

**"The Interface Between Global Hegemony and Cultural Marginalization:
Agency, Education and Development Among Indigenous Peoples."**

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Abstract

This thesis seeks to conceptualize an educational process that would allow Indigenous peoples to engage in a truly endogenous development, in which the elements of their ways of life that are most important and central to them are preserved and developed through their own agency and resistance, while the elements they think worthwhile of the hegemonic system which attempts to assimilate them, often destructively, through its development models, especially its associated educational models, may be selectively incorporated into their society on indigenous terms and subordinated to their own endogenous development agenda. The research will proceed on the basis of a comparative study of three cases: the Karretjiemense of the Great Karoo of South Africa, the Maori people of New Zealand, and the comprehensive policy of the Bolivian government ("plurinationalism") regarding autonomous Indigenous groups. By researching and discussing these three cases, the key features of turangawaewae, noetic spaces, revalorization, and the middle ground as educational process consistent with a truly endogenous development with clear objectives and operational guidelines will be formulated.

1. Introduction

This research is set in the context of indigenous education and development. Traditionally education within this context has been assimilative; with Western oriented education, displacing indigenous ways of knowing and doing that are of the place. This displacement has resulted in an erosion of cultural and economic diversity around the world, and in particular, an erosion of indigenous identity and sovereignty that many indigenous groups feel powerless to restrain. When the North American Plains Indians of the late 1800's were facing cultural annihilation, their search for alternative responses led them to the Ghost Dance. The Ghost Dance was to bring a peaceful end to European expansion. Now a century and more on, many indigenous groups still seek alternatives to cultural and economic subjugation- a phenomenon that has been called "perpetual dysfunction" by aboriginal development scholar, Dennis Appo (Appo, 2005). Such a search for alternatives may include an *endogenous development*, a development arising out of a particular people in a particular place.

Arturo Escobar, a Columbian anthropologist whose analysis of development discourse and practice includes alternatives for a post-development era, theorizes the aforementioned development context with its emergent problematic when he states ". . . as the links between development and the marginalisation of people's life and knowledge become more evident, the search for alternatives deepens. . . In sum, new spaces are opening up in the vacuum left by the colonizing mechanisms of development, either through innovation or the survival and resistance of popular practices." (Escobar, 1995, p. 216). This thesis will explore these new spaces, innovations, and acts of resistance while

addressing the need for a clearer characterization of the nature and mechanisms of change that are taking place within the community development context, especially with regard to the process of education.

My research will be addressing the following question:

“How can an education process be conceptualized that would allow indigenous populations to be agents of an endogenous development?”

This research question posits a conceptual tension between colonizing mechanisms of development and my research focus of endogenous development. In order to achieve a congruency between these terms, and to describe the extrinsic character of the colonizer, I will be referring to the colonizing mechanisms of development as *exogenous development*. I will be contrasting exogenous development with what has come to be called endogenous development. O’Malley defines the latter as, “another development arising out of a particular people in a particular place – which is the original meaning of “indigenous” – who become, naturally, the agents of their own development.” (O’Malley, 2013).

This simple characterization of endogenous versus exogenous development conceals the complexity of power as it is ascribed to the agency and objectives of the initiator of development within each opposing discourse. There has been significant discussion and research on how the mechanisms of exogenous development undermine endogenous development initiatives and capacities, and assimilate cultures and horizons of intelligibility through a hegemonic discourse (Giroux, 1981; Hall, 2009; Illich, 1997). In contrast to the increasing homogeneity perpetuated through exogenous development, endogenous development perpetuates and promotes diversity through the promotion of a

development in which the indigenous peoples of the locale are the authors of their own destiny. This thesis will explore the interface between the global hegemony of exogenous development and the resulting cultural marginalization of indigenous peoples, on the one hand, and the resistance of these same peoples, with varying degrees of success, to this same process and their attempts to foster an endogenous development, on the other. The particular lens with which I will be exploring this interface is that of education, the end-in-view being to conceptualize an education process that advances endogenous development.

1.2

Education is generally understood as an essential element of development (Carnoy, 1974; Chen & Dahlman, 2005; Hill, 2007; Kennedy, 1961; Willis, 1977; World Bank, 1989). The West has used, and continues to use Euro-Western methods of education for its own endogenous development. However, with the advent of European imperial expansion and latter day neoliberal forms of international development these methods of education have been exported and imposed on other people where they have become an exogenous education and development initiative. Normatively, mainstream education and development especially for indigenous peoples, can be seen as perpetuating the West's particular values, which arose out of the West's own endogenous development, a process in which these values are prescribed as universal within a global exogenous development context. This prescription of universal values through the vehicle of education is most clearly seen in Universal Primary Education (UPE), a program connected to the United Nations Millenium Development Goals (UNMDG). That is to say, Euro-Western education has evolved from promoting endogenous Western

development to one of perpetuating exogenous Western normative ideals through its exported education and development programs throughout the world.

1.2.1 Western education as endogenous and exogenous

“Our progress as a nation can be no swifter than our progress in education.”(Kennedy, 1961). This linking of progress in education to national progress demonstrates how Euro-Western education, when implemented within its particular cultural context, aspires to an endogenous development of equality, justice, prosperity and an equitable future for all. However, Kennedy goes on to discuss how an educational investment in “every young American’s capacity” expands “the base of our economic and military strength” (Kennedy, 1961). We see here the characterization of education, so common in the latter part of the 20th century, as the typically Western market understanding of education. In the end, this economic or market understanding of education effectively relegates Euro-Western education to the role of human capital development and the commodification of knowledge so that it can be traded in a human capital market economy.

I mention the relationship between education, endogenous development and the commodification of knowledge within the Western context because an exclusive focus on economic development represents in many respects the defacto Western endogenous development philosophy. Bernstein emphasizes this point when he describes “a new concept of knowledge and of its relation to those who create and use it. This new concept is a truly secular concept. Knowledge should flow like money to wherever it can create

advantage and profit. Indeed, knowledge is not like money, it is money.” (Bernstein, 2000 p.86)

The zenith of this commodification of knowledge, to date, is revealed by the example of the UK where “education product” exports for 1997 were over \$9 billion (up from \$7 billion in 1996) and Australia in the mid-1990’s where education services earned at least \$2 billion, an amount that exceeds the value of the traditional staple export, wheat (Bennell, 2003). Ivan Illich, the renowned critic of Western culture and its problematic social effects, describes the creation, exploitation, and universalization of this market demand as an “underdevelopment” that is “the result of rising levels of aspiration achieved through the intensive marketing of ‘patent’ products”(Illich I. , 1997, p. 97). From this perspective, Western-oriented education, packaged and disseminated through UPE and UNMDG, can be understood as the only path to successful development.

Many development initiatives which include Western models of education have initiated tremendous social and economic change (Patrinos, 2008; Eade, 1995; Sen, 1999). But this change, argues Wallerstein (2010), the prominent world systems theory analyst, is a consequence of geography and what he calls “internal expansion”- the process of freeing the factors of production. Internal expansion, in world systems theory, is an economic necessity for averting crises within the capitalist system. Geographic expansion was finite and was characterised by colonial expansion around the world. On the other hand, internal expansion is theoretically limitless and pertains to developing peoples’ ways of thinking and doing. Efficiency and an understanding of time as money is one consequence of this internal expansion. Western exogenous development brings with it numerous social and economic benefits, albeit through an education designed to

promote internal expansion. Against this backdrop, questions arise about the virtues of imposing Western education models that have an inherent market ideology upon non-Western cultures to forestall capitalist crises, and achieve international development objectives.

Fenelon & Hall, in their book *Indigenous Peoples and Globalization: Resistance and Revitalization* (2009), argue that Western education undermines resistance to the globalization and neoliberalization of the Western “intellectual archive”, and they further advocate for Wallerstein’s world-systems as the appropriate analytical lens through which to view this problematic. They suggest that world systems theory, especially its notion of internal expansion, most accurately theorizes the spread of neoliberal ideology with its “dominant, globalizing policies” which “personalize[s] and privatise[s] ‘labor’ as another commodity, which is deeply destructive to the nature of community” (Fenelon & Hall, 2008, pp. 1880-1881). They argue that this neoliberal ideology further contributes to the alienation of Indigenous cultural forms, “typifying them as ‘unproductive’ and ‘unprogressive.’ Thus, Indigenous societies are presented as “an obstacle for capitalist globalization to overcome” (Ibid). Friedman reiterates this point when he explains his concept of “flattening” the world where capitalism seeks to eliminate “sources of friction and inefficiency” such as cultural and linguistic differences, or ideological disagreements. However, he also states that “. . . some of these inefficiencies are institutions, habits, cultures, and traditions that people cherish precisely because they reflect non-market values like social cohesion”. He goes on to query, “. . . which frictions, barriers, and boundaries are mere sources of waste and inefficiency, and which are sources of identity and belonging that we should try to protect?” (Friedman, 2005, p. 204).

Indigenous communities are recognizing and responding, in varying degrees, to the homogenizing power of Western education. The analysis of these actions is important because they represent endogenous responses to internal expansion as it is being experienced in disparate communities around the world. As such, they offer a point of entry for the purpose of this dissertation, which is to conceptualize education processes for endogenous development.

1.3

1.3.1 Education, Endogenous Development and Indigenous Peoples

In this dissertation I will explore educational processes that operate within various indigenous societies and on that basis seek to identify mechanisms which can resist the internal expansion of dominant globalizing policies among indigenous peoples. In particular, alternative forms of education will be examined, and features of an education that would foster the primacy of empowered local social actors in the creation and perpetuation of a truly indigenous and endogenous development will be identified.

David Corson, a scholar at Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, explains how “education almost everywhere in the English-speaking world is set firmly within capitalist social relations,” and has become an arena in which “indigenous peoples can reclaim and revalue languages and cultures” (1999, p. 8). Jared Diamond further justifies the veritable necessity of indigenous people regaining and asserting direct control of development decisions, when he frequently observes that the “success or failure of a society is to know which core values to hold on to, and which ones to discard and replace with new values, when times change” (Diamond, 2005, p. 433).

But endogenous control by indigenous peoples over these development goals is highly contested by globally dominant exogenous powers. Universal Western oriented education is well funded through the U.N. adoption of millennial goals incorporating Universal Primary Education (UPE), with the World Bank financing many UPE initiatives.

I have witnessed the consequences of this exogenous-endogenous contest for control, by spending six years living and working, as a teacher, in the isolated native community of Attawapiskat in Northern Canada. During this time, I promoted inter-generational and informal learning by introducing a new element to one of my classes: I arranged a visit for my pupils to the community hospital, which also served as the seniors' home so that they might interview some of the community elders and document some of their stories. Shortly after meeting with the elders I realised that only a handful of my students were chatting with their great grandparents and other community Elders. At the time, my teaching assistant informed me that in most cases the students' language skills were not strong enough. Even though many of them spoke Cree, their version of Cree was attenuated to the point that many of my students required translators to communicate with the people who represented the most vital link to their cultural intellectual archive.

This linguistic and cultural shift is representative of the process that Wallerstein calls internal expansion within the world system. Small peripheral cultural communities around the globe are experiencing analagous pressures of assimilation. In many cases this cultural shift also includes an economic shift, as with the case of the residents of

Attawapiskat. This shift marks a shift from a self sufficiency born of informal, culturally and ecologically relevant education to forced proleterianization. The mechanisms traditionally used to enforce this process of proleterianization often included a divorce from traditional ways of knowing and doing initiated through compulsory formal Western oriented universal education (Corson, 1999).

Thus far I have presented a critical overview of exogenous development as a purely homogenizing force and endogenous development as a force that promotes diversity. To understand this contrast fully, we have to understand the value of diversity. I must also complicate this discussion by showing how diversity, representing particular values, can in fact benefit from the importation of selected exogenous universal values, albeit on a rigorously selective basis.

1.4 Diversity

A Diverse Ecosystem Will Also Be Resilient¹:

My research is founded upon an affirmation of the absolute value of diversity. The following discussion connects the intrinsic value of diversity to both its value as a complete system of survival, and an aesthetic valuation of life (O'Malley, 2013). Together these connections provide a comprehensive justification for diversity as an integral component of my research question.

I have drawn upon an understanding of diversity as held by biologists who espouse the intrinsic value of biodiversity, and assert that diversity has a value that exists “independent of agents’ actual evaluations” (Maclaurin, 2008 p. 151), which “would be

¹(Carson, 1962)

valuable even if there were no sentient beings that could value it” (Maclaurin, 2008 p. 150). While I do assert in this study an assumption of the value of cultural diversity, this assumption is supported by David Harmon (1987) who argues “that human cultural diversity is desirable, and that there is a definite relation between such diversity and protected area conservation” (p.147). Further to this, I also support Tove Skutnabb-Kangas correlation of linguistic and cultural diversity with biodiversity and her claims that:

Linguistic and cultural diversity are as necessary for the existence of our planet as biodiversity. They are correlated: where one type is high, the other one is too. There seems to be mounting evidence that the relationship between linguistic and cultural diversity on the one hand and biodiversity on the other hand is not only correlational but might be causal” and that “indigenous peoples and minorities are the main bearers of linguistic and cultural diversity in the world.” (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000 pp. ix-x)

While cultural diversity and biodiversity are correlated, so is culture and human survival. While “culture is sometimes defined as a strategy or program for survival” (Banks, 2000 p.71), Dewey asserts that through it “man achieves intelligence in the course of a struggle for existence” (Baker, 1955 p. 13). Further to this, Bourdieu reminds us with his now famous expression “cultural capital”, that intelligence is relative to the cultural context (1977). Our ability as a species to adapt and survive in most ecological niches is predicated on maintaining a vibrant culturally diverse intellectual archive from which to draw innovation and adaptation.

While there is an urgent need to advocate and act for the preservation of diversity because of its importance for our survival, I also note the aesthetic/experiential value of

diversity. In the understanding that informs this dissertation, I will draw on the African cultural conception of *Ubuntu* (individuals only exist because of their relationships with others; and as these relationships change, so do the characters of the individuals).

Bangura (2005 p. 32-33) articulates how *Ubuntu* fosters and promotes diversity as a mechanism that would allow us to have a more enriched human experience, when he states: “To be human is to affirm one’s humanity by recognizing the humanity of others in its infinite variety of content and form...Ubuntu inspires us to expose ourselves to others, to encounter the differences of their humanness in order to inform and enrich our own.”

This much being said, the situation is more complex than a simple “hegemonic universalism is bad” approach would suggest. It is true, as we will see below, that universalism undermines diversity, but there are Universalist values that signify great human achievements “which must be respected, while courageously working for [their] revision in order to bring to it universal cultural legitimacy” (Esteva, 1998 p. 145). Let us not confuse the motivation to promote specific universal values with “a discourse about indexing conditions in which the power of some ‘developed’ countries could be and should be used over other countries to bring about a global legal regime of rights” (Sheth, 1997).

This point can be clarified by looking at the putative *universal cultural legitimacy* of Universal Primary Education, which should not be imposed as a hegemonic cultural construct upon a resistant cultural group. As stated earlier, the articulation of this hegemony is made most visible where the “[n]ormative instruments of the United Nations

and UNESCO lay down international legal obligations for the right to education” (United Nations, 2013). Normative instruments guiding the imposition of the right to formal western oriented education contradicts the right to self-determination. In this study, indigenous education would be, as Esteva (1998) requires, the embodiment of *education with cultural legitimacy*. I acknowledge that Fettes’ study (2013) might appear to address issues of cultural legitimacy, but, merely represents a different vehicle for implementing hegemonic education. For the background to the study (Fettes, 2013) states that “imaginative education” as part of LUCID (Learning for Understanding through Culturally Inclusive Imaginative Development) bridges *the gap* between academic curriculum and culture” to “improve the academic success and life opportunities of aboriginal children” (Fettes, 2013).

Through this research, I intend to explore particular indigenous attempts at resisting the imposition of hegemonic education -- what Wallerstein calls internal expansion-- as it is manifest in programs of mainstream universal education. To my knowledge, a study of this nature would fill a gap in the education and development literature, and provide an alternative understanding of education and development practices currently being implemented. While I provide a brief overview of the research design below, greater detail and further clarification can be found in the methodology section of this dissertation.

1.5 Case Studies

In order to better explore the research question, I shall draw on cases of indigenous groups from across the core-periphery spectrum. The three case studies

represent three distinct points on this international spectrum of domination, subordination, assimilation and hegemony, and were chosen with the explicit intent of representing the greatest diversity of indigenous attempts at, and experience of, controlling the assertion of identity. This approach is valuable as the diversity represented by the case studies selected allows me, as the researcher, within a naturalistic research tradition, to sample in a way that maximises the scope and range of information obtained. Furthermore, the practical utility of employing this specific case study selection protocol is that the comprehensive understanding of the research problem that would be distilled from these diverse cases will be informative to indigenous groups regardless of their position on the core-periphery spectrum.

The rationale for choosing these case studies is drawn from Wallerstein's world systems theory combined with Lave and Wenger's studies of Communities of Practice (COP), both of which outline notions of the core and periphery within a global context (Wallerstein, 2010; Lave & Wenger, 1991). Both these conceptual frameworks incorporate the premise that the control of the system or community, is at the outset, entirely a function of the core. The control over the assertion of identities in the interface between the core and periphery – what I will later be using as an analytical model of an interface between universal and particular values -- represents a dynamic battleground where the scope, structure and process of education play a pivotal role. The universal-particular analytical model will be used to illustrate how education can be used as a mechanism through which power might be accessed and utilised for the perpetuation or promotion of cultural values is described in greater detail in the methodology section.

The reason this study is focused on Indigenous groups is threefold: scholarly research, literature in the field and my personal experiences all strongly suggest that Indigenous populations represent a high proportion of the remaining cultural diversity in the world.

The aforementioned selection schema primarily influenced the final selection of the three case studies. However, access to economic and cultural capital also influenced my final decisions. Below is a brief description of each case study, with further detail pertaining to the suitability of, and data availability provided in each instance. It is important to note that further discussion around the problematic of defining the limits to “case studies within the context of Indigenous research that utilizes a relational perspective is discussed in more detail in the methodology section of this thesis.

The three case studies for this dissertation are:

- Karretjiemense of the South African Karoo
- Maori people of New Zealand
- Aymara people of Bolivia

The Karretjiemense represent a group from the periphery. The Karretjiemense are predominantly nomadic sheep shearers who live on a \$1.00 a day, and have limited political and economic agency. While Afrikaans is not their traditional tribal language, it is the predominant language within the group. I have a working fluency in Afrikaans, and significant cultural experience within the South African context that has proved useful when accessing data and studies relating to this group.

The Maori peoples of Aetearoa/New Zealand represent an indigenous group midway between extreme vulnerability of the periphery, and confident empowerment and self-assertion at the core. While the Maori people are able to express some agency in determining the educational objectives for their community, they still fall under the jurisdiction of a national education and economic program as determined by the central New Zealand government that is a typically Western national system of education with mainstream educational agendas and values. Critical research directly relevant to my research subject has emerged from New Zealand, which helps to situate this dissertation within the contemporary debate (May, 1999; Zepke, 2011).

The third case study was chosen to illustrate an example of educational policies and practices as implemented by an indigenous community that has national legitimacy and agency in determining the curriculum and context for individuals within their particular community. Indigenous groups that have achieved this “peripheral normal” position are few. Bougainville in the South-Pacific represents a community that fulfills these criteria (Rimoldi, 2009). However, Bolivia is in many respects an excellent contemporary example that fills this niche (Salinas, 2000). Bolivia is significantly more accessible geographically and intellectually than Bougainville, and thus I have chosen it, or more specifically, the Aymara people within its national boundaries, to complete my case-study grouping. A more detailed discussion of both the justification and nature of these three groups may be found in the methodology section.

2. Literature Review

There are four central themes of this thesis. The first theme is the intrinsic relationship between education and development. The second is Indigenous education, which inherently promotes diversity through the perpetuation of ways of knowing and doing that arise out of a particular people in a particular place. Through this literature review, I will discuss the connection between Indigenous education and the promotion of endogenous Indigenous development. The third, Western-school-based education that has come to dominate the education and development discourse. I will introduce and then critique Western school-based education for its ongoing displacement of indigenous education and its engendering of a purely exogenous development. The fourth is intercultural education, which is representative of alternate forms of education that seek to reconcile indigenous education with the norms, some of which are worth emulating, perpetuated through Western education. The conclusion to this section will suggest that limits to internal expansion (developing peoples ways of thinking and doing) and the displacement of Indigenous education can be achieved through the mechanisms of Indigenous endogenous development and education.

2.1

It is widely accepted that education is central to the entire international development project. As McGiveney observes, “[t]he development process is in fact an educational process, or rather it should unfailingly be viewed as such. We cannot therefore conceive of development in the absence of education any more than education in the absence of development” (1991 p. 10).

The importance of education within the development context is continually reinforced by its inclusion, for example, as a major parameter of human well-being, the Human Development Index (HDI).

Even though education is often discussed within the context of development, its use is so broad that its meaning becomes amorphous and unspecific, revealing “the senselessness of the word” (Aichele, 1985 p. 130). In an effort to gain more analytical clarity on this term, I will outline the conceptions of education - as they shall be understood within the context of this research.

2.2

Central to one major dimension of my understanding of education is the thought of American pragmatist philosopher John Dewey, author of the highly influential *Democracy and Education* (Dewey, 1916). Melvin Baker sums up this influence when he states that, “Dewey’s philosophy, without question, has been so influential in twentieth century thinking and discussion in regard to education as to be, if not always the focal point, of such force that any intelligent speculation or controversy has had to take it into account.” (1955 p. 4) Dewey, the pragmatist, understood knowledge as something generated through experience: “[E]ducation” he wrote, “is a process of living and not a preparation for future living” (1959 p. 22). Dewey’s conceptualization of education as a process of lived experience rests upon his belief that “education which does not occur through forms of life, or that are not worth living for their own sake, is always a poor substitute for the genuine reality and tends to cramp and to deaden” (Dewey, 1959 p. 23). In order for education to be effective it needs to be situated in the experiential context that the knowledge is used (Apple, 1979; Hutchins, 1995; Lave &

Wenger, 1991; Wane, 2009; Wenger, 1998). Education speaks to and rests upon normative values that reflect the experiences of the way of life in which it is embedded, and also shapes the student's experience to be integrated into the greater structure of socialized experience of the student's lived culture. Thus, the norms that have shaped the experience of Indigenous peoples, and which have been sustained and perpetuated, would have a legitimacy that is validated by its proven sustainability (Hall, 2009) and perpetuation.

Applying Dewey's perspective to this research, we can see that the notion that Indigenous experience as the basis of Indigenous education has faced increasing assimilative pressures. This is especially noticeable when education, throughout the historical period of middle to late industrial capitalism, imposes, on Indigenous communities, a structure of Western meanings such that ". . . industrialization imposed new demands, and the notion of education as essentially a 'training' for a job and a particular social situation in life developed . . ." (Arblaster, 1970 p. 50). In this increasingly hegemonic tableau, local Indigenous experience becomes colonized by an exogenous, assimilative system of norms and broader cultural values that have little to do with Indigenous ontological perspectives. In Dewey's sense such colonization has little to do with the knowledge or truth arising out of Indigenous life experience, and thus in a very real sense, is an education that teaches falsehoods, another alien reality to the culture in which it becomes institutionalized.

2.3

While Indigenous education represents a way of life, and an experience which contributes to diversity, it can be argued that such local experience may benefit from the

incorporation of specific universal values. Universal values that call for the “protection for the poor, the disabled, the sick, and the powerless, praise good and impartial rulings, encourage some forms of social and economic justice, condemn arbitrary killing, offer moral prescriptions for wartime, and so forth” (Ishay, 2004 p. 60).

Western education, at its best, perpetuates these universal values and seeks to support social determinants of health. Examples of the achievement of these universal values, and support to social determinants of health, attained as a consequence of Western education are quantified as “. . . a year of schooling for girls reduces infant mortality by 5 to 10 percent. Children of mothers with five years of primary education are 40 percent more likely to live beyond age 5. When the proportion of women with secondary schooling doubles, the fertility rate is reduced from 5.3 to 3.9 children per woman . . . Young rural Ugandans with secondary schooling are three times less likely to be HIV positive” (Patrinos, 2008 pp. 58-59).

In addition to the perpetuation of universal values there is a “clear relationship between education (as measured in years of schooling) and income per capita.” Western “[e]ducation is also positively linked with technological adaptation, innovation, and increased productivity, which help generate economic growth” (Nallari, 2011 p. 221), and “[s]ustained growth reduces poverty” (Nallari, 2011 p. 64).

Oyen, the scientific director of the Comparative Research Programme on Poverty, when responding to the query of what is the best practice for poverty reduction states “[a]n intervention that manages to reduce several kinds of poverty rather than just one component in the complex pattern of poverty reduction, is a leading candidate for a best

practice.” (Oyen, 2002 p. 21). Western education with its contributions to economic and social development is often considered as this leading candidate.

The universal-particular analytical model used in this research (see more detail in the Methodology section) supports the belief that universal values should be incorporated for their intrinsic value. I am also cognisant of the inherent power attributed to the legitimacy of universal values. The failure to explore this power dynamic by proponents of Western education is a failure to consider that knowledge is constructed (Shor & Freire, 1987). This failure to address “the unequal relations of power that exist between groups (and classes) that place limits on the conditions of this making” (Walsh, 1991, p. 2) has the unfortunate consequence of marginalizing and negating, through the use of power, those who are not in the hierarchal position to determine what is experienced and thus knowledge. Shor and Freire (1987) describe this process, based on Western patriarchal models of knowledge creation and transfer, as knowledge being handed to the student as a “corpse of information—a dead body of knowledge—not a living connection to their reality.” So while many communities around the world derive great benefit from Western education that prioritizes numeracy, literacy, a positivist ontological perspective, and the commodification of knowledge. This Western education is to many Indigenous peoples a double-edged blade for every time it provides capability the return stroke undermines their experience and their space within.

The concern over the determination of legitimate knowledge becomes more evident when reviewing the United Nation’s millennium development goal to achieve Universal Primary Education (UPE). It has been suggested that if UPE is instituted,

many associated development goals (achieving gender parity, improving maternal health, reducing infant mortality etc.) would have a greater likelihood of being realised (Archer, 2005). Many of these social and economic advances cannot occur without compromising the particular indigenous experience.

UPE represents, to many developing world participants, a contextually less relevant and utilitarian education. It represents an education that disempowers the local populations where it is mandated. It contributes to normative hegemonic processes through a compulsory education of abstract experience and knowledge (see objective 2 below) that is divorced from an indigenous experience. Further to this, UPE can in cases, where historically Indigenous peoples had independent livelihoods, lead to proletarianization. Compulsory education along Western development lines promises success in the waged work force and fosters the creation of a more competitive urban working class, which reinforces the privilege of the local elites (Carmen, 1996). To explore this further, I have disaggregated the general goal of universal primary education into the following objectives:

- Expand early childhood care and education
- Provide free and compulsory primary education for all
- Promote learning and life skills for young people and adults
- Increase adult literacy
- Achieve gender parity
- Improve the quality of education (United Nations)

A cursory evaluation of these objectives might suggest that the World Bank and the UNDP propose greater access to, and a better quality education. However, if they are critically deconstructed, it is evident that the United Nations Millennium Development Goal (MDG), to attain universal primary education, completely dismisses peripheral community socio-cultural capital perpetuation to promote and perpetuate the norms of Western hegemony (Hill, 2007). When UPE is viewed through this lens it is labelled in the literature as “imperialist education” (Carnoy, 1974; Hall, 2009).

Arturo Escobar reiterates this by arguing, “development has colonized reality” and seeks to propagate “those conditions that characterize rich societies: industrialization, agricultural modernization, and urbanization” (Escobar, 1995 p. 214). This strategy of colonialism, predicated on economic capitalist expansion (Wallerstein, 2010), asserts that a “well-educated and skilled population is essential to the efficient creation, acquisition, dissemination and utilization of *relevant* knowledge, which tends to increase total factor productivity and hence economic growth. (Chen, 2005 p. 5 italics added). Groups who, regardless of their motivations, repeatedly refuse to submit to this development program might find themselves ignominiously labelled “perpetually dysfunctional” (Appo, 2005 p. 4). Furthermore, subsumed within the programs of UPE and MDG lies a value laden “language of needs” which “itself must be reinterpreted as one of the most devastating legacies of modernity and development” (Escobar, 1995 p. 225), because the universalisation, through development of normative needs has resulted in dire consequences for the cultural viability and environmental sustainability for much of the developing world, and consequently the globe in general (Trainer, 1989). While needs

are critiqued in this discussion, I am referring to needs as they are defined within the capitalist economic system (i.e. principally material), as opposed to a non-material need such as cultural self-determination within the world system, or “[I]and rights . . . as without access to their land Indigenous cultures are in danger of extinguishment” (Gilbert, 2010 p. 31). Education, as the universalization and development of normative needs, becomes an aspect of neo-imperialism and seeks to deny and replace the experiential reality of Indigenous education. Closer to home, I have seen that the provision and implementation of compulsory education within the Canadian Indigenous context illustrates the potential structural violence inherent in policy prescriptions (see objective 2) that promote cultural imperialism (Apple, 1979; Carnoy, 1974; Lehman, 1997; Rixecker, 1999).

In order to alter these neo-imperialist processes, a method to resist and disrupt hegemonic assimilative norms needs to be devised. Communities and learning need to be viewed through a model that addresses knowledge creation, perpetuation and promotion that allows for the dynamic negotiation between ways of knowing which are differentiated by their proximity to the core. The opportunity to incorporate universal values without sacrificing experience, which I recognize as an inherent feature of diversity, must be explored through an alternative education. An alternative education that incorporates a “critical examination of the cultural practices involved in the production of knowledge and meaning . . . as an essential task if the current impasse in development is to be overcome” (Tucker, 1999).

2.4

Interculturalism in education has emerged as an alternative in education that aspires to the reconciliation between indigenous education and Western school based education through its conceptual adherence to integrative power. Interculturalism in education is predicated on:

dialogue between social actors, positive recognition of cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversity, the self-development of different cultural traditions which co-exist within national boundaries, the construction of just and equal relations through social negotiation, the dissolution of dichotomies and stereotypes, and the strengthening of democracy (Aikman, 1997, p. 35).

Interculturalism in education often cannot attain its objectives because the stakeholders, especially those who are in the subservient role vis-a-vie the dominant cultural tradition, are incapable of “dialogue with other cultures without losing their own identity” (PEBIAN 1988, p.177.). Intercultural education espouses a “[c]apacitation through intercultural and participatory training and education” and “positive sovereignty: the capacity to act independently of external pressures” (Aikmen, 1998, p. 199). However, there is no capacitation without first acknowledging the “weakening of the nation state . . . global power brokers” and the “structural consequences of historic wrongs” (Ibid). Interculturalism and education does not address these disparities in its model of symbiosis that would be beneficial to each stakeholder. However, Susanne Jocabson Perez does address this power disparity, and suggests that some countries such as Peru have a “predominantly homogenizing state policy towards the indigenous peoples” (2009, p. 201). Further to this, she suggests that there is significant diversity to the implementation, and “meaning of bilingual education and the way it is practiced by

state agents, teachers and trainers depends greatly on the way they perceive indigenous peoples' role in society" (Ibid, p. 209). Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (2009a) further elucidates the diversity of these meanings and methods of implementation, when she cites three examples in India, Nepal, and Ethiopia that show the "positive results of mainly mother-tongue-medium (MTM) education for both national and immigrated minorities" (p. 342). While there is significant success attributed to some mechanisms of Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE), the agentive role of the recipients of these educational models requires investigation. Indigenous education as it is proposed in this thesis seeks to highlight and explore educational models and meanings that perpetuate and disseminate the capacities that allow Indigenous peoples to be agents of opportunity when engaging with normative educational models/structures. Peter Ives (2004) through his discussions in *Language & Hegemony in Gramsci* discusses and demonstrates the "importance that Gramsci attributed to language politics in Italian history and the molecular operations of political power, and the potential for revolutionary organization of resistance against capitalism" (p. 126).

2.5

Bourdieu (1977) discusses normative linguistic and other manifestations of cultural capital through his critical discussion of power exerted through, and by normative, hegemonic education as typified by Western models of schooling. He advocates for the necessity of controlling education as a mechanism for promoting one's own cultural identity and ambitions. He notes that in order for the dominant community to continue to define reality and preserve its hegemonic position, it needs to maintain educational institutions and practices that perpetuate the socio-economic status quo. He

supports this claim by insisting that, if individuals are not from the dominant community that defines knowledge and reality, they have less “cultural capital” and thus have to overcome this cultural-fiscal inequality before they can gain access to intellectual, economic, social, and political power. Consequently, in structuring this research, I now side much more closely with Lukes (1978) who suggests when discussing the third dimension of power, that power may “prevent people, to whatever degree, from having grievances by shaping their perceptions, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things” (1978, p. 24). I believe, as is illustrated in the alternative that I propose in my universal-particular model, that educational reforms will continue to fail unless the existing order of things is challenged and altered in an overt way. The latent conflict underlying the literature must not only become overt, but should evolve so that existing contradictions can be examined, but more importantly, new contradictions must be created (Gorz, 1968). Through this research, I intend to explore these new contradictions and limits as Indigenous peoples who employ through varying degrees, mechanisms of endogenous development and education, experience them.

2.6 Te Wero-The Challenge

Mir challenges us as “true scholars /researchers/ intellectuals/ theorists” to “act with an acute moral sense, thinking outside the lines and work hard to corrupt the edifice of the dominant status quo” (Mir, 2002). We can, by resisting attempts “to make visible that which is unseen, institutional that which is informal, valuable that which is priceless,

profitable that which is useful, and to structure that which is related” (Lehman, 1997 p. 354) prioritize the subject position.

To rise to Mir’s and Lehman’s challenge, I need to, each day, through my actions, decisions, and the fact of my living, contribute “however minutely, to the shaping of this society and to the course of its history” even as I am “made by society and its historical push and shove” (Mills, 1959 p. 6), and am usually unable to cope with “troubles in such ways as to control the structural transformations that usually lie behind them” (Mills, 1959 p. 4).

3. Does the Existence of a Watch Compel Belief in an Intelligent Watchmaker? An exploration of the definition of case studies.

ABSTRACT

This chapter seeks to conceptualize a model of relationality that represents a cultural mediation of the research process. Further to this, the limits of case studies will be defined within intercultural contexts. Research methodology and attendant relations to knowledge play a central role in knowledge creation, and the writing of this thesis. To this end, I use relations to knowledge as a starting point for investigating relationality. A conceptual model is introduced that utilizes the concept of relationality as a universal measure to define interrelations between the spheres of knowledge, self, community, and environment. These relationships can be affected by “internal expansion” as expressed in Wallerstein’s world system’s theory. Change in one sphere can act as a catalyst for change within the holistic reality of a case study. It is through the exploration of these relationships that we as academics from dissimilar cultural context may be able to delineate the parameters of the case studies that will be used in this dissertation.

3.1 Introduction:

“Research is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself, ‘research’, is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary. . . Just knowing that someone measured our ‘faculties’ by filling the skulls of our ancestors with millet seeds and compared the amount of millet seed to the capacity for mental thought offends our sense of who and what we are” (Smith, 1999 p. 1).

After internalizing this quote, a trepiditious inquiry into the relationship between Indigenous and Euro-Western research methods feels justified. To this end, I utilize many excerpts from original sources to reduce the likelihood that the explicit message expressed in this chapter will be misinterpreted. This strategy has the secondary benefit of revealing the rich dialogue inherent to this controversial topic.

The epistemology guiding the research method outlined in the above quote, while offensive, does illustrate the point that “[e]very historical age has exhibited some

characteristic way of answering the eternal questions of what there is that can be known and how one can go about knowing it” (Lincoln, 1985 p. 7). Filling a skull with millet seed no doubt implicates that researcher within an imperial and colonial research paradigm. But, that researcher could not know then, the extent of what they did not know. Only epiphanies and paradigm shifts can give an insight into this (Kuhn, 1970). The aforementioned researcher was trapped in a particular way of examining the world because “[r]esearch methodology can become a mechanism for defining the ways that we think and then consequently the ways that we act” (Lincoln, 1985 p. 14). This is an important point to expand upon because, in accepting that methodology structures the generation of knowledge, and consequently our thoughts and actions, we can accordingly, accept Law’s (2004 p. 13) suggestion that, “science produces its realities as well as describing them.” This dynamic interrelationship between the creation of context and research methodology is a contested site where the persistent problems of defining culturally relevant research emerge. Law (2004) asserts further:

that method is not, and could never be innocent or purely technical. If it is a set of moralisms, then these are not warranted by a reality that is fixed and given, for method does not report on something that is already there. Instead, in one way or another, it makes things more or less different. The issue becomes how to make things different, and what to make. . . Method, then, unavoidably produces not only truths and non-truths, realities and non-realities, presences and absences, but also arrangements with political implications (p.143).

3.2 Statement of my Methodological Problem:

Many researchers who construct their studies in intercultural and Indigenous contexts (Fenelon & Hall, 2008; Law, 2004; Mir, 2002; Smith, 1999; Tucker, 1999) explain the

political arrangements and implications outlined by Law (2004) as “the hegemonic and dominatory pretensions of certain versions or accounts of method . . . if research methods are allowed to claim methodological hegemony or (even worse) monopoly, . . . then when we are put into relation with such methods we are being placed however rebelliously, in a set of constraining normative blinkers” (Law, 2004 p. 4). Kuhn, the author of *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1970), suggests that a movement beyond solving puzzles within a paradigm to testing the structures of the paradigm itself would allow for the manifestation of realities whose origins lie beyond current accepted research methodologies. Packer (2011) reiterates this sentiment, through his use of a game of chess as a metaphor, when he suggests that we are trying out various moves, and combinations of moves. However, we are not challenging the rules of the game; we are not questioning or examining the assumptions of the prevalent scientific paradigm. However, as momentum and support for alternatives grow, and in accordance with Kuhn’s (1970) predictions, “[a] crisis begins to develop when a number of unsolvable problems or anomalies arise” and “persist despite the best attempts to make them conform to existing theories” (Packer, 2011p. 29).

This chapter evolved from one of these persistent methodological problems that emerged from the process of defining, through a hegemonic research methodology, the limits of the indigenous case studies I am using in this comparative study. It is implausible, no matter how the chess pieces are shifted, to incorporate an imperialist approach within a study that advocated indigenous agency. This chapter represents an exploration of the fundamental principles of research methodology. I disaggregate these principles so

readjustments that allow for cultural complexity may be more clearly understood in a conceptual model. The conceptual model I propose can be used to discern limits to a case study utilizing relationality as a universal measure. This conceptual model, while it proved to be an effective methodological tool, also outlines the concept of relationality. Relationality as it is used in this thesis, and in the broader literature reflects a way of being in, and conceptualizing the world. Therefore, while this section represents the methodological discussion of this dissertation, on a Meta level it is a discussion of agency, and the cultural determination of reality.

3.3 Defining the Context:

Many research theorists (Guba, 1985; Law, 2004; Turnbull, 2006; Wilson, 2008) have defined the terms inherent to the research method. A clear understanding of these terms will enhance the clarity and interpretation of the ideas that will be outlined in the subsequent discussions. For the purposes of this study, **ontology** is the theory of the nature of existence, or the nature of reality. **Epistemology** is the study of the nature of thinking or knowing, and involves the theory of how we come to have knowledge, or how we know that we know something. **Axiology** is the ethics or morals that guide the search for knowledge and judge which information is worthy of searching for. Lincoln & Guba (1985), structure many of their critiques of postivism around the fundamental concepts outlined in this terminology and, as will be discussed later in this chapter, present new conceptualizations of these ideas to support postpositivism, and specifically naturalistic inquiry. As other academic researchers (Fenelon & Hall, 2008; Guba, 1985; Law, 2004) have rebelled against normative methodological blinkers, they have generated new epistemologies and constructs through which to conceptualize an

understanding of the world. In this section, I will define post-positivist research, as it is to be used in this paper, and outline naturalistic inquiry as a post-positivist attempt at redefining research methodologies so that non-dominant contexts of discovery may be conceptualized. Finally, I will introduce a spectrum defined by empirical and rational methodologies that incorporates dynamic, relational and axiological elements to generate a post-positivist conceptual model that allows for the creation of clear limits for case studies and the realities they portray.

Positivism as a scientific method emerged in the early 20th century where some mathematicians, scientists, and philosophers formed a group called the Vienna Circle who created the paradigm of logical positivism. The concepts of positivism provided a rationale for the scientific method that amounted to a literal paradigm revolution. Positivism was constructed as the linkage of empiricism with rationalism, where empiricists espoused that experience was the basis of knowledge, while rationalists insisted that knowledge was based on the human capacity to reason (Packer, 2011). The Vienna Circle influenced by Kant determined that in logical positivism “empiricism would be the context of discovery and rationalism the context of justification.” (Packer, 2011 p. 21). Karl Popper, generally regarded as one of the greatest philosophers of science in the 20th century, later (in the 1960’s) objected to the logical positivist model as he insisted that “reasoning by induction cannot lead to certainty”(Packer, 2011 p. 25). It is important to fully understand the implications of this statement because the dismissal of inductive reasoning with its nexus in the empirical knowledge of the context of discovery, and the validation of deductive reasoning subjugates imagination, speculation,

and invention to logic within the broader methodological discourse. The simultaneous implications of Popper's assertion to reject "reasoning by induction" affects any subsequent knowledge production and consequently reality. This advocacy against inductive reasoning supports claims that

Science is a cultural product emerging under specific historical, social, and political conditions and so it cannot claim to be a universal, objective method of revealing truths for all times and places. Postmodernists argue that all human ideas are limited by their time and place of origin. And cannot go beyond these limits. Because of these limitations, the objectivity of science, especially the social sciences is an illusion (Del Balso, 2001, p.36)

Instead of inductive reasoning, Popper proposed a logic of falsification, of testing hypotheses." (Packer, 2011 p. 27). Guba and Lincoln, in supporting naturalistic inquiry, suggest that this positivist process of "hypothetico-deductive logic" has thoroughly misaligned the "context of discovery" and "the context of justification." "The former deals with the genesis of or origin of scientific theories and the latter with testing them. Positivism' they explicitly state "excludes the former and focuses on the latter. . . So the focus of methodology develops into hypothesis testing as the process of knowledge creation. This mode of scientific inquiry espouses the view that there is one true reality that can be broken down into overriding laws. . . in an attempt to discover truth, with the ultimate goal of predicting and controlling reality." (Lincoln, 1985 p. 25). Positivism guised as modern empirical analytical inquiry (Packer, 2011) while maintaining a misleading and even inaccurate universalist mantra, is not clearly agreed upon (Guba, 1985). Packer suggests that today most researchers shun the label of "positivism" because "[t]he term has become one of opprobrium, and has been used so broadly and

vaguely as a weapon of critical attack . . . That it has lost any claim to an accepted standard meaning . . . But [these same researchers that use the term positivist as a weapon of critical attack] continue to use the approach to investigation that was the logical positivist reconstruction of the scientific method” (Packer, 2011 pp. 26-27).

