "University of New Zealand" with the companies office. Legal advice was sought, but the company name still exists on the Companies Register[7].

Waikato Times, 27 January 2005, p. 2

This article accentuates difference in one way, setting the views of the executive director of the New Zealand Vice-Chancellors Committee who states directly that the Wānanga "clearly is not" a university against the quoted claim of Rongo Wetere, who attempts an effort at rapprochement: 'There is little difference between them". But the major part of the polemic is directed not against 'Dr' Wetere[8]. It is, rather, the application of assumption which has the effect of seemingly closing down difference by assuming commonality between people. But people differ in many ways and an orientation to these differences in genuine dialogue is important to social participation. The process of participation in this sense highlights the sense-making endeavour of the intercourse, and what Giddens (1993) calls its constitution as a moral order and its constitution as the operation of relations of power. All these parts are negotiated according to the resources and abilities differentially available to participants. Mr Taiaroa, in this instance, consistently shows a propensity to take a positivist approach towards the goals of tertiary institutions, demonstrating an existential assumption that there are identifiable pursuits: "advanced learning, independent intelligence, and … a rigorous research component", that separate a university from a Wānanga, and that their practice and acquisition equates with implied superior objectives.

On the other hand, another effect of assumption can be to exaggerate difference by absenting commonality. It is a Laclauian truism that the presence of an oppressive regime is the condition of particularist interests of a subordinate but emerging sector, so the possibility of a universal discourse

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[7] 'The University of New Zealand' remains registered in 2009.
[8] 'Dr' is in quotation marks because Rongo Wetere received honorary doctorates from Auckland University of Technology (AUT) and Sinte Gleska (USA). It is not customary to use the honorific and it is interesting that the *Sunday Star Times* applies it without comment. The *Waikato Times* uses 'Mr' to refer to Rongo Wetere.

addressing the community as a whole depends on the interaction of particulars rather than a wholesale collapse of differences. Indeed, the possibility of dominance depends on the ability of a subordinate agent to express its own 'partial' emancipation as equivalent to the freedom of all sectors of society. "If domination involves political subordination, the latter in turn can be achieved only through processes of universalisation which make all domination unstable" (Butler, Laclau & Žižek, 2000:47). Moreover, "no assertion of universality takes place apart from a cultural norm, and given the array of contesting norms […] no assertion can be made without at once requiring a cultural translation" (Butler, *et al*, 2000:35). Put in other words, the hegemonic contest between opposing factions can be seen as a clash over the claims of the particular visions and representations of the world as having a universal applicability. The interaction in the article is a contestation over which voice counts as 'impartial truth', which particular can be claimed to be universal, which cluster of meanings converges on the nodal point of 'university'. The symbolic struggle announced here is one over the capacity to give credibility and legitimacy to a particular vision of the educational world. Socially and economically, tertiary education in New Zealand has been the especial province of the university sector, and the article adopts the universities' rhetoric of self-legitimation in terms of 'maintaining standards': "A university was primarily concerned with more advanced learning, independent intelligence, and had a rigorous research component", "The academic elite are unhappy the institution is calling itself a university" and "Mr Taiaroa said his organisation … wanted to protect the word university". The title: 'Academic elite riled by Wananga university ads' prefigures the article's – and author's - air of dominance, superiority and opposition.

The extract takes place in the public sphere, where the journalistic imperative of conflict and difference makes good copy. The problematic of polemical confrontation, however, lacks any movement towards exploration of the issues or any attempt to resolve differences. The spurious dialogicality (Bakhtin, 1996) that seems to be introduced by presenting two actors, disguises the orientation towards the status quo that the article enacts. Much more space is given to the university voice than to the Wānanga, and there is limited modalisation and more assumptive statements: "A university was primarily concerned with more

advanced learning"; "Te Wānanga o Aotearoa is using misleading television advertisements"; "the institution is calling itself a university, when clearly it is not" ; "the Wānanga is for remedial type people".

Texts, like social events and interactions vary in their orientation to difference. In Extract 2, there might have been an openness to, and engagement in dialogue with a focus on identifying commonalities and achieving consensus. Indeed, as Rongo Wetere says in the same article, "If universities could call themselves Wānanga then why could Wānanga not call themselves universities". There might have been an attempt to resolve differences and locate features where both parties could find a space to move forward. Instead, difference is addressed not only with a view to the occasioned local event of journalistic reportage, but also to particular addressees and audiences. There is, further, an accentuation of difference and conflict, and a clear struggle for meaning over the word 'university', a nodal point of extreme importance to the protagonists in the debate.

When speech is reported, different voices and texts are brought into existence in a scenario where there is unlikely to be a balanced portrayal of sides in a dispute. Reportage itself, as a form of intertextuality, orients to a partiality that favours one side or another in a recontextualisation of the event through direct and indirect reporting. In Extract 2, it is likely that most of the information emerged from the interviews with the two adversaries, where the journalistic patterning indicates that some parts are attributed speech and other parts are the journalist's authorial account. This relationship between authorial account and attributed speech is, however, disguised. The first three paragraphs are unattributed though it seems probable that they stem from the Vice-chancellor Committee's office; similarly, the last, summarising paragraph represents the views of that office. That these sections are not attributed offers an implicit authoritative voice, rendered more powerful by use of the passive voice: " … a letter of complaint has also been sent … " and "the issue was raised". The document is remarkable for its determined dialogicality, through attribution and quotation, but the text skews towards difference and contention.

Linguistic markers using the definite article –'the' - as in "the academic elite" trigger an existential assumption due to their definite reference, while the indefinite article - 'a' – acts also as a universal categorical in such phrases as: "A university was primarily concerned with more advanced learning … ". These kind of existential assumptions imply that such things exist and cannot be questioned because they are worthwhile. Another kind of assumption, value driven, directs readers to take on the dominant feelings. Explicit valuation is clear within the text: "riled", "are unhappy", "were fuming", and other, implicit evaluation is hinted at by the use of terms like: "have complained", "using misleading television advertisements", "rigorous research component", "correct channels", "remedial type people" and so forth. In addition, the assumption that 'university' is a group noun of the more positive terms in a hierarchy of values goes unquestioned. These emotive terms lead to interpretations of the undesirability of the Wānanga's calling itself a university and the belief that universities have a prior, exclusive right to rigour, higher learning and independent student activity. Readers are prompted by the use of these terms, on the basis of their knowledge and understanding of the value system which underlies the text and therefore the privileged meaning while not consciously accepting it. The corollary is that interpreting the article in terms of values depends upon the reader's knowledge of the effect such terms have. In this way, assumed meanings have ideological import – relations of power are served by meanings which are widely received as reality. We might argue that the contrast between a university and a Wānanga is itself ideological, and that dualistic distinctions, perpetrated through articles which purport to be communicative, such as this one, call into existence what is not actual in human activity.