With most researchers still utilizing this positivist scientific method of hypothesis testing, the capability of Indigenous research methods finding legitimacy is contested when a persistent assimilative, logical positivist research methodology treats Indigenous values and belief systems “not as an integral part of the research but as barriers to research or exotic customs” (Smith, 1999 p. 15). Thus, the crisis outlined by Kuhn (1970) persists because the unsolvable problems resist the best attempts to make them conform to existing research methods (Packer, 2011). Wilson (2008) reiterates this point when he states “[t]here is limited research to date that recognizes that Indigenous people think and behave in a different manner that is unique. . . There is a need to examine how an Indigenous research paradigm can lead to a better understanding of, and provision for, the needs of indigenous people” (p. 20).

Post-positivism, and naturalistic inquiry in particular, represent a shift away from positivist methodologies that signify a movement to a better understanding of, and provision for Indigenous peoples within the context of knowledge production. Lincoln and Guba (1985) explain how naturalistic inquiry represents an antithesis to the positivist research paradigm by contrasting the Positivist and Naturalist Axioms.

The following table (Guba, 1985 p. 37) is a summary of these differences:

Axioms About	Positivist Paradigm	Naturalist Paradigm
The Nature of reality	Reality is single, tangible, and fragmentable.	Realities are multiple, constructed, and holistic.
The relationship of the knower to the known	Knower and Known are independent, a dualism.	Knower and the known are interactive, inseparable.
The possibility of generalization	Time and context free generalizations (nomothetic statements) are possible.	Only time and context bound working hypotheses (ideographic statements) are possible.
The possibility of causal linkages	There are real causes, temporally precedent to or simultaneous with their effects.	All entities are in a state of mutual simultaneous shaping, so that it is impossible to distinguish causes from effects.
The role of values	Inquiry is value-free.	Inquiry is value-bound.

Shawn Wilson, author of *Research as Ceremony* supports the naturalistic paradigms axioms of realities being multiple and inquiry as being value bound, when he states “[i]n an Indigenous ontology there may be multiple realities” (p. 73), and includes axiology as an entity in the Indigenous research paradigm (p. 70). The naturalistic paradigm articulates elements of the Indigenous research paradigm but fails to address the critical axiom of relationality in that “all things are related and therefore relevant” (p. 58). Wilson (2008) further expands upon relationality as a central tenet to the Indigenous research paradigm when he states:

Rather than the truth being something that is out there or external, reality is in the relationship that one has with the truth. Thus, an object or a thing is

not as important as one's relationship to it. This idea could be further expanded to say that reality is a relationship or sets of relationships. Thus, there is no definite reality but rather different sets of relationships that make up an Indigenous ontology. Therefore, reality is not an object but a process of relationships, and an Indigenous ontology is actually the equivalent of an Indigenous epistemology (p.73).

Upon cursory examination the concept of relationality within the Indigenous research paradigm does not correspond to any axioms supported by researchers within the dominant Western research paradigm. However, if a more rigorous exploration is undertaken, the concept of relationality emerges within the dominant articulation of research methodology and ontology.

To this end, Lincoln and Guba (1985) articulate an alternative conception of causality used within the naturalistic paradigm which asserts that “[a]ll entities are in a state of mutual simultaneous shaping” (p. 37). While they do not explicitly mention relationality, it is implied in the conceptualization of mutual simultaneous shaping. To realise a more concrete expression of relationality in the dominant discourse, research methodologies must be conceived as tools that help researchers construct knowledge. If research methodologies are tools, then Deleuze and Guattari (1988) more assertively incorporate relationality into the construct of research methodologies and ontology when they state “. . . tools only exist in relation to the interminglings they make possible or that make them possible . . . tools are inseparable from symbiosis or amalgamations defining a Nature-Society machinic assemblage . . . a society is defined by its amalgamations, not by its tools” (Guattari, 1988 p. 90). A society defined by interminglings, amalgamations and

symbiosis, and not by its tools² is a much more clear articulation of relationality and ontology within the dominant discourse. Law (2004) brings relationality right to the core of scientific culture when, through his analysis of Latour and Woolgar (1986) who helped create the new field of the *ethnography of science*, when he states that:

[t]he practice of science makes relations, but as they make relations they also make realities.” (p. 29), and “The picture of method starts to shift. The argument is no longer that methods discover and depict realities. Instead, it is that they participate in the enactment of those realities. It is also that method is not just a more or less complicated set of procedures or rules, but rather a bundled hinterland. This stretches through skills, instruments and statements . . . Into a ramifying and indefinite set of relations (p. 45).

Relationality, it seems, is not particular to the Indigenous research paradigm. To conceptualise differences between the Indigenous research paradigm and other dominant Western research paradigms, an exploration of the nature of the relationships each paradigm produces is required. Relations can be considered as a universal and axiological representation of the limits of, and between, case studies.

The differentiation between the relations Indigenous and dominant Western paradigms produces is reminiscent of the early ontological and axiological divisions manifested between the empiricists and the rationalists as discussed at the beginning of this chapter. An initial insight into this differentiation is illustrated through the following discussion where Turnbull (2006) outlines the effects of Copernicus on modern society’s relationship with the earth. He explains that satellite imagery is the most recent manifestation in the logical progression of the Copernican revolution, and succinctly states that “[a]s the earth is transformed into a cosmological representation, the earth

²But the tools are imperative for the relations.

loses its ontological status as a site of dwelling and is reduced to an object of possible knowledge for modernity's technological subject" (p. 131) and suggests that "only a world supported by the earth can give things their proper measure; and without this relation, things have no true measure (and in such a case, the measurement of the world in terms of an abstract mathematicised facticity-required for the efficient maintenance of purely technological relationships- becomes the anthropocentric measure of all things)." (Turnbull, 2006 pp. 131-132). Packer (2011) also emphasizes the axiological elements of research methods when he states, "it is precisely our current moral paradigm-our attitude toward the planet, our attitude toward other cultures-that needs to be changed" and further suggests that "[w]e need to conduct research that is sensitive to the culturally diverse ways we live in a world of natural complexity if we are to learn how to transform these ways. To do this, we need to move beyond the testing of hypotheses." (pp. 38-39). Turnbull cites Heidegger (1978) when he suggests "authentic ways of living stand radically opposed to what might be termed "Copernican modes of existence", for to live authentically on the earth is to "receive the sky as the sky" and to leave "the sun and the moon to their journey, the stars to their courses" (p. 352). Turnbull, Packer, and Heidegger all suggest a movement away from rationality as means of changing relations, and shifting axiologies.

This movement away from rationalism to empiricism with a corresponding and proportional change in relations is evident in Wilson's (2008) articulation of relations with the land and the cosmos when he describes "the distance between ourselves and the environment is sacred, and so you do ceremonies to bridge that space or that distance . . .

experiences on the land shapes everything” (pp. 87-88), and that “spirituality is one’s internal sense of connection to the universe (Wilson, 2008 p. 91). Wilson promotes through his discussion on Indigenous axiology, and values around (Guba, 1985; Thatcher, 2006) relationality as the opposition to dominant positivist methodologies. Thus a spectrum of relationality predicated on the axiological distinction of the underlying principles of inquiry characterized by empiricism where experience is the basis of knowledge, and rationalism where the human capacity to reason formed the basis of knowledge emerges. This spectrum is defined in a range from empirical axiological relations to rational axiological relations.

The belief that relations, articulated in, and through research methodology, do not fall within a reified position on the relationality spectrum is articulated by Packer (2011) who suggests that “if we are to learn how to transform these ways . . . we need to move beyond the testing of hypotheses” (p. 39). This dynamic element along with a conceptualization of imperial methodologies, or decolonizing methodologies (Smith, 1999) suggests that while the concept of relationality as an intrinsic component of both dominant and Indigenous realities has been established, the dynamism integral to relationality needs to be addressed. Fenelon & Hall (2008) use Wallerstein’s concept of “internal expansion” which relates to a limitless expansion affecting peoples’ ways of thinking and doing, with efficiency, natural resource management, and an understanding of time as money being consequences of this internal expansion. Internal expansion, as it is understood here accurately represents the shifts in axiology on a relationality spectrum that can occur in association with the transformation in ways of thinking that

are initiated through conscious decisions to change methodology (Packer, 2011 p. 39).

These shifting axiological preferences can also be imposed or enforced through assimilative change through the imperialism of methodologies (Smith, 1999).

3.4 A Conceptual Model:

This simple presentation of reality as a dynamic process of relationality defined on a spectrum ranging from empirical relations to rational relations is important because axiological relationality is isolated as the common element through which the parameters of community can be defined. Lawrence (2010 p.108) suggests that “A qualitative researcher conceptualizes by developing clear, explicit definitions of constructs.”

In order to further clarify and make explicit how relationality can be used to define communities, I have generated the model in Figure: 2 with the following notes to clarify its intent and content.

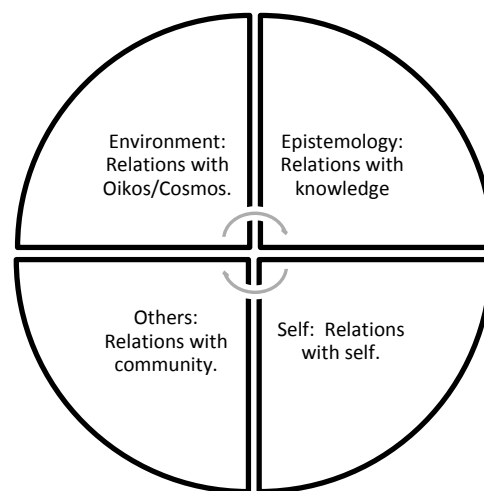


Figure 2: A conceptual model to illustrate a holistic representation of the interrelationships within and between spheres. It is through exploring these spheres that a holistic understanding of a community may be generated and defined.

Lucie Sauve and Isabel Orelliana in their conception of *Environmental Education: A contribution to the Emergence of a Culture of Peace* outline a discussion around three relational spheres which facilitate personal and social development towards a culture of peace. These three spheres are : 1) Self . . . sphere of construction of identity. 2) Others . . . relations with others. 3) Environment . . . relations with Oikos. (Orelliana, 2004 p. 102). Wilson (2008) through his discussion on relations speaks to the 3 spheres outlined by Sauve and Orelliana, but also discusses a fourth sphere of the relations to knowledge. In order to operationalize the conception of relationality, the conceptual model demonstrates relations within each sphere, as well as the interrelations between the spheres. It is important that these interrelations are explicit as a holistic understanding is an essential component to the model, and is explicitly incorporated in the Western tradition as outlined by Ragin (1987) who states: “[p]arts are not viewed in isolation but in context of the whole they form. To change one or more elements often changes how the whole is perceived or understood, which in turn , has an impact on the meaning of each individual part.” (p. 24), and Indigenous traditions by Armstrong, (2006 p. 36) who explains: If you take a number of strands, hair or twine, place them together and then rub your hands and bind them together, they become one strand. You use this thought symbolically when you make rope and when you make twine. . . we are tied into and part of everything else.”

This model also remains consistent with the concept of internal expansion as it is outlined in world systems theory as internal expansion can affect the axiology of relations in each sector, and a change in one sector would act as a catalyst for change in the others.

When the structure of this model is contrasted to a core/periphery model there is no dominance or centrality of any specific theme. This is purposeful to the design as centrality and dominance would offset the holistic intent.

3.4.1 Differentiating/Defining the Limits of Case Studies Using This Model:

To illustrate the differentiation between communities that can be achieved by exploring relations within the four spheres of the model, I will briefly outline relations from a Western and Indigenous perspective for each sphere (the excerpts used to outline the Western and Indigenous cases, represent ideal models). The use of these perspectives from opposite ends of the relational spectrum is deliberate as the contrasting axiologies will most clearly demonstrate differentiation, and provide clear benchmarks that delineate the range of the spectrum. An examination into the definition of a case study using this model, will allow for a proximal placement on the spectrum, and will also allow for an accurate holistic, and culturally relevant definition of the case study under investigation.

To demonstrate the legitimacy of differentiating communities through relations, the following discussion will briefly outline the relations within each sphere, and correlate these relations to the remaining spheres so that a holistic conceptualization of each case study might be realized. The diversity of Indigenous and Western communities is theoretically limitless and is exemplified by the range on the spectrum where each case is defined on an individual basis.

3.4.1a Epistemology: Relations with knowledge

Intellectual copyright has come to epitomise the Western relationship with knowledge.

When copyright was initially instituted in the seventeenth century it was intensely controversial. It was being initiated in a time when:

medieval forms of politics and culture were being confronted by newer, potentially revolutionary alternatives. . . Experimental philosophy was inaugurating what would become modern science, and a mercantile expansion was underway that would trigger the emergence of capitalist economies (Johns, 2009 p. 19).

This change in the Western relationship to knowledge is representative of the concurrent social and economic changes that were occurring. The relationships to community, Oikos, and self were in a process of mutual simultaneous shaping, with modern science and capitalism emerging from this process.

Wilson (2008 pp. 56-57) differentiates the Indigenous relationship to knowledge when he states:

One major difference between those dominant paradigms and an indigenous paradigm is that those dominant paradigms build on the fundamental belief that knowledge is an individual entity: the researcher is an individual in search of knowledge, knowledge is something that is gained, and therefore, knowledge may be owned by an individual. An Indigenous paradigm comes from the fundamental belief that knowledge is relational. Knowledge is shared with all creation. . . it is a relationship with all of creation. It is with the cosmos. . . you are answerable to all your relations when you are doing research (Wilson, 2008 pp. 56-57).

This relationship with knowledge has implications for relations within the other spheres, as a subsistence lifestyle, reflecting relations with all of creation, is described by (Mohawk, 2006 p. 27): [s]ubsistence living has nothing to do with materialism. . . They

see themselves living in the world and in relationship to the world in which not only does the world nurture them, but they have the reciprocal obligation to nurture it. They're here to maintain its survival as a coherent thing.”

3.4.1b Self: *Relations with self.*

According to Giroux (2003 p. 92) we live in a dystopian Universe where “individuality reduces self-development to the relentless pursuit of personal interests”. This relationship to self is correlated to the relations of knowledge as self-interest is reflected in attempts at protecting intellectual property, from infringement by the broader community. The prioritization of personal interest is rationalized through the scientific theories of economics and evolution that exemplify and reify rational relations.

In stark contrast, and in maintaining a symbiosis with the concepts of subsistence and sharing within the Indigenous context, a “person is born into a family and a community. No person is born isolated from those two things. You are born into a way of interacting with others. . . you are automatically a part of the rest of the community. You are that which is family and community; within that you cannot be separate.” (Armstrong, 2006 p. 37). The empirical relations, of that which is experienced, survives in the experience of family, community, environment, and cosmos. The conception of identity of self is the convergence of these experiences.

3.4.1c Others: *Relations with community.*

The primacy of individual interests and ownership of property, have the expected repercussions to community relations as Giroux describes contemporary social relations where: “[t]he ascendancy of neoliberal corporate culture into every aspect of American

life . . . consolidates economic power in the hands of the few. . . It thrives on a culture of cynicism, insecurity and despair . . . The consequences include not only a weakened state, but a growing sense of insecurity, cynicism and political retreat on the part of the general public.” (Giroux, 2004 p. 73)

Security and belonging epitomise relations within the indigenous context. The congruency through interactions with the spheres of self and knowledge are prelevant in Armstrong’s (2006) description:

“ [t]he Okanagan refer to relationships with others using a word that means “our one skin.” This means that we share more than a place; we share a physical tie that is uniquely human. It also means that the bond of community and family includes the history of the many who came before us and the many ahead of us who share our flesh. We are tied together by those who brought us here and gave us blood and place. Our most serious teaching is that community comes first in our choices, then family, and finally ourselves as individuals, because without community and family we are truly not human.” (p. 37).

3.4.1d Environment: Relations with Oikos:

The relations to the environment, affected by interrelationships with the other spheres, reflects the pursuit of personal interest that requires a measure in material goods (Trainer, 1989). The desire to secure personal interest over community welfare, and hoping for a technological solution to clean up the mess is creating a tragic global commons. Jared Diamond in his book *Collapse* documented the role of environmental degradation in past civilization’s declines. He explains the predicament of the developed Western world when he states: “[a]s for First World society as a whole, its resource consumption accounts for most of the world’s total consumption. . . Our totally unsustainable consumption means that the first world could not continue for long on its present course,

even if the Third World didn't exist and weren't trying to catch up to us." In fact "rich people do not secure their own interests and those of their children if they rule over a collapsing society and are merely buying themselves the privilege of being the last to starve or die." (Diamond, 2011 p. 513).

In contrast, and in maintaining the integrity of the whole³, the San, an indigenous group of Southern Africa have stressed "that land is life for us. Without land we are nothing. We cannot maintain the integrity of our historical and cultural identity without being able to live in harmony with and on our ancestral lands. Land is the water of life for us, as with all Indigenous people." (Thoma, 2006 p. 7). Jeanette Armstrong, an Okanagan, further emphasises this land, humanity interrelation by explaining that we are "living dreaming Earth pieces. . . The Okanagan teach that the body is Earth itself" (Armstrong, 2006 pp. 35-36).

3.4.2 Internal Expansion as a Shift in Axiological Relations:

Communities are recognizing and responding, in varying degrees, to the internal expansion that facilitates the imperialism of Western ideologies. The relationships within communities that represent axiological preferences are, as can be seen in the above examples, easy to describe. But, relationships are difficult to quantify. Utilizing this model as a structure around which the parameters of a community might be defined allows for a clear understanding of the community, but does not clearly delineate where the community falls on the relationality spectrum. An example that would be useful to further demonstrate this is the Karretjiemense of the Karroo, who are directly descendent

³ The sum of the four spheres of the model.

from the San of the Kalahari, and have been dispossessed of their lands (De Jong M. , 1995; De Jong M. , 2012). The Karretjiemense's alienation from the land impacts the the remaining spheres in the model. This could suggest that through mutual simultaneous shaping the anti-social and self destructive actions of many Karretjie stems from this discord in their relations to land. The sum of these changes represent the repercussions of internal expansion on this cultural group, and correspondingly shifts this community's worldview on the continuum to reflect the imperialism of rational relations.

Internal expansion as a theoretical explanation for movement on the spectrum is brought to stark reality when the consequences of a shift away from empirical relations toward the rational end of the spectrum, initiated through imperialism, is described by Armstrong (2006) as:

[t]he discord we see around us, in my view from inside my Okanagan community, is at a level that is not endurable without consequences to the human and therefore to everything that the human influences. A suicidal coldness is seeping into and permeating all levels of interaction; there is a dipassion that has become a way of life when facing illness and other forms of human pain. I am not implying that we no longer suffer for each other as humans but rather that such suffering is felt deeply and continuously, and cannot be withstood, so feeling must be shut off (p.38).

3.5 Conclusions:

In using axiological relations as concept inherent to both Indigenous and dominant ontologies to define the limits of case studies, I am able to create holistic descriptions of each case study. In addition to this I am able to proximally place case studies on a spectrum in relation to each other, and Indigenous and dominant/Western ideal models. The conceptual model that has been generated to address the problem of defining limits

for case studies incorporates four spheres that also have their origins in both Indigenous and dominant/Western archives. Culturally sensitive processes of delineation and differentiation are achieved through the use of confessed universal attributes to structure and describe the processes of the model and the attendant spectrum.

Many empirical-analytical researchers might balk at the ideas and processes discussed within this research methodology. But, naturalistic inquiry (Guba, 1985) and normative research (Thatcher, 2006) both lend postpositivist support to the nature of research methodology I have described. Furthermore, I feel as though the rules have been shifted just enough so that my chess pieces can align to serve the purposes of this study.

Now that I have established a firm epistemological foundation that rests on the definition of case studies and communities through axiological relations, I can, in this last subsection on methodology, outline the basic elements used in the structure of this study.

To this end, this dissertation examines the approaches to education that are used in three indigenous societies. More specifically, the intent of this study is to explore an education process that would allow indigenous populations to be agents of a truly endogenous development. Comparing the three groups against each other would be informative in that I can understand the factors that influenced each case. By contrasting these factors, I could determine how indigenous group's decisions, as axiological preferences, influenced endogenous development.

This study is designed in the context of qualitative research methodology, and will be a normative inquiry using a comparative case study method. The case studies will entail

pre-existing data such as pertinent studies by area specialists, government documents such as curricula, and syndicated and other commercial nongovernment sources such as news articles.

While positivist research methodologies employ data triangulation (Mikkelsen, 2005), I will be guided by a post-positivist paradigm that demands diversity of thought and action to enhance the process of reflective equilibrium (Thatcher, 2006). This diversity of research thought and action is achieved through “bricolage”, a process where the construction or creation of a work from a diverse range of things that happen to be available, or a work created by such a process. Bricolage “exists out of respect for the complexity of the lived world and the complications of power.” The “bricoleur” as a practitioner of bricolage “is committed to research eclecticism” (Denzin, 2011 p. 168). As a researching bricoleur, I am committed to a relational stance that seeks to ascertain and conceptualize the interrelationship of “all things [that] are related and therefore relevant” (Wilson; 2008 p. 58)

I have used secondary qualitative research methods to investigate three specific case studies that represent three disparate points on the core-periphery spectrum. This comparison is “especially well-suited for the task of building new theories and synthesizing existing theories” (Ragin, 1987 p.16), and provides the primary basis for “empirical generalization” (Ragin, 1987 p. 30).

I need to address three specific elements within the research question at the centre of this thesis. The first is the value rationality of my research question that conveys my belief that Indigenous populations should be agents of an endogenous development and delineates the research as essentially normative. The second is the complexity of the

question as it relates to agency. Agency as it relates to power within a system is addressed by the use of my universal-particular analytical model. The third is the research outcome of conceptualizing an education process. This conceptualization will be characterized at the conclusion of the study, by guiding concepts that are useful to consider when designing and implementing an education process that would allow Indigenous populations to be agents of an endogenous development.

3.5.1 Normative Research Approach:

In the introduction to this study, I outlined the assumption of the intrinsic value of diversity to humankind. It is the expression of this intrinsic value that positions us in the normative approach because the “. . . normative case study does not contribute to explanatory theory. . . Instead it contributes to normative theory – to views about the ideals and obligations we should accept. . .” (Thatcher, 2006 p. 1635).

As with any discipline, the normative research approach has its particular defining attributes and language. In order to facilitate a greater understanding of this approach it is important to define some of the key terms and situate my research within them. To this end I will be discussing striking a committed pose, thick ethical concepts, value rationality, and reflective equilibrium.

The “. . . normative case study strikes the committed pose; it typically tries to convince its readers that they should *change* the way they think . . .” (Thatcher, 2006 p. 1637). Guba, (1985 p. 37) would suggest that the “Inquiry is value-bound.” In this study I have struck the committed pose, I am committed to a critical evaluation of normative education process typical of Western models, and its impacts on diversity around the

world. I have structured the research around this committed pose by founding this study on the assumption of the intrinsic value of diversity and relationality.

Throughout this research I discuss thick ethical concepts such as self-determination that “ have both descriptive and evaluative dimensions that cannot be disentangled” (Ibid p. 1632). The normative approach is particularly useful for analysis of these thick ethical concepts and contributes to value rationality which unlike “instrumental rationality which identifies the best means to a given ends” (Ibid, 1632), determines the ends themselves. The expressed purpose of this study is defined by its assumptions and the preservation of diversity as an end itself, that is, it is valuable even if there are no sentient beings to value it.

Lastly, reflective equilibrium forms the foundation of an analysis within the normative approach.

The method of reflective equilibrium rests on the idea that we try to criticize, clarify, and improve our existing views about normative ideals by reflecting on the implications they have for other convictions. In the process, we try to bring everything into harmony by modifying convictions that come to seem misguided once we have come to examine them in the light of other commitments . . .(Thatcher, 2006 p. 1647)

The Instrument or agent within this analytic process is the researcher themselves. While I have introduced reflective equilibrium here, I will discuss my suitability as the instrument within this study, as well as the analytical process in greater detail within the subsequent analysis of the data section.

3.5.2 *Units of Analysis:*

“When an abstract concept is applicable across multiple units of analysis, a researcher must decide explicitly the unit he or she wants to focus on” (Neuman, 2010 p.

58). While most noncomparative researchers are able to analyze and explain their research “at one level, the individual, or organizational level. This is rarely the case in comparative social science, where the analysis often proceeds at one level (perhaps the individual level,) and the explanation is couched at another level (usually the macro social level)” (Ragin, 1987 p. 8).

In this study, my secondary sources provided data from the social level ranging from the individual, through the communal, to the national. In each instance the analysis was undertaken as a study of the interactions between the universal and the particular. The level of explanation is done at the macrosocial level, where I have framed any findings within the context of the universal and particular (Hopkins, 1982).

The cases in this comparative study were selected on two specific criteria; each case demarcates an Indigenous people as defining particular attributes, manifest Indigeneity, and that each case study represents a particular position on the core-periphery spectrum. I have chosen Indigenous groups specifically because “[t]heir continued existence and their struggle for autonomy underscore that not only is there an alternative to global capitalism, there are literally thousands of alternatives” (Hall, 2009 p. 14) and to reiterate (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000 p. x) “Indigenous peoples and minorities are the main bearers of linguistic and cultural diversity in the world.” Furthermore, each case is illustrative of a distinctive zone within the core and periphery spectrum. The position each case study occupies is determined by the agency expressed or internalized by the Indigenous peoples through their axiological preferences. Consequently, “each case is a representative of a distinct theoretical type. Thus differences between the cases . . . overwhelm their similarities” (Ragin, 1987 p. 35). However, this intentional choice for

distinctive theoretical types, that are Indigenous and represent varying degrees of actualized agency, is valuable because the diversity of experience, once analyzed, will provide a more holistic conceptualization of the theoretical and operational features of education and indigenous endogenous development.

3.5.3 Case Studies:

I will be using, for the purposes of illustration, three case studies each of which has its own particular significances, each of which will contribute to an illumination of the indigenous education problematic of endogenous development. The specifics on the process used to justify the definition and operationalization of the case studies used in this thesis were defined in significant detail earlier in this chapter, and will not be revisited here. Instead, a brief overview for the purposes of demonstrating the methodological significance of each case study will be presented.

To this end, the first case study is the Karretjiemense, descendants of the San of Southern Africa. I intend to, through the inclusion of the Karretjiemense of the Karoo, access information regarding life, education, and the assertion of the particular within a social group who predominantly lives in abject socio-economic poverty. The Karretjiemense would illustrate a case of an indigenous group on the periphery.

Adults, within the Karretjie communities, express the desire for their children to be able to access work positions that are fundamentally different to their own, explaining that they would like their children to engage in *sitwerk* (sitting work) as opposed to *standwerk* (standing work). This process is an idiosyncratic representation of the interface as represented in my universal-particular model. The dynamic antagonism

within this decision-making has implications for Skutnabb-Kangas' (2000) desired diversity, and characterizes the theme that I explore in this study.

The second case study is of the Māori people of Aotearoa/New Zealand. In this study, I will explore an indigenous group whose recent experiences in self-determination and socio-cultural preservation are marked by significant access to, and incorporation of, universal norms with their associated rights. The Māori people case study will be used to illustrate an example of an indigenous group who are no longer on the periphery, but also do not have the requisite legitimacy typically ascribed to core membership within a national context. The Maori people case study reveals a belief that “[r]ights need to be demanded and proclaimed. Indeed, there is something about rights that needs to be appropriated by those who exercise them. . . Rights have to be used and internalised . . . [and] made real by being spoken into existence by those who would have them. Without that prior speaking they are not yet existent” (Davies, 2008). This vital agency speaks to the Maori people’s initiative within their wananga (Maori peoples tertiary institutions) to promote critical literacy as a means of critiquing the status –quo (Zepke, 2011). However, Zepke outlines tensions between Maori peoples particularism and economic universalism and insists that “innovation and presently unknown ways of educating “will emerge out of such tensions” (2011 p. 441). This explanation of the emergence construct is representative of the dynamic nature of emergent innovation within the contested universal particular interface as it is used in this study.

The third case study is a social group in active engagement with the national policy of plurinationalism in Bolivia. This case study exemplifies indigenous groups

who occupy a core position with the national legitimacy to determine and reify knowledge within their context. Like the Maori people of Aotearoa/New Zealand, there is a significant archive of materials written in English that I accessed for use for my research. Of particular interest to me, for providing a broad contextual understanding, is William Powers (2006) *Whispering in the Giant's Ear: A Frontline Chronicle from Bolivia's War on Globalization*. Salinas and Nunez work on educational reform in Bolivia is intriguing as they outline an educational structure that has a common core and diversified branches. "The common core reflects national and universal social needs, based on the skills required by all bolivian students. The diversified branches supplement by taking into account the needs that arise in specific socio-cultural and linguistic contexts" (Salinas, March 2000 p. 113).

Investigating what Salinas (2000) considers to be a universal social need affirms the rationale in my universal-particular model of incorporating universal values. Investigating how they operationalise this core with diversified branches structure of education, and contrasting how it might be utilised in a dissimilar context will facilitate the necessary reflection required by my analytical process of reflective equilibrium.

3.5.4 Analysis of the data:

The analysis of the data within this study will rely on reflective equilibrium. Reiterating the definition of this concept will be useful to help in understanding my position as the instrument conducting the analysis of the secondary sources for this thesis. To this end, reflective equilibrium can be understood as:

The method of reflective equilibrium rests on the idea that we try to criticize, clarify, and improve our existing views about normative ideals by reflecting on the implications they have for other convictions. In the

process, we try to bring everything into harmony by modifying convictions that come to seem misguided once we have come to examine them in the light of other commitments . . . (Thatcher, 2006 p. 1647).

“There is nothing rigid about this process: no formula can say definitively how someone should resolve the conflicts that reflection will invariably uncover” (Thatcher, 2006 p. 1649). As the instrument within this normative study I should qualify my abilities to act as the arbiter of conflicting convictions, and define the theoretical normative that represents my current accepted conviction. As I have previously mentioned my personal experiences living in Attawapiskat, I feel that a presentation of the conceptual model that will be guiding my reflections will be useful. In this section I will discuss a model of the Universal/particular interface for endogenous development through education.

3.5.6 A New Model of the Global/Local Interface for Endogenous Development through Education:

In the introduction, I discussed how Western particularism is characterised by a universalizing principle. This was illustrated through the example of the homogenizing effects of Euro-Western education within exogenous development contexts. Furthermore, I outlined how endogenous development and education facilitated the perpetuation of knowledge particular to each endogenous context. Because of the universalising nature of Western particularism, I propose a conceptualization a model that represents a dynamic negotiation between Universalizing structures and Particularizing structures. This conceptualization is presented in the following model:

UNIVERSALISM → INTERFACE ← PARTICULARISM

When conceptualizing this dynamic model, I extracted the concept of the peripheral normal, and the core from world systems theory (Wallerstein, 2010), and communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991), to imagine each as autonomous agents interacting through a dynamic interface. This conceptualization opposes previous conceptualizations of knowledge creation and dissemination, where stable core peripheral relations predicated on power differentials preclude movement within the structure. A second element that is essential to understanding the dynamic nature of the relationship within the binary, is acknowledging the capability of the particular in assimilating values from the universal, without being assimilated themselves. I hypothesise that this can be the mechanism through which the particular accesses power in order to generate agency within the binary. Furthermore, these universal attributes could be representative of catalytic attributes, which Tucker (1999) suggests, may allow access to agency.

In order to conceptualise the dynamic between global hegemony and cultural marginalisation as it is put forth in this paper, it is important to be familiar with the terms global hegemony as defined by the universal, and cultural marginalisation as particularism, and the site of everyday struggle between the universal and the particular, called the interface.

3.5.6a The Interface:

The contrasting policy goals, as they are represented in this study, must be envisaged through the global structure of inequality, often referred to as core and periphery, that forms the global foundation for unequal exchange. With this in mind, the purpose of this thesis is to explore the emergent construct of education within the context

and tensions of the interface inherent to the dynamic binary of the universal and the particular (as micro social embodiment of the core-periphery binary). This interface is filled with tension, and is the site and state of the everyday struggle; it is not static but is a manifestation of the various strategies that are used in attempts to articulate on an individual, communal, and even societal level, the compromises inherent in the socio-educational contract (Zepke, 2011). It is the space where participants discern a “critical way of comprehending and of realizing the reading of the word and that of the world, the reading of the text and of context.” (Freire, 1968). It is a space where alternatives are sought, where deviation allows for a renegotiation and a rewriting of the text, and consequently the context.

Investigating the interface is an investigation of power (Blommaert et al., 2006). It is through looking at the interface within the context of the core and the periphery binary that an exploration of the assertion and/or relinquishment of power begins. This struggle when contextualized in the core periphery binary is one where the core embodies an assimilative, homogenizing and expansive power that seeks to stabilize the dynamic nature of the core periphery binary.

First, I need to address the issue of scale. This study’s analysis, as is discussed in the previous section, occurs at the micro social level while the explanation occurs at a macro social level (Ragin, 1987). To this end, the universal and the particular represent respectively, the core and periphery at a micro social level. At the macro social level within world system theory, the core and periphery represent “an ever present division of centres and hinterlands . . . united and reproduced through processes of capital accumulation and unequal exchange” (Hopkins, 1982 p. 42).

Wallerstein (2010) describes a predilection for stability at the macro social scale when, in his world systems theory, he outlines how cyclical capitalist crises are remediated through the rearrangement of spatial hierarchies both internally and, through expansion outward, spatially. He asserts that the geographical/spatial limits were reached by the beginning of the twentieth century. However, “[i]n the case of internal expansion, there is still much room.” (Wallerstein, 2010 p.175). This room for internal expansion is the space in which the homogenizing Education for All program helps to free the markets “via the steady proletarianization of semi-proleterian labour” (Wallerstein, 2010 p. 175). This internal expansion while speaking directly to the metaphysical discussion of the accountability to the space within (Lehman, 1997 p. 355) also correlates to Friedman’s discussion of reducing frictions and inefficiencies in the global market. One of the inefficiencies discussed is culture. Friedman states in a global marketplace the more economic “forces reduce friction and barriers, the sharper the challenge they will pose to . . . the particular cultures” (Friedman, 2005 p. 204-205). While these insights explain the expansionist nature of the hegemonic capitalist core, they also represents an important recapitulation of the inherent value of diversity.

A concrete example of this struggle is when standardized curricula are presented to indigenous schools, with the ideal normative intentions of improving literacy, numeracy, etc. (Archer, 2005). But, the curriculum becomes the text that omits the indigenous particular, and instead defines their world through a universal normative lens. The acceptance of this normative curricular text necessitates is an acceptance of the reality that it defines. A reality where an individual’s pursuit of the normative capabilities (Sen, 1999), defined through hegemonic curricula, initiates the decline,

through a thousand cuts (Nicholls, 2008), of that collective's autonomy and indigenous culture. For "[h]e who lets the world. . . choose his plan of life for him has no need of any other faculty than the ape-like one of imitation" (Mill, 1947 p. 58).

Wallerstein's (2010) explanation of the dynamic nature of the core periphery binary reflects an understanding of a stable system as understood through a macro social lens. That is to say that the process of core expansion into and annexation of the periphery is stable in its continuity. Zepke (2011) supplements the conceptualization of this stability when he describes two zones within which the emergence construct of complexity thinking can be applied. The "relatively stable zone- where no matter what the tensions, there is an eventual return to an initial equilibrium. The other is an instability zone where even a small disturbance leads to a break from the starting point." (Zepke, 2011 p. 440). I contend that Zepke's zones of stability and instability reflect a contrast between the macro social and the micro social scale; for the individual often acts within a context constructed through external, macro social mechanisms that resist individual efforts of transformation.

Utilizing scale in this way, might allow one to attempt to determine which of Zepke's zones a specific interaction might be situated, however, since instability may be precipitated through multiple conjunctural causation, this cannot be determined with any certainty. This being noted, the fact that Wallerstein states that there is "much room" for internal expansion suggests that the core and periphery, as a consequence of their macrosocial scale as described within this study, are operating within the "relatively stable zone". Inversely, within the context of the micro social, of the particular and the universal, small disturbances might lead to a break from the starting point; where critical

education may emancipate an individual, creating a break from the starting point, while the overarching core/periphery structure still remains stable.

Investigating the universal and the particular in more detail more clearly defines the attributes of each, and determine their significance within a context of indigenous education for endogenous development.

3.5.6 b The Universal:

“The West must represent the moment of the universal under which particulars are subsumed. Indeed, the west is particular in itself, but it also constitutes the universal point of reference in relation to which others recognise themselves as particularities. In this regard, the West thinks itself to be ubiquitous.” (Sakai, 1997 p. 155). Talcott Parsons a pioneering advocate of universal human experiences, (1964) discussed universals in his conceptualizations of social evolution. He and his contemporaries envisaged a linear progression through which society and its attendant institutions should evolve in order to become modern. The culmination of this social evolutionary process was considered a “democratic association with elective leadership and fully enfranchised membership” and a “generalized universalistic legal order” (Parsons, 1964 p. 353). Glyn Williams also ascribes some “universal principles of modernity-civil rights, equality . . .” etc. (Williams, 2010 p. 204). It is worth noting that both Parsons and Williams in ascribing modern status to some societies, have, perhaps inadvertently, ascribed premodern or nonmodern status to others. “Historically, modernity has primarily been opposed to its historical precedent; geopolitically, it has been contrasted to the nonmodern, or, more specifically, to the non-West” (Sakai, 1997 p. 154). As a consequence of the unilinearity inherent in these conceptions of social evolution, the trajectory of Western social

development is espoused as the universal trajectory. Universalism in these instances discreetly conveys a normative value.

However, “a rising tide lifts all boats” While David Kinley (Kinley, 2009 p. 43) does not err from the economic connotations implicit in J. F. Kennedy’s original use of this tidal idiom, it is useful to situate this metaphor within the discussion of the universal where some universal attributes can be viewed as an achievement for all humanity. To this end, Micheline Ishay (2004 p. 60) explains how Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism “share basic views of a common good, thereby reinforcing the Socratic argument for a universal goodness. They all urge protection for the poor, the disabled, the sick, and the powerless, praise good and impartial rulings, encourage some forms of social and economic justice, condemn arbitrary killing, offer moral prescriptions for wartime, and so forth.”

I consequently support Plato and Socrate’s refutation of “the sophists claim that goodness and justice are relative to the customs of each society” (Ishay, 2004 p. 23), and would like to shift the subject position within the conceptualization of the universal (Colectivo Situaciones, 2007). So instead of suggesting that they are just like us, we can state that “[w]e are just like them” – [and] the centrality of us is not ensured, that is, the inferiority in the power of us is instituted instead of the superiority” (Sakai, 1997 p. 165). While this seems like a semantic realignment, it shifts the traditional conception of the universal toward what has conventionally been viewed as “other”. My intention in addressing this shift is to suggest that universal attributes have been coopted from the general human experience, and do not fall under the sole jurisdiction of the intellectual archive of the West. So instead of a UN declaration of indigenous rights, one might

envisage a reassertion of obligations within a specific indigenous context. This would shift the perspective on prescriptive paternalistic connotations of “rights discourse” and realign control, and legitimation of communal participation to particular Indigenous communities.

Another more grounded reference for the validity of a universalised norm is “[a] norm is valid when the foreseeable consequences and side effects of its general observance for the interests and value-orientations of *each individual* could be *jointly* accepted by *all* concerned without coercion” (Habermas, 1998 p. 42). This understandings of universalism informs my subsequent discussion of the particular.

3.5.6c The Particular:

“It is the construction of a collective will through difference” (Hall, 1991 p. 59), or particularism is as Gilbert Harman (2005 p. 44), when defining particularism within the context of morality succinctly states, “[m]oral particularism rejects moral generalism”, however, in saying this he does acknowledge a spectrum of particularism with stronger and weaker versions.

In qualifying a definition for particularism as it will be used in this study, I will draw upon a deconstructive method where all acts of signification depend on difference where “what is voiced is marked by all the sounds that are not voiced; the presence of the sound is a product of unvoiced contrasting sounds, a product of differences” (Marglin, 1990 p. 103).

Cultures are dynamic. In order to allow for dynamism and development within communities, change needs to occur. It is my intent to ascertain a strategy that would

allow cultural communities to be the agents determining the change that they choose to adopt. In order to fulfill this role effectively, these communities will need to be fully informed of the ramifications of the paths they choose. To this end the educational processes, and contexts these communities choose to adopt will emerge in proportion to their conscientização (Freire, 1968). Thus, a perfect model cannot be defined or decreed, but conceptual guidelines outlining an education that allows cultural communities to be the agents, determining the change, can be drawn into a framework that can act as the foundation and guide informing decisions within the attempts at reflective equilibrium.

4. The King is Dead. Long Live the King.

The March of Indigenous dignity cannot be carried out just by the Indigenous. The March of Indigenous dignity must be the march of the Indigenous and the nonindigenous (Marcos, 2007, p. 97).

Sartre argues that the only reality by which man can be conceived as existing lies in “how he acts and what he does” (1946, p. 17).