The next article, again from the Fairfax group, was published a day before the article in Extract 2:

Extract 3: Battle to protect the hallowed title 'university'

Polytechs are the pretenders to the university throne. In their core role, they perform a vital part in the vocational training of (mostly) young New Zealanders, producing people with the skills and work ethics so desperately needed – both at ground level and as a contribution to the national economy.

However, in the last decade or two, many have gone far beyond their founding principles. They have been largely state-funded according to student numbers and, in their competitive quest for students and dollars, polytechnic college – there are now 20 of them scattered throughout the country – have strained every fibre of their collective imaginations to devise tempting courses. More recently, they have targeted Asians eager to simultaneously study and learn the global lingua franca, English. A few, like Auckland's Unitec, have honed their performances to achieve what is seen as the holy grail in tertiary education, university status. Preparatory units for subsequent university courses, and polytechs' own vocation-focused "degrees" have not satisfied the hunger for the educational world's supreme title.

The campaign by would-be "polyversities" for equal ratings with the country's eight universities is testing the minds of administrators. Universities know they are superior because, well, just because. Firstly, they have history and tradition behind them – except for the recently morphed Auckland University of Technology, which managed to move up the social scale from being a mere institute. Unitec insists it has similarly jumped through all the required hoops placed in front of it, but is being denied the Government's approval to call itself a university. It suspects the Government is under pressure from an elitist university club to resist admitting another member. Unitec is relying on the fact that polytechs and universities partly share the same legislation, which does not, in broad terms, restrict the former from doing anything undertaken by the latter – other than claim the university name. However, universities have additional requirements based on higher entry requirements, leading to advanced learning and intellectual independence, meeting international standards, being the critic and conscience of society, and devoting a guaranteed amount of time to pure research – with peer reviewed and published work. This requires staff with qualifications beyond polytechs' dreams.

In an age of stiff competition for students, these are not accomplishments that universities will easily share merely because of post-modern interpretations of the Education Act. Curiously, the biggest impostor of them all – Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, subtitled the University of New Zealand – has, until recently, kept under everyone's radar. Its claim to be a university simply because that is said to be a modern translation of Wānanga is laughably transparent, but it has been politically incorrect to argue otherwise. However, if the country's top polytech, Unitec, is not allowed to be a university, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa should think of another translation immediately.

Editorial, *Waikato Times*, 26 January 2005

This extract is an editorial from the *Waikato Times*, different in tone, texture and structure from the preceding examples, but whose similar purpose is to privilege universities over the Wānanga. Expressions of a discourse within a newspaper carry the particular possibilities and limitations of their genre,[9] - in this case, the

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[9] 'Genre' (Fairclough, 1993) is defined as the language used in the performance of a particular social practice.

editorial - and dialectically, the genre immediately endows the discourse with meanings and audience expectations beyond those expressed by the text. For instance, the paragraphs are lengthier and there is more licence to opine than in a typical piece of reportage. Then too, editorials have modal effects which signpost the way in which the text is to be read.

Immediately noticeable is the sentence structure and the use of many discursive genres, including combative game discourse, social strata discourse, business enterprise discourse and 'quest' discourse to form a hybrid discourse. Respectively, some examples of these differing genres are: "strained every fibre", "jumped through all the required hoops", "perform a vital part", "targeted Asians", "the educational world's supreme title", "hallowed title", "under everyone's radar"; "biggest impostor", "equal ratings", "far beyond their founding principles", "up the social scale", "a mere institute", "staff with qualifications beyond polytechs' dreams", "politically incorrect"; "an age of stiff competition", "competitive quest for students and dollars" "the holy grail", "pretender to the throne", "The campaign"; and "core role", "skills and work ethics so desperately needed" and "contribution to the national economy".

The purpose of these mixed discourses is first to persuade a differentiated audience (though one that might be expected to share the editor's views) that the type of language used is evidence of competence and authority in giving varied 'factual' accounts which can be taken as manifestations of truth. In contrast, but equally as cogent in its rhetorical persuasion, the editorial constructs a story-telling framework which emerges from the ways in which the 'factual' content of the text is pieced together to make it work in a fictional or 'literary' approach as a story. Thus, in language familiar to fairy tales with their castles, knights and fair damsels, there are rogues to be withstood (personified as the "pretenders to the throne") who ungratefully, greedily and demandingly aspire "far beyond their founding principles" toward higher status than that to which they are suited – the vocational training appropriate at "ground level" in the service of the liege "national economy". They have abandoned their cup-bearer's 'core role' of performing the 'vital part' of training the underclass in the biddable work ethic "so desperately needed" and "have strained every fibre of

their collective imaginations" to "devise tempting courses" enticing eager young innocent foreign students into taking inappropriate courses in the hope of improving their English skills at the same time as gaining a degree.

It is not too far-fetched to see these young innocents cast in the role of the fair damsel, with the polytechnic institutions personified as adversaries and the Wānanga as the usurping pretender. Even being allowed to offer (vocational) degrees has not 'satisfied the hunger' of the polytechnic sector "beyond [their] dreams" for the nobility of university status, whereby they might win the coveted prize. Against these provocations alone stand the highborn universities. The sneeringly termed "polyversities" overreachingly seek to 'move up the social scale' from the vassalage of 'mere institute' to the "elitist university club", which is accordingly obliged to defend its aristocratic lineage of "advanced learning", "intellectual independence", "international standards", "being the critic and conscience of society" and its "pure", peer-reviewed and published research standing against "the biggest impostor of them all", the upstart Wānanga. This 'impostor', whose claim to be a university is "laughably transparent", has attained a level of acceptance, not, as has Unitec, by heroically accomplishing all the tasks set before it, and thereby receiving recognition and respect, but by knavishly keeping "under everyone's radar" and by the people's being constrained by the courtesy of "political correct[ness]".

More so than Extract 2, this extract makes assumptions and diminishes other points of view that might have been expressed. The constitution of a moral order is developed through the use of a fabulist story line with heroes and villains, while its sense and meaning derives from a suppression of other voices, which action occludes readers seeing the article as operating within a nexus of power relations. Further, meaningful interaction involves negotiation, and different social actors interpret morality differently. The resources available to spokespersons from the Wānanga in this story are non-existent and so the ability to realise negotiated outcomes is also curbed. There is a bracketing ofsimilarity between the institutions and many slanted modalised assertions, conveying the writer's commitment are made. Modality - the stance that conveys the writer's attitude and affinity toward representational propositions -

is part of the process of texturing identification and is thoroughly inflected by social relations. So, in writing "Polytechs are the pretenders to the throne", the editor, as one authoritatively qualified to convey information and to pass judgement on to readers makes a pronounced commitment to the truth of the proposition. The representations have a further promotional force that makes sense of the persuasive implicit value content of the statements by acting as advocate for the expressed views.

To elaborate, to be assertive, identification, being relational, requires a strong modality, expressed in declarative propositions, such as, "they perform a vital role" and "they have history and tradition behind them" and the astonishingly fatuous claim: "Universities know they are superior because, well, just because". Additionally, the writer declares in firm deontic tones that "Te Wānanga o Aotearoa *should* think of another translation immediately" [my italics]. Forceful tenses convey an obscured predictive authority and the use of the past perfect and past perfect continuous tenses suggests that the actions of the polytechnics, (unlike those of Unitec, which is referred to in the simple past tense) have continued up to the present and will continue. The absence of other, intermediary modal operators like 'may' or 'should' in either deontic or epistemic registers further indicates the assertiveness of the author's claims. But even more obvious than the partiality revealed by these structures in this context are the evaluative assumptions invoked by the modal adverbs: "desperately", "largely", "merely", "firstly", "easily", "simply", "laughably" and "immediately", and the evaluative adjectives: "vital", "competitive", "supreme", "would-be" and "post-modern". And the ergative use of "share" in: "these are not accomplishments that universities will easily share" also omits agency in an important part of the message construction. Cause and effect relations are suppressed by these devices and invoke a sense of inevitability about the universities' concerns.

Almost all the desirable adjectives are linked to the universities; most of the negative operators are pejorative descriptions of the polytechnic institutions Less obvious is the collocation of words in phrases that link together because of customary usage in a particular discourse. These are phrases common in the

writer's vocabulary and for others in the same class, though not necessarily in the discourses of others. They are phrases which have a certain justification and natiuralised inevitability, even desirability, about them: "work ethics", "vocational training", "desperately needed", "collective imaginations", "additional requirements", "intellectual independence", "the critic and conscience", "stiff competition", "politically incorrect", etc, and they incline readers to adopt the same complex patterning in their thought and affect. Generalising over the result of these combinatory groupings, the focus represents a hyponymic structuring of the world in a pre-classified taxonomy of taken-for-granted divisions. Difficult to detect, hard to resist, the central point of the attack is reserved until the sentences at the end. This delayed reasoning and the amassing of rhetorical stratagems, embedded in contemporary informality ("recently morphed", "ground level", "under everyone's radar") masks the single point made in the argument: that if Unitec couldn't achieve university status, why on earth would an Indigenous Wānanga be permitted to?

The fourth extract is a columnist's speculations. Chris Trotter is a writer on the political left. Unlike the previous extract, in which inanimate objects initiate actions and agents are largely absent, there is little nominalisation here, and people (Helen Clark, Trevor Mallard, Steve Maharey, Ken Shirley) are identified as agents of process:

> **Extract 4:** Happy to see Wānanga crash
>
> Why do you suppose it has taken five years for Helen Clark, Trevor Mallard and Steve Maharey to impose a Crown manager on Te Wānanga o Aotearoa?
>
> Are we expected to believe that the information released to the public under parliamentary privilege by Act's Ken Shirley took them entirely by surprise?
>
> Since its inception, Rongo Wetere's "university" has been the subject of no fewer than 22 investigations by the Auditor-General, the Ministry of Education, The New Zealand Qualifications Authority and, more recently, the Tertiary Monitoring Unit.
>
> How likely is it, really, that this government was unaware of Wetere's management style?
>
> By his own account, Trevor Mallard's misgivings about the Wānanga's governance predate his appointment as Minister of Education in 1999.

Curiously, it was on Mallard's watch that funding for the Wānanga increased from a few thousand nearly a quarter-of-a-billion dollars.

Clearly, Wetere's record of achievement in Maori education was sufficiently impressive to outweigh any ministerial doubts concerning his competence.

So what has changed? Why, after a decade of unparalleled growth and extraordinary success, do the Wānanga and its founder find themselves marked down for political destruction?

And why, ever since Act started revealing the many shortcomings of the Wānanga's administration, has the Government been so unwilling to defend its protégé, but so very eager to wield the executioner's axe?

Perhaps the following passage, taken from a letter sent to me by a member of the National Party in June of last year, will assist our understanding of the Wānanga's sanguinary fate.

"An unsung but vital supporter of the Māori Party is Rongo Wetere, a National supporter who runs the Wānanga o Aotearoa.

"He knows all you can about how to vacuum up disenfranchised people and get them active – witness the huge growth in his enrolments.

"He is not captured by any iwi and communicates with tens of thousands of Maori every week. He also has heaps of money."

Now, just suppose that the Maori Party's co-leader, Tariana Turia, was telling the truth when she said that her telephone was being bugged. And let us further suppose that the Sunday-Star Times was quite correct in its claim that Maori institutions - especially those with links to the Maori Party - were under some form of covert, state-sponsored surveillance.

Wouldn't it then be reasonable to suppose that Rongo Wetere's purported "unsung but vital" support for the Maori Party would be swiftly communicated to the Government?

And how would the Government react to such news? After all, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa's rapid expansion was almost entirely attributable to the Labour-Alliance Coalition Government's policy of "closing the gaps".

Put bluntly, it was Helen Clark's Government that made Rongo Wetere's dreams come true. Any report that he was preparing to throw in his lot with Tariana Turia and the Maori Party would not be well received on the Beehive's Ninth Floor. How would the Government use such information?

If political intelligence of Wetere's alleged support for the Maori Party had been obtained through channels even remotely resembling the "Operation Leaf" described in the Sunday-Star Times, then it could not possibly be used publicly. Besides, it's not illegal to offer one's support to a political party. Then again, wasn't one of the objectives of Operation Leaf to "gather dirt" on Maori organisations?

What if a dossier had been built up of every questionable aspect of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa's administration? And what if that dossier somehow found its way into the hands of someone unconnected to the Government – but certain to use the cover of parliamentary privilege to release its contents to the public?

Wouldn't that put the skids under Wetere and his Wānanga?

Yes, but all of the above may easily be dismissed as the wildest sort of irresponsible speculation. Who is to say that the Government was not as surprised and shocked as everybody else by Act's revelations?

It is also perfectly possible that my National Party informant was 100% wrong, and that Wetere has never shown the slightest interest in the Maori – or any other- political party (apart, presumably, from National).

And wasn't the Sunday-Star Times story about the so-called Operation Leaf thrown into doubt by the questionable antics of the mysterious Jack Sanders?