4.1 Introduction:

There is a lot of literature that focusses on the process of decolonizing indigenous practices, intelligibilities, and ways of knowing and doing (Chilisa, 2012; Geniusz, 2009; Smith, 1999). I support the intellectual basis of these interests, the basis of promoting cultural viability, reclaiming ontologies, and ensuring diversity. But, pragmatically, these conceptions are difficult, if not impossible to operationalize in a viable and sustainable way. The purpose of this chapter is to propose an avenue for exploration that might allow for cultural change while maintaining cultural viability.

“Humans are by nature cultural animals: we necessarily inhabit a way of life that is expressed in a culture. But our way of life—whatever it is—is vulnerable in various ways. And we, as participants in that way of life, thereby inherit a vulnerability. Should that way of life break down, that is our problem?” (Lear, 2006, p. 6) Marshall Sahlins restates this premise more colloquially when he suggests that every culture is a “gamble played with nature” (Layton, 1997, p. 96). The success of this gamble determines the viability of the culture, and “[t]he principal way agrarian societies had of determining how well they were functioning was through success or failure in warfare.” (Chirot, 2012). However, the arbiter of cultural viability in “[t]he time space of today’s moment . . . is one of choice” (Stewart-Harawira, 2005, p. 249). Choice as it is manifest by

axiological preferences, choices that initiate shifts in ontologies and world systems, choices that allow us to “determine for ourselves the kind of world system we want and the means by which we may most likely get there” (Ibid, p.249). To understand these choices, and the agentic roles within this time space of transformation, an investigation of “the ontologies and epistemologies that support the current structure of the world order” is critical. (Stewart-Harawira, 2005, p. 19). “Thus, if we are competent in our pursuit (which must be presupposed here) we can force the individual, or at least we can help him, to give himself an *account of the ultimate meaning of his own conduct.*”(Weber, 1946, p. 152). In this paper, I will explore the extent of the influence axiological preferences as they are expressed in everyday choices, and define the conceptual mechanisms that influence individual, communal, and cultural responses and capabilities that allow for the institution of control over cultural change. The capability to define and be accountable for this change allows communities to constitute the ultimate meaning of their own conduct. Kate Distin (2011) espouses that “culture, like nature, is the product of evolved information.” (p. 231), this evolved information reconstitutes culture so that culture as it will be discussed in this thesis is in a constant state of being and becoming. The discussion and the questions raised in this paper can be contextualized further, in the broader research, by Descolat’s timely (2013) and pressing statement that suggests that:

[o]ne can surmise that all of the schemes available to humanity for defining relationships with the components of the world exist under mental structures, partly innate, partly stemming from the properties of social life. But, these structures are not all compatible with each other, so that every cultural system, and each type of social organization, is the product of a triage. . To specify the

nature of these elements, to elucidate their rules of composition . . . is the task that anthropology should set itself as a priority (pp.87-88).

To this end, I will focus on disaggregating the complexities of ontological and cultural change by defining and contextualizing the concepts of the middle ground, opportunity and imperatives, ontological vulnerability, noetic space, and cultural revalorization using Western and Indigenous examples. While I present each of these concepts individually, it is important to note that each concept presented is contextualized by the subsequent explanation of a related concept. The culmination of this process is a holistic understanding of each term as it relates to the others; to a large extent, this paper constitutes a progressive refinement of these terms. Further to this end, I will discuss the foundations of Western and Indigenous ontologies, and their respective evolutions culminating in their position within the “disorder and uncertainty of the contemporary moment” (Stewart-Harawira, 2005, p. 32) so that we can establish cultural revalorization and heuristic education as the mechanisms that “reinvigorate a genuine tradition”. (Lear, 2006, p.152).

4.2 Defining the Concepts/Terms:

There are a number of terms within the subject of cultural change, as it will be discussed in this paper, which require explanation. The concepts are similar enough that unless clear distinctions are made to differentiate the conceptual and practical nuances, no lucid discussion will be possible.

4.2.1 The Middle Ground

The middle ground as Richard White first conceptualized it emerged primarily as a consequence of early 18th century trade amongst French colonial agents and Indigenous

Algonquians. The middle ground was a space where common meaning and accommodation could be made. This space was co-constructed for the benefit of each stakeholder. However, in the epilogue to his book, White explains that “[f]or Algonquians, history had long been the realm in which dreams and myths took on tangible forms. But history- because the Europeans had appeared and because the middle ground existed- was also the realm in which dreams had to be tested against both contingent events and the competing conceptions of people to whom dreams did not matter.” (White, 2011, p. 523) The shift in the terrain of the middle ground characterizes/demonstrates an agentive shift in the capability of the Algonquians to act on opportunities as opposed to responding to economic imperatives. Whites description of the process of creating the middle ground as an “initial search for common meaning and accommodation between the Europeans and Indians [sic] of the 17th century reflects the inclination to find ways of improving . . . to enhance the productivity of labour”, but also the “biological imperatives that come from the need for survival” that “force human beings into certain sorts of economic and institutional arrangements that cannot be altered without threatening the survival of the entire society.” (Chirot, 2012, pp. 131-132). The middle-ground, as it is described in the context of Algonquian and French interactions in the early 18th century, exists within the broader context of “geographic expansion” (Wallerstein, 2010). This geographic expansion, as Wallerstein describes it, is the geographic expansion of capitalism. This expansion only required that communities exploit the opportunities presented by the capitalist system without subjecting themselves to the economic imperatives that were associated with subsequent internal expansion. The elements of cultural imperialism that are integral to internal

expansion were minimized during the period of geographic expansion, so that the middle ground could in fact be a cultural space that could be co-constructed.

However, the opportunities presented through geographically expanding capitalism acted as a Trojan horse for the subsequent imposition of capitalism's imperatives. Meiksins Wood in her book *The Origins of Capitalism* contributes to the distinction of opportunities and imperatives when she discusses the various accounts to explain the emergence of "capitalism and its distinctive drive to maximize profit" (p. 3). She explains that

[c]entral to these conventional accounts of history are certain assumptions, explicit or implicit, about human nature and about how human beings will behave, if only given the chance. They will, the story goes, always avail themselves of the opportunity to maximize profit through acts of exchange, and in order to realize that natural inclination, they will always find ways of improving the organization and instruments of work in order to enhance the productivity of labour (Meiksins Wood, 1999, p. 5).

So, for Meiksins Wood it was inevitable that the co-constructed and cooperative middle ground should succumb to the inclination to enhance the productivity of labour. While economic forces may have driven this inevitability, these forces, as Chirot (2012) suggests, were embodied in military success. Military success that destroyed the middle ground in bits and pieces, so that even after a brief resurgence, the middle ground "died in battle with Tecumseh" (White, 2011, p. 517)

In this context, while the Algonquian was engaged in a gamble of capitalizing on opportunities, "there was a different kind of gamble that they didn't understand: a gamble with necessity. This is a gamble that the entire field of possibilities will remain stable; that one will continue to be able to judge success or failure in its terms. This is what came

under pressure.” (Lear, 2006 p. 26). So while the Algonquians were utilizing their ontology to co-construct a middle ground with the French that required them to gamble by reconstituting their axiological preferences in their social, economic, and environmental relations, they were overwhelmed by their inability to defend, against the internal expansion associated with economic imperatives, the contexts that provided intelligibility to their culture’s manifested basic commitments, their cultural canons.

The creation of the middle ground and its subsequent erosion clearly represent how “cultures, that is, ideas about what is right and wrong as well as knowledge about the environment, are always changing.” (Chirot, 2012, p. 136). Maintaining agency in determining the extent and trajectory of change within one’s culture, and inter-cultural relations is essential in perpetuating one’s cultural world view-ontology. Meiksins Wood provides insight into the conception of economic forces as an opportunity or imperative, two terms that embody the contrasting subjective orientations of “agent of opportunity” or “subject of imperative.”(Meiksins Wood, 1999, p. 47).

It was through the transition from agent to subject on the terrain of the middle ground that facilitated the decline of Algonquian cultural viability and their influence in the socio-political affairs of French and later British North America. A more comprehensive understanding of the concepts of opportunity and imperative will be the focus of the next section.

4.2.2 Opportunity versus Imperative:

Shakespeare understood economic imperatives when he penned, “My poverty, but not my will consents” (Romeo and Juliette Act 5 Scene 1.) For, if poverty consents the subject

of an imperative will determine the axiological preference that is expressed. But, if the will consents, an agent of opportunity will determine the axiological preference. To understand this differentiation more fully, an understanding of the essential secret of capitalism needs to be identified. To this end, Meiksins Wood (1999) explains, “Capitalism was born at the very core of human life, in the interaction with nature on which life itself depends, and the transformation of that interaction by agrarian capitalism revealed the inherently destructive impulses of a system in which the fundamentals of existence are subjected to the requirements of profit.” (Meiksins Wood, 1999, p. 118). These origins with their commodification of the fundamentals of existence reveal the magnitude and severity of decision making within a sphere influenced primarily by the generation of profit. But, it is important to note that the fundamentals of existence are intrinsic to, and are operationalized in the practical human sphere, with all its attendant human consequences, through everyday expressions of axiological preferences. The operationalization of axiological preferences requires that I engage in what Wallerstein defines as “an exercise of utopics, of deciding on the basis of substantive rationality our goals for the future and the best means of getting there.” (Stewart-Harawira, 2005, p. 32). This concept of utopics presents a restricted and even privileged position of the subject because Wallerstein presumes the normative value of rationality and disregards alternate approaches to determining “goals for the future, and the best means of getting there.” Within this response to Wallerstein’s assumption lies the key to the heterogeneous cultural reactions to opportunities and imperatives. For many cultures may have the epistemological tools for recognizing and exploiting opportunities, but maybe, like the Algonquian and many others, they are vulnerable to their attendant imperatives.

Meiksins Wood further clarifies this propensity toward being vulnerable to imperatives when she states:

The market implies offering and choice. What, then are market forces? Doesn't force imply coercion? In capitalist ideology, the market implies not compulsion but freedom. At the same time, this freedom is guaranteed by certain mechanisms that ensure a rational economy, where supply meets demand, putting on offer commodities and services that people will freely choose. These mechanisms are the impersonal forces of the market, and if they are in any way coercive, it is simply in the sense that they compel actors to act rationally so as to maximize choice and opportunity... So what is wrong with this conception? . . . But what may not always be so clear, even in socialist accounts of the market, is that the distinctive and dominant characteristic of the capitalist market is not opportunity or choice but, on the contrary, compulsion. This is so in two senses: first, that material life and social reproduction in capitalism are universally mediated by the market, so that all individuals must in one way or another enter into market relations in order to gain access to the means of life; and second, that the dictates of the capitalist market- its imperatives of competition, accumulation, profit maximization, and increasing labour productivity –regulate not only all economic transactions but social relations in general. (Meiksens Wood, 1999, pp. 6-7).

Max Weber (1946) in a discussion on Science as Vocation outlines a train of thought that is similar in terms of accepting imperative means to achieve desired ends. This discussion is a useful one for the context of this paper because it contextualizes the ethical scenario in terms of operationalizing mechanisms that might provide for an ultimate understanding of conduct. Even though Weber, like Wallerstein, and Meiksins Wood, normalizes scientific rationality, if his discussion is considered through a lens of opportunity and imperative, a dimension of imperative not addressed in Wallerstein's utopics is exposed. This dimension of imperative and potential discord is eloquently outlined when Weber states:

[i]f you take such and such a stand, then, according to scientific experience, you have to use such and such a means in order to carry out your conviction practically. Now, these means are perhaps such that you believe you must reject them. Then you simply must choose between the end and the inevitable means. Does the end ‘justify’ the means? Or does it not? The teacher can confront you with the necessity of this choice. He cannot do more, so long as he wishes to remain a teacher and not to become a demagogue. He can, of course, also tell you that if you want such and such an end, then you must take into the bargain the subsidiary consequences which according to all experience will occur (Weber, 1946, p. 151).

While Wallerstein's concept of utopics is useful and suffices for a discussion on opportunity, it lacks complexity when addressing imperatives that undermine the rational decision-making associated with the choices inherent to the utopic model. These “decisions”, facilitate internal expansion with the attendant “expansion of capitalist imperatives throughout the world [that] has regularly reproduced effects that it had at the beginning within its country of origin: dispossession, extinction of customary property rights, the imposition of market imperatives, and environmental destruction.” (Gladwin, 1970, p. 118) These changes in the socio-economic and environmental context have proportional impacts in a holistic sense, on the epistemologies of the affected groups. These altered epistemologies can stimulate ontological vulnerability.

4.2.3 Ontological Vulnerability

Jonathan Lear (2006) wrote about a North American Indigenous group called the Crow. In his book, *Radical Hope*, he discusses a revered Crow leader's utterance “after that nothing happened.” Lear explains the profound immensity of this brief statement in the book.

The following lengthy excerpt captures the leitmotif of his work:

[w]e do not grasp the devastation that the Crow endured so long as we think the issue is who gets to tell the story. For the problem goes deeper than competing narratives. The issue is that the Crow have lost the concepts with which they construct a narrative. This is the real loss, not just one that is described from a certain point of view. It is the loss of a point of view. This is the confusion of the young man who takes the horse (a traditional Crow action for gaining prestige or coups within the tribe): he has not yet recognized this loss. For an act is not constituted merely by the physical movements of the actor: it gains its identity via its location in a conceptual world. And it is the world which has broken down . . . Their problem, then, was not simply that they could not pursue happiness in the traditional ways. Rather, their conception of what happiness is could no longer be lived. The characteristic activities that used to constitute the good life ceased to be intelligible acts. A crucial blow to their happiness was a loss of the concepts with which their happiness had been understood (Lear, 2006 pp. 32 and 55 parenthesis added).

So far, the discussion in this chapter has centered on Wallerstein's conception of geographic and internal expansion as it has been articulated by Whites discussion of the closing of the middle ground, and Meiksins Wood's discussion of the subjective role inherent to opportunities and imperatives. The cultural vulnerability that occurs because of the economic forces instituting social, environmental, and consequently epistemological change exposes the vulnerability of ontology and its associated culture. The destruction of the context that might support specific axiological preferences renders the destruction of the ontology that the sum of those preferences constitutes. Lear (2006) described how Crow, "lives were organized in ways that manifested certain basic commitments." (p.25). A breakdown of the context that provides intelligibility to the cultural acts, as the manifested basic commitments of a people, constitutes the loss of their concrete and conceptual worlds. The loss of a culture's concrete and conceptual

world is obviously catastrophic. However, superficial comparisons will demonstrate that some cultures seem capable of incorporating cultural change without suffering from the catastrophic cultural consequences outlined above.

Gladwin (1970) explored one such culture. In preparing his readers for his exploration and explanation of the Puluwat, Gladwin invites us to contemplate the consequences of a life that lacks cultural contextual intelligibility, a viable ontology, when he states, “[w]hat good is it that a man lives if he is not true to his nature?” (p. 32). Gladwin recognizes that this is the antithesis of the culture that he observed, and goes on to explain how the Puluwat culture was organized in ways that manifested certain basic commitments. He explains that “[w]ithout its sailing canoes and seafaring men Puluwat would have no past and no future. So with every voyage, and only through each voyage, its worth is renewed and its destiny fulfilled.” (p. 64). The description of this context is important because Gladwin goes on to suggest that we should “marvel at a people who can so pragmatically assess elements in their traditional way of life which are not in harmony with some new force, and without rancor or dissonance abandon them” (p.20). However, a critical element that Gladwin fails to perceive is that the adopted or disregarded customs and practices in no way influenced the Puluwat’s sailing canoes or their voyages. The changes that the Puluwat embraced did not threaten the viability of the basic commitments, the canon that formed the foundation of Puluwat ontology. Consequently, any change not directly affecting the sailing canoes and their voyages were inconsequential and could be discarded with “a sense of relief that another burdensome practice was gone” (p. 20). This distinction outlines how axiological preferences can

influence culture while not initiating ontological vulnerability so long as the culture's manifested basic commitments are not threatened.

In some instances, such as that of the Algonquian and the Crow, the culture's basic commitments/canon are challenged through the incorporation of cultural change through either opportunity or imperative. In these instances, a negotiation to maintain the integrity of the cultural canon is required. The negotiation that allows for viable cultural evolution occurs within a culture's noetic space.

4.2.4 Noetic Space

G This noetic space “contains an assembly of possible-world constituencies, each animated to modify, bypass, or even destroy the existing canonical order—and sometimes one another.” (Ibid, p. 236). The vibrancy of a culture's noetic space will directly affect that culture's capability of accommodating challenges to its ontology, and limit catastrophic ontological vulnerabilities. In the example of the Crow, that Lear (2006) introduced, an agent within the Crow noetic space who “is straining to live, and to help others, in a worthwhile way” can no longer question “How shall I, as a Crow, go on?” but “What shall it be for me to go on as a Crow?” (Lear, 2006 p. 48). This semantic shift denotes that the subject, in order to maintain an agentive role, is required to renegotiate cultural canons within a new context in order to maintain the intelligibility of cultural acts. This negotiation of cultural canons explains why “for example, neither family structures or the old religions from the agrarian past that have successfully survived behave exactly the way they did centuries ago. In the very act of conserving themselves, they have actually adapted and provoked further change.” (Chirot, 2012, p.

137). Distin further explains how cultural knowledge may evolve, but still remain stable when she states that “[c]ultural information is expressed by human language users in a variety of ways, which influence the cultural information’s chances of survival and dissemination and may also have an impact on the receiver’s survival and reproductive hopes” (Distin, 2011, p. 186). Included within the techniques used to disseminate and perpetuate cultural knowledge that Distin describes is “a creative process of metarepresentation, in which links are made between the new information and other information that the receiver has acquired.” (Ibid, 186). This creative process is fundamental to a vibrant noetic space, a space where, if necessary, revalorization can occur.

4.2.5 Revalorization

“Revalorization (revalorización) or to revalue, is to assign a new value to something” (Eklund, 2006, p. 7). Eklund uses this word, as it is a term utilized by the participants in her study among the Aymara in Bolivia. But, she connotes its meaning to be similar to Healy’s (2001) concept of cultural revitalization. Cultural revitalization, as giving a material boost to indigenous resources to compensate for discrimination, falls far short of revaluing, or assigning a new value to something. In this regard, I think that Lear (2006) while he did not coin or use the term revalorization, generates a more substantive and accurate explanatory example of cultural revalorization when discussing the reconstitution of basic Crow commitments, the Crow cultural canon.

In this paper, I use Eklund’s (2006) term revalorization, but institute Lear’s (2006) more substantive conception of assigning new value. I will also, in this paper, assume like

Wallerstein and in many respects Meiksins Wood that the hegemony of the capitalist market system will prevail over dissimilar social economic constructions. That is not to say as Chirot suggests that “[e]conomists who believe that all societies are governed by the laws of the market make the error of forgetting that in many cases—for example, in the classical agrarian societies— political will and cultural value systems regularly overrode the forces of the market even if this slowed or completely reversed economic progress” and that “much of the gigantic effort made by communist societies to impose order on their people were deliberately designed to counter markets” (Chirot, 2012, p. 131). These efforts to counter the markets are born in a culture’s noetic space as mechanisms that would ensure cultural viability. White outlines the basic processes at work in the middle ground, which do not employ the noetic space as an arena to generate agency, when he states that “to succeed, those who operated on the middle ground had, of necessity, to attempt to understand the world and the reasoning of others and to assimilate enough of that reasoning to put it to their own purposes.” (White, 2011, p. 52). In the processes of the middle ground the role is that of an agent of opportunity, the lack of a vibrant noetic space within the Algonquian culture precipitated their inability to address imperatives as they subsequently arose; in contrast a vibrant noetic space would be the forum in which a revalorization of cultural canons could be constituted that would allow the participants to assert agency when responding to imperatives.

Thus, the process of maintaining a cultural identity while resisting Wallerstein’s internal expansion requires active assertion. Lear explains how “in contemporary American society there are categories such as black, African-American, Hispanic, Jew, gay—and

these identities are socially available categories, and one may be assigned to one irrespective of one's conscious choice" (pp.42-43). This process of being assigned to a social category irrespective of one's choice is typical of the passive role of one subject to an imperative. Lear describes the active role of inhabiting an identity when he describes an understanding of being a Crow warrior where it is

not just a matter of occupying the social role of Crow warrior. Nor was it merely a matter of being extremely good at being a Crow warrior. . . . That is, it was not enough merely to be very good at killing Sioux in battle, and so on. To be a Crow subject one had to fulfill these conditions, but one also needed to constitute oneself as a person for whom living up to the relevant ideals constituted who one was. This was more than a mere psychological matter of "identifying" oneself in a particular way. It required a steadfast commitment stretching over much of one's life to organize one's life in relation to those ideals (Ibid. 43).

Being aware of the cultural characteristics that constitutes one's canon allows for a more fully informed process of revalorization. Lear provides an exemplar for this process when he outlines three characteristics that constitute a vibrant culture. He outlines these characteristics within the context of the Crow culture. The three characteristics are:

1. Established social roles. These will include socially sanctioned forms of marriage, sexual reproduction, family, and clan; standard social positions such as warrior, squaw [sic], medicine man, and chief; ceremonial rituals; and so on.
2. Standards of excellence associated with these roles. These give us a sense of a culture's own ideals: what it would be, say, to be really outstanding as a chief, as a squaw [sic], as a warrior, as a medicine man.
3. The possibility of constituting oneself as a certain sort of person—namely, one who embodies those ideals. I shall call such a person a Crow subject. This is what young Plenty Coups aspired to: to be a chief, to be outstanding as chief, and thus to be a living embodiment of what it was to be a Crow (Ibid p. 42).

While these criteria for being a "Crow hung together unproblematically" and the "unquestioned cohesion of these criteria was a sign of the vibrancy" (Ibid. p.46) of

traditional life, there were significant challenges to these criteria as colonial expansion applied greater pressures to the Crow of the late 19th century. What Lear (2006) does not include in these three aforementioned cultural characteristics, but alludes to, is the essential need for the characteristic of a vibrant noetic space that allows for the reconstitution of the three ideals should axiological preferences result in the cultures ontology becoming threatened.

For the Crow of the mid 1800's the exploration of possibilities within the noetic space was strongly supported by "an established practice for pushing the limits of their understanding: they encouraged the younger members of the tribe (typically boys) to go off into nature and dream." (Lear, 2006, p. 66). The venerable Chief Plenty Coups went into nature, onto a mountaintop, to dream as a nine-year-old boy. "On the first night he had no dream, so he chopped off a piece of his finger to encourage a vision. Such behavior was not unusual . . . at the beginning of the twentieth century it was difficult to find an adult male Crow with all his digits" (Lear, 2006, p.66). While these practices may seem extreme, it is important to note that "[i]magination, like protest, gains intensity when it is channeled within a culture's recognized forms for challenging the canon" (Amsterdam, 2000, p. 237) and becomes within the larger scheme of maintaining a vibrant noetic space a mechanism that ensures the viability of a cultural ontology. So that the gamble *is* worth the reward. The revalorization of Crow cultural canons that coalesced around a possibility dreamed by the young Plenty Coups is credited with guaranteeing the vitality of Crow cultural survival within the context of an otherwise devastating colonial invasion.

In stark contrast, the Puluwat, of Gladwin's generation, certainly had the three cultural characteristics hanging together unproblematically; because the technological expertise manifest in Puluwat navigation practices were a central uncompromised cultural canon. Gladwin explains how "[t]he entire culture of Puluwat is organized to assure a favourable outcome. The navigator can be confident that when the time comes there will be no difficulties for which there is not a ready solution." (Gladwin, 1970, p. 56). While the context of this statement is one of inter-island voyaging and canoes, this is the only context that provides an intelligible context for Puluwat cultural practices. This context of navigation and voyaging is the only valid context, and forms a larger scheme of purposefulness from a Puluwat perspective. Lear (2006) provides an equivalent example from the Crow context where a Crow woman is preparing a meal "but she identifies the act by locating it in a larger scheme of purposefulness" and states, "I'm getting my husband ready for tomorrow's battle" (p.39). The essence of Crow culture survived through the revalorization of its ideals that was initiated after Plenty Coups childhood vision. But, the advent and proliferation of portable weatherproof Global Positioning Systems (GPS) in the last 15 years has presented a viable threat to the preeminent Puluwat context. Thus, the presence of a vibrant noetic space would be imperative for the Puluwat to have the capability to reconstitute the cultural canons to support the cultural characteristics they value within an evolved and more contested setting.

The concept of a noetic space is a viable intellectual conception. Amsterdam (2009) suggests mechanisms through which this space may be manifest, or operationalized. He presents the possibility of having the noetic space contain an assembly of possible –world

constituencies, and while he suggests somewhat ethnocentric presentations and manifestations of these constituencies, the conceptual basis of the constituencies within a noetic space is relevant. To this end, Amsterdam (2000) suggests that “constituencies” is a better term than “communities” because the latter connotes too much duration and structure. “Constituencies can be as episodic as a political rally, a freedom march, or a corporate retreat to a think tank. How these episodic rallyings become institutionalized and how, once institutionalized, constituencies achieve canonical status within a culture is, of course, the central topic of the study of social and political change.” (p. 236).

While actions/activities within the noetic space may challenge the canonical structures of the representative culture, these challenges constitute a forum within which the vitality of the culture is tempered. Lear describes the role of a Crow agent in this noetic space as a poet who “could take up the Crow past and—rather than use it for nostalgia or ersatz mimesis—project it into vibrant new ways for the Crow to live and to be. Here by “poet” [he] mean[s] in the broadest sense of a creative maker of meaningful space. The possibility for such a poet is precisely the possibility for the creation of a new field of possibilities.” (2006, p. 51).

Promoting a vital space for “poets”, a limitless noetic space is a primary concern for any culture looking to ensure its ontological viability. Developing the capability to imagine within this noetic space or developing “imaginative excellence” (Ferarri, 2002) is essential for participants who are engaged in the process of cultural revalorization within this space. Heuristic thinking as Gladwin defines it represents the central factor to this process of human intellectual development.

4.2.6 Heuristic Thinking

Gladwin explores ways of thinking in his book, *East is a Big Bird*. He suggests that heuristic thinking is the critical differentiating factor influencing the capability of an individual to generate novel solutions to previously unexplored problems. Heuristic thinking and generating novel solutions to previously unexplored problems is essential component of cultural revalorization, because participants within the noetic space would be addressing new contexts, new economic and social pressures, and new ontologies.

Cultural revalorization, as it has been discussed in this dissertation, is a mechanism through which central cultural canons can be reconstituted to serve the purpose of contextualizing the intelligibility of a culture's actions. In some instances, this process and the noetic space that forms its genesis is critical because "[n]o style of thinking will survive which cannot produce a useable product when survival is at stake" (Gladwin, 1970, p. 232). Jared Diamond in his book *Gun, Germs and Steel*, and more specifically in his book *Collapse* addresses issues of cultural survival. He outlines very specifically, the impact, and accident, that geography has on technology transfer, and the associated social conflict that these technologies introduce. He describes the rise and fall of numerous past societies with "the scale of their monumental ruins left behind . . . testifying to the former wealth and power of their builders. But, these cultures could not adequately negotiate change, and succumbed through pressures both foreign and domestic" (Diamond, 2006 p. 3). Chirot emphasizes the importance of the ability to evolve in accordance with external pressures, when he explicitly states, "[w]e can be sure without pressures of some kind, there would be virtually no social change. We also know that pressures manifest themselves as failures and that until recently, signals indicating

failures always took very unpleasant forms.” (Chirot, 2012, p. 136). Avoiding “unpleasant forms” of failure requires the constant attention of participants/agents within the noetic space and the cultural endorsement of channels through which the canon can be challenged. This is essential because “[t]here is absolutely no way of resolving this contradiction between the need to value institutional traditions worked out over long periods of time and the equally critical need to accept innovations and change other than through experimental trial and error.” (Chirot, 2012, p. 141). This experimental trial and error is the purview of heuristic thinking within the noetic space. This experimental trial and error is essential in addressing problems that had not previously been conceptualized by a group. Gladwin (1970) suggests that heuristic thinking which is “an experimental device . . . used only to solve novel problems” (Gladwin, 1970, p. 225), and is critical to determining the capability of an individual, and more broadly a society to innovate. Thus, heuristic thinking is an essential component to the thinking that should be relevant in the noetic space, and marks the genesis of cultural revalorization. However, “[w]e do not invent ourselves as we may wish” (Chirot, 2012, p. 132), so according to Gladwin, “[h]euristics come before all else in school for they are the intellectual building blocks of education. Teaching this style of thinking, when needed, should therefore be an end in itself, not an adjunct to teaching mathematics or any other subject. If a child has to try to learn both mathematics and heuristic thinking at one and the same time the chances are he will learn neither” (Gladwin, 1970, p. 231). This concept of heuristic thinking as the primary mechanism, and building block of education contravenes much of the literature and accepted contemporary development practice that insists on the inculcation of basic/primary literacy and numeracy on students within a formal learning context. This

assimilative learning context's drawbacks are threefold, firstly, the students are being culturally assimilated because they are not internalizing cultural capital indigenous to their community, secondly, they are not provided the opportunity to develop heuristic thinking that might be essential to their cultural noetic space, and ultimately cultural survival, and finally, the diversity of humanity is imperiled because “[a]s far as societies are concerned . . . the vitality and diversity of a culture and its resistance to uniformity now, as always, offer the best chances for successfully meeting future challenges.” (Chirot, 2012, p. 138).

4.2.6a The implications for heuristics as determined by the evolution of Indigenous and Western cultural experiences.

The relevance and necessity of heuristic thinking within the noetic space for the promotion of cultural revalorization is made implicit through a haunting phrase from Lear's (2006) found in a section titled *The End of Practical Reason* where he states “[w]ith the destruction of this way of life came the destruction of the end or goal –the telos-of that life.” (p.55). Gladwin hypothetically contextualizes the eradication of the Puluwat's telos when he suggests that “[t]o imagine Puluwat without the élan of its seafaring life one must think of a dispirited people.” (Gladwin, 1970, p. 36). A survey of the literature (Battiste, 2000; Chatwin, 1987; Lauderdale, 2008; Ross, 1992 & 2006) will demonstrate that the contemporary world is filled with such “dispirited peoples.”

In contrast to the Eurasian East West continental axis, all other continents predominantly lie North South. This North South orientation limited the flows of early technologies and limited the proximate factors of food surpluses, large dense stratified societies,

technology, and writing. The limitation of these proximate factors inhibited competition and large-scale warfare amongst indigenous groups not living in Eurasia. Developing substantive heuristic skills was not a priority because cultural groups remained relatively stable within the natural natal milieu. Many of these cultural groups lacked vibrant noetic spaces and did not engage in cultural revalorization because geography had largely predetermined that this would unnecessarily destabilize the society, and unduly influence each culture's ecology.

4.3 Developing a Genuine Tradition

“Aristotle says that the true excellence of character-what are called the virtues- have in common that they tend to strike the mean between excess and defect. Given a particular life-challenge, a courageous person will act in a way that avoids the excess of foolhardy recklessness, on the one hand, but also the defect of cowardliness on the other” (Lear, 2006, p. 17). So, [t]o be human is necessarily to be a vulnerable risk-taker; to be a courageous human is to be good at it. (Ibid, p. 122). Learning to be good at gambling with evolving local and global contexts is then the essence of developing a viable culture, or promoting viable cultural evolution. Thus developing adept practitioners who can facilitate heuristic thinking, and consequently cultural revalorization should be an objective for education within any cultural sphere, but, perhaps more imperative within contemporary Indigenous communities who are now, most susceptible to the forces of internal expansion.

5. Indigenous Knowledge is of the place. But it is also of a particular time.

Internal and external pressures that are exerted on a community change over time (Carnoy, 1974). The Indigenous community's responses to these pressures suggest that culture is temporally heterogeneous. Goldsmith utilizes Jameson's summaries of synchronic knowledge which lies in the immediate lived experience of the native speaker, and diachronic knowledge that rests on "a kind of intellectual construction, the result of comparisons between one moment of lived time and another by someone who stands outside, who has substituted a purely intellectual continuity for a lived one" (1972, p. 6). Diachronic knowledge represents a purely intellectual continuity and is not only linear, but rationalist, and undermines a wholistic empirical approach essential to Indigenous studies. Discussions on the interpretation of Indigenous culture and cultural revalorization, in this dissertation, will be conducted through a diachronic schema in order to accommodate the comparative methodological structure of this dissertation. However in instances where the diachronic schema and the synchronic schema conflict irreconcilably, the synchronic schema as determined by the indigenous group most closely affiliated with the knowledge at issue, will take precedence.

5.1 Case Studies:

In writing about the three case studies of the Aymara people of Bolivia, the Maori people of Aotearoa, and the Karretjiemense from South Africa, I have specifically chosen not to remove the data from its context. Instead, I have opted to leave the data embedded within the histories and narratives from which they originated. I have also chosen to provide analysis to salient points as they arise instead of opting for the more traditional dissertation's construction that seeks reified boundaries within and between conceptual

processes. Further to this, and as outlined in the section on an exploration of the definition of case studies, the presentation of information within a relational framework represents a more conceptually just research methodology, than one that conforms to normative research methods and structures. To this end, I present the following three case studies to support/ demonstrate the categories of Turangawaewae, viable noetic spaces, and cultural revalorization.

5.2 Why teach them something they already know? (Canessa, 2012 p. 198)

Researchers (Rist, Burgoa, & Wiesman, 2003; La Barre, 1966) quantify the term ancestral times, as it pertains to human settlement in the Andes, to include the period 30 000 BC to AD 1438. This period is important for the Aymara collective memory as social competencies such as obedience and duty toward spiritual entities such as *Pachamama* or “Earth's Mother,” *achachilas* or “ancestors,” and *Mustrama* or “ancient Sun” originate from this period. It is romantic to imagine an Andean culture being rooted in ancestral times. But, as Orin Starn (1991) the author of *Missing the Revolution*, suggests with an example of essentialism (known as Andeanism) from a travel company brochure that describes its “newest Andean escapade” where “we encounter splendidly dressed Quechua Indians, herds of llamas and alpacas decorated with brightly colored ribbons grazing in idyllic alpine meadows . . . local inhabitants speak no Spanish . . . and maintain[ing] a mystical attachment to the land. . . Nowhere does the ten-page text disclose that a major war is raging in Peru's highlands” (Starn, 1991 p.67). Starn argues that Andeanism has a similar logic to Orientalism in that “[i]t dichotomizes between the Occidental, coastal, urban, and mestizo and the non-Western, highland, rural, and

indigenous it then essentializes the highland side of the equation to talk about "lo andino," "the Andean world-view," "indigenous highland culture," or, in more old-fashioned formulations, "the Andean mind" or "the Andean Indians." (Starn, 1991 p.66). Starn argues that the anthropologists, who missed the revolution, studying in the highland region were "remarkably un-attuned" even though "[t]hey positioned themselves as the "good" outsiders who truly understood the interests and aspirations of Andean people; and they spoke with scientific authority guaranteed by the firsthand experience of fieldwork." (Ibid, p. 63). He suggests that ethnographers working through an ecologic and symbolic lens depicted "discrete villages with fixed traditions" and not "a major insurgency was about to detonate, a revolt so powerful that by 1990 Peru's civilian government had ceded more than half the country to military command" (Ibid pp.63-64).

Luykx (1999) in her book *The Citizen Factory* argues that through the study of rural urban linkages researchers can "strike a blow against Andeanism [such as that outlined by Starn, presented above) from which Bolivia has suffered perhaps more than any other nation" (p. xxxix). While I will not be focusing primarily on rural urban linkages in this section, I will be exploring linkages as it pertains to relationality between statist and non-statist forces within the Aymaran context in Bolivia. However, in order to more fully understand the context within which these relations are negotiated, I will outline a brief history of Bolivia, explore noetic spaces as a mechanism through which discourses are created, and disseminated, explore the history of education within Bolivia including the implementation of educational reforms in 1994 and 2004. Finally, I will explore

instances of cultural revalorization and expression that have persisted, and sought to limit and destabilize statist expressions of power.

5.2.1 History

Varese (1996) suggests that there is no such thing as an untouched landscape within the Andes, and argues that Indigenous presence throughout the millennia has affected biotic and abiotic resources to the extent that biodiversity in the Andes is as much cultural as it is natural. In the same way contemporary practices and spaces cannot be understood without an exploration of the preceding millennia especially its social and political history. To this end, the following brief history of the Aymara, and Bolivia to the twentieth century, and a history of education within Bolivia from 1900 to the present, seeks to elucidate a particularly non-Andeanism perspective of contemporary Indigenous efforts of actualization. While I have presented the history in various sequential eras, it is important to acknowledge that this diachronic presentation has been adopted to ease my writing and should in no way undermine or delegitimize non-diachronic understandings or perceptions of these events.

5.2.1a Pre-Inca period:

Prior to the Inca and European invasions, the Aymara peoples of the pre-Inca Lupaqa kingdom occupied a much larger geographic area. This “large and powerful Aymara polity in the 16th century that was centered . . . on the southwest side of Lake Titicaca . . . with the Titicaca Basin remaining, to this day, as the stronghold of the Aymara population. (Charles Stanish, personal communication, 20 November 2007 as cited in Eisenberg, 2013 pp. 15-33). The Aymara are indigenous to the highlands, an area called

the Altiplano (Hardman, 2001). Eisenberg highlights the longevity and influence of highland cultures on Andean life when she states: for “centuries and perhaps millennia, the seat of power and the highest demographic density in the pre-Columbian Andes were found at altitudes above 3,400 meters.” (Eisenberg, 2013 p.31). The Aymara adapted through the millenia to the Altiplano, and had acces to a diverse range of economies ranging from the valleys of the western Andes to the ravines of oases of the coastal desert. Access to the resources of these geographic and environmentally diverse regions was ensured through “a system of interdependence involving aspects of economic production based on reciprocity and complementarity” (Rivera, 1991 p. 35).

Land and labour were essential to the success of this reciprocal and complimentary system and it is worth citing Klein, (2011) in some length to emphasize the centrality of land and kin to Aymara groups:

at the base of the Andean Culture stood the peasants organized into tightly knit fictive kinship organizations known gnerically by the term “ayllu” which organized work and distributed land among its members. While some classes existed outside the ayllu structure, the overwhelming majority of all commoners, nobles and rulers were members of an ayllu. Unlike the contemporary Indian peasant *comunidades*, or the free communities organized by the Spaniards and called ayllus after the conquest, the pre-Columbian ayllu was essentially a kin group that was not defined by a single residential community. Ayllus had members in all the various ecological zones and, while retaining a central residential area, were not confined to one space. Although land rights ultimately resided in the ayllu, to be granted to its members on an individual basis, members could hold land in a widely spaced and dispersed regional setting. (p.22).

Murra and Wachtel (1986) explain this system of resource use and exchange as a “function of ecological complementarity” and suggest that this model of “Andean organization . . . extends far into the past” (p. 4), and supporting up to as many as three

million people in a multiplicity of societies speaking numerous languages grouped together in a “vast nonmarket exchange system that involved a continuous transfer of products” (Klein, 2011 pp. 22-23). Eisenberg (2013) stresses that the Aymara “used these multiple life zones to create a series of unique civilizations and a remarkable cultural unity” and intimates that the present Bolivian emphasis on plurinationalism may have its roots in these early “Andean multiethnic societies [which] grew into quite large polities on the coast and in the highlands” (p.14). She goes on to argue that complementarity, as it was expressed within this pre-Columbian context was a “major human achievement” and should hold “a notable place in the repository of human history, accomplishments, and mastery” (Ibid p. 14)

5.2.1b Inca period:

This civilization with its accomplishments was subsumed within the (Tawantinsuyu) the Inca Empire when their expansion began in 1438. (Eisenberg, 2013). The Inca empire coopted and used the Aymara achievements of reciprocity and complementarity to “bind diverse social groups into long-term relationships of shared production, exchange and belief” (Ibid, p. 16).

Rist et al. (2003) suggest that it is under the Inca rule that “[t]he first element of self-determination arises” where “values considered to be at the source of the Incas' wisdom—also become individual aspirations of “common” people.” A further degree of ethical differentiation and self-determination is recalled in the Inca greeting “do not steal, do not lie, don't be lazy, do not flatter,” supporting the ethical principles of peaceful coexistence based on “mutual respect and reciprocity” (p.265). Further to these beliefs,

the power structures within society were perceived as becoming gradually less vertical (Ibid). This emergent “flattening” of the socio-political structures “enabled the highland nucleus to significantly expand its productive potential in the multiethnic landscape (Eisenberg, 2013 p.18), and would have significant repercussion through the ages and into Bolivia’s twenty-first century. This decentralizing of power will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

5.2.1c Colonial Period:

However, in 1532 with the arrival of the Spaniards and their conquistadors in “Peru, as the area that is now divided into Bolivia and Peru was called” (Klein, 2011p. 29), a “*pachakuti*, disruption of the universe” occurred (Rivera Cusicanqui, 1991 p.19), or as Gutierrez (2012) explains, “opened up a space-time of *Pachakuti*. That is to say, [the arrival of the conquistadors] generated upheaval in a social system that, until then, had been accepted as normal and quotidian” (p.51).

This disruption of the universe is most often summarized in the literature using words such as disruptive, cruel and savage oppression, massacre, and pandemic (Barton, 1968; Klein, 2011; Cannessa, 2012). Infectious diseases such as smallpox, measles, influenza, diphtheria, bubonic plague, typhoid, whooping cough, malaria, yellow fever, and typhus decimated villages (Newson, 1993). Dobyns (1963) qualifies and contextualizes these rather sanitary descriptions of population decline when he states

Some illnesses resulted in delirium, fevers, and severe ulcerations and pustules that caused chunks of flesh and facial skin to fall off, leaving the victim without eyes, nose, and lips. Pustules deformed the sick person’s entire body to such an extent that he or she was unrecognizable, while obstructed nasal passages and throats impeded respiration and the ingestion of food. Weakness, severe bodily pain, bleeding from the nostrils and mouth, and vomiting blood were some of

the myriad symptoms of the widespread contagion in the Andean region that devastated the Indian population (p. 507).