Quite true. And yet, I can't help recalling the wolfish grins on the faces of the Government's front bench when Ken Shirley asked his first question about the Wānanga.

It was almost as if they'd been expecting it.

Chris Trotter *The Dominion Post*, 11 March 2005, p. 4.

In this article, Trotter addresses his audience directly, labelling them 'you', but swiftly connecting to them as 'we'. He sets his argument up as a series of questions: "Why do you suppose … ?" "Are we expected to …?" "How likely is it, really … ?" These interrogatives disguise the uncertainty the writer has in his speculations, and at the same time, remove his connection to their veridicality through a species of innuendo.

As a general principle of communication, it is believed (Fowler, 1986) that people should make the strongest commitment to their propositions for which they have epistemic warrant. Explicit modality gives the impression of a writer who has firm knowledge and definite views on agents and events in the reportage. But as Fowler comments, there may be a counterintuitive motion away from this surety, due, in this case, to Trotter's reluctance to interpret events and actions fully and to his couching speculations in the form of questions. Even more so when the questions are issued in the negative:

"Wouldn't it then be reasonable … ?" These latter provoke cognitive overload for readers.

Excessive use of modal operators, then, renders the factuality of what is written dependent on readers' knowledge of the events, and we can safely assume this is not available to readers of the article. Weak modal operators do allow other voices to be heard in a dialogue, but in this article they signal qualification, revealing Trotter's less than full commitment to the truth of the propositions being expressed. The article bristles with modal adverbs: "*entirely* by surprise …"; "*curiously*, it was on Mallard's watch …"; "*sufficiently* impressive"; "*Perhaps* the following passage …"; "could not *possibly* be used …"; "*perfectly* possible", "*Clearly*"; "*entirely* attributable"*;* "*remotely* resembling" and "*bluntly*". Modal auxiliaries are also present: "Why do you *suppose* it has taken… ?"; "Now just *suppose* …", "And let us further *suppose* …"; "*be reasonable to suppose*"; "*will assist* our understanding" and "Are we *expected* to believe … ?'" as well as deontic and boulomaic adjectives: "*Quite* true", "*wolfish* grins"; "the *mysterious* Jack Sanders"; "*unparalleled* growth and *extraordinary* success"; "*alleged* support" and "*every* questionable aspect". As well, two modal devices are often used ("perfectly possible"; "How likely is it, really … ") to convey an air of conviction in harmonic combination. Using a strong term ("perfectly") together with a weaker term ("possible") suggests that the claim is being made with more entreaty than conviction. The modal strategy allows controversial propositions to be inserted into the text while avoiding complete commitment to the truth of the statement.

Equating grammatical structure and linguistic choices with a predetermined interpretive stance to corroborate what an analyst has already decided may be charged with assuming a strong positivist correspondence between text and analysis which emphasises the value of the analysis itself. It is important, therefore, to acknowledge that grammatical forms may yield other interpretive possibilities than the ones I outline here, and that my diagnosis binds me as much to an ideological position as the texts I investigate. However, scrutinising a discourse should not be foreclosed by these considerations, and despite the dangers, I believe that the extract demonstrates a convergence of modality and

other rhetorical structuring which highlights the persona of the writer's opinions while distancing him from the actuality of what happened. The title indicates this, in its agentless form: "Happy to see Wānanga crash". Other devices include logical assumptions that readers are invited to accept. For example, the opening sentence, "Why do you suppose it has taken five years for Helen Clark, Trevor Mallard and Steve Maharey to impose a Crown manager on Te Wānanga o Aotearoa?" presupposes not merely the existential assumptions that the entities of Helen Clark, Trevor Mallard, Steve Maharey, a Crown manager and Te Wānanga o Aotearoa actually exist, but also that the identified people *did* impose a Crown manager and that it *did* take these agents five years to achieve this outcome. The second sentence, likewise, carries a similar logical presupposition and a mental verb as well: "Are we expected to believe that the information released to the public under parliamentary privilege by Act's Ken Shirley took them entirely by surprise?" This presupposes that there *was* a response of limited surprise, one that would not fool Trotter's constructed audience of intelligent, perceptive and politically aware readers.

> How likely is it, really, that this government was unaware of Wetere's management style?
>
> Why, after a decade of unparalleled growth and extraordinary success, do the Wānanga and its founder find themselves marked down for political destruction?
>
> And why, ever since Act started revealing the many shortcomings of the Wānanga's administration, has the Government been so unwilling to defend its protégé, but so very eager to wield the executioner's axe?
>
> What if a dossier had been built up of every questionable aspect of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa's administration? And what if that dossier somehow found its way into the hands of someone unconnected to the Government – but certain to use the cover of parliamentary privilege to release its contents to the public?
>
> Wouldn't that put the skids under Wetere and his Wānanga?

These are further questions which carry implicatives: that there *was* a dossier (conspiratorial word!) and that the dossier *did* find its way (agentlessly) "into the [meronymic] hands of someone unconnected to the Government"; that Wetere's support for the Māori Party would be "swiftly communicated" to the Government

and that the Māori Party was under "some form of covert, state-sponsored surveillance". Trotter defeasibly self-innoculates against attack:

> … all of the above may easily be dismissed as the wildest sort of irresponsible speculation. Who is to say that the Government was not as surprised and shocked as everybody else by Act's revelations?

and

> It is also perfectly possible that my National Party informant was 100% wrong, and that Wetere has never shown the slightest interest in the Maori –
> or any other political party …

But the contradiction is made without any loss to the coherence of his statements. Even the more contextually oriented assumptions may be tactically withdrawn were there to be any counterattack. The effect is to promote a certain reading of language that is naturalised but nevertheless accessible to analysis, not only with the aim of challenging the expressed views of the writer, but also to provide an opportunity to investigate the ways in which social practices articulate the discourses that constitute social reality. The devices that Trotter uses build up to persuade readers that the Wānanga was attacked and denounced, not because of suspect accounting practices and Rongo Wetere's cavalier attitude towards taxpayer money but because the Wānanga's leader was secretly supporting the Māori Party. Contextual overtones, revealed through analysis, demonstrate the writer's tendentious movement to this conclusion. One that Trotter's readership would seize upon as an accurate portrayal of the facts. But as Bakhtin (1981) says, language is never unitary, and although the producer of a text may intend certain interpretations, meaning is not fully generated by the writer alone. There is, in this and other extracts, another story to be told and another ideology to be examined.

Extract 5: Maori embrace Cuban reading plan

New Zealand's biggest Maori university is working with the Cuban Government on a secretive literacy project.