Not only were diseases destroying the Aymara, the invading Spanish took varied and more active approaches to asserting control of Andean populations, these included asserting Spanish control over vital Aymara socio-cultural strategies. Eisenberg (2013) explains how “[u]pon learning of the significance of ecological complementarity in the prosperity of Andean societies, Viceroy Francisco de Toledo [the famous Peruvian Viceroy in [1572-6] ordered the entire population of Indians to be resettled into *reducciones* (concentrated areas), thereby reducing the number of Andean settlements into larger and more accessible towns. This aggressive measure devastated Andean efficiency by amputating productive niches, breaking up the archipelagoes, and impoverishing the inhabitants” (pp. 19-20). Klein explains that this system created by Toledo became dominant in the Andes. This, along with the rationalization of the tax structure where landowning Indian communities were to pay their taxes in specie, rather than in goods, “ultimately proved to be a major weapon forcing the Indians to integrate into the Spanish economy.” (Klein, 2011 p. 37)

Therefore, unlike the Aymara who venerated the earth as Pachamama (Rist, Burgoa, & Wiesmann, 2003), to the Spanish “Bolivia was for a period of 150 years the source of incomparable wealth. . . Potosi became one of the largest and richest cities in the Americas” (Dunkerley, 1984 p. xii). To extract these riches the Spanish resorted to forcing local populations to work the mines where they often died from starvation, physical exhaustion, mineshaft collapses, and poisoning from mercury (Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela, 1975). Eisenberg suggests that “[t]he lifespan of an Indian miner under such

perilous working conditions was short. If a conscripted native died in chains, a Spaniard would sever body from head with his saber rather than stop to unlock the shackles that bound one slave to another to keep them from fleeing”(Eisenberg, 2013 p. 20).

Klein (2011) explains how the Spaniards had never intended to precipitate a large population decline because they wanted to “preserve as much of the existing population and government as possible so as to obtain the greatest benefit at the cheapest cost” (p.35). However, by “the 1570’s, it was clear that all regions of Peru had experienced severe population declines since the arrival of the Spaniards” (Ibid). Rivera Cusicanqui (1991) quantifies this description when he states “from 1530 to 1560, disease, warfare, and the massacre of Andean people caused the population of seven or eight million to plummet by two-thirds. By 1590, the Indian population had decreased by an additional 40 percent. Brutal aggression against all aspects of Indigenous society resulted in open genocide (p. 19 as cited in Eisenberg, 2013). Perhaps in an attempt to return to earlier policies that would utilise local resources and infrastructure the Spaniards in the 17th century introduced “a series of laws known as the *Leyes de Indias* . . . enacted as a kind of social pact or mutual recognition between the colonizers and the colonized. Colonial law divided the Andean world into separate entities; the Republic of Spaniards and the Republic of Indians, each with its own courts, laws, and rights” (Eisenberg, 2013 p. 24).

While these republics were institutionally separate, cross-cultural interactions persisted.

Margaret Anstee (1970) in her book, *Gate of the Sun*, rather lyrically describes the “genesis of a new *mestizo* race” because the adventurous Spaniards controlling these exploitation colonies “brought no wife or family to [the] harsh new lands” and

consequently “inter-mingl[ed] peninsular and Amerindian blood” (p.45). She goes on to state that this was apparently a “stormy mixture” because uprisings against Spanish rule broke out in Bolivia “sooner than anywhere else” (Ibid, p. 45) with conflicts such as revolts in La Paz in 1661 and Cochabamba in 1730 (Klein, 2011). But, it was in the last decades of the 18th century that the more prominent insurrections of the Aymara and Quechua came to fruition. For even though the Spanish Conquest was disastrous for the Andean civilizations with tens of thousands dying in the immense silver mine of Potosí alone. “Indigenous social organization was severely disrupted, but not destroyed. In fact, it remained strong enough to stage a series of rebellions” that, at times, seriously threatened Spanish rule and “reached their peak between 1778 and 1781” (Luykx, 1999 p. 2). These events inspired Antsee (1970) to state that in 1780, 80 000 “rebellious Indians” (p.45) laid seige to La Paz. Eisenberg states that “[t]he cruelty of colonial rule drove the Andean people into open rebellion again. They rose up against the conquerors, all but effecting their demise, and consequently, 40,000 Spaniards perished. The effect of this insurrection was to paralyze and destroy commerce and industry, particularly the mines, to such a great degree that by 1870 they had not yet recovered” (Eisenberg, 2013 p.23).

These Spanish deaths did not go without retaliation. In addition to the 80 000 Indians who were massacred (Barton 1968), Tupac Katari the Leader of the Aymara movement was executed. It is important to provide significant detail regarding this execution as the Socio-political acumen of the Spaniards is demonstrated in their appropriation of plazas, an integral noetic space in the Andes (as will be discussed in subsequent section), to display his butchered remains. Thomson (2002) provides these details:

On November 14, 1781, in a ritual execution that took place in the plaza of the Sanctuary of Penas, Tupac Katari's limbs were tied with heavy ropes to the tails of four horses which then careened forward in separate directions, ripping apart his body. As a terrifying demonstration of Spanish justice and to reassert symbolically Spanish power throughout the region, Katari's head and limbs were then distributed for prominent display in the areas where his influence had been greatest. His head went to the regional capital, and was placed upon the gallows in the central plaza of the city and above the gate leading to the hill of Quilliquilli, where Katari had set up his own gallows and hung captive enemies. Katari's right arm was fixed on display at the centre of the town plaza in Ayoayo, his home and original political base (pp.18-19).

5.2.1d Early Republican period:

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was an age of revolutions. Klein (2011) suggests, "two independence movements of former colonies, Haiti and the United States, had a profound impact on changing the dependent concepts of colonial American thinking." (p.89). This was the era of Simon Bolivar who, in 1825, led the Bolivian revolution to win independence from Spain, but "did little to improve the lot of the indigenous majority" (Luykx, 1999 p. 2). In fact, the colonial system of tribute in the form of taxes was reinstated in 1826 as *contribución de indígenas* and was considered as "just token of the vassalage owed by Natives to the Sovereign" (Kubler 1952 p.3). This reinstatement of the tribute taxes coincided with the period between 1803 and 1840 when "the Bolivian economy experienced a progressive decapitalization of its mining industry, a crisis in its international economy" (Klein, 2011p. 102) so that by the 1840's the Bolivian economy was "more subsistence oriented than at any time in its past" (Ibid). During this period (June 1835), Bolivia's president Santa Cruz ordered the Bolivian army to invade Peru. This invasion was successful and in January 1836, he reconstituted these states into the *Confederacion Peruboliviano*.(Barton, 1968). Santa Cruz recognized, as

did the Chileans that Peru had potential for major growth. Unfortunately, for Santa Cruz, and the stability of the region, Chile was “competing actively with Peru for the same European markets. Thus, a revitalized Peru under Santa Cruz could not be accepted” (Klein, 2011p. 115). Chile subsidized revolts and gave “active support to dissident Peruvian politicians” the end result was the weakening of the Confederation government. This effectively led to the end of the Santa Cruz regime and “marked as well the end of Bolivia as a major power of contention in the Southern Hemisphere of Latin America” (Ibid p. 117).

Bolivia experienced political turmoil in the years between 1848 and 1880, but paradoxically experienced significant expansion in the economy. It was during the 1850-1860's that the power of steam was brought to bear in the Bolivian mining sector with profitable results (Barton, 1968). Klein (2011) suggests that this revival of the mining industry had an impact on the growth of urban markets with a proportional increase on commercial agriculture to supply those markets. “Thus, the 1860's saw the first stirrings of revived interest in the . . . sustained attack on the property holdings of [rural Indian] communities” (p.136). To this end, the confiscation decree of 1866 declared, “all community properties were really state owned lands and that Indians residing on them were now required to purchase individual land titles. . . The Indian who did not purchase his title within 60 days of the decree would be deprived of his lands.” (Ibid, p.136). This decree was not only directed at obtaining Indian lands, but was also a mechanism through which the state could affect control over the cultural solidarity of the Aymara. La Barre (1948) explains this more fully “[t]he strength of the Aymara is rooted in the ayllu, or comunidad, system of land ownership; hence the ayllu has been repeatedly “abolished”

by supreme decree. Ayllus are political and self-sustaining communities consisting of families within a kinship organization. The 1874 Law of Exvinculation of ayllu lands was one of many attempts to break up indigenous landholdings and destroy ayllu ownership of arable lands by giving individual title to them” (p. 37). This decree was not successful, due largely in part to the “violent and bloody” Indian protests. However, these initiatives laid the foundation for future land grabbing initiatives. One such example of this was the 1874 legislation that provided “citizenship [and consequently the legal capability to own land] to Indians, but it applied only to individuals. This was a “massive attack on the traditional Indian usufruct system of communal land tenure. The law denied protection to indigenous communities whose only “right” was to sell their lands, and it provided little protection or safeguards to non-literate landowners against a dominant group that was avaricious, unscrupulous, and ready to seize Indian land titles by fraud and coercion” (Eisenberg, 2013 p. 24).

During this era (1879-1884), on the regional stage, Bolivia engaged in and lost the war of the Pacific (Barton, 1968). Bolivia essentially lost the Atacama to Chile during this conflict, Klein describes how Bolivia allowed “de facto control of its Atacama territories to pass into the hands of both Chilean capitalists and Chilean workers and settlers from the earliest period of guano discoveries in the 1840’s and 50’s. . . . Bolivian authorities had allowed this unusual state of affairs to develop because of their need for funds and the inability of the national capitalists to develop these previously empty deserts” (Klein, 2011 pp.140-141). The consequences of the era of political turmoil of 1848-1880 became readily apparent when Bolivia signed the “Treaty of 1904 [and] gave Chile permanent ownership of the Atacama, thus sealing Bolivia’s loss of a coastal province.

Chile assumed certain debts against the region and agreed to build a railroad from Arica to La Paz. Periodically, Bolivia sought to have the Treaty of 1904 annulled and a new arrangement made by which it could regain a zone to the sea” (Dennis, 1967 pp. 198-199).

As Bolivia entered the 20th century, census data for 1900 showed that Indigenous people represented 51 percent of the total population, 73 percent of the population was considered Rural, only 16 percent had received some schooling. “Given the literacy requirements for voting and the financial restrictions for holding office, the Bolivian regime was in every sense of the word a limited participation political system with the electoral base ranging from thirty thousand to forty thousand persons” (Klein, 2011 p. 148) out of a total population, in 1900, of 1 633 610” (Ibid p.303). The aforementioned census figures effectively demonstrate that “the prospect of a subjugated but schooled Indian population was threatening to dominant elites” (Luykx, 1999 p.43). While a policy of restricting access to education in order to maintain social, political, and economic exclusion could not be explicit as “a late seventeenth century decree making indigenous education compulsory until age ten and forbidding it thereafter” stipulates (Mannheim, 1984 p.298), the implementation of such decrees often found subjects unwilling to carry them out.

“For five centuries, the voice of the Aymara world was muted by the Spanish governing class” (Kehoe 1996 p.238). But, while there was no formal schooling, and consequently little to no literacy, and thus no vote for Aymara within the Spanish colonial context, the cultural ideals of the Aymara demonstrated a “tenacious resistance to culturally alienating pressures . . . Despite the attempted destructuring of the system of ecological

complementarity by colonial regimes, 19th-century republics, and agrarian reform” (Eisenberg, 2013 pp. 29-31).

The Aymara may not have had access to formal education structures during the colonial and early republican periods which may have actually contributed to an Aymarancapability to maintain the viability of their cultural noetic spaces that ensured the perpetuation of central cultural canons. At the dawn of the twentieth century the Aymara people and other Andean indigenous groups were to face an increased pressure to their cultural viability, with the introduction and formalization of teacher training institutions, and the subsequent institutionalization of education throughout Bolivia.

5.2.1e The Republic in the Twentieth Century:

In Andean countries, internal colonialism has been identified as the central problem behind underdevelopment (Healy 1996:241). Indigenous groups, and specifically the Aymara may have been emerging from four centuries of colonial subjugation, but they were soon to be subject to an insidious colonization from within. In consideration of this shifting emphasis, I focus, for the remainder of this historical summary, on this internal struggle for cultural assertion and emancipation, a large proportion of which is centered on education. After the catastrophic defeat of the Bolivian army in the Atacama, ruling elites were quick to realize the importance of a unifying national language. Not only would this improve trade efficiencies, but it would also ensure more cohesive and responsive combat units. To satisfy these ends, early indigenous educational initiatives were put forward to improve military efficiency (Cannessa, 2012). So while formal teacher education schools termed normales (whose graduates were called normalistas)

were established in Sucre in 1909, by a Belgian Missionary, (Talavera Simoni 2009, p. 67) education especially Indigenous education had been occurring by other government and non-government means (Cannessa, 2012). In some instances, indigenous military personnel educated within the armed forces would return to their communities and clandestinely organize literacy groups or informal schooling (Ibid).

Luykx (1999) explains the reluctance, within this context, that Spanish elites fostered toward any Indigenous education initiatives:

From the beginning, the struggle for rural education was closely linked to the struggle for land. During the Republican period, the legal assault on communal land ownership put intense pressure on the survival of Aymara communities. Illiterate, monolingual Aymaras had little recourse against land seizures legitimated in Spanish, in writing, and in the distant capital of La Paz. The related battles for the usurped lands and for rural schools constituted a cultural as well as an economic struggle—for the material survival of indigenous communities and forms of organization, and also for the preservation of cultural and linguistic diversity in the face of a rising nationalist ideology of catilianization and homogenization. The fights for literacy and against land seizures proceeded hand in hand, often directed by the same protagonists. The murder of indigenous teachers and the destruction of schools were often either the catalyst to, or retribution for, peasant rebellions. Under such circumstances, landowners' violent opposition to rural schooling is easy to comprehend (p.44).

This violent opposition to informal schooling was manifest within the expansion between 1910 and 1948 of the “dual urban-rural system, with different and less successful normales (school) in rural areas” (Talavera Simoni 2009, p. 67). While the rural normales may have been gauged as unsuccessful, the *escuelaayllu* of Warisata, which combined socialist philosophy with Aymara cultural and organizational principles, was one of Bolivia’s most renowned educational experiments. The school in Warisata, unlike the clandestine efforts in Indigenous education that preceded it was a high profile

undertaking. It was explicitly socialist and pro Indian. Luykx (1999) provides a concise description of the Warisata School ideology, an ideology instrumental to its demise:

Warisata introduced a curriculum and methodology decades ahead of its time, incorporating coeducation; bilingual education; community control over school decisions; communal labor; and elimination of grades, hourly schedules, and annual vacations (Salazar 1943:66–67). This project of "converting the school into a platform for struggle" brought swift and violent retaliation from the neighboring *mestizos*; the entire community became a target for kidnap, torture, arson, murder, and accusations of treason. After ten years of existence (1931–1941), the lifelines Warisata had drawn to a few powerful figures in Bolivian society could not save it; Elizardo Pérez was replaced by governmental fiat, and the experiment came to an end (Luykx, 1999 p. 46).

Following the closing of the Warisata School, education in the rural sectors of Bolivia through the 1940's, consisted of a rudimentary system of government-sponsored schools. The curricular focus of these schools emphasized "agriculture, vocational skills, and hygiene. Literacy and math were secondary concerns, relative to the goals of "civilizing" the Indians and extending the reach of the state into indigenous communities. Schools were deficient in terms of infrastructure, salaries, and teaching quality, and only 11 percent of rural children attended" (Burke 1971 p. 329).

Education, along with a myriad of other sectors were on the cusp of significant changes, for the 1950's began with the Bolivian national revolution. While the revolution is most often described as beginning in 1952 (Anstee, 1970; Barton, 1968; Dunkerley, 1984), Kelley (1981) suggests that the seeds for the Bolivian revolution were sowed in the decade of the 1920s. This is the era when the quality of tin ore began its decline precipitating decapitalization in this sector, the Great depression impacted demands for tin and other export goods, and the "costly disaster" of the three year Chaco War that

“left 100 000 Bolivian men dead, wounded, deserted or captured” (p.91). While the origins of the 1952 revolution may have stemmed from the 1920’s, the immediate uprisings originated in the capital and in the mines. But, “the revolution caused changes in the countryside which were even more fundamental than the sweeping changes in the mines and cities”, peasants were given effective weapons for the first time in four centuries, they used their traditional community organizations, and systematically terrorized their opponents and destroyed the old hacienda system” (Ibid p. 95).

The significant changes brought about by the 1952 Bolivian revolution serve to highlight the structural disparities that had been constructed through the control, and disregard of rural education, which largely meant Indigenous education. The literacy requirement for suffrage was abolished, and “[i]n one stroke, the Indian peasant masses were enfranchised, and the voting population jumped from some 200,000 to just under 1 million” (Klein 1982 p. 232). Other changes that were legislated by the MNR in post-revolutionary Bolivia included the nationalizing of the La Rosca mines, extending rural education, and land reform (Klein, 2011).

The land reform “transferred land to the peasants, but also outlawed communal ownership, thus abetting in the disarticulation of indigenous land tenure systems and speeding the dissolution of many rural communities. Many Indians were granted small plots which, divided among subsequent generations, and could not support an agricultural subsistence. The resulting land crisis has been a major cause of urban migration (Luykx, 1999). A post-revolutionary linguistic shift whose objectives were intended to be more political than semantic was to rename Indigenous peoples as campesinos. Albó (1988 p. 33 as cited in Luykx, 1999 p. 23) notes, “Many urban migrants continue to call

themselves '*campesinos*' and affirm that they will never cease to be such. Behind this word continues to resound the term '*indio*' . . . [which] is still more evocative of people's experience and more forcefully expresses their feeling of being exploited and denigrated."

Further to these changes, the MNR pronounced the Educational Reform of 1955, and the subsequent *Código de la Educación Boliviana* became the central document of public education. The curricular outcomes of this document were designed to assimilate indigenous people into the dominant culture (Cordozo, 2013). The land reforms quashed large rural elites (*hacendado*) resistance to rural education, and after the 1952 revolution, the number of students nationwide increased threefold and the number of rural schools fivefold (Carter, 1971). Instruction for all lessons, in order to meet curricular expectations of a national unifying language, were conducted in Spanish even though "most students had little or no knowledge of the language" and "[s]tudents were often beaten for their inability to pronounce Spanish words or for speaking their native tongue in the classroom . . . Lack of knowledge about indigenous languages and cultures contributed to students' frustration and a humiliating classroom atmosphere" (Luykx, 1999 pp. 47-48). By the 1960s, education consumed one fourth of the national budget. Despite the proliferation of rural schools, investigators lamented that this meant only "more education, not a better quality of education" (Burke 1971 p.330), and with Spanish as the exclusive language of the classroom, dropout rates remained high, with only half of urban students and 6.5 percent of rural students ever reaching the sixth grade (Carter 1971).

Johnathan Kelley and Herbert Klein (1981) in their book, *Revolution and the Rebirth of Inequality: A theory applied to the National Revolution in Bolivia*,

argue that a violent social revolution that frees peasants and other exploited groups from their traditional exploitation will in the short run improve their standard of living, reduce inequality in the society as a whole, and reduce inherited privilege. At this stage the peasants and the radical revolutionary intelligentsia have the same goal, the overthrow of the traditional elite and the end of exploitation, but that does not last. Peasants with more land, human capital, or other resources are able to exploit their advantages more fully after the revolution. Furthermore, revolution inadvertently sets loose forces that, if unchecked, will in the long run allow inequality and inherited privilege to grow steadily and, in some circumstances, to exceed their prerevolutionary levels (p.40).

Luykx echoes these sentiments when she states that the “shared excitement with which workers, peasants, and the middle class rushed to exercise their newfound political power temporarily concealed the deep social divisions in the revolutionary coalition.” (1999 p.3). The growing demands of the working class tested the limits of the revolutionary ideals, and those with inherited privilege were reluctant to completely commit to jeopardizing their advantages. The weakened revolutionary government was ousted by military “coup in 1964, giving way to a series of military dictatorships characterized by frequent state violence and repression of dissent, lasting until 1982 (Ibid p.3).

During the period of military rule from 1964 to 1982, “[t]eacher training was aimed at increasing and preserving national security, and the creation of ‘a nationalist state, order, work, peace and justice’” (Lozada Pereira 2004, p. 49). Educational reforms in 1969 and 1973, intended to facilitate the success of these objectives, promoted one national culture, and Spanish as the national language (Talavera Simoni 2011). This Language problem is as Clifford Geertz (1973) argued, was “only the ‘nationality problem’ writ small, though in some places the conflicts arising from it are intense enough to make the relationship seem reversed and generalized, the ‘who are we’ question [that the nationalizing

curriculum was posing] asks what cultural forms—what systems of meaningful symbols—to employ to give value and significance to the activities of the state, and by extension to the civil life of its citizens" (p.242). Urban elites often controlled the answers to these questions, and even though most rural schools remained decidedly substandard, with their curricular outcomes directed toward perpetuating the interests of the urban elites, the national literacy rate rose from 31 percent to 67 percent between 1950 and 1976" (Klein 1982 p.264).

Despite the unifying intent of the nationalizing curriculum, "[u]ntil the 1980s, coups were more common than elections and the country had had more governments than years of independence" (Luykx, 1999 p.8), this political instability made education policy and program continuity difficult. This being said, the underlying aim of educational policy, for most governments, "was to move students into Spanish taught classes as quickly as possible, not to maintain their use of native languages or incorporate indigenous culture into the curriculum" (Ibid p.48).

While the intent may have been to inculcate rural indigenous populations into Spanish monolingualism, Briggs, (1981) noted that in 1981, the vast majority of rural Aymara could not read, write, or speak Spanish. Some Aymara children did not understand the words and were punished for being unable to effectively pronounce them. Consequently, many children did not want to attend school, leading to dropout rates for grade one of around 90%. Eisenberg (2013) further substantiates this perspective when she argues that education policy reflected colonialist anti indigenous biases that characterized the national sociopolitical system. Policies of "monolingualism heightened dropout rates, the underutilization of educational facilities hindered educational achievement, and low self-

esteem, [and] homogenizing indigenous cultures into a common national framework served to erode Aymara cultural identity while impeding school performance and educational advancement for Andean youth” (pp.55-56). The fact that language can limit educational attainment substantially reduces the demand rural populations are able to place on urban employment markets. However, a lack of dominant language proficiency limits the states objectives of cultural, linguistic, and ideological unity, thus, “the linguistic barrier is both an impediment and a godsend for ideological and social control” (Mannheim 1982 p.302).

5.2.1e The return of Pachamama:

Between 1982 and 1992, a series of natural disasters such as droughts, hail, storms, and heavy frost related to the “El Niño” phenomenon occurred. The response of the Indigenous populations to these catastrophic events is indicative of their perceived distance from their traditional beliefs. A distance that in many ways can be traced to the education policies guiding rural and Indigenous education. Rist et al. (2003) summarize this response effectively when they state

[a]ll these elements converged into a catastrophic situation, labeled the “times of endless suffering.” In response, doubts about the relevance of the current religious life arose. People began to ask themselves whether the difficult situation could be a sign from *Pachamama*, who was “angry” because she had been forgotten. According to people's discourse, *Pachamama* makes Nature act in response to the degree of understanding (cognition) and fulfillment of Andean ethical values in communities (p. 265).

This story is complimented by the description of Chungara, a region in Bolivia that through synchronic experience provides the precedent to the “times of endless suffering”.

It is valuable to explore this perspective, in detail, as it provides insight into many of the subsequent social, environmental, and economic changes that occurred in Bolivia to the present day. Mamani (1994 pp.121-123 as cited in Eisenberg, 2013 p. 73) provides the following account of Chungara:

Aymara tradition relates that in ancient times, the Altiplano sector of Chungara had its time of grandeur. With vast social and economic development, a rich and significant bofedal existed. The inhabitants were dedicated to raising camelids in the excellent pastureland and the area was endowed with vast mineral wealth. Old Chungara was populated by bearded men in fine attire, but it was the resources of nature that supplied their wealth. Chungara was part of a complex system of ecological complementarity within a network of communication among the life zones of the region. One day this great district and bofedal were suddenly destroyed by an earthquake and devoured by fire, which transformed the bofedal into a lake. The destruction was caused by a being sent by the divine protectors of the summits to examine the behavior of the occupants of the highland districts. Current residents of Chungara say that it was a rich man's caprice, vanity, and lack of human feeling for the people of the community, much less for elders, that the messenger of the sky was sent to punish. Aymara society acknowledges that human behavior may cause serious disasters and violent destruction. Aymara stories enable the people to feel the continuum of the past with the present, making possible their continuity in time and space (Mamani M. 1994:121–123).

The emergence of the Intercultural and Bilingual Education Reform of 1994 seemingly occurs in response to the “return to *Pachamama*” movement. However, it should be understood that the 1980's and 1990's was an era of rising indigenous consciousness globally. This 1994 reform was widely praised and internationally funded for its innovative policies and attempts to overcome the exclusionary and homogenizing forms of schooling. (Cordozo, 2013 p. 21).

Luykx (1999) emphasizes throughout her book, and supported by such sources as (Albo´ 2002, cited in Taylor 2004, p. 29; van Dam and Salman 2003, p. 25), that:

even after the more overtly cruel features were phased out, the hidden curriculum of schooling changed little, both in its underlying social aims and in the practices employed to achieve those aims. The curriculum remained centrally dictated, based on a set of official meanings that reflected the dominant view of society, with no input from teachers, students, or parents. Teaching remained a unidirectional process based on dictation, memorization, and copying. Classrooms continued to be organized around principles of regimentation and conformity. All in all, Bolivian schooling remained a far cry from the *educación democrática y liberadora* mandated by law. (p.49).

Significant critiques with what Luykx coins “an almost messianic hope in bilingual education bilingual education” (p. xxxvi) revolve around issues of depoliticizing the notion of school culture and classroom pedagogy (Giroux, 1988), and the growing realization, on the part of the ruling elite, that schooling "can fulfill its essential function of inculcation only so long as a minimum of adequacy is maintained between the pedagogic message and the receiver's capacity to decode it" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977 p.99). Luykx (1999) explains how this minimum adequacy serves to maintain the stratification in society, and suggests that while "integrating the peasantry into national life remains an official goal, it would not be desirable for *all* peasants to achieve an educational level that would encourage their migration to the city. Some must remain in the countryside to perform the agricultural labor of the nation, and restricting access to education (or limiting it to the primary grades) is one of the most efficient ways of assuring this distribution of labor” (p.51).

Even though the structural mechanisms are in place, and significantly reduces Aymara access to state legitimized cultural, and social capital, resources that would more easily facilitate a rural to urban migration, this migration persists. Between 1976 and 1992 El Alto, as the principal point of arrival for rural migrant grew from 100 000 to 400 000 people (Zibechi, 2010). The Urban rural ties that have developed as a consequence of this migration are vital to the survival of both. “One might consider urban rural ties a modern extension of the Andean "archipelago" subsistence strategy in which ecological niches at different altitudes are exploited in complementary fashion; the city can be considered yet another "level" of economic niches and resources” (Luykx, 1999 pp. 11-12). While Luykx does not infer directly that Aymara who are urban will be better positioned to assert control over the definition of national culture, she does suggest that urban populations generally will. She argues that “the study of rural urban linkages becomes even *more* crucial when so much of national policy, resources, and debate are devoted to "integrating" the indigenous majority into the "national culture." The precise contents of this national culture are the subject of much debate, but one thing is clear: though many of its elements derive from the expressive practices of rural dwellers, it is urbanites who define its boundaries” (p. xxxix).

During the 1990’s decentralization became part of the “new development paradigm” which emphasized “decentralization, community development, deregulation, privatization, minimal government, [and] popular participation” (Werlin, 1992 p. 223). While the concept of decentralization may, on a cursory reading, contradict Luykx’s observations that urbanites would define the boundaries of the national cultural debate because “it has increased opportunities for Indigenous and local organizations to

participate in local decision making and has opened new spheres for grassroots political participation” (Kohl, 2003 p. 153). But, Kohl (2013) also points out that a critical issue with decentralization “is the ability of local elites to capture the benefits more effectively than if they were administered by a central government . . . [creating] opportunities for corruption with a regional flavour” (p. 154). These local elites, I argue, represent those who have accessed cultural capital within core, often urban, centres and are able to subsequently exploit rural populations. Suggesting that “elites from diverse backgrounds may have more in common with each other, than with their subjugates” (Gupta and Ferguson 1992 p.20). Decentralization, within the Bolivian context was manifest in a 1994 law of popular participation (LPP), which “transferred 20 percent of the national budget to the country’s 311 municipalities and in a departure from the policies usually associated with decentralization, mandated grassroots participation in local planning and budgetary oversight” (Kohl, 2003 p. 153). The LPP was the catalyst for “profound and lasting change in Bolivia” (Klein, 2011 p. 270). An example of this was that “6 percent of monies devolved to the communities went to develop a basic health care program” that contributed to the decline in maternal mortality from 390 deaths per thousand live births in 1994 to 229 deaths per thousand live births in 2005 (Ibid). Advocates for decentralization could tout this as an example of the decentralization model at work. However, these proponents would be overlooking the fact that Bolivia’s model of LPP has its roots in the “structural adjustment package designed with technical advice of Jeffrey Sachs [wherein] a neoliberal model replaced a capitalist state model.” (Kohl, 2003 p. 155).

Bolivia's economic restructuring has had a profound effect on the national economy, and state services because "[s]ixty percent of Bolivia's dwindling exports go toward servicing the debt" (Luykx, 1999 p.9). Along with this debt repayment, the World Bank and the IMF through the imposition of structural adjustment measures have pressured "Bolivia to streamline or sell off state run enterprises, often at bargain basement prices. The first sign of a major shift in direction came with the decision to privatize the mines" (Ibid). When the mines were privatized, 20 000 miners were laid off. This provoked a strong reaction, as the nationalization of the mines was one of the centrally symbolic acts of the revolution, with its reversal incompatible with many Bolivians vision for Bolivia's future (Klein H., 2011). As will be discussed later in this chapter, this massive dismissal which was officially called the *relocalización*, saw many miners settling in the El Alto region. This *relocalización* subsequently had a profound impact on socio-political processes of the region (Zibechi, 2010).

The privatization of the mines was but the thin edge of the wedge, with the succeeding years seeing the continued privatization of other state enterprises. Luykx summarizes the public sentiment when she states "[n]ot only is the working class alarmed at seeing the gains of the revolution melt away, there is also public outrage at what is seen as the surrender of national sovereignty to U.S. and multinational interests" (1999 p. 9).

One of the most documented of these protest was dubbed the Cochabamba Water Wars. "The Water War, which was an important motivation for the mobilization of peasant irrigators from Cochabamba, was, without any doubt, based in the defense of Customary

Practices [*usosy costumbres*]⁴ with regard to their water” (Peredo, Crespo, and Fernández 2004, p. 11, translation by author as cited in Perreault, 2008 p. 835). These peasant irrigators as members of a larger Aymara agropastoralist group “regard water as the most precious of the natural resources on which they depend for survival. Highland springs specifically define village membership and are central in the Andean system of reciprocity” (Mamani M. 1989:106). This uprising that saw the reversal of the Bolivian states sale of the Cochabamba municipal water system to Aguas del Tunari (a subsidiary of the U.S. firm Bechtel), a multi-national corporation. The reversal of this sale to Aguas del Tunari was broadcast as a major triumph against neo-liberal economic agents. (Albro 2006; Perreault, 2008), and was the catalyst to “[t]he uprising that has had the most profound consequences for the political and social development of Bolivian society during the last few years . . . the popular and indigenous uprising of October 2003” (Burman, 2010 p.463).

The long-term impact of these protests, and revolts has been the emergence in Bolivia of a “sense of the need to protect ‘the national’ against ‘the international’”, as stated in the 2006–2010 National Development Plan. Since Morales came into office in 2006, this tendency has led to the World Bank and IMF being excluded from decision-making and financing mechanisms, at least for the education sector” (Cordozo, 2013 p. 22). Evo Morales ratified this position, at least officially, when he stated “[w]e must concretely and effectively support the Aymara in protecting their environment and defending their

⁴Usos y costumbres, as applied to campesino irrigation, are the mutually agreed-on norms of water rights and management practices that govern communal irrigation systems. (p.835)

water from privatization, commodification, and pollution. The Aymara are not dominant in wielding political power. We do not want to be research subjects, but fellow combatants in the struggle against the privatization and commodification of water” (as cited in Eisenberg, 2013 p. 222).

Just as there is the sentiment to protect the national from the international, there is also a growing movement for Aymara both politically and spiritually to protect against loss and imposition. This phenomenon is most clearly expressed in Burman’s, (2010) article *The Strange and the Native: Ritual and Activism in the Aymara Quest for Decolonization* in which he describes the activities of two protagonists, one is the Maestro who is an Aymara medical practitioner, the other is political organizer called the Activist. Burman describes how the “Maestro tells me about one of the most common illnesses among his patients that of spirit loss. Because of fright, a person loses her spirit whereupon another “strange” spirit may take its place and cause illness and a deceptive view of reality. In one and the same ailment, then, we find notions of “loss” and “imposition” (Burman, 2010p. 458). Burman then posits the question of whether the Activist is speaking of the same thing when he speaks of “colonialism and its consequences; he talks of the loss of “native” identities and the imposition of “strange” identities; of how people live their lives with an illusory view of their “self.” Echoing the Maestro’s notion of illness, the Activist characterizes colonialism as a process of “loss” and “imposition” (Burman, 2010 p. 458).

In each instace, the Maestro and the Activist speak of ajayu which is a:

certain essential quality of being . . . One cannot speak of “being” in the Andes without speaking of “ajayu,” (Carter 1968; Huanca 1989; FernándeZ 1999; Orta 1999). . . The ajayu is not a fixed thing that one

has, but is instead a dynamic quality that permeates one's being. As such, the *ajayu* is a prerequisite for all varieties of existence. Where there is life, there is *ajayu* . . . *Ajayu* is not restricted to humanity but integrates humanity into a broader web of life; it is, in a sense, what makes all life forms human or, perhaps more correctly, what makes all beings persons (Burman, 2010 pp. 459-460).

I believe it is worth stressing Burman's summarizing statement "[t]he *ajayu*, in any event, is one's fundament of social existence" (Burman, 2010 p. 460). This social existence echoes the mores of social reciprocity and complementarity that has formed a cultural canon for the Aymara since ancestral times. The Activist has revalorized this concept and provided "an ethno political twist as he suggests the existence of an ethnically restricted *ajayu* shared by all Aymara. The *ajayu* thereby comes to resemble a collective core of indigeneity" and suggests that "They have made us think like them, but it is still there; they haven't got at the *ajayu*" (Burman, 2010 p. 460). Luykx further supports this articulation of a collective indigeneity when she states "thirty years ago "Aymara" denoted simply the language, and was rarely used as an ethnic category; its use has accompanied the growing "ethnic consciousness" among such sectors (1999 p. 23). After almost 500 years the collective indigenous sense of self has been subalternized, but, Aymara people are "rearticulating their existence as a people" (Burman, 2010 p. 464). As this process is taking place, the "colonial Elites [who are also contemporary economic and cultural elites] were not only retreating but the state that they had constructed [is] suffering a deligitimization and losing its ability to discipline and subordinate" (Zibechei, 2010 p. 77). The traditional forms of initiating this deligitimization and dehegemonization has usually been undertaken in Latin America by

social movements [that] presuppose the creation of organizational bodies that are separate from the groups they represent and assume the

state form. For over a century, anti-systemic movements have developed their organizational structures in parallel to capital, the state, the military, and other institutions of the system they fight. Although there are a great variety of working-class, popular, and peasant “organizations” arising out of and reflecting the vicissitudes of daily life, the political left and social movements chose to build structures that are separate. In doing so, they show not only that they have little use for the forms and structures of the everyday life of the oppressed in their effort to make a revolution and change the world, but they are also-a paradox of social struggle-replace them with structures that are molded on those of the oppressors (Zibechi, 2010 p. 45).

Thus, revolutions such as those that have occurred in the Bolivian context have not been as beneficial to Indigenous groups as they might have been. For even “[t]oday the Aymara continue to be denied access to many of their national resources” (Johnsson, 1986 p.28), and many feel disenfranchised and politically ignored (Santos Huanca, 2004 pp.387–388 as cited in Eisenberg, 2013 p. 32). Zibechi in his book *Decentralizing Power* (2010) outlines how institutionalised state power has been undermined through decentralised anti-state groups that utilize processes including complementarity and reciprocity to destabilize statist power. He explains how even

Morales [has] power and likes to exercise it: he single handedly decided to be the representative of the social movement. He himself decided to be a candidate for the presidency of Bolivia and to partake in government, and he leads a political body (Movement towards Socialism, MAS in its Spanish acronym) that is separate from society in movement. On the contrary, we speak of state power when leaders become part of the organs of power. Special institutions are needed, then, for that leader to become a statesman, but widespread collective mechanisms are needed to prevent it (Zibechi, 2010 pp. 46-47).

These widespread collective mechanisms arise out of and reflect the vicissitudes of daily life, they are complementary and have influenced thought and action in the cultural noetic space of the plaza or marketplace that dates back to ancestral times. It is this noetic space

that “serves as a point of interchange of traditional products and is a place in which the spirit of Andean social organization and complementarity survives and flourishes” (Eisenberg, 2013 p. 36). Because “[t]hird World cultures are involved in an ever increasing “intercontinental traffic in meaning” (Hannerz 1987 p. 552), the next section in this thesis will examine the intracultural traffic in meaning that occurs within the noetic space, with its attendant processes and mechanisms that influence the *ajayu* of the Aymaran people.

5.2.2 The Aymara Noetic Space: The state always exists, although in some societies it is endlessly thwarted” (Zibechi, 2010 p.82).

Within the Aymaran context, “[t]he metaphor for love is *arishi* (to speak mutually)” (Hardman 1996:25–31). Freire suggests that in order to enter into dialogue with someone you need to love them (1968). Love, in this instance, is a term used to describe a mutual ontological respect that might facilitate a respect of difference within dialogue. Freire has paraphrased and simplified this concept when he emphasized humility in dialogue for he suggested that “no one knows it all: no one is ignorant of everything. We all know something; we are all ignorant of something.” (Smith et al., 2008 p. 208), this doctrine is embodied within the Aymara cultural construct of reciprocity and complementarity. Vicenta Mamani (1993 p. 391) explains how this “life principle is based upon solidarity, reciprocity, honesty and responsibility.” Language is required to facilitate these processes, consequently, “[a]mong Aymara, language is the definition of what it means to be human” (Hardman, 1997 p.33). Furthermore, the “[r]ecognition of the humanity of others is the essential function of the grammatical system of the Aymara language”

(Saavedra 1981:26–27). Being human within this ontological perspective does not separate one from the supporting ecosystems, “instead personal and communal success depends to a large degree on ecological complementarity” (Eisenberg, 2013pp.30-31). Within this context, “Pachamama is the spirit of the uncultivated earth, who occupies a very privileged place in Aymara culture because she is the intermediary for production and the generative source of life” (Mamani 1993:393). Pachamama is the principle Aymaran deity, “[s]he is an elderly mother who protects the Aymara and provides them with all that is necessary for life” (Ibid p.397). The Aymara should live in a reciprocal relationship with Pachamama in the same way they live in reciprocity with each other. (Klein, 2011). Rist et al. (2003) further explain the depth of this interrelationship when they explain, “nature mirrors the state—or “health,” as local people express it—of the society. Meanwhile, the society mirrors the health of the natural environment” (p.264). This lasting cultural model of interrelation reciprocity and complementarity between nature and society, as well as between members of society, is gradually being modified due to industrial development and urbanization (Aldunate et al. 1983).

If we return to Burman’s (2010) Activist and Maestro who are maintaining an Aymara identity and *ajayu* through developing a conscious conviction and maintaining a state of mind through their respective actions, we are able to see these changes being articulated. In the development of conscious conviction, the Activist, speaks of colonization, and contemporary colonial mechanisms where

an alienating “strange” agentive influence cutting off people’s ties to ancestral spirits in the landscape, provoking *ajayus* to disengage from people’s bodily being. In such a state, the *ajayu* is vulnerable to the agentive force of fright and is easily lost. Colonialism, then, implicates loss . . . Being instilled by *ajayu* is what characterizes a conscious

social being, and its loss therefore implies the loss of proper consciousness and sociality; it may thus entail a lapse into asocial manners considered to characterize the “other” or “strange” urban life of colonial modernity (Burman, 2010 p. 461).

This process of “ajayu loss” is termed *susto* and is well known throughout the Bolivian Andes. While there is no rigorous consensus qualifying *susto*, it is believed that different components of the *ajayu* can be lost. *Ajayu* loss is often associated with perceived colonial impositions on the authentic Aymara *ajayu*, such as incursions from a change in context such as the process of urbanization, or the change in the context and content of school as with an alienating education system that seeks to make “Bolivians out of Indians” (Luykx, 1999), when it does return through processes initiated by the Maestro or the Activist, it “returns intact when called back, that is, the experience of loss does not alter the nature of the *ajayu*” (Burman, 2010 p. 463).

So, we can understand through this perspective that, colonial “strange” spirits, identities, and institutions can be expelled. When Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada (the president of Bolivia) was expelled from the Palacio Quemado by a revolt in October 2003, many spoke of it in terms of a “*limpieza*,” a cleansing. Some even spoke of it in terms of a “*kuticha*,” or the ritual of sending back the “strange” spirits or maledictions to their source. Since Sánchez de Lozada fled for the United States, such accounts are quite telling” (Ibid, p.467). However, the strange can also be made less strange, under certain conditions incorporated into the Aymara community. The Maestro and the Activist in their dual roles of maintaining Aymaran *ajayu* are capable of doing so because of their capacity to deal with

the strange,” and the success of any indigenous activist seems to depend on whether they are capable of doing likewise, that is, not only

expelling “the strange,” but also finding strategic ways of rendering it less “strange,” and in some cases, incorporating it into a strictly conditioned sociality. Doing so implies running the risk of “the strange” affecting “the native.” There are just as many stories concerning maestros being “eaten” by “strange” spirits as there are stories of activists being corrupted by politics. However, not approaching “the strange” implies giving up a powerful potential ally (Burman, 2010pp. 468-469).