Cuban Education Ministry officials were at the Taumarunui campus of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa yesterday, writing the distance learning literacy project, which is expected to be running next year.

A Cuban official said the project was not yet ready to go public in New Zealand and referred queries to Te Wānanga's chief executive Rongo

Wetere, who is overseas. "Mr Wetere does not want any kind of media in the propaganda of the programme," the official said.

Cuba has an international reputation for success in literacy, after improving its adult literacy rate from less than 50 per cent in 1950s to 96 per cent today.

But the partnership with South America's Communist regime has raised the eyebrows of ACT MP Rodney Hide.

"I am staggered that people think that we could learn anything from Cuba other than what a failure socialism has proved to be," he said. "It's true that they have done well on literacy, by Third World standards, but it's not to liberate the people, but to indoctrinate them with Marxist and Leninist doctrine."

The project, named Greenlight, is understood to be a distance learning programme which provides students with everything they need for lessons – from audio tapes to stationery.

A spokesman for Tertiary Education Minister Steve Maharey had not initially heard about the project when approached by the Dominion Post, but later confirmed the Cuban Government and Te Wānanga were partners in the project.

Te Wānanga is New Zealand's fastest – growing tertiary institution. An explosion in enrolments last year, partly fuelled by the offer of free cellphones with some courses, prompted the Government to cap growth at all institutions to 15 per cent a year.

Leah Haines *The Dominion Post* 21 Oct 2003

One way of controlling dissident voices is by placing specific value systems – cultural assets, material assets, etc on the same plane of equivalence as another, vilified system. Antagonism, says Laclau (1985, p. 125) is a type of relation where the presence of the Other prevents an entity from fully realising itself. Antagonism "annul[s] all positivity of the object and give[s] a real existence to negativity … " (Laclau, 1985, p. 128-9). Certain positions surround particular signifiers and contour deadlocks of differential identities such that these signifiers can be construed as designating real subversive forces endangering the cultural values and the unity and ethos of a nation and its people. To make communism as a system, equivalent to Māori, is to suggest a threat to an authentic New Zealand identity, which external antagonism paradoxically works to shape that very identity. Rodney Hide, currently leader of the politically right-wing party, Act, paints this vision in this extract, where he

raises the spectre of a Communist conspiracy. He is "staggered" that "people think that we could learn anything from Cuba other than what a failure socialism has proved to be". No evidence is given that Cuba is the socialist failure that he claims it to be, but it is probable that the signifier 'Cuba' is sufficient to act as an equation of Enemy-of-New Zealand-Democracy in the minds of many New Zealanders. Hide goes on to partially self-inoculate against criticism by stating that, "It's true that they have done well on literacy" but immediately claims that that success is "by Third World standards" and "not to liberate the people, but to indoctrinate them with Marxist and Leninist doctrine". The implication is that any literacy achievements in New Zealand are to be judged on their politically neutral approach and their First World standards.

This extract contains many of the elements of parable, defined as a kind of inventive story projected into the future. Parable, where something is expressed through something else (*Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*) is an important part of human thought, and as such, is devised to convey significant messages which may be too alarming to express directly. In this parable, there are, first, tacit *predictions* and *evaluations*, where readers are implicitly encouraged to visualise the effects of the "Marxist and Leninist" indoctrination that will occur if Cuban literacy experts intervene in the Wānanga's programmes as well arousing as the fear of "third world" practices and "socialist" menace. These imaginings are part of the parable's evaluation. There are *actors*, combative toward one another: on one side, "secretive" Cuban agents, the Cuban government and Wānanga leaders in "partnership"; on the other, Rodney Hide, Steve Maharey and the people of New Zealand. Here, nominalisations and qualifying adjectives distance Wānanga and Cuban agents from the process: "New Zealand's biggest Maori university is working with the Cuban Government"; "Cuban Education Ministry officials"; "Te Wānanga's chief executive"; "A Cuban official"; "South America's Communist regime"; "Te Wānanga is New Zealand's fastest–growing tertiary institution" and "An explosion … prompted the Government … ". Linked to this detachment is the use of the passive voice to add a touch of dismissiveness: "The project … is understood to be a distance learning programme".

Next, there are *projections* which require *explanations* of how the state of affairs was allowed to come about. This case involves a narrative route from an understood prior state to the situation under scrutiny: Greenlight, with taxpayer money, "provid[ed] students with everything they need[ed] for lessons – from audio tapes to stationery" including "free cellphones".

There are *image schemas.* When a narrative introduces a strong metaphor or metonymy, these images tend to lead along a directed path, corresponding to stages of the narrative. The image schema in this parable has secrecy ("secretive literacy project"; "not ready to go public"; "Mr Wetere does not want any kind of media"; "A spokesman for Tertiary Education Minister Steve Maharey had not initially heard about the project"), fears about hidden intrigue ("the partnership with South America's Communist regime has raised the eyebrows of ACT MP Rodney Hide"; "Third World"; "Marxist and Leninist doctrine") and associated images that raise unconscious notions of insurrection ("An explosion in enrolments"; "fuelled by the offer"). The article also structures readers' experience by providing images of motion towards goals; "is working with"; "expected to be running"; "not yet ready to go"; "improving"; "have done well" and "fastest-growing". In this case, the simple image schema invites recognition of the category of movement from a state of relative ignorance towards one of full literacy.[10]

A parable provides *planning* and a goal. Again, this is implicit, but the narrative anticipates combating the Cuban project with a home-grown New Zealand model which will lead from the present situation of low literacy levels to liberatory achievement. A disturbing equivalence between Cuban Other and Māori is drawn in the "secretive" planning, to imply that a kind of conspiracy is being undertaken to subvert conventional educational programming. This interpretation is supported where "a Cuban official" is directly quoted as saying "Mr Wetere does not want any kind of media in the propaganda of the

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[10] Perhaps this is the greatest fear. 'Functional literacy' refers to the various competencies needed to function appropriately in society. It serves to preserve the status quo of the ruling elite in its drive to make adults more productive workers and more submissive citizens. Functional literacy actually reduces the concept of literacy to the pragmatic considerations of capital (Giroux, 1983). 'Critical literacy', by contrast, questions whose interests are served and who benefits from an educational programme. It is likely that Hide, amongst others, believed that the Cubans were purveying this latter literacy.

programme". This not only indicates a notion of Cuban incompetence but also a disquieting sense of scheming. As well, it is not what the official would want to be reported as saying because the passage is largely incomprehensible to an English speaker and also carries overtones of restriction and control, announced in the misuse of the word "propaganda".

Last in this list, *emblems* stand as particular instances of larger events. The imaged secrecy of the literacy project and its foreign agents stand in for a feared interracial conflict between Pākeha and Māori. Readers discern this as an unconscious projection of present (and past events) into the future.