This process or encounter of making “the strange” less “strange” through strategic practices alludes to heuristic processes within a noetic space. Heuristic processes that might through revalorizing the “strange” make it less “strange” and possibly even useful. A second form of “encounter” is also manifest within Aymara contexts. This encounter is ritualized and called *tinku* and is a way of exorcising unnecessary violence between communities (Martin, 2002). Within this ritual, the idea is “to balance energies and not to polarize them. These energies can be those between humans, between human societies, nature and suprahuman societies.” (Ibid pp.394-396). Tinku concentrates forces to intensify them, and meliorates conflicting positions in the interest of unification. It is a place where differences coexist (Boysse- Cassagne et al 1987). “*Tinku* takes the form of a short and violent ritual fight, characterized by warlike combat between two opposing forces” (Burman, 2010 p. 396). The effects of these confrontations on its participants may include bloody faces, bruises, and swollen eyes. But, René Zavaleta Mercado suggests that these are the inevitable consequences of this feast of “love, power and violence,” which has been called one of the most profound expressions of Bolivian nationality (René Zavaleta Mercado as cited in Burman, 2010). This description of Tinku may be the idealized vision of the ritual because there have been increasing reports of Tinku fading into a “blur of drinking and fighting” (Romero, 2007) that occurs under the supervision

of local police. On the one hand, you have these instances of unmitigated *ajayu* loss, and on the other

there are enterprises aimed at raising the level of “native” consciousness. There are schools and universities with Aymara intellectuals (and occasionally ritual maestros) as teachers, invoking “native mindsets” and revitalizing “indigenous knowledge.” There are Aymara intellectuals participating in national debate and politics. There are seminars, street discussion groups, and rural inter-communal assemblies. On the other hand, there are bodily practices converting consciousness into action and action into consciousness. There are manifestations and roadblocks. And then, there is unmitigated revolt. All these seemingly disparate practices and institutions are part of a collective practice of retrieving that which is experienced to have been lost due to colonialism (Burman, 2010 p. 463).

These numerous public and personal assertions of Indigenous identity and consciousness “are shaped by a process of dialogue between the local worldview and external historical influences. The degree of differentiation among ethical values corresponding to different stages of local history greatly depends on the type of cognitive competence developed by members of a community” (Rist, Burgoa, & Wiesman, 2003 p. 268). Furthermore, Rist et al. (2003) suggest that cognitive competencies do not work in isolation. Instead, they suggest that the development of an equilibrium between cognitive competence and a social competence through “a system of rotating duties aimed at lifelong learning and development . . . derived from the ethical principles of the Andean worldview” (p.269) creates a social coherence, which was and still is necessary for withstanding moments of crisis and conflict. Barkin (2012) supports the conceptualization of a dynamic process to facilitate the perpetuation of cultural canons through crises when he states “for tradition to survive, it must become a living process, a resource that is constantly renewed to assure its currency and its value”. Maarleveld and Dangbegon (1999) suggest that an

“elucidation” of a social learning approach, “the way in which people learn to get insight into, predict, and control the manner in which their actions affect natural and human life”, is important so that cognitive competence can “evolve to deeper levels of reflexivity” (p. 272). Rist et. al. (2003) suggest that within the Aymara context,

[t]he connecting element between Nature and society is a morally correct action, but in this particular case, acting “correctly” not only means fulfilling a set of defined moral values; it also implies that the community must understand the world according to Andean concepts of life, Nature, and society. This represents a shift from single- to double-loop processes of social learning. Thus, solutions to current problems are essentially perceived as a social and cognitive issue that requires combining deep reflection with an ongoing effort to decode, differentiate, and internalize ethical principles in everyday actions, resulting in an increase of social competencies that permits internally driven transformations of social organization (Rist, Burgoa, & Wiesman, 2003 p. 270).

I believe that, the process of increasing reflexivity and social competencies that Rist et al. outline is already incorporated into Aymara socio-political structures of reciprocity and complementarity, with the decentralization instituted through the 1994 law of popular participation reinforcing these structures. A specific example of this reinforcement is the decentralization of state power to municipal governments. Decentralization, Ardaya (2001) suggests, “must be rooted in collective decisions and a widely approved social process. Bolivia offers a good example of this paramount lesson.” (p. 217).

Language is critical to this social and political process as Briggs (1981 as cited in Eisenberg, 2013) explains “*Yaq’a markanakan idiomap yatisas jan yatisas parlakipasiñanakasaxwakisikipuniw*. Whether or not we understand the languages of other nations, communication among us is extremely important” (p.144) Consensus and

cosmology require language. Language is used to construct ontologies; it can build competencies, and form the catalyst for revolts (Burman, 2010; Rist, Burgoa, & Wiesman, 2003). Plazas, dating back to ancestral times, have been maintained as the Aymara noetic space as the context within which dialogue has been used to develop and construct the cultural canons of complementarity and reciprocity. The plaza serves as a point of interchange of traditional products, and is a place in which the spirit of Andean social organization and complementarity survives and flourishes (Brown 1987). Plazas are culturally defined spatial settings for diverse public interactions that may be sacred or mundane. These interactions can vary from executions to commercial exchanges, games or chats on park benches (Ibid). Moore (1996), the author of *The archeology of plazas and the proxemics of ritual* explains that “[t]hroughout Andean Prehistory, plazas have provided arenas for public ceremony and ritual, though they have appeared in varying spatial forms with markedly different properties” but “the essential quality of plazas: [is] they are places for human interaction.” (pp. 789-792). The plazas of the Titicaca region, the ancestral stronghold for the Aymara, have a distinct pattern in that they have relatively “private interior spaces’ that promote and are conducive to “involved communication of detailed information over small distances” (Ibid p.796). Communication within the plazas “can be understood as collective self-education in which the people share ways of seeing the world and ways of responding to problems, expanding modes of action to be shared out among an extensive network of relationships” (Zibechi, 2010 p. 61).

This noetic space is both socially and ideologically demarcated and separated. “The importance of these sites is not only their manifest and distinctive appearance, but their qualifying and latent meaning” (Kuper, 1972 pp. 420-421), the latent meaning that is inferred, from Aymaran plazas, is that they are a noetic space within which social competence is brought into equilibrium with cognitive competencies through reflection and dialogue. These processes are elucidated when it is understood that reciprocity is called “the glue that keeps Andean societies together” (Johnson 1986 p.118) and it “encompasses everything from one individual helping another to a complex and ritualized agreement between families” (Mamani, 1989 p. 32). Yapita argues that the Aymara language does not have a phrase for thank-you because “reciprocity is so fundamental to the Andean culture” (Yapita, 1994 p.177). Zibechi (2010) further supports the concept of the plaza as a space in which cognitive and social competencies are developed for he states that “[t]he plaza is the place of collective decision making” (p. 62). He further expands on the importance of plazas, as a noetic space, when he states:

The plazas have their own histories in the urban social struggles in Bolivia, as privileged spaces for exchange among popular sectors. So, it comes as no surprise that during the October events they were the place where residents, acting as a community, made the most important decisions. The plazas acted as nodes for community consolidation and interconnection, within each neighbourhood and among neighbourhoods and districts: The plaza is the most important. It is the central point for convening residents. The soccer field is in the Plaza. . . It is inconceivable that you wouldn't have one (p.57).

Moore (1996) suggests that “a study of Andean plazas not only clarifies the nature of public rite but partly illuminates the pre-Hispanic [and contemporary] bases of legitimacy and power” (p. 798). Thus, the plaza, as a noetic space is highly contested. Zibechi

(2010) suggests that “there is an ongoing battle . . . it is a struggle to impose the space-time of the state, which is that of capitalism. The system aims to disrupt the community’s control – a self-control that is grounded in direct, face-to-face social relationships –to “liberate” the community from that control and convert its members into citizens with rights and duties under the state. That is, they are carried out outside the community space” (p.65).

Zibechi illustrates the complexity of these processes, and clearly outlines the physical manifestation of these processes within the context of El Alto uprisings, when he states:

The history of the El Alto social movement can be framed in the context of [a] pendulum dynamic, in which space-time is a productive force of the state and the non-state. There is growth in this cyclical process, which we would call natural, without external objectives. This dynamic is visible in the fight for public spaces. The state seeks to set its own space-time and, to do so, it is necessary to deconstruct the space-time of society in movement. As the flow of the movements deconstructs state domination, the same happens in reverse. A clash of flows occurs, spreading throughout society. The attempt to legislate the grassroots territorial organizations is just one of them. What happened to the plazas-important spaces for daily socialization and for the coordination of the rebellion –is a good example. La Ceja, the small plaza where book and pamphlet stalls were set up, was fenced off after the movement of May-June 2005. There was an attempt to prevent the space from being used by young people and other residents for discussions and gatherings (Zibechi, 2010 pp. 88-89).

Zibechi (2010) throughout his book generates and comprehensively supports an argument that power and its legitimacy, within the Aymaran context, is not institutionalized, not separated from everyday life. The noetic space of the plaza facilitates the processes of organization, so that “daily life is deployed as an arena for insurrectionary action. The division of labour is minimal because there is no separation between those who give

orders and those who receive them, nor between those who think and those who do, because collective meetings fulfill these functions” (Ibid p.46). During insurrections, community decision making takes “shape in the mass assemblies in the plazas . . . [this] moment of concentration initially seeks to garner internal strength in the form of consensus” (Ibid, p.58). Cognitive and social competence developed through the lived education of the plaza as a noetic space, is discernible in the capacity community members demonstrate for decentralized leadership. Zibechi speaks of “a virtue of versatility” where a social movement is undivided because all the parts have the capacity to perform all the functions. Community members demonstrate the ability to lead and to be led, thus the “amputation of one portion does not preclude further action” (Zibechi, 2010 p. 48). Insurgents have expressed this more colloquially when they state, “Indigenous soldiers must have preparation, they must not just be soldiers, but they should also be supervisors, like a professor with a gun” (Ibid p. 54). The concept of a rhizome (Deleuze, 1987) is utilized to describe how a system of rotating leadership as described earlier ensures “that the entire community or neighbourhood is involved-allows the action to be maintained indefinitely . . . [and] action plans do not require the creation of a special or separate structure or even specialization or division of labour. Everyone already knows what to do and what is expected from each person and, above all, from each family” (Zibechi, 2010 p. 52). This rotation of leadership contradicts a central element in the institutionalization of a movement, for it does not seek to establish formal representatives, this “nonstatism is evident in the absence of a specialized body (a “team” in Weber’s words), separated from society” (Ibid, p.98). Zibechi summarizes this process effectively when he states:

the community continues to function as a dispersal machine, always avoiding the concentration of power, and by allowing everyone to be a leader or commander, it inhibits the emergence of leaders with power over the long term. In short, we see a set of mechanisms in play that strengthen no-division by preventing any single apparatus from becoming detached from the community framework. These mechanisms also inhibit the formation of a permanent leadership by means of a rotation system. We can speak then of how the Aymara have established “war machines” – that are dispersion machines, both outwardly and inwardly, because they combat the state and break it up but without creating a centralised or unified apparatus to replace it. Or, we could say, they disperse the state without re-creating it. That is precisely why they can disperse it. Simply put: the way to disperse the state is by not creating a state (2010 pp. 55-56).

But Clastres (1978), whom Zibechi utilizes extensively, argues that the state can exist in primitive societies, even in the smallest groups of nomadic hunters,

[i]t exists, but it is unceasingly averted, its realization is constantly prevented. A primitive society is a society that directs all of its efforts to preventing its leader from becoming *the* leader (this can even lead to murder). If history is the history of class struggle (in societies where there are classes, obviously), then you can say that the history of societies without classes is the history of their struggle against the latent state, the history of their effort to codify the flows of power⁵(Zibechi, 2010 pp. 66-67).

An interesting discussion around this process of constant antistatism is the assertion by (Kopenawa, 2013) that Indigenous peoples aspirations went beyond the attainment of rights, and strove more determinately toward an assertion of value. This point clearly illustrates the institutional impersonal power of the state in its capability to create “the abstract concept of a legal subject, which turns people into bearers of rights” (Zibechi,

⁵This is a reverse view of that offered by Marxism: it is not the existence of classes that allows primitive society to develop toward the state but rather the existence of the state that allows the emergence of classes, because that is the mechanism the expropriation of wealth takes place (Zibechi, 2010 p. 67).

2010 p. 95) instead of the more contextually relevant affirmation of the value of a community member engaging in dialogue towards consensus.

I disagree with Zibechi's assertion "that every struggle passes through the state, even struggle against the state passes through the state . . . because the state is the only rational force in Bolivia." (p. 83). This position precludes Clastres conceptualization of societies that perpetually undermining the latent state. In this instance there may not be a rational power force through which this process occurs, but stateless conditions have existed with populations struggling against the latent state. *Colectivo Situaciones* elaborate on this ambiguity by suggesting that this previously described context is a world where "forces and energies are presented without stabilities;" and take the form of "a continuous swinging between dissolution and dispersion on the one hand, and cohesion and the organic on the other." This world would be unstable, forcibly unstable (Zibechi, 2010 p. 133).

Much of Zibechi's theorization was conceptualized through a study of indigenous uprisings in El Alto, an urban centre that is predominantly Aymaran, and has many ties to rural areas and livelihoods. Further to these relationships, and the broader construct of self-education within the plazas, is the process of re-communalization. The process of re-communalization infers the reconstitution of the community to one where "educated young people take the places formerly occupied by only the elderly and adults . . . it is redemocratizing itself-enabling the participation of sectors previously excluded from decision making. This process not only strengthens the power of the ayllu as a space for renewal of the Aymara world without losing its identity, but also deepens it libertarian

values and practices” (Zibechi, 2010 p. 112). The closure of the mines and the subsequent migration of six thousand mining families to El Alto is relevant to re-communalizing the Aymara community in El Alto because the relocated miners had an education level above the national average, and significant experience working within the struggle and organization of the mining unions (Zibechi, 2010 p. 71).

In order to more rigorously understand the processes of antistatism, and cognitive and social competence within a context of reciprocity and communalism, an exploration of these processes within a second location would be useful. To this end, an exploration of these processes as underlying features of the Cochabamba water wars will be explored.

An interesting expression of the assertion that every struggle passes through the state, is the rendering of cultural identity as legal fact. Albro (2006) suggests that this assertion of cultural identity as legal fact was achieved through the passing of Bolivia’s 1994 Law of Popular Participation. This rendering of culture as legal fact, Albro (as cited in Perreault, 2008 p. 839-840) provides an idiom through which Indigenous and Campesino peoples in Bolivia link the material practices of everyday life with politicized discourses of identity formation and citizenship rights, both long denied by the hegemonic rule of Bolivia’s white, urban minority. (pp.839-840). It is essential to restate at this juncture that Cochabamba, was, without any doubt, based in the defense of customary practices [*usos y costumbres*] with regard to their water” (Peredo, Crespo, and Fern´andez 2004, 11, translation by author as cited in Perreault, 2008 p. 835). Thus an assertion of custom based in that “usos y costumbres exist in and are reproduced, reinforced, and legitimated through everyday material practice. Insofar as they are based in consensus, collaboration, and mutual vigilance, usos y costumbres can only exist within a context of communal

resource control and social organization” (Perreault, 2008p. 840). The assertion that usos y costumbres can only exist within the prescribed context, contradicts the assertion that all struggle passes through the state because this struggle doesn’t require a legal recognition of rights. Instead, it uses the “enormous potential of the Aymara . . . that lie in the micro spaces of social life . . . manifest in communities, in the connections between communities, in events and assemblies within the community” (Zibechi, 2010 p. 110). Perreault (2008) establishes these micro spaces by outlining the three basic tenets upon which usos y costumbres rest. These are:

1. They are practices that are repeated, habitual, and regular.
2. They are based on thorough, intimate knowledge of the social and environmental context in which irrigation takes place.
3. They are voluntary, mutually agreed-on, and accepted within a given social context (e.g., the members of the irrigation system), and not imposed by an external actor (p.839).

These tenets clearly demonstrate the assertion of custom, and not necessarily right, is achieved through ascribing repeated, habitual, and regular status to activities undertaken by the group. The development of cognitive and social competencies are developed through the intimate knowledge of the social and environmental context within which the usos y costumbres prevail, and the deinstitutionalized, antistatist adoption of collective control, as opposed to imposed control by an external actor. In elucidating this point further, it is worth noting again the ambiguity of the dynamism of these processes because “[I]ndian reality cannot be understood as pure opposition to the state, but rather as a creation of autonomous spaces or powers within the state, including incumbent desires to become the state” (Zibechi, 2010 p. 132).

Thus, the Indian ambiguity, which forms part of the radical ambiguity of human beings- surviving between emancipation and subordination- will not be solved by removing one of its extreme moments, but by riding the waters of life at the helm leaning toward the side of emancipation, or be it toward the non-state, knowing that the very inertia of life-navigation impels us – perhaps inevitably so-toward the reconstruction of institutions, the state, oppression (Zibeche, 2010 p. 13).

Usos y costumbres were not protected from exploitation by multinational corporations, even though they were recognized as a “culturally distinctive form of water rights and customary practices” by Bolivian law, and “sanctioned under the International Labor Organization’s Convention 169 on the Rights of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries (ILO 160, ratified in Bolivia by Law 1257 in 1991)” (Perreault, 2008 pp 839-840). Aymara groups, in order to assert control over their cultural spaces, relied on the social and conceptual mechanisms of reciprocity, complementarity, and decentralized leadership to “rupture [hegemonic] social inertia and move themselves, which is to say *they change places*, refusing the place they have been historically assigned . . . and broaden their spaces for expression” (Zibeche, 2010 p. 85). The reversal of the decision to privatize water in Cochabamba is widely discussed, and has had broad ramifications in the discussions on anti-neoliberalism. An interesting consequence that I will elucidate here is the broadening of spaces for social expression that is achieved through the rupturing of hegemonic social inertia. In many ways, the broadening of space for social expression is congruent to attempts at state control over Aymara noetic spaces. This has been achieved through actions such as fencing off plazas to eradicate, or ameliorate social upheaval. However, in this instance the Aymara are asserting and

expanding their space-time over a broader context with the significant political, economic and social ramifications that this implies.

This being said, architects of exploitative and hegemonic state and economic structures, while they may not fully conceptualize the power of Aymara micro-spaces, are cognisant of the broader macro implications that emerge from these spaces. This awareness is manifest in the nature of plazas, within El Alto, becoming “somewhat homogenous thanks to state interference” (Zibechi, 2010 p. 89). This interference along with state organization of schooling as the site crucial to “hegemonic organization of collective memory and forgetfulness “is being exploited to minimize the “social gulf between Aymara speakers and Spanish monolinguals” (Luykx, 1999 p. 40). This is being facilitated further through the implementation of a nationalizing curriculum that can alleviate “the fact that they do not find each other's behavior intelligible; [because] they lack the mutual understanding, the joint interpretation of interactive cues and contextual knowledge, that people who share a language and culture enjoy (Luykx, 1999 p. 14).

5.2.3 Transformation:

It is not even possible to talk about the political dimension in education; it is political throughout.
—Paulo Freire

It may seem that the imposition of formal education structures can completely overwhelm the cognitive and social capacities of Bolivian Indigenous groups. While Abercrombie suggests that “Indigenous peoples and cosmologies "are unintelligible apart from their struggle with the state" (1991, p.15), I side with Zibechi (2011) who suggests that power exists in the micro-spaces of Bolivian life. It is the cognitive and social capabilities

developed within these micro-spaces that promotes, and makes feasible resistance to the institutionalization of power. In order to contextualize this assertion, I will explore, in this section, Bolivian micro spaces that influence resource use, language use, and the revalorization of contextual learning as a viable mechanism for cultural reproduction. Just as I argue that heuristic processes are innately creative, Wiesmann (1998) suggests that the competencies required to optimize livelihood strategies is a “creative act”. He further suggests that this leads to a “reconceptualization of natural resource management as a social learning process involving external as well as local groups of social actors” (p.175).

Water resource management within Bolivia, and specifically Cochabamba, is an example that typifies the adoption of social learning as a catalyst to the creative acts required to assert and maintain resource rights. It is important at this juncture to elaborate on the processes of neoliberalism that are at play within context of resource management. Bakker (2002) suggests that the neoliberalization of water management occurs along one or both of two axes: privatization and commercialization (see also Haughton 2002; Bakker 2003a, 2003b; Swyngedouw 2004). “Whereas privatization involves an *organizational* transference from public to private control, commercialization involves an *institutional* transformation, as efficiency measures, market mechanisms, and principles of competition gain primacy in resource management.” (Perreault, 2008 p. 837). The capacity for irrigators to mobilize and respond to these pressures involves “dense associational networks involving cross-class, cross-ethnic, and urban–rural linkages, irrigators have projected their interests onto a national stage, a process that has altered the

institutions and processes of water governance in Bolivia. This mobilization has involved claims by irrigators to basic rights to livelihood, expressed through the idiom of customary practices, or *usos y costumbres* (Ibid, p. 839).

Larson (1998) argues that Bolivia's campesino irrigation systems date back to 1953, while many other irrigation systems were internationally funded in the 1980-90s. Thus as Perreault suggests "the importance of *usos y costumbres* lies less in their historical authenticity than in their symbolic role as signifiers of indigenous or campesino cultural continuity and political autonomy" (Perreault, 2008 p. 840). This assertion of political influence rests on a synchronic construction of authenticity, and is indicative of the social and cognitive capacities of the organizations participants. Bolivian irrigators have developed the capacity to access supracommunity organizations such as global Indigenous networks, as well as "dense associational network that irrigators have fostered with intellectuals, activists, development practitioners, and other social movements has broadened their coalition of allies." (Ibid, p. 848).

The protests and mobilization against neoliberal forces intent on privatizing water, in Cochabamba, were thwarted through local efforts in generating innovative forms of collaboration and production, of political consolidation and social collaboration.

Manzano (2012) suggests that in a "clash between indigenous emancipation (the preservation of cultural diversity) and economic rationalization (a supraconstitution, rules of the global economy) . . . it is improbable that an individual initiative in a certain country can be completely successful." (p. 103). I would argue that Manzano's stance is premised on a macro perspective. The successful articulation of public control over

water in Cochabamba may be an isolated occurrence on a macro scale. But, Nunez (2012) working on the premise that “[t]he expression of Aymara worldviews in language, gesture, everyday activities, and urban organization shows, in a fundamental way, how culture dwells in our bodies” (Nunez, 2012p. 988), thus evaluation from a micro perspective offers other insights. This micro perspective, helps us to imagine how, within Aymara micro spaces, battles over an individual articulations of culture are being waged. Through the following discussion of Nunez’ work, I will outline how as Zibechi suggests, these individual articulations of agency within the sphere of everyday life extend beyond popular and contemporary notions of social capital, and are manifestations of cognitive competencies, socialization as education within noetic spaces such as plazas, and finally are the catalyst to broader communal mobilization and cultural articulation.

Nunez (2012) in her fascinating article: *Facing the Sunrise: Cultural Worldview Underlying Intrinsic-Based Encoding of Absolute Frames of Reference in Aymara* explains how “both spatial language and non-linguistic preferences and competences are co-affected by broader and ubiquitous non-linguistic cultural practices and material anchors” (p. 966), in other words preferences are influenced by factors that are prevalent in the micro spaces of the Aymara world.

In order to more fully conceptualise the findings of Nunez’ work, it is important to understand its conceptual foundations. To this end, Nunez outlines how humans describe the relative position of “everyday physical objects using various spatial frames of references (FoR)” (p. 965), these FoR are culturally and linguistically determined. FoR can be relative to the observer, intrinsic to the object involved, or absolute in terms

extrinsic to the object (Levinson, 2003). Nunez utilizing Whorf (1956) explains that “[o]ver the last couple of decades, the diversity of linguistic spatial FoR (Levinson & Wilkins, 2006) has become a paradigmatic case study for the testing of the Whorfian hypothesis, which states that the properties of a language shape, in a fundamental way, how people think and conceptualize the world” (Whorf, 1956 as cited in Nunez, 2012 p.966).

In the Aymara culture, the central role played by the sunrise as a symbolic reference point is well documented, framing socio-cultural, religious, and everyday activities (Van den Berg, 1992; Van Kessel, 1996a, b). Nunez clearly explains how the sunrise as a symbolic reference point is manifest in the daily life of Aymara culture when she states

building on the primacy of the sunrise, sustain a variety of social practices—from sacred rituals to urban planning to the details of everyday life—that provide a robust and ubiquitous absolute (cardinal) FoR. Furthermore, the absolute cardinal points east and west are lexically marked on the basis of a specific relation with a canonical body orientation provided by the worldview that construe community (including people, objects, and land) as having an implicit canonical orientation facing east. As a result, east locations are conceived and linguistically expressed as “in front” of people (and objects) and west locations as “behind” them (Nunez, 2012 pp. 967-968).

This canonical orientation is maintained even if Aymara converse in Spanish. Nunez argues that a “peculiar adaptation of Spanish lexemes seems to be a consequence of the clash generated by the traditional Aymara spatial references— with its need for the absolute referencing of the east—and the Spanish language, which only has the intrinsic uses of these terms” (p.986). Therefore, even though there is linguistic imperialism the conceptual world of the Aymara remains intact.

This conceptual world although macro-cultural, is at the same time the horizon against which the everyday and the micro-cultural is played out. This point is supported by Fiske (1989) who asserts, “language is complex and contradictory; its "cultural work" is not limited to reproducing the dominant ideology” (p. 180), and is essential to conceptualizations of education within the Aymaran milieu, or even a “plurinational Bolivian” curriculum because the context of learning may have immediate and often understudied implications on the construction of Aymaran and Bolivian conceptual worlds. Furthermore, these micro spaces as Zibechi suggests, contribute to Aymaran cognitive and cultural perpetuation, and in some cases emancipation.

While Zibechi clearly explains the cultural underpinnings to the importance of micro spaces in developing cognitive and social capacities, Luykx (1999) in her book *The Citizen Factory* explores the implications of schooling in Bolivia. Luykx (2012) asks “the same simple but penetrating question of schools that Marx asks of industrial labor and production: What are students (workers) asked to produce, and for whom does it have value?” (p. xi). She goes on to suggest that “[e]ven though their labor is primarily linguistic, it is as objectifying and alienating as industrial labor” (ibid, p. xii).

Throughout her writing, she chronicles how “students are routinely asked to learn to speak in an alienating "academic register" and consume prodigious quantities of useless, fragmented bits of "school knowledge." In exchange for their labor, they receive grades and an economic future as "proletarian professionals." In the end, the significance of academic labor for the students themselves lies more in its exchange value (i.e., as a passport to social mobility) than in its use value (i.e., its applicability to real life situations).” (Ibid, p. xii).

Within this brief assertion lies an essential critique to formalized education processes whether in the developed or developing world, whether occidental or Andean. Within this critique lies the catalyst to proletarianization that I outlined within the introduction to this dissertation, a proletarianization that is enforced, or enshrined in edicts to promote Universal Primary Education. Luykx (2012) queries what type of surplus is generated through mental labour at schools, and what commodity form does this surplus take. She answers these questions by suggesting that:

if one peers through the lens of Antonio Gramsci and Stuart Hall, one will see the Bolivian ruling bloc and state using the Normal School to build its political hegemony, and, simultaneously, an imagined community called "Bolivia." Working through various cultural institutions, the Bolivian ruling bloc is busy building a state civil society complex that reproduces, in a broad cultural sense, the "social relations of production" that are needed to sustain the capitalist "forces of production." Initially, it is the state that accumulates the surplus value of student labor, and the form it takes is a particular kind of objectified, consenting citizen. Ultimately, of course, the government also benefits from the political order and stability produced through the state civil society complex (p. xii).

The school is viewed as the space that rivals, and perhaps even intentionally coopted the family, as the crucial site of socialization. Appadurai and Breckenridge (1988) argue that the "cultural learning necessary to function in society is changing and expanding too rapidly to be contained within the bounds of the family" the sort of transgenerational stability of knowledge which was presupposed in most theories of [socialization] can no longer be assumed" (p.17). Part of this socialization involves the renegotiation of identity, which involves "an increasing awareness of, and identification with, the various subject positions available in the adult world." (Luykx, 1999 p.125). Thus, subject positions are limited by many intrinsic and extrinsic factors that may include but are not

limited to race, class, and gender. Subject positions are not given or ascribed; instead, they are “constructed in the discourses and practices that make up one's social environment.” (Ibid, p.125). If the state has coopted this social environment and called it school, then the subject positions that are available will be those that serve the interests of the institutionalized power of the state (Levinson and Holland, 1996). Luykx (2012) suggests that this “reproduction of ideology need not involve heavy-handed “indoctrination” or conspiracies of domination by the powers that be. Rather, subjects are produced— and hegemony reproduced—through the gentle tyranny of everyday practice.” (p. 125). This reproduction of ideology

[r]ather than something imposed at the surface of our minds . . . is embedded in material practices that permeate our existence, becoming so ingrained as to define the limits of apparent possibility. The gradual evolution of these practices from something that people *do* to something that they interpellate individuals as particular kinds of subjects and simultaneously naturalizes the selective character of this interpellation (Ibid, p.126).

Brooker in *A Concise glossary of Cultural Theory* explains interpellation by stating that “[w]e are all always caught up in the process in which we voluntarily acknowledge the validity or relevance of the dominant ideology in which we live for ourselves and thus subject ourselves to it” and even if we do not subject ourselves to an ideology, “we would sooner or later be forced to adhere to it” (Ibid). This tyranny of everyday practice, and its associated interpellation, is contested by the state on the one hand, and anti-institutional forces on the other. Luykx describes this implicit process when she states “[p]owerful messages delineating the subject positions offered to students (including that of “student” itself) are encountered both in and out of the classroom. These subject positions are selective and purposeful, but a crucial part of their representation is that they are made to

appear natural. It is this obscuring of both their historical roots and their role in maintaining structures of power that makes such representations ideological” (Luykx, 1999 p. 126).

The ideological implications of education, and reforms associated with revolutionary politics is apparent in Morales early decision after his 2005 electoral victory to “do away with the former “foreign” education law of the 1990s, and to create a new Bolivian-owned reform programme for decolonizing education. “The transformation of Bolivian education has to start with changing the normales” (Cordoza, 2013 p. 19), so that in many ways Bolivia’s normales teacher education colleges have become “socio-political battlefield” (Cordoza, 2013 p. 17). While Luykx is referring to 1994 education reforms when she states “Bolivia's new educational philosophy officially recognizes linguistic and cultural diversity as a resource to be fostered, rather than a problem to be eliminated” (p.41), and proposes a methodology and epistemology clearly opposed to the ethnocentric, mechanical pedagogy of the past. Still, these efforts at change face formidable obstacles, not the least of which is the resistance of teachers themselves. While the progressive vision embodied in the reform raises hopes for a truly liberatory, critical education, the rigid, models of the past are deeply entrenched in teachers' classroom practice (Luykx, 1999). Andrew Canessa (2012) in his book *Intimate Indigeneities* articulates this same criticism about the subsequent 2005 educational reform even though “the Morales government aims at a radical restructuring of the governance mechanisms for the teacher education sector and a socio-political redirection of its curriculum, as teachers are perceived to be potential agents for decolonization and for developing social justice” (Cordoza, 2013 p. 17). Canessa (2012), alongside other

substantive critiques of the discriminatory nature of Indian education in Bolivia, states “[s]chooling is the point of entry of the nation-state into the village space in many rural communities. Schooling in Bolivia, much more than the teaching of literacy and numeracy, is about the teaching of citizenship, about engendering a sense of national consciousness, and there is no more powerful visual representation of this than a Bolivian flag flying atop a (metal) pole”⁶ (Cannessa, 2012 p. 190).

These schools with their prioritization of personal development in itself contradicts a communal and collaborative Aymara socialization. In fact, Barkin (2012) suggests a more appropriate response when he suggests that “[r]ather than concentrating on individuals and their capacities to participate effectively in regional governance activities, the approach . . . [should] search for more productive activities with strategies for increased collective capacities”. He further elucidates this point when outlines the necessity of

expand[ing] beyond the improvement of individual capabilities and the exercise of individual freedoms, [because] if societies are to liberate themselves from the globalized straitjackets imposed by international economic integration with its imperatives of “free” trade and markets . . . [requires a] focus on the primacy of collective determinations of the worth of their activities and the focus on collective entitlements, assuring the viability of community processes for individual participation (Barkin, 2012).

This focus on collective activities and entitlements assures the viability of an individual within that community being socialized and interpellated within a setting determined by the collective culture with minimal institutionalized state and political interference. To

⁶ Canessa is referring here to an anecdote that became the chapter “Progress is a Metal Flagpole”. In this story he relates how, when queried the teacher in the community school requested a metal flagpole to replace the perfectly serviceable, locally manufactured wooden flagpole. (2012 p. 185).

this end socialization becomes the key element within education, and should be the focus of political and social reforms.

Luykx (1999) argues that the “aim should be, not to remove ourselves from the process of interpellation, but to gain a critical perspective on it and on the subject positions involved; in other words, to "denaturalize" them and penetrate the ideological veil that obscures their origins in human made structures of power” (p.127). This is important because schooling as a site of interpellation, as a site for reproducing macro social structures through “the accumulation of minute, micro level practices, is, more “than anything, the routinized details of school life that socialize students as particular kinds of subjects” (Ibid, p. 123). If these processes are not denaturalized, then a structure of permanent education, where individuals no longer have the capacity to question prevailing ideological socializations or even imagine alternate ones, can be easily constructed (Giroux, 2007).

The traditional view of socialization is commonly conceived as an “early period of concentrated cultural learning by which a child is integrated into society” (Luykx, 1999 p. 124). Walsh on the other hand suggests that “we must reconceptualize socialization “not as a set of skills and knowledge unproblematically transferred to the next generation, but as a dialogic process in which hegemonic structures are absorbed, resisted, and transformed in unpredictable ways” (Walsh, 1991 pp.36-37). This perspective should replace the traditional view of socialization because socialization is not completed in childhood, but a “secondary socialization" involves the mastery of new communicative competencies, exploration of various ideologies, and experimentation with various social

personae—in short, the construction of an adult identity and habituation to the practices that it entails” (Luykx, 1999 pp. 124-125). An important democratizing corollary to this position is that “social learning is understood as a society-wide process that cannot be restricted to an elite of experts, scientists, or politicians” (Woodhill and Röling 2000). This is further supported by van Dam-Mieras (2005) who states, “only ten percent of the life-long learning process of an individual takes place within a formal learning setting. Creating an educational system supporting learners outside the formal system demands the engagement of a broader group of stakeholders.” (van Dam-Mieras, 2005)

Luykx (1999) utilizing Hall (1985) clarifies and contextualizes this process adroitly and is worth citing at length:

While social reproduction involves subjects' interpellation into particular subject positions, these are not constructed solely within the dominant ideology and then simply imposed on subaltern groups. Rather, they are created in the space between the two, and their fixation within chains of signification is a never-ending struggle over meaning. Such discursive struggles occur not only in people's attempts to rupture, contest, or supplant particular ideologies, but also when they "interrupt the ideological field" by transforming or rearticulating the meaning of existing terms (Hall 1985:112–13)—as in the reworkings that the terms *indio* and *campesino* have undergone and continue to undergo, both from above and from below. As social movements develop around the contestation of existing ideologies, "meanings which appear to have been fixed in place forever begin to lose their moorings." If the challenge to old meanings becomes strong enough, society may even cease to reproduce itself functionally in quite the same way that it did before, and "social reproduction itself becomes a contested process (Luykx, 1999 pp. 296-297).

However, in order for communities to initiate deinstitutionalizing processes within the socialization of their youth, it is “important to understand the characteristics, driving forces, and internal and external conditions of social learning processes” (Woodhill,

2000). Morales' initiatives to decolonize the education system was by no means an easy undertaking. Even after working with "Indigenous Education Councils (CEPOs), the GTZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit), and international consultants, started the project called P-INSEIB (Proyecto de Institutos Normales Superiores de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe), which targeted eight normales to become bilingual institute of teacher education . . . donors revealed that the longer-term impact has been limited because of reorganizations and staff replacements" (Cordoza, 2013 p. 22). Fairclough (2005 p. 935), argues that it is only through the implementation of a successful strategy where "new representations and imaginaries—new discourses and narratives—in new ways of acting and being and new material arrangements" are introduced. These new imaginaries and representations would constitute new subject positions into which people could be interpellated. This suggestion becomes all the more resonant when one learns Canessa's (2012) perspective on post Morales reformed education when he states "[o]ne could summarize schooling thus: It is where children learn that they are Indians. It seems then, that have to learn that they are Indians before they can be turned into civilized mestizos. The first part of this pedagogical project appears to be very successful; the second part, it seems rather less so" (p.197). Canessa's description of contemporary Indigenous education within Bolivia seems to affirm Luykx's assertion that schools reproduce macro social structures through micro level practices. Further to this, Cordozo (2013) citing a study participant states

a rural teacher trainer told me, "there is discrimination for sure, although you might not see or hear it. There is discrimination based on people's [indigenous] surname, and their social status". Most discrimination and exclusion, both in normales and in schools, is related to what could be termed ethnic and class discrimination . . . The mere fact that there are still two

teacher unions, one urban and one rural, with obviously differing points of view, contributes to this segregated system. Clearly, there is a serious need to overcome the deep structures of discrimination in Bolivia's (teacher) education system, particularly considering the current goal of *vivir bien para todos* (to live well for everyone), without discrimination (Cordozo, 2013 p. 28).

Systemic racism is not isolated to teacher training, teachers unions, and individual teacher attitudes, but, is also observable in curriculum. Luykx (1999) describes how the

integration" of indigenous culture into the curriculum often constituted an exercise in contradiction, a superficial valorization of a stereotyped ideal of indigenous identity which cloaked a deeper discourse of denigration. The normal school's tendency, even when ostensibly glorifying indigenous culture, was to weaken rather than strengthen students' identification with it, presenting it as a romanticized past with little positive bearing on students' present ambitions, and positing a stereotyped indigenous subject from which students had to distance themselves in order to become true professionals (pp.148-149).

Giroux supports suggestions to incorporate student's language, culture and experience into the curriculum, but not in the superficial way outlined above or for "filling in gaps", but as a "a starting point for analyzing how those gaps arose in the first place (Giroux 1992:118). This "starting point" represents a micro space within which to nurture, and promote existing dialogues that are already evident, but often ruled as anti-social, within the classroom contexts where students are attempting to forge coherent identities. While there are many "weapons of the weak" (Scott, 1985) suggests that "[t]radition is employed, not simply as a cultural refuge from the assault of modern forces, but as "the imaginative reconstruction of the past in the service of current interests" (p.146). This said, "The most elemental form of student resistance is simple withdrawal from the academic exchange. This may take the form of truancy or desertion; in the normal school, students simply abstained from participating in class" (Luykx, 1999 p.221). It is

important to note, that direct social action, as Fiske (1989) suggests, is only the tip of the iceberg. Direct social action occurs under “the conditions under which the submerged 90 percent of the political iceberg can be made to rear up and distort the social surface” (p.162). This 90 percent is the power that resides in the micro-spaces of culture. This power resists, in its capacity, the “controlled and organized transition [that] tends to involve some continuity of exploitation” (Zibechi, 2010 p. 86).

If societies are to continue to develop in a way that will not limit future options, they will be resilient. Berkes (2003) suggests that these resilient systems are capable of developing the capacity for renewal and innovation during periods of rapid transition and crisis.(Berkes, 2003)

In corroborating this statement, Zibechi (2010) argues that “The political power of the ayllu (designated authorities by rotation and in succession for a limited time, to ensure no monopoly of power)” (p. 104) contributes significantly to the dynamism of Aymara communities. Decision making and leadership within these communities as has been illustrated through the previous discussion, is nonstatist and non- institutionalized, within these systems there is no distinction, no separation, between the leaders and the led, with proportional cognitive and social capacities being developed within Aymara noetic spaces to buttress and perpetuate the resilience of these communities. Zibechi (2010) highlights the importance of this non-separation further when he states:

The non-separation, a basic feature of the Aymara world, means that responsibility for resolving conflict lies in the hands of the community itself and its own authorities. But the concept of non-separation has another possible reading, related to the integral nature that I have already referred to – it does not separate the present from the past, nor values from their implementation, nor crime from its context, nor the

real world from the sacred and religious world. This is because what is sought is not punishment, and therefore separation, but to recover balance through compromise- which is among the most important legal principles of community- as way to restore harmony (p. 98).

Thus, the processes of schooling in a plurinational Bolivia should reflect, and not superficially, the cultures that it hopes to represent. Within Aymara communities this might see the non-separation of the learner from the context, so that Aymara youth can adopt subject positions, learned from, and socialized within the noetic spaces they value, and might be envisaged as a school as a non-institution.

5.3 Maori People of Aotearoa

Anne Salmond (1975 p. 10) author of a primary reference on hui (Maori ceremonial gatherings) takes and prioritizes the synchronic over the diachronic stance as she “preferred to give the legendary account of the prehistoric period rather than a picture pieced together from archeological findings, because although the archeological version has greater scientific validity, it is mythology which is relevant to the marae [Maori traditional meeting houses].” She justifies this stance further by saying “here [on the marae] scholastic problems do not exist; and mythology is entirely real”(Salmond, 1975 p. 10) The settlement of, and migration to, Aotearoa presents an interesting example of a synchronic-diachronic inconsistency. The diachronic schema presents, through evidence gained from archeological studies, the settlement of New Zealand to be around 1150 AD. However, it is widely accepted that initial settlement of Aotearoa stems from the arrival of “The Great Fleet” of 1350. Hanson summarizes the work of Simmons (1976) and Smithyman (1979) to outline the origins of the great fleet more completely.

While it is undeniable that Maori tribes tell of the arrival of their ancestors in migration canoes, the notion of an organized expedition by a Great Fleet in about 1350 seems to have been constructed by European scholars such as Smith in an effort to amalgamate disparate Maori traditions into a single historical account (Simmons 1976:316). Dating the fleet at 1350 was a particularly blatant work of fiction, since Smith simply took the mean of a large number of tribal genealogies that varied from 14 to 27 generations before 1900. "The date of 1350," Simmons concludes, "has validity only as an exercise in arithmetic" (1976:108; see also Smithyman 1979 for further evaluation of Smith's work). (Hanson, 1989 p. 892)

So the synchronic schema, although influenced by early European researchers, conflicts with evidence generated in a diachronic schema. In this instance, the Maori

synchronic knowledge will prevail in the construction of cultural identity. Hanson (1989) suggests reasons for the Maori assertion of their synchronic schema against conflicting claims when he states:

Maori reasons for affirming Io [a unifying, and supreme god] and the Great Fleet have not, however, been the same as those of Pakeha (Maori for European or White) New Zealanders. If Maoris have always been willing to accept any qualities of racial greatness that Pakeha scholars might attribute to them, it was not so much to believe themselves worthy of assimilation into the White population and culture as it was to bolster a sense of their own ethnic distinctiveness and value. (p.893).

So, while this is a section on the historical and contemporary context of the Maori, it also speaks to the evolution of the Maori cultural identity with its attendant ramifications.

Cultural evolution, as I have suggested in the previous chapters, relies on a dynamic noetic space that allows for alternate manifestations of cultural canons, heuristic thinking, and the revalorization of how central cultural canons would be manifest. The enactment of these processes is achieved through the ontological preferences, which are the everyday choices through which members within indigenous communities express their resistance, or make manifest cultural transformations. This dissertation is centered on Indigenous education as a means to affect ontological preferences. The conception of education that corresponds most closely to this objective, and is most valid for my methodological structures implies social and contextual learning which Owen (as cited in Penetito, 2010) argues is “at its root, is nothing more nor less than the evolution of consciousness” where “context is the state or level of consciousness achieved by the organization and the individuals involved.” (Penetito, 2010 p. 46).

Salmond (1975) cogently argues that following over two hundred years of European contact “the Maori people of New Zealand have held on to their Maoritanga (Maoriness, Maori-culture) and express[ed] it most vividly through the hui” (p.1). I agree that hui, as events, hold many rituals and traditions in reified form, but, these rituals and ceremonies would lose some of their cogency if they were not undertaken in a forum defined and controlled by a Maori syncretic ontological schema. Just as the marae, as a context, allows legendary accounts of prehistory to become real, so does turangawaewae as manifest by the marae make the ritual and Maoritanga of hui vital and real. So while I do not discount the importance of hui as a mechanism for the maintenance of Maoritanga, I believe the underlying cultural tenet of turangawaewae (a place to put one’s feet) represents the key trait without which Maoritanga would soon cease to exist. It is for this reason that I will be presenting, in this section, information regarding the evolution of Maori culture and consciousness by exploring the historical context of Aotearoa-New Zealand and the Maori responses, especially the concept of turangawaewae, generated through the noetic space, and made manifest by the individuals and organizations involved.

In order to contextualize the subsequent historiography, a brief description on the origin and meaning of turangawaewae is essential. While turangawaewae literally means “a place to put one’s feet”, it has a deeper meaning as a Maori term that speaks about a connection to the land (Gagne, 2013 p. 266). Tauroa and Tauroa (1986) elaborate on this connection to the land and define this concept as a “standing place from where one gains the authority to belong” (p.166). In New Zealand and especially in urban contexts the marae has grown to be for many, the physical and spiritual embodiment of

turangawaewae. The marae is a noetic space for the Maori. McCallum (2011 p. 92) describes “the physical space of the marae [as being] ontologically meaningless without the functionality of the rituals that take place there; each sanctions the other. It is a mysterious alchemical place; like theatre, it is the endless space of possibility where anything and everything can and potentially does happen.” While the marae is the physical manifestation of the Maori noetic space, in the Maori intellectual and cultural context it is turangawaewae and requires protection. Ceremonial acts such as te-wero and kanga symbolize elements of the protection. Te-wero (the challenge) and te-karanga (the call) are specific acts within the broader ceremony of powhiri (welcoming). “Te wero and/or te-karanga constitute the inciting incident in this enactment and [the] antagonist has complete control of the liminal space” (McCullum, 2011 p. 95). “At a crucial level [the powhiri] recognizes the meeting of two groups” (McCallum, 2011 p. 93) that are separated “not only physically but also spiritually” (Robin, 2014). On another level, and subsumed within this welcoming of a visitor, lies a challenge and reckoning of potential foes. So we can come to understand that te-wero and te-karanga are meaningless without turangawaewae for each sanctions the other. It is through the evolving dynamic of these motifs that I will be exploring the Maori context and consciousness, and its perpetuation through education.

5.3.1 Context:

It would be impossible considering the scope of this thesis to discuss the Maori historical context in great detail. With this in mind, the following discussion will cover treaties as historical landmarks documenting formal Maori and Pakeha relations as they

predominate much of the research of these relations. A limited overview of the key treaty documents with their attendant social, economic and cultural repercussions will be discussed. The post WWII era represents the shift of Maori populations from rural to urban centers, and is a shift that has had significant consequences to Maori cultural viability, land tenure, and social organization, and will be discussed as the focus as the culmination to this section.

Maori identity in pre-European times was based on their own pre-migratory roots. Symbols divined from mundane experiences, transcended their original contexts to be woven into the quilt of viable cultural expression (Mol, 1982). In this section, the canoe, land and chieftainship will be discussed as central elements in Maori Identity formation.

The Canoe was the vehicle of survival through migrations, and was utilized to procure food from the sea after arrival in Aotearoa. In “The Great Migration of 1350”, each tribe was contained in a separate canoe within the migration fleet. The canoe thus became a symbol for an individual’s personal, familial, and tribal place within the society, and allowed tribal descendants from each canoe to settle internal differences so that they might be unified against a common foe (Buck, 1929).

Land, as in many Indigenous cultures, has a value that transcends the mundane. The confiscation of Maori land through colonization “meant the destruction of something much more ethereal and abstract: hapu (sub tribal) cohesion. Land did not belong to the individual, but stood for the inalienable hapu identity. It was turangawaewae (literally, a standing place for ones feet), a collective rather than individual knowledge of place, belonging” (Mol, 1982 p.8). Turner further elucidates the importance of land within the Maori context when he states: “[l]and is at the very heart of Maori identity and Maori

sense of continuity: [for] Maori, the basis of right and their claim to justice is the concept of tangata whenua, people of the land, which expresses their original occupation of the land and their distinctive relationship to it” (Turner, 1999 p. 410). This relationship to the land was born in the legendary Maori homeland of Hawaiki, prior to the great migration. It was through war induced through the pressures of overpopulation, and scarcity of land that the Maori as the defeated had to find somewhere else to live. That somewhere was Kupe’s land to the south, the land of Aotearoa. “At first [in Aotearoa] there was plenty of land for everyone, but after an initial period of expansion the best lands were taken, and boundary disputes became a common cause of fighting.”(Salmond, 1975 p. 12)

The Maori chief coordinated tribal affairs to assure survival through the provision of food, shelter, and mutual defense. Chiefs were linked, and considered related to both gods and men. The ceremonial dress of chiefs was designed to impart a communal and tribal image of strength and well-being. The tribes lead by their chiefs provided a social identity and belonging that was congruous to the belonging ascribed through relations to the land. Early interest in Aotearoa-New Zealand by European agents of colonization is covered in great detail by other authors (for example Sutton 1986; Crosby 1986), but, is exemplified by three main stages that I will discuss here in order to provide greater context for the remainder of this dissertation. These three stages are 1) the voyages of explorers, whalers and sealers, 2) missionaries, and 3) the establishment of commercial interests.

The first documented contact between Maori and Europeans took place in 1642, when Abel Tasman arrived in Golden Bay. The Maori rammed a shore bound ship’s boat and

four of Tasman's crewmembers were killed. Over a hundred and fifty years later, Captain Cook Circumnavigated New Zealand in 1769, and was ignorant of the Maori traditional rituals of encounter. As noted earlier, te-wero (the challenge) and te-karanga (the call) are specific acts within the broader ceremony of powhiri (welcoming). These rituals of encounter were often met with musket fire. These early contacts with Europeans resulted in epidemics of venereal disease, influenza, and viral dysentery. The Maori population most likely began to decline right away. Nearly every decade for over a century thereafter produced similar epidemics, as the Maori encountered a series of European diseases, the causal agents of which were carried by healthy Europeans (Sutton 1986; Crosby 1986). Ongoing conflict between the whalers and sealers who followed these early explorers and the Maori persisted. The early forays into trade were typically very basic with Europeans trading "nails and cloth for woman and food" (Salmond, 1975 p. 19).

The first missionaries arrived in 1814 led by Rev. Samuel Marsden, the missionaries learned the Maori Language, engaged in many Hui and prosthetized rigourously. Following these missionaries came the established commercial interests whose impact on the Maori economy was most profound. These commercial interests brought firearms to New Zealand in large numbers, "and as a matter of survival many tribes left their cultivations and worked furiously to gather enough dressed flax or timber to equip their fighting men. Once they had traded an adequate arsenal, they went on a warpath. Fighting during this period was on a scale unrivalled in pre-contact times . . . and some tribes were virtually exterminated" (Salmond, 1975 p. 19). Paranson (1980) suggests that

“[t]he introduction of European weapons in the early nineteenth century created, in effect, an arms race, in which tribes hastened to acquire guns in order to defend themselves against other tribes who were making the same acquisitions” (p.54).

During this time of tribal warfare the missionaries frequently acted as mediators, but, their efforts were often undermined by runaway sailors and convicts who gave the Maori liquor and acted as advisors. The New Zealand company was formed in 1825 lobbying for British intervention. Salmond (1975) mentions James Busby as the resident sent in 1833 from Sydney to address the New Zealand company’s concerns, stating that “his activities were ineffectual” (p.21). Gagne (2013) provides greater detail on Busby’s activities and suggests that he may have been highly influential in generating the October 1835 Declaration of Independence that was signed by thirty-four Maori chiefs, and was aimed at establishing a national body representative of all tribes (Durie, 2001). Not only did this document “proclaim New Zealand’s Independence and assert Maori title to the soil, it prescribed a Maori parliament able to frame laws for the promotion of peace, justice and trade” (Durie 2001 p. 464). These ambitions for a Maori legislature were short lived because Britain proclaimed sovereignty over New Zealand in 1840 with the signing of The Waitangi Treaty of 1840. “Many chiefs signed the Maori version of the treaty, but the meaning was significantly different from the original English Version.” In the English version of the treaty, Maori sovereignty was forfeited to Britain; while in the Maori language version only “kawanatanga (governance), (Gagne, 2013 p. 25) was lost. Many writers (Awatere, 1984; Durie, 1998; Mulgan 1989) have suggested that if the Maori Chiefs of 1840 had read the English language treaty “that made it clear that they

were signing a treaty that meant they were giving up their sovereignty, and in effect their mana (spiritual power, authority, prestige, status)” (Gagne, 2013 p. 28) they would never have signed it.

Banner (1999), outlines the dilemma of opportunity versus imperative within which the Maori were bound:

In the path of an onrushing market economy, were the Maori better off practicing traditional agriculture or English-style commercial farming? Were they better off exercising traditional tribal political rights or voting for members of Parliament? Were they better off with much land and no money or less land and some money? The answers were not clear at the time. All of these were variants on a single, fundamental question: Were the Maori better off separate from English institutions or as participants in them? (p. 844).

Toffler (1970) suggests that in this context and others where “there is an expectation to deal with accelerated change, and the critical need to adapt, agents require the capability to exercise choice, which he advises, requires the ability to comprehend what is being offered and to predict the impacts to the best of [their] abilities” (p.45).

Smith suggests that it was not the Maori’s choice to sign the treaty of Waitangi that disenfranchised them, but rather the imperative to sign the New Zealand constitution act that facilitated their disenfranchisement, for he states that:

Since the formal occupation of New Zealand by the British in 1840 through the Treaty of Waitangi, and subsequently the formal adoption of the Westminster form of democracy through the New Zealand Constitution Act of 1852, Pakeha people have been able systematically to legitimize and maintain political, cultural, and social dominance. Whereas the Treaty of Waitangi attempted to establish an equal partnership agreement between Maori and the British Crown, ostensibly to protect the interests of Maori in the face of the British occupation, it was the New Zealand Constitution Act (in its co-option of the Westminster model of

democracy) that allowed for the reproduction of Pakeha social, cultural, and political dominance. (Smith, 2000 p.62)

Banner (1999) disagrees with Smith and suggests that the treaty of Waitangi was the culmination of a series of mechanisms designed to dispose the Maori of their lands. He states that:

[t]he English text of the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, the document formally ceding sovereignty over New Zealand to England, was ambiguous. . . [as] Article two confirmed to the Maori "the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess." But what exactly did it mean to "possess" property? Did the Maori possess all of New Zealand, or only the land they were currently using?. . . a strand of thought current in England at least since the time of Locke-that property rights in land were acquired by mixing one's labor with the land, and that land not labored upon was accordingly un-owned . . . In the end, the English government chose to recognize Maori property rights in the entirety of New Zealand, in large part because of the fear that any other course would involve England in a costly war against the Maori (pp. 821-822).

He further insists that the legal acknowledgement, by the British, that the Maori in fact owned all the land, meant that they were in the legal position, as owners, to be able to sell lands as they felt inclined, effectively assuring the British access to the mechanisms of control over Maori lands. This use of the third degree of power (Lukes, 1974) proved, as will be discussed in the next section, to be the fulcrum over which colonial powers levered land title, sovereignty and a way of life out of the hands of the Maori.(Wards, 1968)

5.3.2 Turangiwaewae and the New Zealand Wars.

The Maori experienced what has been called a "close, spiritual relationship with the land" (Buck, 1949), one tied up with "personal and tribal history and with myths of human origins" (Sinclair 1992, p. 64). "One did not own land . . . One belonged to the land" (Durie 1987 p.78). Land in Maori terms, was inalienable, and was a group property held in trust by chiefs "The chiefs had no traditional rights of disposal, since this like everything else operated by consensus, nor was there any precedent for land sale." (Salmond, 1975 p. 23). However, it is important to note that "[o]nce the treaty of Waitanga was signed, representatives of the New Zealand Company as well as private entrepreneurs travelled around New Zealand buying up land, and settlement [by Europeans] began in earnest."(Salmond, 1975 p. 23). So, land sales did take place, with numerous abuses being initiated by all parties. Some unscrupulous chiefs sold land to which they had no tribal affiliation or claim, while missionaries claimed blocks of 10 000-20 000 acres, settlers bought land at low costs, and the military confiscated lands. (Gagne, 2013; Salmond, 1975).

It was at this point that the motives behind the 1840 treaty of Waitangi can be more fully realized, for

“[a]s James Radcliffe proudly reported [in 1842, just two years after the treaty of Waitangi] to the Aboriginal Protection Society, the avowedly humanitarian organization in London taking the greatest interest in the Maori, they are "in the strictest sense of the word an agricultural people dwelling in villages and every way capable of being civilized." But this same advancement simultaneously meant, on the other hand, that the process of acquiring land would not be as simple as it had been in colonies like Australia, where the perceived absence of agriculture had implied the absence of any basis for recognizing aboriginal property rights to land.

Radcliffe was aware of the looming problem and suggested that "before New Zealand can become a thriving British colony, the natives must be dispossessed of these fertile tracts" (Radcliffe 1842 as cited in Banner, 1999 p. 810).

But, this struggle for land was not a simple or uni-dimensional struggle for territory; it constituted a struggle for ontological survival. So while the New Zealand wars have been described as "the successive outbreaks and campaigns which troubled the colony from 1845 to the beginning of 1872" (Cowan, 1922 p. 3); they were in fact a conflict over "the intellectual apparatus that organizes rights to use of land". Banner (1999) explains this critical point further:

[i]f we use the word land to refer to the physical substance, and reserve the word property for the intellectual apparatus that organizes rights to use land, we can say that in colonial New Zealand, the British and the Maori overlaid two dissimilar systems of property on the same land. That difference in legal thought structured each side's perception of what the other was doing (p.807).

A simple way to understand the different properties as Banner describes them is to realize that the Maori were selling rights to use specific resources within a geographic space, and not the sovereign right to the geographic space. Many of the Maori's previous transactions prior to increased colonialism post 1840, involved settlers living amongst the Maori and utilizing the (Orange, 1987)resources in a manner consistent with Maori ideals. However, "[a]s the pace of settlement increased in the 1840s, and the English began living in communities of their own rather than among the Maori, the English began more and more to interpret transactions within their own categories. The process of the erosion of the middle ground as discussed within the Canadian context, earlier in this dissertation, is discernable in the evolution of participation by Both Europeans and Maori

within the middle ground. The imposition of European “property rights” is manifest in the European belief that they had “acquired the right to use every resource within a geographic space.” (Banner, 1999p. 826). Orange further elucidates this difference in understanding by citing an example where “[o]ne purchaser in Whangarei, for instance, tried in 1844 to remove manganese from land he believed he owned outright, and was told that while he may have purchased the right to use the land, he had not purchased the right to remove the stones from the land” (Orange 1987 p. 115).

These ontological differences precipitated the New-Zealand land wars, but, it was a land sale to Governor Gore-Browne in 1859 that was arranged by a chief dissenting the Land League under Wiemu Kingi, that is considered the spark that ignited the New Zealand Land Wars of the 1860’s (Belich, 1990; Cowan, 1955). The details of the various campaigns within this war is covered in great detail by other authors (Ibid). For the purposes of this thesis, it is important to have an understanding of the psychological position of the Maori as they faced losing their land, their foundation to their cultural well being. Maori people have a term that describes their relationship to the land. The term: tangata whenua – People of the land (whenua is also translated to mean placenta, or afterbirth, conoting a connection as to a mother) (Williams, 1892 p. 177 & p. 234). “[T]his unique relationship between members of a tribe and the land they inhabit, is evidence of the place land held-and continues to hold- in Maori value systems. Though neither densely populated nor intensively farmed, land was both an economic mainstay and a marker of collective identity; it reinforced whanau and tribal unity, acted as a

resevoir for food and shelter, and gave meaning to the notion of turangawaewae” (Drurie, 2005 p. 59).

The Maori called the wars “te riri pakeha- white mans anger”, and Wiremu Kingu, a leader within a land league that steadfastly refused to sell lands, declared his resolve when he stated that “we are here eating the English bullets-my friends, my parents, this shall be my work forever.”(Sinclair, 1969 p. 131).

While te riri pakeha raged, it was a forum within which the military prowess of the Maori chiefs and tribes was demonstrated, to the extent that “[at] t the end of the 1860s, some spoke openly of the likelihood of a Maori Victory” (Belich, 1996 p. 256). But, the Maori “could not block the continuous offensive of an army six times as great as their own. (Ibid, p. 298). Walter Buller (1859 he was made Native Commissioner for the Southern Provinces), makes visible the underlying motivations behind the treaty of Waitangi and the subsequent wars to assert control of the “property of land rights” when he states that “we must commence by individualizing their lands." The failure to do so would mean "that the Maories of two generations hence will be essentially Maori in their manners and habits, and that they will have made little, if any, progress in the arts and comforts of civilization" (AJHR 1862, E-5, 11 as cited in Banner, 1999 p. 842).

In 1865, after the worst of the fighting “legislation [Native Land Court] was passed to speed the assimilation of Maori people into an essentially European social structure.”(Salmond, 1975 p. 26). The purpose of the Native Land Court was to search out titles of Maori land and regulate sales. During this same period, in a desperate

attempt to rid Aotearoa of the Pakeha, a religious crusade called the Hauhau, which required devotees, at the behest of its leader, to carry a preserved English officers head throughout the North Island to initiate the extermination of the Pakeha by legions of angels (Ibid) While this may seem extraordinary in its implausability, it is important to note that a similar phenomenon occurred when the Indigenous Peoples of the North American plains were facing extermination on the plains ascribed to the Ghost Dance (Brown, 1971), and as many a seafarer will tell you “there are no atheists at sea.” For when you fear for your survival and all hope seems lost, you are willing to call on the help of any deity willing to listen.

So even though the Maori had faced the white mans anger-te riri Pakeha- eaeten English bullets, and appealed to the Gods, “The Maoris [were] no longer a people, by reason of the Native Land Court" (AJHR 1891, G-1, 40, 120). This meant the transformation of Maori property rights into English property rights; a process that involved much more than land. “Religious belief, engagement with the market economy, political organization-all were bound up in the systems by which both peoples organized property rights in land. To anglicize the Maori property system was to revolutionize Maori life” (Banner, 1999 p.807).

5.3.3 After the Land Court Ruling:

The Land court ruling of 1865 was “in part at least, well-meaning” (Salmond, 1975 p. 26), but, like the Treaty of Waitangi, it became a mechanism for divesting land ownership away from the Maori. In the process of anglicising Maori life the early colonists, and

colonial structures sought to undermine the structures and spaces that gave meaning to the Maori connections to land, social groups, and leadership. Banner (1999) explains the means through which this was attained:

In many parts of the colony, tribal authority was still as important, or even more important, than the authority of the colonial government. The power of the tribe as a political structure was derived in large part from its control over land. To rid the colony of traditional Maori property ownership, therefore, would be to go a long way toward subverting the authority of the tribe over the individual. (Banner, 1999 p. 839)

While Belich (1988) explains the motive: “With the tribe no longer intervening between the state and the individual, the colonial government would be able to exert more effective control over the Maori” (Belich 1988, p.78).

To further inculcate Maori into colonial systems, and as a means of easing colonial consciousness, in an era of “humanitarian colonization” the Maori were given manhood Suffrage in 1867(The right to vote was extended to include woman in 1893), “and four Maori seats in Parliament . . . intended as temporary expedient until the Maori could be phased into European electorates” (Salmond, 1975 p.27). In order for Maori populations to live up to the ideals of citizenship and democracy, native schools were established in Maori settlements. Attendant to the introduction of Native schools was that Maori language as a language of instruction was banned in 1867, through the Native School act (Sullivan, 2001).

This colonization of the indigenous Maori population is often summarized in key terms such as domination, oppression, exploitation, and marginalization (Awatere, 1984; Smith, 1999). However, I believe that a key, watershed ruling, with its attendant justification, by

the Chief Justice in 1877 reveals not only the extent of British Colonial control, but also the predominant, and legal sentiment towards the Maori at this time. Williams (2011) describes the precipitating events to the case:

A dispute about one piece of land on the Whitiareia peninsula near Porirua resulted in a Ngati Toa rangatira, Wiremu Parata Te Kakakura, taking the Bishop of Wellington, the Rt Rev. Octavius Hadfield, to court in 1877. The court case is known as *Wi Parata v Bishop of Wellington*. Today in New Zealand, few people know of the plaintiff, the defendant, or the facts of this case. But the Parata case has become a landmark decision in New Zealand law for its dismissal of the Treaty of Waitangi. ‘So far indeed as that instrument purported to cede the sovereignty – a matter with which we are not here directly concerned – it must be regarded as a simple nullity, went the judgment of James Prendergast, the Chief Justice of New Zealand.’ (Williams, 2011p. 01)

Williams (2011) then describes the rationale for declaring the treaty of Waitangi “a simple nullity”, which while objectionable to today’s standards, reads as follows:

In the Court’s view, the Maori chiefs who had signed the Treaty in 1840 at the invitation of representatives of the British Crown were ‘semi-primitive barbarians’ who did not possess the legal capacity to enter a treaty: ‘No body politic existed capable of making a cession of sovereignty.’ Instead, ‘the title of the Crown to the country was acquired, *jure gentium*, by discovery and priority of occupation, as a territory inhabited only by savages’. In contemporary New Zealand, the language of the Court and its seemingly casual dismissal of the Treaty of Waitangi as ‘a simple nullity’ are frequently attacked as reprehensible. . . . *Wi Parata* is now known to all law students as a case in which a court, which included a Chief Justice who had been Attorney-General at the time of the land wars, unjustly deprived Maori of their legal rights. (Williams, 2011 pp. 1-2)

Perhaps as Durie suggests colonial policy, and decision making during this period was based on the “prevailing wisdom . . . that Maori would become extinct as a race” (Durie, 2005 p. 30). Census data supports this stance as Maori populations had declined from an estimated 100 000 in 1840 to approximately 44 000 in 1886; (Durie, 2005 p. 30) demonstrating an association “between the alienation of land and a dwindling Maori

population”. The dwindling figures of Maori land ownership, 26 709 342 hectares in 1840, and 4 487 000 Hectares in 1886, along with new diseases, and a “state of demoralisation associated with enforced changes to social and economic structures.” (Ibid, p. 30).

So as Banner (1999) summarizes:

[b]y the end of the century, the Maori no longer had most of their land, and they no longer had their system of property either. One way of organizing rights in land had been superseded by another. The British, with the military and technological superiority to establish a government and pronounce the rules by which land would be owned and transferred, had been able to force the Maori to reconceptualize land as composed of geographic spaces rather than use rights. The colonization of land, the physical substance, could not have proceeded without the simultaneous colonization of property, the mental structure for organizing rights to land. (p. 847).

In the next section, I will be investigating the process through which Maori redeveloped turangawaewae, and even, contrary to Banners’ aforementioned assertion, retained their property, their mental structure for organizing rights to land; albeit within the limits of a newly colonized Aotearoa-New Zealand.

5.3.4 Noetic Space:

The noetic space of the Maori is physically manifest in Marae, which have a pan-Pacific heredity. The discussion that I conduct regarding the history of the marae and its evolution is a sketch, and thus not fully developed in the short space that I have available within this dissertation. Marae originated in the broader Pacific. Michael Goldsmith writing on the “[t]ransformation of the meeting house in Tuvalu” explores these origins when he queries the Tuvaluan meeting houses position as a symbol of national identity.

He argues that the name for the meeting house-maneapa is of Gilbertese origin, and “[m]oreover, the weight of evidence suggests that not only the word but probably even the type of building itself is a post-colonial borrowing or implantation. If, indeed, there were no maneapa as such in Tuvalu before British hegemony was established, then questions arise as to what, if anything existed in its place” (Goldsmith, 1985 p. 151). He goes on to document the significant absence of the maneapa in previous records of Tuvaluan culture, and rests with an implication that the maneapa would not be present if it did not fulfill certain functions and conform with the rest of Tuvaluan culture; specifically as an institution that which accomplishes communal ends (Goldsmith, 1985). Tuvaluan meeting houses bear a relevance to the Maori case study because the Tuvaluan meeting houses include a “malae (open space)” (Goldsmith, 1985 p. 155), so the Polynesian Origins of the the Maori marae are unmistakable. But, so too is the emergence, *after British hegemony was established*, of the maneapa, as a significant “indigenous” cultural construction within the Tuvaluan society. Salmond (1975) affirms that since the early twentieth century marae seemed to have increased in sanctity. I believe that Goldsmith is right, the maneapa serves a very specific function within a cultural space governed by a newly established hegemon, it demarkates a malae-open space that is distinctly tuvaluan. It creates as the maori would say turagawaewae-a place to put ones feet. Just like the tuvaluans, the emergence of marae as a symbol of turangawaewae occurred once the British hegemon was firmly established.

5.3.4a The Emergence of Marae:

While much of the 1850’s and 1860’s were consumed by Maori military resistance to

land sales, “a number of large houses were built by leaders of land leagues in token of their earnest [sic] not to sell, and intertribal meetings were held there to deliberate the great questions of the day. These houses were known as *whare runaga* or council houses, and they came to symbolize Maori resistance to European encroachment” (Salmond, 1975 pp. 80-81). Gradually the concept of a meeting house evolved, Sissons (2010) suggests that “[t]he crucial social determinant for this transformation was not the cessation of warfare but land subdivision and alienation.” (p. 375). Sissons (2010) gives us further elaboration regarding the evolution from a settlement house, and suggests that

[p]rior to the 1920s, all meeting houses in the Tauranga valley were settlement houses– that is, they were used by groups comprising more than one hapuu residing together on collectively owned land under the leadership of one or more rangatira (chiefs). These were not the houses of single hapuu, [as a marae is the house of a single Iwi or Hapuu] but instead served principally as buildings in which guests from outside the valley were accommodated (p. 379).

But while “[t]he Marae was becoming a special place, deliberately set apart; a symbolic place which visibly stated the survival of Maoritanga” (Salmond, 1975 p. 81), it was also waning as marae building lapsed in the late 19th century as the Maori population declined. However, early in the 20th century, Sir Apirana Ngata as Minister of Native Affairs in the 1920’s and 30’s, initiated the building of meeting houses all over Aotearoa-New Zealand (Sissons 2000; Salmond, 1975). Ngata concentrated on building “large elaborately carved structures that would serve as models for others and so promote a Maori cultural renaissance” (Sissons, 2010 p. 383).

It is important at this juncture, to explore Sir Apirana Ngata’s consciousness and motivations for promoting legislation, policies and progressive ideas for “helping the

Maori to reclaim his Maori life instead of becoming Europeanized” (AJHR, 1934 p.46). To contextualise this discussion further I feel that Sir Apirana Ngata’s statement, when describing a 1927 conference of Maori leaders held at Wanganui, as “a conference of educated men” to a 1934 Commission of Enquiry into the Native Affairs Department and Ngata’s performance as its minister. This statement by Ngata was, I believe, an instance of *te-wero* (the challenge) and constituted an inciting incident where Ngata was engaging in ritual encounter, while communicating an awareness that the Commission of Enquiry might have precluded. Ngata’s position is an instance where the proof is the accomplished fact because his being resonates with the insinuation “that Maori success would come from a 'judicious' selection and combination of elements of Western and Maori culture” (AJHR, 1934 p. 46).

Sorrenson (1982) suggests that a seminal influence on Ngata’s thinking in the late 1920’s and early 30’s was George Pitt-Rivers and the ideas in his book, *The Clash of Culture and the Contact of Races*. Sissons (2000 p. 52) further substantiates this position for he quotes Ngata as saying:

[d]uring the run-up to the 1928 election, and a month after reading Pitt-Rivers' book, Ngata threw caution to the wind and went public with his new thinking on future race relations: 'In a final outburst at Auckland in September I told my audience that we had reached a point where we could select what we required of the culture of the Pakeha and maintain so much of the Maori culture as showed persistence in the new environment. It was a bold thing to enunciate . . .

Sissons (2000) goes on to state that “Ngata's understanding of Maori culture was at this time considerably more concrete and oppositional” and that a “reinvigorated tribal polity and an associated tribal pride, and not a generalized Maori culture, were to form the

foundation upon which Maori would build a new economy and society. Tribal pride was to be developed through the building and decorating of wharehau on marae,” (p. 52).

While Apirana Ngata and other young leaders were looking to “re-establish” their people “with a program for material betterment” and a “plan to awaken pride in Maori Culture” (Salmond, 1975 p. 81), the British colonial hegemony had through the imposition of the land courts of 1865, and the Native Education Act of 1867, been established. Pakeha policies of the early to mid-twentieth century were directed at assimilating the Maori populations. “By the 1930s English acquisition skills were seen by many Maori [Maori was illegal as a language of instruction in Native schools] as the key to a better education, lifestyle, wealth, and social status. This widespread perception created a language shift from te Reo Maori to English from the 1940s to the 1970s” (Mita, 2007 pp.102-103). Further to this imposed language shift, the New Zealand government's urbanization policy was one of "pepperpotting" Maori into Pakeha (white) suburbs to hasten integration and to fragment Maori as a tribal people (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999). “The policy sought to establish government control and to phase out Maori as humanely as possible” (Mita, 2007 pp.102-103)

The process through which this phasing out was to be achieved was termed integration, and was defined as “a dynamic process by which Maori and pakeha are being drawn closer together, in the physical sense of the mingling of the two populations as well as in the mental and cultural senses, where differences are gradually diminishing.” (McIntyre, 1971 p.439). Integration “is something that has to occur on a purely personal level” (Ibid, p.439). There were diverging opinions on the rate and extent of integration and the mechanisms utilised to achieve it, with some suggesting that the strains of cultural

conflict can “be eased best by slowing down the rate of change” and others urging for an “active education to inculcate modern attitudes as quickly as possible” (Ibid, p.439).

Hunn listed a number of principles to guide integration. I highlight only one portion of these principles, which were generally meant to espouse mutual respect and equality, to illustrate the underlying assumption of Maori assimilation. While equality is advocated, assimilation is promoted through the following statement: “it is apparent that economic and other factors make it imperative for the Maori people to become more closely associated with pakehas in many spheres of activity” (Ibid, p.439)

In many ways the 1961 Hunn report epitomizes the predominant ideology governing Pakeha attitudes toward Maori language, Culture, and Institutions (Sullivan, 2001). For many researchers (Drurie M. , 2005; Sharp, 1997) the perpetuation of disparities between Maori and Pakeha socio-economic measures is directly attributed to the aforementioned century and a half of Colonization, subjugation and assimilation that the Maori have survived. Penetito (2010) cogently summarizes this perspective when he states:

Like other indigenous peoples of the modern world (Australian Aborigines, Native Americans, Metis and First Nations peoples of Canada, Inuit of Alaska), Maori, at least on the surface, have enormous problems, which in shorthand terms can be defined as problems of identity. The problems are seen to originate in acts of separation as a result of nineteenth-century or earlier forms of colonization (p. 37).

Two aspects of Penetito’s quote are noteworthy; the first is his contention that Maori “problems” can be defined as problems of identity. I feel that this underlies much of my discussion on turangawaewae. The second element worth expanding upon is his use of the term “on the surface”. In order to delve beneath the superficial understanding of these enormous problems, it is important to expand upon the extent, perceptions, and

current understandings of Maori-Pakeha disparities prior to exploring the Maori responses to these disparities beginning in the 1970's that initiated a greater critical awareness and response to Pakeha structures in subsequent decades.

5.3.5 Enduring Disparity as a Consequence of Cultural Difference:

While there are a broad spectrum of socio-economic indicators that include: income and income distribution, education, and unemployment and job security that are manifestations of this disparity, and relative underachievement in these contemporarily legitimated indicators of social well-being (Rata E. , 2011). While I will not be able to address, in detail, the debates regarding the underlying factors initiating the manifestation of ongoing disparities, I will explore education as one precipitating factor that many researchers (Chapple, 2000; Drurie M. , 2005; Nash, 2001; Rata E. , 2011) suggest can be correlated to depressed social well-being indicators.

To this end, there are a number of education specific indicators generated by the Ministry of social development (2007) including lower attendance rates in early childhood education centers, dropout rates more euphemistically described as likelihood of leaving upper secondary school without a qualification, and likelihood of possessing a formal tertiary qualification, that supports claims of enduring educational disparities in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Fergusson is more frank with his assertion that “[o]ne of the most well-established features of New Zealand’s education system is the enduring disparity in educational achievement between Maori and non-Maori. Using the standard educational indicators of participation and attainment” (Fergusson, 2008 p.183). Multiple conjunctural causation limits any researchers from ascribing specific causes to the

enduring Maori and Pakeha disparities as demonstrated by education indicators, but relationships are ascribed to the two main emergent factors that are attributed to differences in culture, and differences in educational attainment and success rates.

Firstly, proponents of differences in culture perspective suggest that Maori have been continuously disadvantaged through the imposition of Pakeha colonial processes, such as land ownership rights, and English only education, and assimilative curricula, that have been ongoing for more than a century. There is a further assertion that differences between Pakeha and Maori philosophies and perspectives in education have not been acknowledged or legitimized, an oversight that has further entrenched the effects of Pakeha education policies (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Penetito, 2010; L.T. Smith, 1999).

While the hegemony of Pakeha educational structures is acknowledged the key factors that need to be addressed are : disparate worldviews (L.T. Smith, 1999), distinct pedagogical practices (Bishop, Berryman & Richardson, 2002), and contrasting styles of cognition (Durie, 1994). Fergusson (2008) suggests that “[b]y failing to acknowledge, and cater for, these assumed differences; it is believed that Maori were being educated in culturally inappropriate learning environments (p. 184). Penetito (2010) initially seems to support Fergusson’s focus on these differences being assumed rather than proven, or accepted as fact, when he posits the following question:

why it was that children in classes I taught who came from Samoa or the Cook Islands quite often performed better academically than Maori children in the same classes. Some of them had parents who could barely speak English, and the children were often no more advanced linguistically when they arrived at school. I wanted to know why Pacific parents often outnumbered Maori parents at official parent’s evenings (p. 26).

But, Penetito through his informal anecdotal observations is revealing a larger ontological issue which Smith (2000) articulates when he states that:

[t]he consequences of this process go beyond the assimilation of culture and reach also into the loss of the mana (integrity, self-esteem, dignity) of a people. That is, Maori culture, language, and values became regarded as not simply different, but inferior. On the other hand, Pakeha language, knowledge, and culture were seen as relatively superior, scientific, and civilized. It is little wonder that so many Maori families endure terrible socioeconomic circumstances today (p.62).

So as Penetito (2010) suggests, just as the Pakeha education system does not address Maori cultural differences, it should also be ambivalent to Samoan cultural differences. But he was not able to see this same correlation. While any vagary in Samoan and Maori Colonial histories, and or levels of assimilation may account for this difference, it is noteworthy that Smith (2000) focusses on the loss of integrity, self-esteem, dignity ie: mana as the central contributing factor that underlies Maori underachievement in education, and other socio-economic indicators.

5.3.6 Educational Underachievement amongst Maori and Disparities in Socio-Economic Status

The second perspective, which many authors (Drurie M. , 1998; Poata-Smith, 1997) suggest can never be fully divorced from the first, is that educational underachievement amongst Maori can be largely explained by disparities in socio-economic status during childhood (Fergusson, 2008 p.183). Therefore, processes such as colonialism, institutional racism, and judicial disadvantage may have been the catalyst to, and perpetuation of, Maori economic disadvantage, the underlying cause believed to impede educational achievement by Maori is the inability to access, and lack of capability to participate in New Zealand's capitalist economic system (Chapple, 2000; Rata E. , 2003).

So, as Gladwin (1970) describes social and economic disadvantage can correlate to poorer education outcomes. Fergusson critically argues this position when he states, “that it is not ethnicity or culture per se that influences education outcomes; rather, educational differentiation between groups is a product of their respective economic positioning within specific nations (Fergusson, 2008 p.185).

While authors (Drurie M. 1998; Poata-Smith, 1997) who subscribe to this perspective make every attempt to differentiate poverty as the underlying factor impeding Maori educational attainment, I feel that especially within the Maori context economic disadvantage is a manifestation of a broader resource dispossession that includes dispossession of land. A quote, from Sissons (2010) brings some cohesion to these disparate perspectives, and suggests how economic disadvantage limits the Maori capacity to articulate their culture in its most significant and vibrant forms, of which turangawaewae is an essential component. To this end Sissons (2010) states:

It is primarily through hosting that hapu represent themselves as groups deserving of respect as tangata whenua, literally ‘people who belong to the land’. It is no coincidence, therefore, that the term ‘tangata whenua’ also means ‘hosts’. The hospitality provided to visitors on a marae can be viewed as an expanded form of the hospitality provided to visitors in family dwellings. In both cases, status and prestige rise and fall in relation to perceptions of generosity. The widespread development of a house society is built, I suggest, upon a universal association between hosting and status that in domesticated societies has become focused on the house. Houses are estate-holding bodies. But, more fundamentally, they are also hosting bodies that permit leaders and their families to represent themselves practically and symbolically as generous people of high social worth (p.384).

5.3.6 A Focus on Cultural Erosion as Opposed to Educational Underachievement:

The previous discussion on the perspectives for Maori underachievement look at Maori cultural incompatibility, and Maori economic disadvantage respectively. However, within these discussions there is an underlying normative assumption that Maori should be educated, and achieve educational success within the confines of Pakeha education institutions as prescribed by the Native Education act of 1867. This and other incongruences led Penetito (2010) to title his book: *What is Maori about Maori Education?*

The context of formal Maori education, a rather contradictory concept, is essentially non-Maori because other than marae, Maori lacked a cohesive, vibrant context within which to express moaritanga. It was only through the establishment of turangawaewae embodied within marae that Maori have a position from which to query Pakeha structures with te-wero –the Challenge. It was in the noetic space of the marae that te-wero could be asserted against the disastrous impacts of colonization (Smith, 2000). Smith goes on to suggest that one of the predominant crises to beset the Maori was the survival of the Maori language that “has been marked by the gradual disappearance of fluent Maori language speakers and is also associated with a corresponding demeaning of Maori language, knowledge, and culture” (p.62). The Maori of the late 1970’s and early 80’s were also aware of the Maori language crisis; they were also aware of Sir Apurana Ngata’s motivations for building marae. (Smith, 2000). The activism of the 1970’s and 80’s in solidarity with a more global indigenous movement sought to articulate resistance in much the same way as Ngata. By generating turangawaewae not only in urban marae,

but also in language revitalization as the thin edge of the wedge forcing a bicultural Aotearoa-New Zealand.

The next section will explore these language revitalization initiatives as the continuation of the ongoing historiography of the evolution of Maori Consciousness.

5.3.7 A Shift in Thinking:

Sir James Henare, a highly respected kaumatua (Elder) who attended school in the first quarter of the 20th century, gave evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1985 of his experiences of being sent to the bush to cut down a piece of Supplejack with which he was physically punished for breaking the rule that te Reo Maori must “be left at the school gates” (Waikerepuru and Nga Kaiwhakapumau i te Reo Incorporated Society, 1986, p. 13 as cited in Mita, 2007 p.103).