Perhaps parable's most important aspect, though, is its ability to carry meaning across various conceptual spaces. Conceptual blends derive from the disanalogous projection of ordinary and actual 'source' events on to hypothetical spaces, 'topic' or 'source' spaces where they are not conventionally expected and can not ordinarily be expressed (Turner, 1996; Fauconnier & Turner, 1994). In the tale of Māori and the literacy plan, one such blend is constructed in the title of the article: "Maori embrace Cuban reading plan". The conceit is that Māori have strongly approved of the literacy programme. The blend, however, while it is constructed from the source space and projected on to the target space, has no provenance until the emergent structure and meaning is inferred. Reading plans cannot literally be embraced, and so the blend emerges from action that is applied to both source and target as an imagined schematic event shapes and dynamises a structure. To obtain all the associations, the blend encourages readers to offer up judgemental stereotypes of Māori such as the belief that Māori are emotional people and that they are eager to accept the specious gifts of outsiders[11]. Other blends include: "the project was not yet ready to go public", "the partnership with South America's Communist regime has raised the eyebrows of ACT MP Rodney Hide", "The project … provides students with everything they need" and "the Government … cap[ped] growth at all institutions". The effect is to project particular attributes from the source space into the target space to free the

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[11] There is another disguised narrative in the story, that of Māori rejecting their 'proper' alliance in favour of the blandishments of the superficially attractive Latinos.

tendency of both spaces to inhibit meaning. By means of these specifics from both spaces, and through its own logic, the blended concept powerfully activates both spaces while readers accept the projected inventions as pictures of actuality. Projects do not literally provide students with anything, governments do not literally cap growth and partnerships do not raise eyebrows. The impossible blendings however, have the force of moving difficult abstract notions into the realm of sensuous metaphorical and metonymical activity where readers can more readily understand and therefore more readily accept them due to their evaluative modal and causal structure. What is suppressed is information that more appropriately corresponds to both source and topic but which does not integrate into the story that the writer of the article, Leah Haines, wishes to tell.

To achieve a shift in perspective, readers must first be able to analyse the ways in which they have been caught up in and subordinated by elite narratives and second, be able to envision other spaces in which they might position themselves in more positive creative blends and imagine what they could become in those spaces. Under liberal democracy, the individual is presumed to possess a specifically instrumentalist rationality and an interest, amounting to an obsession, in acquiring ever more consumer goods. Social institutions such as the mainstream press have a stake in fomenting the institution of private property, the competition for scarce goods and the divisions that necessarily follow from these conditions. When people's life opportunities are actually shaped by the ways in which they are positioned in society and where they are encouraged to believe that their lives are determined by their individual choices rather than as a result of deeply embedded institutional attitudes and practices, they are likely to identify with non-class socio-political groupings. One aspect of the highly inegalitarian social order that is invoked in our liberal form of capitalist domination is racism and the entrenchment of its normalisation. The final extract exemplifies this:

Extract 6: Wānanga's woes

The Wānanga issue is not about Maori tradition, culture or self-determination. It's about whether people have been lining their own pockets at taxpayers' expense, writes MARTIN VAN BEYNEN.

Until a few weeks ago, who knew much about Swaziland? Suddenly one of Africa's poorest states has caught international attention thanks to the antics of its monarch, King Mswati III.

The young, British-educated king has attracted universal condemnation for living a profligate lifestyle that includes a growing fleet of luxury cars and an ever-increasing household of wives, while his country starves and HIV/Aids spreads uncontained.

King Mswati III has, for all the wrong reasons, put his little-known nation on the world map, a situation which has unfortunate parallels in New Zealand.

Who, until last week, had really taken much notice of the little kingdom of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, the Maori tertiary institute in provincial Te Awamutu, which is at the centre of a storm of allegations about nepotism and mismanagement?

No-one would have picked the little-known institute if asked to name the New Zealand tertiary institution which received more money than the University of Otago and more students than Auckland University.

Who had ever heard of Rongo Wetere, the Wānanga's smooth and chiefly ruler who has the air and look of a famous country-and-western singer? Suddenly this education miracle worker, credited with rescuing a lost generation through the salvation of tikanga-based learning, has become a national figure as the subject of sensational allegations.

ACT New Zealand MP Ken Shirley, from the safety of Parliament, where you can say just about anything about anyone, accuses Wetere of running his operation like a banana republic.

He says Wetere oversaw a regime under which a lucrative car-grooming contract for the institute's 350 cars was given to the partner of his deputy; a literacy course was developed in Cuba, and just as Cubans have assisted African states fighting a freedom struggle, Cuban instructors have been helping out at the Wānanga. Further spice is added by Krawll, who looks considerably younger than Wetere and is American.

Wetere has hit back at the allegations saying the Wānanga has used its public funds wisely and is happy to open its books. He has challenged Shirley to step outside the House to repeat the claims, presumably so he can sue the pants off him.

If subsequent investigations vindicate Wetere, Shirley's slurs on the little kingdom are unforgivable and he will have no option but to fall on his sword.

The Government is now considering sending a Crown observer to watch over the Wānanga until the Auditor-General reports on an investigation begun last year.

Its apparent surprise at the allegations suggests its intelligence from the institute has been below par. Ministerial alarm bells should have been ringing long ago.

The Wānanga sensation went from about 1000 students and $3.9m of Government funding in 1999 to 34000 (full-time equivalent) students and $239m of funding in 2003. Questions have persistently been raised about the quality of its courses and its graduates and in 2002 it was criticised for handing out $2m of cellphones to students enrolling on its home-based, free Mahi Ora work-skills programme.

In a move apparently approved by the Tertiary Education Commission, it gave 2000 computers as scholarships to encourage computer literacy.

The Wānanga says auditors have watched its every move in the last five years without major irregularities being uncovered. What, then, to make of former Government-appointed Wānanga board member Graeme McNally, who in a leaked memo warned of a disastrous financial position and a culture of "non-accountability and extravagance"?

So we wait with bated breath for the result of the investigations, even though the Government's record to date on Maori education does make you wonder whether Swaziland rules apply.