This forced assimilation of the Maori into Pakeha socio-linguistic structures reveals the legacy against which Maori were initiating an educational revolution in the form of Maori linguistic revitalization. Smith (2000) when discussing this Maori language revitalization explains that “[t]he first understanding is the idea of naming your own world and developing change for yourself” (p.64). Smith draws on Freire (1968) when he supports the aforementioned, as he suggests that the oppressed need to free themselves as well as the oppressors, and that being “liberated by the oppressor is considered a contradictory sequence of events” (Ibid, p.64). In 1972, thirty thousand people responded to a call to liberate themselves, and “signed a petition that was sent to the New Zealand parliament asking for the Maori language to be taught in schools” while a decade before “[t]he Hunn report of 1961 had already described the Maori language as a relic of a past life” (Gagne, 2013 p. 33). It took more than a decade, but in 1987, 120 years after it had been eradicated from the Native Schools, the Maori Language act declared Maori

language to be an official language of New Zealand (Durie M. , 2005). The Maori Language act represented the culmination of a decade and a half of struggle by the Maori.

I contend that this struggle may never have occurred, as the Hunn report suggest the Maori language was a relic of a past life, and that Maori-Pakeha integration should be pursued in every avenue, but for Turangawaewae. As mentioned previously,

Salmond(1975) argues that Hui enabled Maori to hold onto Maoritanga (Maori-ness), and in many respects she is right because:

[i]n 1982 Maori elders came together for a major *hui* (large gathering). One of the main concerns was the imminent prospect (as described by the Benton research, 1971) of the death of the Maori language. In discussions at this gathering, the idea that Maori communities should revitalize Maori language by developing immersion preschool language nurseries. As a result, Maori elders and leaders went back to their respective communities, families, and tribal groups and began to develop what has become known as the Te Kohanga Reo initiative: to take preschool children into total immersion Maori language nurseries; to surround them with "nannies" and elders who were fluent speakers of Maori language. This idea of *creative community intervention* designed to arrest the rapid decline of the Maori language immediately caught the *imagination* of Maori people generally, and the growth of Te Kohanga Reo was both rapid and widespread (Smith, 2000 p.63 emphasis added).

The major Hui that led to the creative community intervention required a noetic space. It is my contention that turangawaewae as manifest by the Marae as engineered through Sir Apurana Ngata's insights served to provide this space. The Te Kohanga Reo, also known as language nests, were first established in 1982 and by 1985, there were over 400.

Gagne (2013) provides a startling insight into the power of the New Zealand state to co-opt this process when she states, "the Kohanga reo were at first the initiative of parents, but the New Zealand state later accredited them." (Gagne, 2013 p. 34). It was in this duplicitous context that Maori communities realized "[w]ith children graduating from

Kōhanga Reo and entering into English-only mainstream schools, parents found that their children lost fluency in their Maori language. Those children needed support; thus, the first Kura Kaupapa Maori (immersion primary school) was established in 1985” (Mita, 2007 p.104). Since then the Maori have initiated educational settings that correspond to most formal Pakeha education settings with (Kura Kaupapa Maori), secondary schools (Whare Kura), and the tertiary level (Whare Waananga). The establishment of these education settings echoes Maoritanga's cardinal demand for more power in Maori hands. The establishment of Whare Waananga, Mead contends, makes it "possible and to exercise a measure of control over it" (as cited in Hanson, 1989 p.897). Penetito (2010) suggests that “[a]fter a review of Ministry of education reports on Maori Education from 1992-2000 reveals a most impressive range of policies, initiatives and resources devoted to improving the education of Maori students from early childhood to tertiary. . . . Maori Language, arguably the greatest carrier and safeguard of culture and thus identity” (p. 45) Consequently, the 1970’s and 1980’s are described as an age of protest (Walker, 1990) where Maori “fought for the survival of te Reo Maori, in response to colonization, because it is the life-blood of their culture” (Ibid). Further to this, I see te wero (the challenge) from a foundation of turangawaewae as essential in enabling Maori to realize, and revalorize their integrity, self-esteem, dignity ie: mana. Smith (2000) elucidates this point further when he states:

I would argue that the [education] revolution of 1982 may be significant not so much as a language revitalization initiative, but as a major shift in the thinking of Maori people with respect to no longer waiting for a "benevolent" Pakeha society to deliver on Maori aspirations. On the contrary, they assumed increased responsibility for developing the social transformation of their own lives. Thus, a significant rupture occurred in the cycle of Maori hope that change would or could be developed by a

dominant Pakeha society. In this sense, the revolution penetrated the hegemonies that constructed and held in place the notion of the benevolent oppressor (p.64).

If education should be conceived as an emancipatory project as Smith suggests, the question that comes to the fore is whether Maori are able to acquire a critical education within appropriating and colonizing Pakeha education institutions. This question will be addressed in the following section.

5.3.8 Do Maori Even Require Different Schools?

Penetito (2010) contextualizes the underlying issue to the question of whether Maori require different schools, when he presents the following statement: “Maori education as it has existed in New Zealand for more than a century is a product of mainstream education in a way that mainstream education has never envisaged being a part of Maori education” (p. 60). This statement moves beyond mere semantics as it presents the underlying power difference ascribed to each cultures capital (Bourdieu, 1977) as determined by the state, and the processes that support it. In fact, Penetito (2010) defines the outcome of culturally differentiated education as a “success of biased failure” (p.59).

He substantiates this qualification by stating:

the native/Maori schools of the period 1867-1969 . . . were in fact , on the whole established, implemented, resourced and controlled by the state and bound by the same philosophical premises, similar legislative frameworks, and more or less the same professional expectations as the mainstream system. . . The education system set-up specifically for Maori was determined to mete out deprivation and limitation, to deprive Maori children of knowledge and to restrict them to the peripheries of the ever-increasing colonial settlements (Penetito, 2010 p.51).

He further substantiates these statements by suggesting that, “[t]he history of Maori education is the history of what Pakeha believe Maori need in order to become ‘full citizens’ of New Zealand (article 3 of the treaty of Waitangi)” (p. 57).

As noted earlier in this paper, many academics in their explorations of enduring disparities in Maori socio-economic and educational attainment ascribe either cultural or economic catalysts. However, instead of addressing the problem of disparity between Maori and Pakeha academic performance, Maori knowledge, history and custom must be legitimized within the system that has historically marginalized it (Ibid).

Rata (2012) suggests that developing Maori education is a moot point because:

The UNESCO Report, *Education for All* (2010) notes that the movement [kōhanga reo] began in 1981 and ‘thirteen years later there were 800 kohanga reo catering for 14,000 children’ (p. 206). However, the rapidly declining numbers of kohanga reo do not support the rhetoric. While numbers grew rapidly following the establishment of the first center in 1982 to a peak of 767 in 1996, since that time the mid-1990s there has been a decline to 464 kohanga in 2009 (Education Counts, 2009a). The most dramatic increase in the number of kura kaupapa Maori (primary schools for kohanga graduates based on kaupapa Maori values and practices) also occurred during the 1990s. This followed the 1989 legislation which recognized the schools as public institutions eligible for state funding and enabled already existing schools to be re-designated as kura kaupapa Maori. The literature provides a picture of a growing schooling sector, however, only 3.8 per cent of all Maori students attend the kura (Education Counts, 2006). Altogether, ‘15.8% of Maori learners are in Maori-medium education where Maori language made up at least 12% of teaching and learning’. ‘This is a decrease of 2.9% since July 2006’ (Education Information and Analysis Group/ Group Maori [Ministry of Education], 2009, p. 2 as cited in Rata, 2012 p.1063)

Rata (2012) in continuing her argument against the need for Maori specific education draws upon well-known advocates (Chapple, 2000; Nash, 2001) of Maori underachievement being “largely explained by disparities in socio-economic status

during childhood”. She suggests that this policy issue “may need to be viewed primarily at a sub-cultural and socio-economic level rather than the coarse ethno-cultural level of Maori/non-Maori binaries” because “[t]here are probably also sub-cultural associations with benefit dependence, sole parenthood, early natality, drug and alcohol abuse, physical violence, and illegal cash-cropping” (p.1066) that present greater limitations to Maori educational attainment in schools, than any coarsely defined Maori cultural characteristics.

Penetito (2010) argues that the declining attendance in Maori schools is representative of broader cultural assimilation, and goes on to suggest that “[g]overnments in recent years have been following, and indeed promoting., the principle of consumer choice, defined simply as ‘voting with one’s feet’”(p. 60), whereby Maori are migrating to Pakeha formal education institutions. Turangawaewae as a place to plant ones feet acts as a defence to the concept of voting with ones feet, and as stated earlier also provides a position from which to initiate te wero, regardless of one’s economic circumstance.

In order to understand the implications of individual’s choices and collective aspirations I will need to explore further Maori consciousness, and the factors affecting it. This will be the focus of the next section.

5.3.9 Levels of Consciousness:

The identity of New Zealand –Aotearoa at the beginning of the twentieth century was one of “a little Britain” or even, in some opinions, an improvement on the motherland. Much of the general trade was bilateral with the U.K, with many preferential trade incentives

and tariffs protecting the relationship. But, New Zealand was pressured, as a consequence of Britain's inability to subsidize or prioritize imports from New Zealand, to "adjust its historiography and identity paradigm during the period of forced rupture with Great Britain" (Gagne, 2013 p.23). Gagne goes on to suggest that "New Zealand only acquired a distinct character in the last half of the twentieth century-principally through literary and artistic expression" especially "Maori artistic and literary expression [that] has been put forward as a distinct characteristic of Aotearoa/New Zealand" (Ibid pp.21-23). Superficially, this appropriation of Maori cultural expression has been touted as an indicator of the bicultural nature of New Zealand - Aotearoa, when, critically, much debate (which cannot be explored in the scope of this dissertation) has ensued around this topic of cultural appropriation and cultural and intellectual property rights (Prussing, 2016). Biculturalism however, is a significant point over which Maori academics and activists center much political and socio-economic discussion. For writers such as (Belich, 1988; Drurie M. , 2005), the basic tenets underlying the treaty of waitangi is one of biculturalism. Activists and authors of the 1970's and 80's drew upon the works of sir Apirana Ngata to support their arguments advocating for biculturalism to the extent that Rosenblatt (2011) suggests that "Maori have a distinct place within the nation—counter to the more usual idea that a modern state has only individual citizens" (p.419). Andrew Sharp begins his book *Justice and the Maori* (1997) with a section titled Maori Demand Justice. In this section he suggests that protests of "The Young Warriors" seemed to the Pakeha population to have emerged overnight, when in fact "there were powerful objections to the assimilationist policies suggested in the Hunn Report" (Sharp, 1997 p. 6) that were manifest in forms not readily available to Pakeha audiences.

However, this changed in 1964 when the Maori were able to coalesce around protests against sending an All Black rugby team to South-Africa without Maori players. This mobilization provided the impetus to further, and even more universal protest, in 1967, against the Maori Affairs Amendment Act, “whose legislation was to make more easy the loss of Maori land” (Ibid, p.7). The legislation was “designed to remove anomalies in certain laws relating to Maoris and Maori Land, and *make land available, for better use*”(McIntyre, 1971 p. 444). The legislation stated specifically that “[l]and owned by fewer than five persons was now to become subject to the laws and practices which governed ‘General’(previously European) [land]” furthermore uneconomic individual shares of blocks of land owned in severalty were to pass to the crown . . . for disposal” (Sharp, 1997 p.7).The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975,in an attempt to address ongoing challenges to Maori land rights and sovereignty,officially recognized the English version of the treaty. Subsequently, the Waitangi tribunal was established in 1975 and utilized “art and sophistication . . . to relay a Maori version of history to a wider Audience” (Ibid p.4). The Waitangi treaty was finally revised in 1985 to recognize the Maori version of the treaty. Schwimmer (1999 as cited in Gagne, 2013 p. 32) describes “1975 as the beginning of the miracle of decolonization”.

Sharp (1997) makes a significant observation relating to the land occupations and protests surround the landmark 1975 ruling; where he states that Maori protest leaders were tapping into global indigenous struggles and were utilizing and adapting ideologies to support the Aoteroa context. Two specific examples that he provides is Joe Hawke’s (a prominent 1978 land claims protest leader) use of “Tecumseh of the Shawnees: ‘Will we

let ourselves be destroyed in our turn without a struggle, give up our homes, our country bequeathed to us by the great spirit, the graves of our dead, and everything that is dear and sacred to us” (Sharp, 1997 p. 9). The second was the inclusion of imported “Black Power rhetoric from the USA” being utilised by participants at Young Maori Leadership conferences. (Ibid, p. 7).

This connection to a global indigenous consciousness, and resistance movements is remarkable because as Smith (2000) suggests it marked a shift in consciousness that was immutable, and as unstoppable as rising tide. While this shift holds significant relevance for the Maori consciousness, it is perhaps only incorporated into Pakeha attitudes to the extent that it could, as the creation of the Maori parliamentary seats in 1867, ease the Pakeha conscience. Gagne (2013) does not clearly address this important differentiation when she states that since “the 1970s and 1980s, biculturalism has been highly valued.” (Gagne, 2013 p.23), especially given recent challenges to race-based provisions in existing [2004] legislation (Miller, 2005) and a shifting demographic that might see future legislations that promote pluralism over biculturalism, effectively defining Maori peoples as one minority group among many (Smits, 2010).

5.3.10 Loss of Culture: Dominant Pakeha and subordinate Maori interests (Smith, 2000 p.60).

The Maori people have, after European hegemony was firmly established, created structures such as the marae and Maori Language Nests and other subsequent formal education structures. These structures are contexts within which Maoritanga survives if not thrives. These structures remain a place-to-place ones feet for many Maori within

Aotearoa, and in many ways represents the remaining property of the Maori. However, neocolonialism strives not for geographic control, but intellectual control as well, for this constitutes the colonization of the mind. Therefore, in many respects the battle to claim and defend turangawaewae in the late 20th and early 21st century is much the same as the battle for turangawaewae in the 19th and early twentieth century. Except, muskets and artillery have been exchanged for permanent education (Giroux, 2007) and court rulings. Thus far, I have described the context of biculturalism supported by a Maori formal education system that was originally organized from within, but has now been co-opted by the state. It is within this context that Maori have worked to reassert cultural rights and sovereignty. However, as stated earlier in this paper, many of the issues facing the Maori in contemporary Aotearoa-New Zealand center on identity. In this section, I will be exploring Maori identity, and the mechanisms affecting it. I will outline systemic attempts to limit Maori control of cultural identity, and describe Maori responses and attempts at Maori cultural identity promotion.

5.3.11 Organized from within

Smith (2000) suggests that “the key elements that have generated change and intervention” are factors that are “generalized as Kaupapa Maori theory and practice, the significant component of which is centered on the use of traditional and contemporary notions of whanau (extended family) values, practices, and structures” (p.57). While Kaupapa Maori is argued to be a general factor guiding much decision making in terms of the philosophical standpoint, it is widely agreed “that Maori are not a homogenous whole in terms of their social, economic, and cultural situation, nor are they of a single

mind in respect to their aspirations related to things Maori” (Ibid p.60). Chapple (2000) provides further insight to Maori identity, while introducing one of the greatest factors affecting contemporary Maori life when he states: “[o]ur modern notion of a Maori ethnic identity is the product of two centuries of interaction and evolution. In particular ‘Maori ethnicity’ has been constructed through the process of postwar urbanization” (p.103)

The current Maori population is 70 % urban this has dramatically altered many of the traditional relationships that Maori have expressed among each other and toward their iwi, hāpu, and whānae. Gagne suggests that “[o]n several occasions since the nineteenth century, the Crown has attempted to co-opt the mechanisms of tribal self-government for its own ends” (Gagne, 2013 p. 38). The mechanism that finally allowed the Crown access was the Runanga Iwi Act of 1990 that “provided the necessary legal authority for tribal entities to enter into formal contractual arrangements with the state” (Sullivan, 2001 p. 483). The Runanga Iwi Act was seen by many Maori as a mechanism for placing greater control over tribal affairs into the hands of the tribes themselves. However, within temporal context of the Runanga Iwi Act, neoliberal orthodoxy swayed most sociopolitical decisions. To this end the Runanga Iwi Act became the legislation through which the state of New Zealand was able “to ‘decentraliz[e]’ delivery structures to the community level without leading to any fundamental change in the prevailing distribution of power in society” (Fleras, 1991 p. 186). Thus the responsibility for implementing and distributing social programming and funding was effectively relegated to tribal infrastructures “which was seen as a delegation of limited power rather than of real control, as it implied considerable supervision from the government” (Gagne, 2013 p. 39).

The real-world implications of Runanga Iwi Act came to the fore during discussions around the foreshore and seabed settlements and discussions (Gagne, 2013). Within the settlement agreement, specific percentages of the settlement were to be distributed through the Iwi structures as was legitimized through Pakeha legislation. This revealed many disconnections many urban Maori felt, for an increasing number of Maori did not promote or engender specific tribal affiliations. Many urban Maori did not feel as though their perspectives and rights could be adequately met through Maori Tribal structures. An aggravating factor that endorses and reifies the tribal structure is the New Zealand government's persistent reference to tribes as a cohesive and inalienable social unit. This image imposed on a Maori social structure through Pakeha legislation and rhetoric does not acknowledge the flexibility and changing nature of the "traditional" tribes (Maaka, 1994; Schwimmer, 1990). With growing discontent from urban Maori, who now it should be remembered constitute the majority of Maori in New Zealand, "there had been an increasing call for another shift in emphasis, this time to smaller groupings like the hapu (subtribe) and whanau (extended family). In other words, there was a move away from iwitanga, the way of the tribe, a vertical structural ethic, toward whanaungatanga, the way of the extended family, a horizontal kinship principle" (Gagne, 2013 p. 39). These processes, as mentioned at the outset of this section, will have lasting implications on the ways Maori relate to each other and to the natural and spiritual worlds, through the different layers of relatedness and cooperation –the waka (canoe). The iwi (tribe), the hapu (subtribe), and the whanau (extended family) - by limiting the choice of participation in some of these layers (Ibid).

Further to the differentiation attributed to the limitation of choice and accessibility to traditional Maori social structures, a situation emerged where: “a generalized “Maori” identity can compete with specific tribal identities, at least as a matter of everyday practice. In principle, very few Maori endorse the idea that an “ethnic” identity such as Maori should ever take precedence over a specific tribal identity” (Rosenblatt, 2011 p.416). However, the ethnic Maori identity has been used with some benefit in contexts such as the development of urban marae that are often pan tribal. In order to “make the marae open to all, the house was carved to refer to the fleet of seven voyaging canoes commonly used to symbolize the Maori migration to New Zealand (Rosenblatt 2002). The contemporary Maori cultural identity constitutes the current manifestation of turangawaewae, and just like land in the nineteenth century constitutes the fulcrum around which much state action, and responding Maori resistance is centered. Discussions around Maori identity will be the focus of the next section.

5.3.12 Who are Maori: Multiple Ethnicities?

Chapple (2000) suggests, in his arguments around the ethnic disparities in education achievement, that the literature in the debate often overlooks intra group differences, and suggests that “Maori ethnicity is often multiple rather than singular, evolving rather than primordial, and fluid rather than rigid” (p.101). This conception of the multiple manifestations of Maori identity has been used by Chapple and others (Durie, 1998; Makaa, 2004) to undermine broad based policies that target the “Maori population” such as “fisheries settlements, other treaty settlements, cheap access to the radio spectrum” and

“risk being captured by the considerable number of Maori who already have jobs, skills, high incomes and good prospects” (Chapple, 2000 p. 115).

On the other hand, Penetito (2010) suggests, “[w]e all have individual identities (Ko au) as well as collective identities (Ko matou)” (p. 40). It is important to understand this conceptualization of individual and group identities as this supports a more comprehensive understanding of how culture can be understood. This diversity of cultural experience and manifestation supports the “critique of the central place of culture in Maori political discourses is that it draws attention to the over-emphasis on culture in the Maori renaissance, particularly since an excessively narrow conception of culture is implied” (Van Meijl p.920).

While the dissonance over Maori cultural identity may initially appear to be the exclusive domain of Pakeha-Maori interactions, intra Maori discord and debate around identity is prevalent. This intra-Maori dialogue can be an essential factor contributing to a healthy cultural noetic space or it can, as Brash and others (Chapple, 2000) suggest; create divisive fissures that can be exploited to Pakeha advantage. Hanson (1989) outlines the perspective that I will be using when exploring Maori identity when he states:

Certainly, Maoris of the 1760s, no less than contemporary Maori activists, were moved by their own political agendas to appeal selectively and creatively to the tradition of their ancestors; and the same can be said for those ancestors, and so on indefinitely. It follows from this that the analytic task is not to strip away the invented portions of culture as inauthentic, but to understand the process by which they acquire authenticity (p.897).

Being a real Maori, if one is to accept Hanson’s determination, is not the action and traditions of culture, but the process through which the adopted actions gain authenticity.

For many “traditional Maori” who are often rural residents, the Maori identity remains

situated around the Iwi-tribe with values and customs that are attempting to remain consistent with those of the late nineteenth early twentieth century. In contrast to this, urban Maori who now constitute 70% of the Maori population are predominately favouring sub-tribal affiliations such as Whanae-extended family- and have been more amenable to modifying traditional cultural prescriptions, or adopting contemporary reconstructions of culture (Gagne, 2013).

There are many sub-cultures existing within this broader urban-rural dialogic. Within these subcultures there are many Maori whose “identity is not characterized by pride in Maori customs and history, but, instead, by a second-rate status in New Zealand society: poor education records, high unemployment, low incomes, alcohol and drug abuse, shocking crime statistics, excessive rates of teenage pregnancies, etc.” (New Zealand, 1999). While others invoke a belief in a “Dreamtime” that has “nothing to do with its meaning in an Australian context.” (Gagne, 2013 p. 64). Instead

[t]he dreamtime was “a time of prosperity when the land was still our own and the Whanau A Kai had pride. That was in the dreamtime before we were stripped of our dignity. The dreamtime . . . was [b]uilt on pride and the obstinate need to believe that once there *must* have been a time when the village blazed briefly with beauty. There must have been, surely, somewhere, such a time. A time to look back to and escape to from the shame and poverty of the present (Ihmiaera, 1996 pp. 16-17).

Gagne (2013) demarcates two opposing views on the utilization of the “dreamtime narrative”. One being the “refusal to engage in a struggle to make the present viable, pleasant, or even better (p. 65), and the second being a process that allows “for the establishment of commonalities among those who use this device, in opposition to the rest of the population” (p. 65). Gagne goes on to amalgamate and substantiate these

positions when she states “dreamtime is not merely an excuse for withdrawal. It is also a part of today’s dream for a better and more perfect world. The dreamtime can be a motivation for some in setting goals and has inspired many . . . to regain their language, tikanga (traditions) and knowledge of the past (Gagne, 2013 p. 65).

In many respects, the construction of culture and the characteristics that the community legitimizes speaks to much work on communities of practice done by Lave and Wenger, and some of the earlier work of Giroux regarding border crossing. In both these instances, there is a legitimized and often highly reified core group of members who legitimize group membership and their activities. In many communities the peripheral member’s association and indoctrination within the group is less reified, so that peripheral members often are more amenable to innovation as it relates to cultural practices. In much of the literature this dialogic between the core and the periphery allows for a sustainable and viable cultural evolution. Within the contemporary context of the Maori, many youth who would typically constitute the periphery of the community are feeling disenchanted, and disenfranchised.

Van Meijl summarizes this position when she states that:

Young people don’t feel respected by the old people. Respect really means that they don’t judge you for what you are not, but that they respect you for what you are. . . From the viewpoint of disadvantaged youngsters, however, there is an undeniable gap. They are told they should construct their cultural identity as Maori in terms of cultural ideology, but they cannot, and they realize they never will, and therefore an increasing number of young people no longer want to make an attempt to subscribe to the public discourse prescribing Maori people how to be Maori. This relatively radical change in valuation of classic Maori identity among a significant group of youngsters in contemporary Maori society implies that multiple modes of cultural identification are emerging in Maori practices. This, in turn, raises the question about the relationships between multiple identifications as Maori, not only in the public arena of the marae, but also within the self of

individual Maori youngsters in urban environments. (Van Meijl, 2006 p.926).

Rosenblatt (2011) resolves this contention, through a process reminiscent of Lave and Wenger's core periphery dialogic, when he claims, "that Maori have created culturally distinct forms of community in Auckland, forms of community that, however much they respond to the present, are in some ways connected to how Maori have lived in the past (p.412). So, intra-Maori core-periphery dialectics should be considered an integral element to a vibrant cultural noetic space. Contemporary innovations that were once considered highly contentious are gaining legitimacy and are consequently being acknowledged as authentic representations of Maori culture. In the next section, I will outline the internationalization of Maori Art, and Urban Marae as two examples of Maori cultural traditions and institutions that are being born in the Maori community's noetic space to create revalorized practices that better suite contemporary circumstances.

5.3.13 Art Exhibitions

The arts form the noetic space in many cultures (Amsterdam, 2000). Sidney Mead was a Maori anthropologist who was one of the organizers of "te Maori: Maori Art from New Zealand connections" an art exhibition that toured:

New York, St. Louis, San Francisco, and Chicago in 1984-86, and subsequently toured New Zealand in a triumphant homecoming. Through a stroke of genius in the presentation of the exhibition, Mead and the other Maoris involved in it managed to clothe the objects with more than simply artistic value. In each city, the exhibition opened with a dramatic dawn ceremony in which Maori elders (brought from New Zealand specifically for the purpose) ritually lifted the tapu ("taboo") from the objects and entrusted them to the care of the host museum. The ceremony received extensive media coverage in each city, and it conveyed the Maori idea that the objects were infused with a spiritual power that derived from the

ancestors and linked them in a mystical union with the Maoris of today. As a result, the objects were viewed as more than examples of fine and exotic workmanship, and the notion was inserted into the minds of many Americans who saw or were involved with the exhibition that the Maori people have access to primal sources of power long since lost by more rational cultures (Hanson, 1989 p.896)

Rosenblatt recounts an anecdote with a similar creative theme and suggests that these exploits are rich with meanings and these meanings have political implications. The story, Rosenblatt recounts, shows Maori as people who can get things done without money, and it valorizes the subversion of Pakeha authority as represented by the neighbors and the town. The context for the retelling of Rosenblatt's anecdote is the marae, the Maori noetic space. This context is important as it highlights the value of the marae as a noetic space that promotes heuristic thinking. Furthermore, it illustrates how within this space the anecdote can become "a story about its listeners as well as the teller, as they were only gathered there together as a group because the marae existed. Moreover, the story was about an act of mana (creative power). Mana need not manifest itself in supernatural forms: It is about being able to get things done, and in Maori stories it often involves cheekiness and trickery" (Rosenblatt, 2011 p.422).

The Te Maori art exhibition was another demonstration of heuristic thinking because it was a creative solution to raising awareness about authentic, although revalorized, Maori traditions. Schwimmer explains how the Te Maori art exhibition was "the beginning of what grew into a social and political movement—the Maori Renaissance—that aimed not only to find a place for Maori culture within urban life but also to change New Zealand from an antipodean Albion in which some people—mostly Maori— were

bicultural, into a country that was bicultural” (Schwimmer 1986 pp.17–18). Rosenblatt

(2011) goes on to suggest that the renaissance went on to initiate and influence:

Maori schools, classes in language and custom for adults, Maori radio, an explosion in the publication of books and magazines by and about Maori, the expansion of departments and schools of Maori studies throughout the tertiary education system, and renewed activism around land and treaty rights. More recently (2004), a Maori television station has been added to the mix, and in 2006 a Maori political party won seats in parliament for the first time (p.413).

Rosenblatt goes on to illustrate the conceptual foundation that is central to the Maori idea of *turangawaewae* for she suggests that revalorized practices that constitute significance “revivals become part of how people live in the world, influence how they interpret the world, and thus end up influencing the ways people are shaped by the world. Because this is the case, I argue, such revived culture is both conscious and unconscious, at once adhered to and absorbed, and a way of life even as it is critique” (Rosenblatt, 2011 p.412).

While it may be impossible to measure or determine with certainty the wide ranging impacts of the Te Maori art exhibition, the literature suggests that the impacts both internationally and domestically were profound, with renewed activism permeating all cultural milieus, including urban marae.

5.3.14 Urban Marae: Context and Content

Walker (1987) suggests that “[t]he urban marae is the most powerful cultural statement the Maori has made in modern times” (p.147). It incorporates cultural contexts that have undergone episodic revalorizations so that the context and its attendant practices might be

authentic in contemporary society. Rosenblatt describes revalorization within the Maori context as “cultural difference under conditions of modernity” and further attests to the authenticity of revalorized culture insisting that “they have an existence beyond the discursive: They not only respond to their context but they also become contexts themselves” (Rosenblatt, 2011 p.412).

Urban marae are now established features of Maori life. But, the ubiquitous nature of contemporary urban marae masks the contentious roots of the original marae when they were first being proposed in the 1960’s and 70’s (Gagne, 2013). Tapsell (2002) outlines how some tribal leaders question the authenticity and appropriateness of urban marae as extensions of Maori tradition. These disagreements were most staunchly argued and supported by core cultural carriers who typically support the most reified cultural structures. These same community members initially discouraged intertribal marriages “as they would weaken either identity. For the same reason multiracial marae, which describes most urban marae, was very much a contradiction in terms. Yet intermarriages are now increasing and multi-tribal Marae have been successfully established in urban areas as an antidote to anonymity and individualism (Walker, 1975; Kawharu, 1968 as cited in Mol, 1982 p. 9). This dialectic between core community members and innovative neophyte peripheral members, as mentioned earlier is a critical component for a cultures noetic space. “Perhaps paradoxically, such conscious debates about the appropriateness of particular cultural changes can be (and in this case are) part of how culture as a set of taken-for-granted ideas is reproduced, because the potential problems that give rise to the debates reflect ideas about tribes, land, and meeting houses derived from their traditional grammar and use” (Rosenblatt, 2011 p.416).

Urban marae as the most visible manifestations of what is sometimes called the “Maori Renaissance” (Gagne, 2013; Walker 1987) are traditional ceremonial settings where “Marae protocol (kawa) prescribes everyone present on a marae to take part in ceremonies when visitors arrive, during meetings, funerals, and other transitional rituals” (Van Meijl, 2006 p.917). Students, who intend to access programs and services provided through urban marae, are obliged to enroll in concurrent Maori culture and language classes so that they might conform to marae kawa (Gagne, 2013). Van Meijl describes these programs and their underlying motivations when she states:

[t]he ‘cultural’ component of the training courses tied in with the centre’s educational philosophy, which also aimed at building a strong Maori identity, with due respect for Maori values and pride in Maori ‘culture’, to be expressed through ceremonial speeches (whaikoorero), songs, and dances. This philosophy, in turn, was based on the belief that a strong cultural identity as Maori would enhance a person’s self-esteem and self-confidence, and, as a corollary, his or her chances of success in New Zealand society. (Van Meijl, 2006 p.921)

She goes on to suggest that underlying the cultural component of the courses is the assumption that “marae practices are emblematic for a Maori identity” and

[w]hen you are unable to join in, you are not considered a genuine Maori . . . [t]hus, marae communities also have the capacity to make some constructions of identity more dominant than others. And the dominance of marae communities in the constructions of identity not only organizes but also restricts the multiplicity of possible identities in the public arena of Maori society. An important implication of this form of cultural dominance is that some identities are strongly developed, whereas others are suppressed (Ibid, pp. 918& 930).

This imposition of culture on peripheral members to the community is consistent with Lave and Wenger’s constructs of community. However, the critical dialectic component that allows for the introduction of new ideas by neophyte members to allow for

innovation and, in the long run, greater cultural viability, is limited. The marae, including urban marae are ideal noetic spaces where “complex and mutually reinforcing relationship[s] between such everyday practice, the context in which it takes place, experience, the interpretation of experience, and the larger systems of knowledge, meaning, and value indexed in particular interactions” (Rosenblatt, 2011 p. 421) can facilitate the introduction of innovations that might initiate the heuristic processes essential to cultural perpetuation. This entire process can be undermined when, as one participant in Van Meijl’s (2006) study suggests, “the dogmatic attitude of cultural brokers ‘to pushing youngsters into “culture” [is] counterproductive.” (Van Meijl p.925) as this may conflict with their own understanding of what makes them Maori in contemporary New Zealand. This imposition of traditional culture that has had negative consequences for the identity of many Maori people has already been exposed by the Maori scholar Poata-Smith (1996). Poata-Smith (1996) argues cogently that the emphasis on culture and identity as crucial factors in the struggle for socio-economic equality has been “an unmitigated disaster for the vast majority of working-class Maori” (1996 p.110) as they have not been in a position to determine their own identity. This intra-Maori tension is reflective of a broader national tension between Pakeha policies and Maori attempts at self-determination which Van Meijl (1998) characterizes as an embarrassment “compounded with resentment [that many Maori feel] when confronted with the political precepts prescribing to Maori individuals how to shape their self as Maori, which were incompatible with their own sense of self as New Zealand Maori (p.922). Rosenblatt has recognized the imperative requirement of self-determined identity, an identity generated through indigenous axiological preferences, and an identity

that is consensually determined within the Maori noetic space. A noetic space that espouses the “possibility that an indigenous point of view might be grounded in an indigenous worldview”, and not be coopted or disallowed by colonial structures (Rosenblatt, 2011 pp. 411-412). Van Meijl argues that these colonial structures are encroaching into Maori contexts, *turangawaewae*, for “[i]t is becoming increasingly necessary to complement tribal prestige as rooted in traditional territories with the democratic principles of proportional representation and a per capita distribution of resources, which are emerging as new codes to streamline Maori sociopolitical organization (van Meijl, 1998 p. 409). This process is undermining the *marae* as space that has the privileged role in defining what Maoriness is because they are places where people learn about and experience a Maori world (Rosenblatt, 2011 p.421) because as van Meijl further asserts “[d]emocracy extends beyond parliamentary structures and is intertwined with all dimensions of society” so “[f]rom a Tocquevillian perspective the emergence of democracy in Maori culture can therefore not be disputed” (Meijl, 1998 p. 410). This development marks a grave area of concern for the cultural structure that is being undermined is the Maori noetic space, the very space that education through context and content seeks to preserve in order to perpetuate Maoriness.

5.3.15 The Dialogic Self

“Maoriness” is self-consciously an “identity,” and, in embracing it, Maori do hope to avoid disappearing as Maori. They also mean to be critical of some aspects of “modern life” (Rosenblatt, 2011 p.412). While this process in its idealized form is fostered in the dynamic consensual noetic space, where social and cultural reproduction is as Hanson

(1989) explains, “the process whereby people learn, embody, and transmit the conventional behaviors of their society-is basically a matter of interpersonal communication” (p.898). But, if we consider individual choices within the context of consensus building, we then need to identify and discuss the idea that each individual is a teacher as well as learner in the process, because his or her behavior also serves as a model upon which still other people construct their behavior (see Bourdieu 1977; Hanson and Hanson 1981). Not one bit of behavior can be said to have ultimate authenticity, to be the absolute and eternal "right way" of which all the others are representations (Hanson, 1989 p.898). But, each individual is determining through intra-personal negotiation the conventional behaviors of their group that they wish to embody. Intra-personal dialogue, just as dialogue within the broader cultural noetic space, “can become an arena for cultural reproduction. In this instance, as in many others, conscious deliberation about historical and contemporary norms merges with less conscious adoption of some of the meanings and logic underlying those norms” (Rosenblatt, 2011 pp. 420-421). Van Meijl (1998) defines and contextualizes this dialogic self within the Marae context in contemporary Aotearoa when she states:

the psychological concept of the dialogical self, which is inspired by the Russian literary scholar Mikhail Bakhtin. This notion of self considers a person’s identity as multi-voiced and dialogical, while it acknowledges not only the role of human interchange, but also the impact of power in social relations. The theory of the dialogical self will help towards understanding how Maori youngsters at the training center on the marae mediate the traditional view of a cultural identity as Maori with their own understanding of what makes them Maori in contemporary New Zealand . . . Thus, it may be argued that on the marae Maori trainees were involved in a dialogue between different conceptions of their cultural identity (p.919& 929).

Van Meijl concludes by stating that “[t]he most important characteristic of the dialogical perspective is that the self is considered no longer as an intra-psychic phenomenon in the Cartesian sense, but instead as a relational phenomenon that transcends the boundaries between the inside and the outside, between self and other” (Van Meijl 1998 pp. 929-930). Rosenblatt defines this intra-personal dialogic as an interpretive process which is a political process, and suggests that:

[p]eople usually welcome some changes, even in colonial contexts, but they also feel that some things about their past ways of life are important, that unless they find some way to adapt these things to their present circumstances, they will have lost something irreplaceable. What those adaptations might be or what counts as change and what does not is a matter of interpretation. One of the great advances in recent anthropology has been to recognize the situated, open ended, and contested nature of such interpretations, but that does not, I argue, preclude the possibility that they are also shaped by what James West Turner calls “deep and relatively enduring structures of thought, feeling and action” (1997:359). As Turner puts it, to ignore the question of how motivations are shaped is to negate “what is ostensibly affirmed in [the literature on ‘invention’]—that a people’s traditions are a product of their historically situated action” (1997:347) (Rosenblatt, 2011 p.424).

This interpretive process is in jeopardy for at the end of the twentieth century with the majority of Maori property, both physical and intellectual, is colonized by Euro-western institutions and practices. The key role for Maori education within this context is to ensure the viability, and integrity of Maori intellectual Marae, and intellectual turangawaewae. For each individual Maori who is negotiating colonized spaces will be in a constant dialogic state, and it is the sum of these negotiations that will contribute to a collective Maori identity through consensual negotiation within the collective noetic space, thus, these individual would be, what Harvey calls, “an insurgent architect at work.”(Harvey, 2000 p. 233).

5.3.15a Transformation:

The insurgent architect that Harvey describes is seen as:

[e]mbedded in a physical and social world full of manifest constraints and limitations; as someone striving to change the world through thinking strategically and tactically about what to change and where, about how to change what and with what tools; and as a person who even when trying to change the world must somehow continue to live in the world which is full of contradictions and highly contested meanings and aspirations (Harvey, 2000 pp.233-255).

These insurgent architects are the primary agents within the Maori noetic space. I believe that for Maori education to be effective within the Aotearoan context, its curricula should enhance the architect's agentic capacity. Smith further supports this assertion, and has outlined some key principles that have worked within the idiosyncratic Maori context. He is quick to advance the caveat that theorists, policy makers, and community leaders need to move beyond using a simple "bag of tricks" and these principles are intended to be a "critique of some of the taken-for-granted principles . . . and to understand the deeper processes of transformation pedagogy" (Smith, 2000 p.68). Smith acknowledges that the list is not definitive, but believes that the principles outlined facilitated gains for Maori in developing change in the colonized context of New Zealand [and] might also be developed in other indigenous contexts. Thus, the lessons learned in the Maori context might have positive applications in other similarly colonized situations. These lessons have been briefly outlined below:

1. The principle of self-determination or relative autonomy.
2. The principle of validating and legitimizing cultural aspirations and identity.
3. The principle of incorporating culturally preferred pedagogy
4. The principle of mediating socioeconomic and home difficulties. The Kaupapa (philosophy) of Kura Kaupapa Maori is such a powerful and all-embracing force, through its emotional (ngakau) and spiritual (wairua) elements that it commits

Maori communities to take seriously the schooling enterprise despite other social and economic impediments; its impact is at the ideological level, and it is able to assist in mediating a societal context of unequal power relations; it makes schooling a priority consideration despite debilitating social and economic circumstances. In the collective cultural structures and practices of whanau (extended family), the effects of debilitating socioeconomic circumstances can be alleviated.

5. The principle of incorporating cultural structures that emphasize collectivity rather than individuality such as the notion of the extended family.
6. The principle of a shared and collective vision and philosophy. (Smith, 2000 pp.66-68).

These Principles underpin a sociocultural movement called maoritanga (Maoriness) and in some contexts Mana Maori. (Maori Power). Hanson (1989) suggests that the diversity of the Maoritanga movement necessitates diversity so that all of the tenets discussed here cannot be endorsed by all of its supporters” (p.894). Maoritanga has a vision for the future of Aotearoa as a bicultural society. Gupta and Ferguson (1997) suggest that the “experience of community is . . . constituted by a wider set of social and spatial relations” (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997 p.7), but, Rosenblatt argues that “the reverse is at least as important: local experience constitutes the wider world” (Rosenblatt, 2011 p.424).

The Maori traditions that are locally generated and experienced can constitute the larger world if they impart, or produce a Maori identity that is expressed through axiological preferences within Pakeha contexts. Contrary to this active role, Dansey (1975) outlines a reactive and extrinsically determined community character as espoused by Gupta and Ferguson (1997) and suggests that “the Maori tradition that Maoritanga invents is one that contrasts with Pakeha culture, and particularly with those elements of Pakeha culture that are least attractive . . . Maori culture is represented as the ideal counterbalance to these Pakeha failings” (Dansey 1975 p.177). In contrast to this reactive position, Marshall Sahlins (1994) outlines a process of the “indigenization of modernity” whereby

some indigenous peoples have been able to domesticate the onslaughts of modernity and colonialism. Rosenblatt expands on this, and the assertion that the Maori have “found ways to utilize the fruits of their encounter with the West to further their own projects” because they have “brought marae to cities and transformed themselves in the process [and have] incorporate[d] the modern world as part of the indigenous cosmos and imagine it anew” (Rosenblatt, 2011 p.425).

While the principles of Maoritanga encompass much of te-wero- or the challenge to assert, validate, and incorporate, they do not address maintaining the noetic space that nurtures these capabilities. For without turangawaewae embodied in the noetic space, there can be no te-wero-challenge, or heuristic solutions being generated to address modern and novel challenges.

5.3.16 Maori Lessons Learned Along the Way:

The historiography of the Maori presented in this section has been wide ranging including van Meijl's (1998) suggestion that “what characterizes the situation of Maori people in New Zealand most is their structural overrepresentation in negative social statistics” (p.395). Chapple (2000) further supports this by stating that “it remains a well-established fact that significant socio-economic gaps still remain between Maori and non-Maori in New Zealand in education, health, income and labour market status” (p.102). While this may be true, the measures are normative Western constructs that fail to acknowledge that after “nearly 200 years of the colonial experience, Maori society remains, extraordinary as it seems, basically collectivistic and tribal-oriented in the midst

of a twenty-first century, highly developed capitalistic society” (Penetito, 2010 pp. 83-

84). Within this context, Chapple (2000) would disparagingly suggest that:

[t]he Maori ethnic group is a relatively recent historical construct and is still being constructed. Maori ethnicity is not primordial. Group attachment depends on rewards, both material and psychic, from belonging to the group. Maori are a loose rather than a tight ethnic group, since they have no exclusive markers that uniquely define the group. However, much Maori ethnic politics focuses on making the loose group a tighter entity by creating exclusive markers and rewards for belonging (Chapple, 2000 p.114).