<div align="right">Martin Van Beynen The Press 26 Feb 2005</div>

Martin van Beynen, writing in *The Press* tells his readers what the Wānanga "issue" is about. It is "not about Maori tradition, culture or self-determination. It's about whether people have been lining their own pockets at taxpayers' expense". Having inoculated himself against attacks of racism in his opening lines he goes on to develop a series of scurrilous comparisons between King Mswati III of Swaziland and Rongo Wetere. The analogies are particularly offensive due to their inherent racist bias and indirect, parallel assumptions linking the Black king of a developing African state to the Māori founder of the Wānanga. Swaziland, ruled by King Mswati, is "one of Africa's poorest states" and Te Wānanga o Aotearoa is "a little kingdom" in "provincial Te Awamutu". Swaziland has "caught international attention" and the Wānanga "is at the centre of a storm of allegations". King Mswati "has, for all the wrong reasons, put his little-known nation on the world map" and Wetere has acted similarly, in "a situation which has unfortunate parallels in New Zealand". Mswati "has attracted

universal condemnation for living a profligate lifestyle that includes a growing fleet of luxury cars and an ever-increasing household of wives, while his country starves and HIV/Aids spreads uncontained" and Wetere is enveloped in "a storm of allegations about nepotism and mismanagement" where "[f]urther spice is added by Krawll, who looks considerably younger than Wetere and is American[12]". Both leaders have had good fortune, not largely the result of their own efforts: Mswati is a "young, British-educated king" and Wetere is a "smooth and chiefly ruler who has the air and look of a famous country-and-western singer". Mswati lives a corrupt "lifestyle that includes a growing fleet of luxury cars" and Wetere oversaw a corrupt "regime under which a lucrative car-grooming contract for the institute's 350 cars was given to the partner of his deputy". Cuban instructors "have assisted African states fighting a freedom struggle" and "Cuban instructors have been helping out at the Wānanga".

There are more assumptions than these obvious parallels. Wetere is initially claimed to have been hailed as an "education miracle worker, credited with rescuing a lost generation through the salvation of tikanga-based learning" but subsequently has been revealed as heading an organisation which a "leaked memo" claimed to be in a "disastrous financial position" with "a culture of non-accountability and extravagance". Accordingly, Wetere is revealed to be a false Messiah. Should there be any doubt remaining about where the article's tendency is aligned, van Beynen's header that "[t]he Wānanga issue is not about Māori tradition, culture or self-determination. It's about whether people have been lining their own pockets at taxpayers' expense", and a sentence towards the end of the article: " … the Government's record to date on Māori education does make you wonder whether Swaziland rules apply".

As in Extract 3, the collocation of words linked together because of customary usage in justified and naturalised clichés guides readers towards a relentless inevitability: Wānanga's woes", "international attention", 'universal condemnation", "profligate lifestyle", "fleet of luxury cars", "little-known nation", "on the world map", "unfortunate parallels", "little kingdom", "at the centre of a

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[12] Marcia Krawll, Wetere's wife, is a Canadian citizen.

storm of allegations", "the little-known institute", "chiefly ruler", "lost generation", "national figure", "sensational allegations", "banana republic", "lucrative … contract", and so on. These are terms that suggest a self-serving corrupt and omnipotent dictator; the kind of ignorant and greedy Black on whom a British education had no effect. By a series of analogous parallels, Wetere is constructed as much the same: an upstart coloured person with no class or taste.

Linguistic contours and the way they shape and are shaped by various discourses, are the main areas of investigation in this chapter. I have tried to demonstrate what goes into a text, what some of the devices are that create particular slants and what interpretive tools can be used to help foreground the ways writers select choices from the system of language. Their choices may seem superficially unproblematic and insignificant but a choice of modal operator or of imprecise analogy (in this extract) offer a way of assessing how texts represent selections from a variety of options. This comparative analysis reveals the structures of some features of language that might otherwise remain below the level of awareness.

In the background of these critical analyses is always the discourse of racism. This chapter has engaged with a variety of texts not only with a view to showing the insidious attitudes of covert racist talk and its devastating effects in the minds of its victims, but also with a notion to develop rival discourses that no longer encode and perpetrate this vile ideology. In this respect, I have tried to show that language is a form of social control and that textual analysis can expose the ideologically loaded meanings in which the political subject is obliged to identify with particular stances and the discourses they articulate. It is heartening to recall that Laclau and Mouffe's theory of discourse is predicated on the impossibility of closure, a condition that makes alternative articulatory practices and social and political agency possible. Taken almost at random, the signifiers 'Swaziland', 'country singer' and 'little kingdom' convey a sense of derogation and contempt that needs to be borne in mind when reading newspaper articles like these. Today, innumerable signs of Pākeha control and dominance maintain and strengthen the legitimacy of their

interpretations of key signifiers. Tomorrow, stories demand to be spoken and heard.

CONCLUSION

During the investigation by the Auditor General, Rongo Wetere was obliged to hand over financial control to a Crown manager, Brian Roche, while the Wānanga Council was restructured. Government was able to do this because it withheld $20 million of the Wānanga's $40 million Treaty entitlement, forcing the institution into financial hardship. Roche was paid $2688 a day over 18 months and a team from PricewaterhouseCoopers, where Roche is a senior partner, received $1.4 million for the job. Despite the allegations, the Auditor General found there had been no fraud, corruption, rorts or nepotism at the Wānanga though he was critical of conflicts of interest and inappropriate use of taxpayer funds. "It is a public entity and should be managed as a public entity, he said." (*Waikato Times* Opinion, 7 December, 2005).

Throughout the period of this investigation, the Aotearoa Institute made a further claim against the Crown through the Waitangi Tribunal. The claim sought redress against the "recent, current and pending interconnected actions by the Crown" (Waitangi Claim, 2005:3). Aotearoa Institute claimed that the actions created or were a significant factor in creating a cash crisis at TWOA, and that they "have injured the reputation of TWOA and will take authority and control over TWOA away from the Māori communities that created and developed it and give that authority to the Crown" (Waitangi Claim, 2005:3).

A key characteristic of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa has been its accessibility to Māori and non-Māori who have fallen out of the education system. It is important to emphasise that the distinguishing feature of TWOA is not its ethnic profile but its culture, Part 3.14 of the WAI 718 Report states:

> Although Wānanga are iwi-based and iwi-initiated institutions, wānanga are open to everybody, regardless of ethnicity. Wānanga, like universities, polytechnics and colleges of education are education providers that teach all who wish to learn.

From the beginning Wetere aspired to grow an institution that could provide opportunities for people who had been disadvantaged by, or alienated from existing educational institutions. His aim and the aim of those who supported his developing the Wānanga was to provide as many opportunities as possible for people to learn and be supported within a Māori learning environment. Wetere, also an astute businessman understood that accessibility would be enhanced by economies of scale that allowed an institution like the Wānanga to offer a no-fee policy to students. The absence of fees had a significant impact on enrolments and the participation which promoted TWOA's growth. The WAI 718 Claim found that the Crown had breached the principles of the Treaty by failing to protect Maori rights in matters relating to tertiary education, and in particular, had failed to provide TWOA with capital establishment grants that it provided to mainstream tertiary education institutions. A one-off capital payment was recommended as a matter of urgency. The result was an apology by the Crown, followed by two deeds of settlement in December 2001, one amounting to $6,459,000 and the other to $152,000. "Under Schedule A of the Settlement Deed, the Crown agreed to pay Te Wānanga o Aotearoa $15 million dollars in 'additional redress' " (Waitangi Claim 2005:23). This was paid during 2002 and 2003. The Crown also agreed to pay a suspensory loan which amounted to a further $20 million. The loan was to convert to equity following satisfaction of agreed performance criteria. The performance criteria were met but the Crown did not carry out its side of the bargain, failing to make payments due under the suspensory loan until the beginning of 2005.

The Crown initially gave assurances that it would make payment; however, by insisting on the inclusion of a Māori quota, negotiations were stalled. In July 2004, Wetere wrote to the Tertiary Advisory Monitoring Unit formally requesting the release of $10 million, as per the Deed of Settlement. The Crown 'misplaced' the application for the loan until September 2004. Wetere arranged to meet with Trevor Mallard, Minister of Education, with the meeting being scheduled for 16 September 2004. The meeting postponed until 11 November 2004.

In 2005 the "Minister's officials stated that a higher Māori quota was required because of the statutory definition of wānanga and the intentions of the Settlement Deed" (Waitangi Claim 1298, 2005:9). There is no such requirement referred to in the Settlement Deed. In fact, the WAI 718 report clearly states that "wānanga are about methodology rather than ethnicity and are open to everybody. TWOA reflects this and was from the outset a racially inclusive organisation" (Waitangi Claim 1298, 2005:9). As a consequence of having expanded to become a mainstream national education provider, the ethnic mix of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa's students had naturally diversified, although the method of delivery (kaupapa Māori) had not changed. The Crown's inclusion of a Māori quota, therefore, seems quite unreasonable. No other tertiary institutions has had an imposed racial quota[13]. Requiring TWOA to have such a high percentage of Māori students meant the institution would have to diminish its overall intake because Māori are only 12% of the total population and were correspondingly lowly represented at the Wānanga. "The basis on which the Crown arrived at a quota figure of 80% was arbitrary and irrational. Correspondence within the Ministry of Education refers to the Ministry Officials as having just made it up at the time (Waitangi Claim 1298, 2005:8)." Mallard also put pressure on TWOA to renegotiate its Charter. Targets set in the draft Charter would effectively operate to establish a quota of Māori students.

The failure by the Crown to pay the suspensory loan resulted in a significant cash flow shortage for the Wānanga and enabled the Crown to take control of the institution through a Crown Manager. The Crown then advanced a $20 million loan[14] on the condition that TWOA continue with the appointment of a Crown manager. TWOA had little choice but to agree to this loan because of the cash crisis that the Crown had originally created.

Throughout 2004 and 2005, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa was subjected to widespread allegations that financial mismanagement had caused the cash crisis and that the subsequent inquiry would be led by the Auditor General. During this time the Crown remained silent over its role in creating the cash

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[13] It is also illegal to do so under the New Zealand Bill of Rights Act 1990 and the Human Rights Act 1993.
[14] The $20 million loan was in place of the suspensory loan.

crisis through its failure to pay the suspensory loan in accordance with the Settlement Deed. Indeed, "it reinforced the public perception of the allegations while matters were still under investigation by the Office of the Auditor General" (Waitangi Claim 1298, 2005:14).

The Waitangi Tribunal ruled that the Government breached its Treaty of Waitangi obligations to New Zealand's largest tertiary education provider, Te Wānanga o Aoteaora. It said that "[The Crown] failed to institute a partnership agreement provided for in a 2001 inquiry which alleged that in comparison with other tertiary institutions, the Crown failed to fund the wānanga equitably and that, consequently, Māori were seriously disadvantaged. According to the report, the agreement would have provided forums for wānanga to discuss and negotiate policy and funding issues" (*Waikato Times*, 24 December 2005:3). The tribunal found breaches, stemming mainly from the Crown's misunderstanding of the difference between wānanga and other tertiary institutions. It found that the Crown had breached Treaty principles by failing to recognise the inclusive nature of the education offered and by failing to set up high-level mechanisms to resolve differences. "The Crown's attempts to impose on Te Wānanga o Aotearoa its own unduly limited conception of what a wānanga should be, and how and what it should teach, have led to the specific breaches of Treaty principles, the tribunal said" (*The Dominion Post*, 24 December 2005:1).

Telling this story, focusing on the hegemonic operations involved, raises a number of questions about the role of theory in producing empirical accounts. Hegemony denotes a political relationship between groups of people and intends an articulatory achievement in which persuasion dominates over the use of cruder instruments, such as force. When a particular group achieves supremacy by imposing its will over the rest of society through the manipulation of consent; when it constructs equivalences to incorporate the interests or erects differences to marginalise the power of rival forces, then hegemony has achieved its goal. Hegemonic practices always involve the emergence of political subjects whose task is/might be to see themselves in new perspectives and to reconstitute their experiences in new ways. The dominant voice

becomes merely one articulation among many others. On this reading the space of identification – and therefore identity formation – becomes a site where antagonisms and clashes become the building blocks for constructing different ways in which the relation between selves and others might be reconfigured. The logic of equivalence and difference standing, as they do, in dynamic tension to each other, are then recast as a potential and essential part of the formation of identity. This is the strongest aspect of Laclau and Mouffe's project, in my view, because it provides an investigation into the construction of people's identities, identifications and alliances. The theory denies on the one hand a thorough-going subjectivism which posits the role of people as paramount above structural constraints and rejects, on the other hand, the view that people are simply confined to reproducing pre-constituted structures, à la Althusser (1971). Human subjects are constrained within discursive patterns, yes, but these structures are contingent and radically malleable. At this level of analysis, connection between social relations and language allows Laclau and Mouffe to show how the dialectic between the logics of contingency and necessity accounts for the structuring of social relations by hegemonic practices. Their discourse theory problematises the transparency of the relations of equivalence and difference and illuminates the identities and interests of social agents as being the results of contingent articulatory practices. It might not be this way, it might be other. Now, the challenge to create new meanings and possibilities, keeping alive the promise that once was very real.

After months of bitter struggle with the government, on 15 December 2005, Rongo Wetere announced his retirement. He had been under intense pressure since February when the allegations first surfaced and he had fought a heated battle with the government which had used Education Act provisions to seize control of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and force him out. He had been cleared of allegations of fraud and corruption by the Auditor General's report but the report was also critical of poor financial control and record keeping.

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