However, many researchers (Cordero, 1995; Lindstrom, 1982; Bernstein, 2000) have come to the awareness “that “culture” and “tradition” are anything but stable realities handed down intact from generation to generation. Tradition is now understood quite literally to be “an invention designed to serve contemporary purposes” (Hanson, 1989 p.890). But what is at the center of this research project remains the “focus on the fundamental issue of what counts, as transforming is crucial if meaningful change is to occur. This begs a set of critical questions, for example, what counts as transformation for indigenous people? How can it be achieved? Do indigenous people's needs and aspirations require different schooling approaches? Who benefits from the transformation? (Smith, 2000 p. 70). While many of these questions have no simple answers, and consequently become rhetorical, I believe the research in this section has generated suitable responses to these questions.

Transformation that counts for Maori population is the revalorization of cultural structures that will promote turangawaewae as a place that is both physical and intellectual, from which to address colonizing structures. Achieving this cultural transformation can be problematic because cultural transformation that results in a

successful evolution of a cultural trait needs to be consensually achieved within the cultures noetic space. This noetic space, within a group that is governed through consensus, is created through the axiological decisions that each member ordains, and subsequently commits to the group. Within the Maori context, the enacted axiological preferences range on a spectrum from individuals such as one from van Meijls study for whom being Maori meant “living in a tin shack and being poor” and until “she enrolled at the training center, had never visited a marae, even though she had lived less than a kilometer away from one” (Van Meijl p.918); to those who “still hold onto ideas of dreamtime, at least in certain political and socioeconomic contexts” which impacts their way of life “and engagement in and with the city” (Gagne, 2013 p. 64).

At this juncture, it is worth quoting van Meijl’s utilization of Claudia Strauss’s (1997) examination and conceptualization of difference between individual selves where “she mentions three characteristics of postmodern culture, namely depthlessness, pastiche, and schizophrenic processes of signification. As it may be argued that Maori culture has also been post modernized (Van Meijl, 1998 p.926). Van Meijl (1998) suggests that the processes of transformation that I have outlined are not feasible because Maori culture suffers from depthlessness which implies that Maori culture:

in the classic sense of the term is no longer self-evident, and therefore it is not transmitted automatically anymore. Instead, it is to be taught at schools and at training centers, but it is taught in a rote manner and the reception of it by young people does not necessarily entail that the traditional signifiers are connected with the traditional signifieds, particularly since they are unable to understand the Maori language. Related to the flatness or superficiality of culture is, according to Jameson (1984), a weakening of historicity, resulting in a pastiche of historical styles in which a representation of the past has given way to a

stereotypical representation of contemporary ideas about the past. . . The flattening of culture and the fragmentation of self are not general effects, but they are concentrated among those who are disadvantaged in society, in this case young, unemployed Maori people in urban situations [and suggests that] the Maori trainees have not experienced the culture which they are taught, or only indirectly, and the absence of an emotionally salient experience of traditional culture brings about the disintegration of their self. (p.927)

Rosenblatt (2011) argues that from “this point of view, the politics of revival do not really depend on the particulars of what is revived. What gets left out here is content: what traditional customs or institutions might mean as ends in and of themselves, within indigenous fields of meaning, and what this might reveal about the interests and aspirations of those who revive or practice them” (p.423).

Gagne (2013) supports this position in a succinct statement that also crucially echoes, in my opinion, Maori sentiments of turangawaewae when she states “[t]hat the whanua and other ‘traditional’ aspects of Maori culture have changed is ultimately of little importance. What is really significant is the continued general attachment of Maori people to the idea of being Maori and to Maori identities” (p.265).

5.4 Karretjiemense-The poorest of the poor in Southern Africa

5.4.1 Preface

It is important that I preface this section with a note regarding the reading that informed this section. I was born and raised in South Africa, and many of the texts evoked strong visceral emotions for me. While it may be true that “we cannot go home again”, I through my readings have seen landscapes, smelled the confines of small spaces, and measured the expanses of the Karoo and its environs. Many of these memories evoke a happiness and contentment that in hindsight were achieved only through the appropriation of land, resources and privilege that was exacted by my race and class. There is no way for me to reconcile these feelings, and I know that I have even paused inappropriately long, after reading some of names and places, and memories, while recalling my own memories and interpretations. This may be so, but I understand in a way that squeezes my heart what is meant when that place, far from my new home and life, is described as “beautiful beyond any singing of it” (Paton, 1978).

5.4.2 History: “We are too poor to be brown. We are the yellow people.”(Jacobs, 2001).

Davenport uses the word antiquity to describe human and hominid settlement in Southern Africa. Fossil remains quantify this term by suggesting that human settlement in Southern Africa extends to as early as the Lower Pleistocene era (Davenport, 1987), this means that Southern Africa has been inhabited by humans for the last 0.5 – 2.5 million years. It is impossible to discuss the Karretjie Mense without discussing these ancestors of antiquity to whom they are said to be most closely related (Schlebusch, 2012). To this

end, the most closely related to the karettjie mense are the Strandloopers (beach walkers) and other hunter gather groups such as the San who are considered the direct descendants of the Late Stone Age peoples (Kentucky New Era, 1948). Though many contemporary researchers use the term San, I will side with (Gordon and Douglas, 2000) who suggests that the term San is used by academics to “mystify the tragic situation of those labelled bushmen” he further suggests that changing the label from Bushmen to San “does not reduce the racism and invidiousness” and lastly it is the people labelled “Bushmen” not San that “have the longest, most valiant, if costly record of resistance to colonialism” in all of Southern Africa (p.6). Besides the Bushmen, the Karretjiemense have ancestral relations to the Khoikhoi, sometimes referred to as Hottentots, or Khoisan People who migrated into the Cape Province of Southern Africa some two-thousand years ago. The Khoikhoi when they migrated brought cattle with them, they are believed to be the first people to bring cattle into the Cape. Davenport, suggests that “it is wrong to infer that the Khoikhoi and the San were ethnically and culturally very different” and “[w]hile there are some differences between the Khoikhoi and the San there was much large scale borrowing and reciprocal influence between the two groups” (Davenport, 1987p. 4). Elphick (1977) suggests that the Khoisan peoples are extinct within the regions delineated by South African jurisdiction of the Cape Province. This eradication of the Khoikhoi, Davenport (1987) suggests, was precipitated by colonial advances into their territory, losses in battle, and decimation by disease so that they ultimately lost their identity as a distinct cultural group and intermarried with slaves and others to form the Cape Coloured Peoples. The Karretjie Mense are distinct from the Cape Coloured Peoples. They are not typically herdspeople, they are highly mobile, and utilise

available resources in their subsistence and mobility, and by many accounts they are ethnically most closely related to the Bushmen. So, for the purposes of this thesis I will be documenting the history of the Cape Province generally, but will focus on the history of the Bushmen when determining and discussing the origins and cultural heritage of the Karretjiemense.

Davenport, suggests that the Bushmen may never have exceeded 20 000 people in the region of South Africa, South of the Orange River. Unlike the Khoikhoi whose numbers have been estimated to be in the range of 100 000 people, the Bushmen lived in small loosely knit partilineal groups, their political organization centred around chiefs who were “seen to have been respected as the leaders of kin-groups, but had almost *no institutionalised authority*⁷ at all” (Davenport, 1987 p. 4).

These early Khoikhoi and Bushmen cultural groups may have shared much reciprocal influence, but external pressures were beginning to affect their social and ecological stability south of the Orange River. This pressure was exerted over land by migrating Bantu-Speaking Peoples who arrived from Central Africa via the Eastern Coast in 250-350 AD. These Bantu-Speaking Peoples were the first farmers to arrive in Southern Africa, and they brought greater population density, and social and political complexity with them (Jacobs, 2001). While these Bantu-Speaking Peoples were applying pressure from the North in the third and fourth centuries, it was not until the Fifteenth century that European explorers, and specifically Vasco De Gama, first rounded the Cape of Good Hope. It was not until the 17th century that European powers began contemplating the

⁷The lack of institutionalized power is a critical characteristic that Clastres associates with non-state societies.

establishment of a base in Southern Africa. It was the Dutch who initiated European settlement in the Cape when Jan van Riebeck arrived with three ships and landed in Table Bay by on April 6th, 1652 (Leipoldt, 1936). This early Dutch settlement focussed mainly on supplying ships for the Dutch East India company, and was not in its inception, a draw for colonists. Consequently, by 1795 when the British took occupation of the Cape there were only approximately 15 000 free Dutchmen living in the colony. This said, it was in these early years that the European community asserted its dominance both politically, economically, and socially over all others. In fact African slaves outnumbered the colonial settlers by an alarming six to one ratio, Ross (1983) has discussed the level of control that settler populations were able to exert structurally over the local inhabitants to partially explain how significant slave revolts were averted. Furthermore, “[t]hough desertion was a real threat to the slave order, rebellion was not, because the polyglot slave community lacked coherence as a body and therefore the will or capacity to organise” (Davenport, 1987, p. 26). Maintaining this social control entrenched European dominance within the region, and were central to all domestic policies until the end of the apartheid era in 1994. Early conflicts broke out between the early Dutch colonists and the Khoikhoi of the region in 1659 and in 1673-4. Mechanisms of social and political control, implemented after these conflicts are evident in the Khoikhoi’s acceptance of the Dutch East India Company’s “right to adjudicate disputes between their tribes; and from the early eighteenth century chiefs began to accept the company’s gifts of copper-headed canes on which their names were engraved as symbols of their authority-and of their subservience” (Davenport, 1987 p. 24).

The British occupation of the Cape was for an increasing number of Dutch settlers, incompatible with their social and political aspirations. These disenchanting settlers began migrating north and came to be known as Trekboers (Kallaway, 1982). These Trekboers were able to follow in the wagon trails of earlier pioneering farmers that had initiated early Boer colonial expansion. It is from these early accounts of Boer expansion that early accounts of the Cape Bushmen emerge. It may even be from this period, as Gordon and Douglas (2000) suggest, that the term “bossieman, meaning *struikrower*, glossed as ‘bandit’ or ‘outlaw’ ” (p.6) originated. It is important to note that during this timeframe “[t]he colonial expansion north of the Cape colony by trekboers was restricted by San hunters that began to attack their flocks. The San for their part resented alien intruders who shot the game on their hunting grounds” (Davenport, 1987 p. 32). Sampson explains how the 1700s were a period of conquest and colonization of the Great Karoo. The Khoikhoi and Bushmen had resided in this regional niche for centuries, and did not “cede their territory easily. They engaged in numerous raids and attacks”, which “endured for decades” (1992 p. 447).

There were military *cammondos* organized, by Boer settlers, to hunt bushmen, the most notable of this early settlement period was one organized in 1774 by Opperman. The intent of this 250 man unit was “to remove the danger that the San represented to Boer colonial expansion once and for all. But, his object was not achieved. San raids continued unabated till the end of the decade” (Davenport, 1987 p. 32). It was at this time that the official policy of “waging total war” against the bushmen was adopted. While this policy gained the most political traction, it has been suggested that the

frictions on this frontier might have been averted if the Bushmen had been provided with a reserve of their own. While this was not the dominant policy of the late 1700's, it was "the main substantive proposal of Louis Anthing who was investigating settler bushman conflicts on the Norther Frontier in 1862" (Ibid, p. 32).

Just as pressures on the Bushmen, and remaining Khoikhoi of the Northern and Easter Cape were facing increased pressures from Boer expansion, "the first great tradgedy of South African History" occurred (Davenport, 1987 p. 14). When in the early 1800's "the Bantu speaking communities began to tear each other apart in what is generally assumed to have been one of the bloodiest conflicts to have ever affected Africa in historical times" (Ibid, p. 14). The Xhosa reffer to this period of war using terms that mean to be weak and emaciated from hunger, and the Sotho use the term "Mfecane" that that denotes the idea of crushing. Charles Maclean, a Scotsman travelling through this area in 1825, gives a firsthand account of the impacts of this war. He describes seeing:

The heaps of human skulls and bones blanching the plains were sad monuments of the fearful conflicts that had annihilated whole tribes. Mile after mile of territory lay bare, kraals battered and razed, emptied of all human life. Those who had survived the invasion had fled in terror and scattered. This was the mfecane, the crushing, and an explosion of savage wars and migrations which gave rise to the Zulu nation. Much of it was provoked by a young warrior named Shaka kaSenzangakhona (Zulu Power: From Shaka to Inkatha, 1999)

Shaka is considered by many to be the most renowned protagonists of this era. His campaigns ranging between 1817 -1828 destabilised the region. This destabilization, not only disrupted the Bushmen, pushing them into the Kalahari, but allowed Trekboers who

had improved firearms, and horses to move into these areas of “black dislocation” (Davenport, 1987 p. 34).

Sampson (1994) reiterates the description of this settlement pattern and specifically mentions the seacow river valley which is the contemporary core of Karretjie Mens communities. He notes that Trekboer settlement in this region was limited to small numbers in the 1770’s, but, rapidly increased in the decades between 1800-1820. It is during this period that the Bushmen were being usurped of their land. Sampson (1994) describes how

[I]and seizures from resident Bushmen were legitimized by the granting of Loan Places, i.e. rectangular 3000 morgen tracts of Karoo veld separated by unclaimed land. . . . By 1840, swarms of these contiguous quitrent farms were in place, separated by vast, uncharted tracts of Crown Land which served, among other things, as a refugium for surviving Bushmen” (Sampson 1994b p. 10).

Sampson, further suggests that it was at this time that the Bushmen of the Karoo became seriously threatened as a population (pp. 65-66). Schoeman (1993) describes how the establishment and subsequent collapse of the missions of Toverburg and Hephzibah, in the early nineteenth century, as a mechanisms to preserve and protect the Bushmen and Khoikhoi in the Seacow River valley meant that the indigenous inhabitants were dispossessed entirely, and that all the land in the Great Karoo was brought under a single form of colonial tenure that ensured future control of these lands would remain under European colonial jurisdiction.

This appropriated land became the Great Karoo, and is in the Northern Cape Province, and constitutes the largest province by land area at 363 389 square kilometers, but has the smallest economy in South Africa (Development Bank of South Africa, 1981). Within

this context is a “community of cleavages and oppositions: wealthy and poor; conservative and liberal; Afrikaans and English; ‘Black’ and ‘White’; ‘Black’ and ‘Coloured’; African National Congress (ANC) and Democratic Alliance (DA) (and various conservative and ultra-conservative political groupings); town and farm; old and new money; horse-breeders and sheep-farmers; and finally, the Karretjiemense versus almost everybody else” (Steyn, 2009 p. 81).

Sampson gives an ecological description of this region and recounts early travellers observations of this area when he states:

Although this is a semi-desert area in the rain shadow of the Sneeuberg range (300-320 mm mean annual rainfall, mainly in summer, with quasi-cyclic droughts), the carrying capacity of the mapped area is remarkably high. Permanent water points occur every few kilometers, usually near the dolerite hills and ridges which partition the shale plains into flat sub-basins. Highly nutritious grazing is provided by the succulent Karoo scrub, thus most of the early travelers’ accounts of this treeless landscape mention the presence of vast herds of game and numerous predators. With the indigenous wildlife now mostly replaced by a mosaic of fenced sheep farms, its modern bleak appearance is highly misleading. In the past, it has periodically supported quite large hunter-forager populations (Sampson, 1986 p.50).

The historic settlement patterns of the bushmen of this area have been evaluated and it has been determined that seasonal mobility with the Groups coming together (aggregate) in winter months, and dispersing into smaller groups during the Summer. (Sampson 1984b). Sampson goes on to suggest that these dispersal camps had significant exposure to the elements, and describes the context of the Seacow River valley rather poetically when he recounts eyewitness accounts that suggest:

In this treeless, wind blasted landscape without caves or large rock shelters (Sampson 1985:63-4), shelter from prevailing winds is

essential. This is reflected everywhere in the Smithfield settlement pattern: half of all the sites behind the frontier line are positioned such that a ridge, boulder or bush affords protection from one of the prevailing wind directions (Sampson 1984b). Many kraals are similarly protected (Sampson, 1986 p. 53).

The seasonal migration of Bushmen and Khoikhoi residents of the Great Karoo, were replicated in the post colonial era as displaced Bushmen and Khoikhoi began defining a new socio-economic niche within this redefined commercial agricultural context.

Michael deJong describes how the incidence of large scale farms, and the evolving demands for labour within the Karoo were factors that influenced the Bushmen and Khoikhoi at the beginning of the 20th century when he states:

Growth in demand for wool and the spread of wire fencing combined to alter the labour requirements on the large sheep farms of the Great Karoo. Farmers in need of labour had railed against the nomadic tendencies of the colonial Khoisan throughout much of the nineteenth century. Farmers coined the pejorative term *los Hotnot* (loose Hottentot) to condemn those Khoisan who refused to become tied down and continued to trek from one farm to another in search of intermittent employment. But the erection of fencing served to lessen the farmers' need for full-time shepherds who tended the flocks in the open expanses of the vast farms. At the same time, moreover, the demand for wool increased the need for workers who were available, in numbers, at a particular point in the agricultural cycle – the shearing season. These changes in the pattern of labour demand reconciled the farmers, at least to some degree, to the existence of a floating labour force whom they could employ during the peak shearing season but did not have to support for the rest of the year. The much-maligned category of *los Hotnots* was rehabilitated to the extent that even settled workers who left, or were forced to leave, farms were able to sustain themselves – at a very low level – by means of itinerant sheep shearing (p. 448).

At this time, the itinerant workers described by de Jongh moved between the farms and their work assignments by foot, with their few possessions on pack animals. These

migrating laborers who “explain their origin in terms of a vague identity of being ‘Bushman’, or as they refer to themselves in general, “*Karretjiemense*” (Donkey Cart People)⁸ or the men in particular, “*Skêrbestuurders*” (Managers or Handlers of sheep-shears)” (Steyn, 2009 p. 86). However, after a few decades, especially with a concurrent (1920’s) decline in ox wagon transportation, they began “using donkey cart as the preferred mode of transport, fashioning their carts from materials salvaged from derelict horse carriages and motor cars” (De Jong, 2002 p.448). Steyn (2009) describes the cultural implications of this process of dislocation when she states: “[t]heir relative seclusion in the early years, as individuals on farms and their relative isolation still today, as a community, has resulted in them at first losing much of their ancestral heritage, and now having not really adopted the practices of the surrounding communities in the area” (p. 86). *Karretjiemense* have “wander[ed] across the plains of the Great Karoo identifying themselves by reference to their mode of transport (De Jong, 2002 p.442) seemingly unaffected by the broader economic forces that saw an ever increasing concentration of land ownership in the Karoo; from initial dispossession of the land from the Bushmen and Khoikhoi by several hundreds of farmers to 1990 when just over a hundred farmers “have much larger land-holdings” (p. 448). But, the Bushmen were not “passive victims of European invasion and Bantu expansion” but were rather

one of many indigenous people operating in a mobile landscape, forming and shifting their political and economic alliances to take advantage of

⁸ The term ‘*Karretjie People*’ represents a self-ascribed identity. Such communities were officially recognised internationally as distinctive only in 1998 in *The Encyclopedia of World Cultures and Daily Life* (cf. De Jongh & Steyn 1998(b)).

circumstances, as they perceived them. Instead of toppling helplessly from foraging to begging, they emerged as hotshot traders in the mercantile world market for Ivory and skins. They were brokers between competing forces and hired guns in the game business. Rather than being victims of pastoralists and traders who depleted the game, they appear as one of many willing agents of this commercial depletion. Instead of being ignorant of metals, true men of The Stone Age, who knew nothing of Iron, they were fierce defenders of rich copper mines that they worked for export and profit (Gordon, 2000 p. 11).

In fact this capability to smelt metal has been reiterated by Prins and Lewis (1992) who suggest that “this act neatly illustrates the mediatory position of Bushmen who succeeded in producing culture (metal for consumption by their Nguni neighbours) from Nature (forest). This point is essential to contemplate, because, as I will establish in the conclusion to this section, the Bushmen throughout history have produced their culture from their environment. They have utilized critical flexibility in determining advantage within their circumstances. This intellectual, physical, and cultural acumen has allowed them to survive for untold centuries. But, their continued marginalization, and the degradation of their ecological niches through time has taxed their resiliance to its capacity. DeJong outlines the stark reality of this situation when he states:

[a]cross the face of South Africa hundreds of thousands of people, resident and working on white-owned farms, have been expelled from the land in consequence of growing mechanization, the increasing productivity of farm labour, and land concentration. However, because these people were blacks (‘natives’ in the terminology of the past), they had somewhere to go, however humble and appalling the conditions to which they went. The fate of ‘surplus’ rural blacks in the second half of the twentieth century was to be dispatched to the homelands, apartheid’s name for the areas of communal tenure left to the ‘natives’ in the nineteenth century. This is what has been missing in the case of the coloured farm workers of the Great Karoo. When they were ejected from the farms in this period, they had nowhere to go, and nothing to do other than embark on a new foraging existence (p. 453).

It is because of these circumstances that de Jongh, as one of the most prolific writers and researchers on the Karretjie Mense describes the Karretjiemense “as a rural underclass. They are not only amongst the poorest of the poor in South Africa, but they are virtually unknown and socially invisible to other South Africans. They are certainly invisible to people who do not live in the Great Karoo” (2002 p. 446). Michael de Jongh outlines elements of structural violence that contributed to the dislocation and impoverishment of the Karretjiemense. The South African Government did not have a monopoly on these mechanisms of violence, but was unique in enforcing their objectives through apartheid.

This

[h]istory left an indelible mark on the processes that shaped the impoverishment of the majority of South Africans. Both conquest and slavery came with the settlement of Europeans at the Cape and with their subsequent movement into the interior. The black inhabitants in most parts of the country were eventually affected, but the Khoisan people of the interior, and particularly the rural area under consideration here, bore the full early brunt of the onset on their land, grazing and freedom. Selectively and eventually, legislated discrimination was to follow and had decisive consequences for the industrial labour movement, for formalized discrimination on grounds of skin colour, and for the preferential allocation of power (Ibid p.444).

Determining the number of Karretjiemense is difficult due to their peripatetic lifestyle.

This being said, Redlinghuis (1991) suggests that their numbers are around 5000 people.

It is interesting to note, considering the social-and economic disadvantage that the Karretjiemense experience, that these numbers are increasing, and the distribution of Karretjiemense throughout the Karoo is increasing. (Ibid).

However, even though the Karretjiemense “were a response to a need for seasonal labour, they were nonetheless still locals who were a constant presence in the region. Over time,

they managed to build relationships with some landowners that went beyond the impersonal”. In fact, “[s]hearing teams that returned to the same farms season after season were in a position to request better terms of employment, as well as loans to tide them over periods of difficulty. Farmers extended assistance in times of illness, taking sick family members to the doctor or hospital in the nearest village, and, recently, in some instances, they took an interest in the education of Karretjie children” (de Jong, 2002 p.449). As will be discussed, later in this section, these relationships are the development of cultural capital, a resource that Karretjiemense have accessed in order to increase their viability within the context of The Great Karoo. In recent times, these relationships have begun to erode, but, “[t]hese kinds of relationships have not died out entirely, but, according to the Karretjiemense, they have certainly begun to wither”, with the advent of sheep-shearers from beyond the region, who return to distant homes when the season is over, serves to undermine the bonds of familiarity between local shearers and farmers” (Ibid p. 449).

The Karretjiemense may be more vulnerable than other traditional farm labourers because of their mobility, especially with their residence, and place of work being “temporary and changeable . . . Shearing is a seasonal activity and, although seasonality cannot be regarded as determinative in their lives, it does create a context within which they have to operate and which transforms poverty into periodic crises.” In fact “(it) provides conditions which enable other forces which create and sustain poverty to act more powerfully” (Ibid p. 451).

There are numerous factors that contribute to the enduring poverty of the Karretjiemense; these factors are often summarized as lack of access to cities or towns and the

infrastructure that these contexts might provide. They also have limited access to land, and it is argued that they have never had a “place for them in any reserve or homeland: they have no access to the tenuous common property land regimes . . . In short, these people have no legitimate access to any place at all in South Africa, not even the post-agrarian settlements of the common property areas” (de Jongh 2002 p.442). This said, the Karretjiemense do have access to “die Langplass” (the long farm) which is the municipal right of ways besides the highways and byways of the rural Karoo. The Karretjiemense subsist on this long farm on a staple diet of *krummelpap* (crumbly, thick porridge) that gets watered down in proportion to the economic well-being of the group, and can become *slappap* (soft porridge), and as the supplies run out, *dunpap* (thin or watery porridge). The Karretjiemense usually supplement this menu by incorporating foods that are available to them on the long farm. These might include roadkill, of various forms, rabbits, duiker, or other small game caught in snares that are set “surreptitiously in the veld” or birds hunted, with surprising accuracy, using homemade slingshots (Ibid p. 450).

Not only do the Karretjiemense have limited access to physical spaces, they have also had their access to cultural and intellectual spaces restricted through racist policies and apartheid structures. To this end, the Karretjiemense were deprived of their ethnicity and defined as coloured. This ‘coloured’ racial identity was spelled out most comprehensively in the “Population Registration Act of 1950, enacted when the new apartheid government saw a need to allocate South Africans unequivocally to one or another of the racial categories it chose to recognize” (de Jong, 2002 p. 456). The Karretjiemense have responded to this lack of access to land, physical, and cultural

resources by engaging in what Nemeth (1987) describes as “...entrepreneurs like service nomads may ‘intervene’ by filling gaps, and establish their so-called ‘peripatetic’s niche’ within the general economic superstructure” (p.136). The Karretjiemense have developed their niche as sheep shearers, but remain entrenched within a hierarchical and rigidly ordered social system. The greatest obstacle to emancipation from this system is “a communal conditioned mindset of acceptance of the status quo. A status quo of bias and intolerance and a monopoly of resources which go beyond constitutional reformations.” (de Jongh, 2002 p. 454).

Sandra Swart (2010) has taken a unique perspective on revealing the “bottom-up” history of marginalized groups and suggests that donkey’s would tell this bottom up history because donkey usage has been racialized and considered by some as a free good that are “low-maintenance and low-cost; they were more resistant to diseases and could survive on even drought-shriveled grasses” and because they are “particularly used by women” (Swart, 2010 p. 253). Jacobs (2001) substantiates this perspective by suggesting, “that non-human forces are actors in human history” and notes that “donkeys are not indigenous to South Africa” (p.486). It is appropriate to this story that donkeys arrived through European expansion because the contemporary history of the Karretjiemense is fundamentally a history of colonial rule and its consequences. Donkeys “proved to be very useful to people contending with changes brought by colonialism” (Jacobs, 2001 p. 485). This story of donkeys and colonialism within the context of South Africa reinforces the assertion that the explanation for historical processes, such as the appropriation of donkeys by the Karretjiemense, requires a discussion of biological, climatic, and physical characteristics of the biophysical world to more fully understand

the processes of cultural appropriation and dispossession of both the colonized and the colonizer. To this end, this case provides an argument for broadening the scope beyond wild "nature" (Jacobs, 2001 p. 486) and even beyond constructions of the Human World. It is important to note that Donkey ownership was racialized and "complicated by the fact that the colonial and segregationist state, not donkey owners, held the authority to determine their value. The state having the power to determine the value of donkeys promoted a conservationist discourse that the animals were destructive. Anti-donkey ideology led to an anti-donkey policy whose implementation was predicated on the status of donkey owners as colonial subjects" (Ibid, p. 485). It is important to note that this anti-donkey policy included an example where Swart (2010) citing a Carnegie Commission⁹ on Poor White children in the Cape from the first decades of the twentieth century in the Cape, where "the state provided donkey transport for impoverished white school children who lived more than three miles from a school." However, the Commission "raised a widespread concern that: "Donkeys are most generally used for this purpose, and many teachers are of the opinion that the intimate association for many hours each day with this type of animal has an adverse influence on the child!" (Swart, 2010 p. 255). In order to be able to develop policies against donkeys officials and others in authority needed to discount the myriad of ways that "poor black people found donkeys useful. The official and overwhelming colonial verdict on donkeys 'transcended race' but remained embedded in class" (Jacobs, 2001 p. 497), some detailed criticisms of the "donkey menace" included the fact that their carcasses went unclaimed, and the

⁹E.G. Malherbe, Education and the Poor White, Report of the Carnegie Commission, III, (Stellenbosch, 1932), p. 241

opinions that they made “the environment unhealthy for cattle. They destroyed the veld by digging and trampling the grass; they reproduced quickly and had no marketable value” (Jacobs, 2001 pp. 492-493). This anti donkey sentiment, and the perception that they are worthless are characterized in contemporary times by an example Steyn, (2009) provides where “[o]n one occasion a farmer from the district was annoyed by donkeys grazing alongside the dirt road opposite the outspan and shot dead the donkeys belonging to a Karretjie family, thus instantly obliterating their livelihood” (p.118). This farmers action, and the irrevocable consequences for the Karretjie family illustrates not only the flagrant abuses of power, and imposed violence and discrimination experienced by Karretjiemense, but, also demonstrates the conceptual gap regarding the utility and value of donkeys.

In order to explore Jacobs (2001) suggestion that the biophysical world may impact historical processes, and I would suggest also impacts the social processes subsumed within that history, it is important to explore the Donkey as a factor that might influence the social and historical processes of those intimately associated with them.

Firstly, Donkeys do not require any human assistance or intervention in reproduction and consequently constitute something close to a free good. Second, Donkeys eat everything. A participant in one of Jacobs’ studies (2001) states that (p. 492) “The donkey eats everything, unlike the cattle—the cattle choose.” Donkeys are able to eat large quantities of forage that is not necessarily suitable for goats and cattle, thus in environments, like die langplaas of the Karoo, “where low-quality forage is predominant, the sustainable donkey biomass may outweigh that of cattle and goats” (Jacobs, 2001 p. 489). A third benefit is that their milk “was considered medicinal for sick children.” A fourth benefit

of donkeys was that they were slaughtered for meat. They were not a favorite food, but they could be, and were eaten. Lastly, their dung could be used in construction, while this may not be true of nomadic groups like the Karretjie; it is certainly more prevalent in other sedentary groups who engage in donkey ownership. While these two final benefits are not exclusive to donkeys, they nonetheless may be considered of greater benefit as they are derived from a “free good” (Jacobs, 2001 p. 491-492).

The livelihoods of many rural poor, including the Karretjiemense, were supported by, if not centered on, the benefits derived from donkeys. As ownership of donkey’s was racialized (Jacobs, 2001) anti-donkey policy was promoted and adopted, and can be viewed as a means to divorce subsistence rural poor from their livelihood, and essentially proletarianizing them through policies and practices similar to those used to justify the extermination of the Bison in the North American Grasslands (Brown, 1971). Jacob’s (2001) describes how this anti-donkey policy reached its climax during an extensive period of drought in 1983 when 20 000 donkey were killed in what was later known as the “donkey massacre” (Jacobs, 2001 p.485). Jacob’s provides some personal accounts that are worth recounting here to demonstrate the central and personal role these animals have within the economy of the rural underclass. She explains the context, and suggests that post-apartheid South Africa has actually seen the rise of donkey populism with an uncompromising opinion on their virtues (Jacobs, 2001 p. 502). This populism was born out of the responses to the “[p]eriodic small-scale donkey culls that exploded, during a severe drought, into the arbitrary and savage slaughter of thousands in the so-called ‘donkey massacre’ of 1983 – a silent massacre, hidden from the official archival record. During this massacre, soldiers shot donkeys from inside their armoured vehicles. Some

people tried to flee with the donkeys or even hide them in their houses: bloodied carcasses piled up, traumatizing residents. As a woman mourned afterwards: “It was like they were people”. Jacobs speculates that the “killing was politically driven, designed to remind the commoners of the futility of opposition. It was in effect a demonstration of the power of the state over poor and disenfranchised people” (Ibid, p. 502).

In an earlier section of this paper, I alluded to the relationships that Karretjiemense developed with local sheep farmers. Steyn (2009) has suggested that the consolidation of land ownership and mechanization of farmers changed labour requirements. This shift in labour demand had a direct impact on the resurgence of mobility among Karretjiemense who had sought permanent positions on farms. The relationships that Karretjiemense developed with resident farmers can be viewed as the cultivation of an available resource that improves the viability of Karretjiemense within their economic and ecological niche. Many researchers (Atkinson, 2007; Connor, 2013, De Jong 2002) have explored the relationships that exist between farm managers/owners and permanent labourers on large landholdings throughout South Africa. These relationships are often described as paternalistic, but as Atkinson (2007 p. 91) writes “paternalism is not entirely negative, and that it is also a form of social capital.” Conner (2013) corroborates this sentiment and suggests that the relationships can be seen as beneficial because “the existence of relationships of reciprocity and understanding between farmers and workers that may soften harsh labour measures” (p. 383). He goes on to suggest that these mechanisms may be characterized as “social capital” and may explain why labour controls might not have been implemented within these agricultural contexts until the mid-twentieth century. The most valued benefits, for labourers in, this paternalistic relationship are the ability to

graze a limited amount of personal livestock on the employer's farm, and to plant vegetable gardens. There is a spectrum on how flexible these arrangements could be with some farmers allowing labourers to control the entirety of the product of these enterprises, with other farmers taking a payment in kind of the total goods produced (Connor, 2013). In many instances on farms within the Cape Province, "work invades even the smallest domestic details of worker's homes and leisure activities" (Ibid p. 385). This close association between work and leisure has been influenced by very conservative Victorian and Protestant values of religion, and these visibly influenced the way that Afrikaners (in particular) perceive the value of a 'good' worker, as opposed to a 'lazy' worker. Thus, labourers who are ascribed permanent worker status on farms, and smallholdings in the region may gain access to ancestral territory, but may also be inculcated into "a way of life, a regional identity and a particular cultural outlook. It is this 'hidden' reproductive meaning of work that is of particular importance to the way in which workers may contest relationships of domination and repression" (Connor, 2013 p.385). Connor is able to provide some anecdotal evidence to support this when she cites a labourer who was displaced to a northern Karoo farm after expulsion from BoPlaas (a farm where the labourer was subject to paternalism as it is being described here) in the 1970s and who managed to accumulate a large herd of cattle and gained valuable farming expertise, summed this up as follows: 'Ek is geleer – ek is gaar daardie slimgeid hulle het my gevoer' [I have been taught – I am cooked – they (the farmers) fed me on their cleverness]" (Ibid p. 384). She goes on to utilize Gramsci to validate the postulation that "workers may actually challenge hegemony by drawing on ideas appropriated from their

dominators, and incorporate this into a hidden arsenal of resistance” (Connor, 2013 p. 388).

The use of relationships as a resource, albeit a difficult one to maintain, is eloquently summarized by Connor’s remarks where she states “[f]or farmers, paternalism works best as a personal relationship of domination, while for workers, paternalism involves a simultaneous acceptance of, and resistance against authority.” Thus, working knowledge derived from the close association of the paternalistic relations on farms allows labourers to build social-economic, and political capacities that “enables labourers to maintain and use relationships with farmers in order to retain access to land, which (in turn) enables a wider resistance” (Connor, 2013 p.394).

While numerous author’s Linda Waldman (1996), Charles van Onselen (1997) and Susan Levine (2000) suggest that labourers who have no access to land ownership despite, extended tenure, and have not accumulated livestock, rural life for labourers as presented by these researchers suggests that they experience “dislocation, and servitude” (Connor, 2013 p. 375). But, Connor (2013) argues that the dynamics within these rural spaces are significantly more complex. Instead of labourers defining their relations as ones of servitude and dislocation, they identify themselves as “rural inhabitants with vested interests in stock, housing and various social and kinship affiliations in the district. These notions of identity are cemented by deep historical attachments to what informants refer to as their ‘ancestral territories’ in the region, and to their history of employment on some local farms (Ibid p.377).

One participant in Connor’s (2013) article articulates how workers aim to develop and maintain their social networks outside of the farm in order to “reinforce their social

connections in the district” by stating simply that “: ‘Ons het almal van dieselvde stroompie gedrink – as ons nie in een plek kon regkom nie, het ons na die plek to gegeaan waar dit beter was’ [We all drank from the same stream – if we couldn’t manage in one place, we just came back to the place where we had suffered the least” (p. 393). Without social networks outside of the farm, these choices would be significantly more limited. The utilization and maintenance of these resources, necessitates a capacity for mobility and creativity. Mobility is required to access available resources, and creativity to recognize, and ascribe value to “free goods”. Donkeys provide or at least facilitate greater, and much needed mobility, while a vibrant noetic space nurtures and promotes creativity.

5.4.3 Karretjiemense’s Noetic Spaces

Migration and displacement has characterized the socio-economy of the Southern African Cape Province for over two thousand years. There have been successive waves of displacement in this region with the Bantu tribes dispossessing the Bushmen and the Khoikhoi of their lands, only to be disposed in turn by European settler society. The Karretjie have emerged from this economic, political, and social instability as the rural underclass of the Karoo.

The Karretjie, while living as the rural underclass in the Karoo, have been described as insecure, powerless and poor. The Karretjie have been able to survive in a social and political landscape that has actively sought their assimilation. They have been able to derive sustenance from an economic and ecological environment to which they were and are only marginal participants, and actors. I will contend through this section, that while

the Karretjie may be abjectly poor, they have a robust and dynamic noetic space, and like their ancient Bushmen ancestors “are foragers as much for ideas as for *veldkos* [bushfood]” (Guenther, 1996 p. 73). It is this foraging for ideas that has allowed the Karretjie Mense to critically engage with settler cultures and develop organic responses, or assimilate key structures, artifacts, and ideas that may support their ontological and contextual viability. A good example of this process, as was discussed earlier in this section, is the adoption of Donkeys which even though described as a free good, is a portable resource, and represents accumulated social energy but is also useful in aiding mobility.

The Karretjiemense were able to revalorize, if only seasonable so, the nomadic lifestyle of the Bushmen. The Karretjiemense were able to respond critically to apartheid structures that affected migrating labour. Connor (2013) describes how “temporary employment has been shaped (historically) by the apartheid state’s restriction on the movement of black, rather than coloured [the race to which the Karretjiemense were arbitrarily assigned] labour, during the 1960s and 1970s. This meant that coloured workers were far more physically mobile and could access employment easily without the permission of a local magistrate or employer.” (p. 381). Many of these employment options included sheep shearing and fencing assignments, which allowed the Karretjiemense to develop an economic niche during the apartheid era. This economic niche has increasingly been threatened because the end of the apartheid era has freed large numbers of Black migrant labourers from the Transkei and Ciskei to compete for shearing contracts throughout the Karoo (De Jong, 2002).

It is important to note, at this juncture, that the Karretjiemense have not had any significant associations with formal education. Instead, the vibrancy of their noetic space is predicated on a heritage consisting of millennia of developing subsistence strategies, of foraging for ideas. While education was limited in early European colonial era of 1652-1795 to “catechism, because all teachers were licensed by the church as well as the state” and the primary schools established at this time were “attended in all cases by the children of white settlers and their slaves” with only an “abortive attempt at in 1714 to develop a secondary school” (Davenport, 1987 p. 23). Access to formal education has historically been severely limited, and did not improve significantly for Coloured or Bantu groups in subsequent eras as the legislation of Bantu education, in 1953, instituted a policy of restricting access to formal education to approximately grade 7 (Webb, 2002). This Bantu education served economic and political elites because it was enough to ensure proletarianization of Bantu groups without any associative threat to European intellectual and economic privilege (Ibid). A cursory read of Drury’s (1967) *A very strange society: A journey to the heart of South Africa* or *The Afrikaner’s Interpretation of South African History* reveals the cultural, economic, and social disparities and distortions these policies had on South-African society. However, formal access to education is often state centered (Clastres, 1989), Karretjiemense who had little access to institutionalized state education (Dyer, 2006), largely educated themselves through their adoption and revalorization of “foraged ideas”.

Guenther (1996) expands upon Silberbauer (1996) and describes the Bushmen’s “propensity for adopting and adapting new ideas and influences that reach them from the outside, in ways that enable them to ‘withstand, tolerate or benefit’ from them. This

ability to adapt and adopt, and forage new ideas is “part of the Bushmen’s general resilience and ingenuity.” (pp. 73-74). Not only is this capacity “an important element of the cultural diversity, social malleability, and ecological adaptability of the Bushmen” (Ibid), it is also equally important as a survival and resilience strategy for the Karretjiemense, the Bushmen’s close ancestral relation.

Learning achieved through the long association of humans with other biotic elements within a particular ecosystem is an avenue of non-institutionalized education, and a mechanism through which their adaptive strategies are articulated is largely underexplored in the literature. Swart (2010) outlines how humans might learn “linguistic” and behavioural signals from biotic elements within a particular ecosystem, and suggests that:

Many humans would have spoken rudimentary horse-human *patois*. They would have been able to understand that squeals and grunts indicated excitement; snorts signified interest or possible danger; a soft whicker was meant to reassure a foal or to express anticipation of food and a whinny meant the horse was all alone. Some (largely male) humans were particularly familiar with the subtle nuances of the idiom - those engaged in the horse industry itself like grooms, stable boys, jockeys, those who used horses as part of their jobs like itinerant *smouse* (peddlers), transport riders, or communities that imposed horsemanship as a condition of manhood, like Boers from the eighteenth and Sotho men from the mid-nineteenth century. They were also able to understand the non-verbal vernacular, for example, the v-shaped tightening of the muscles behind the nostrils revealing of tension or the curled lips conveying a stallion's interest in a mare in heat. These humans were able to interpret the flared nostrils of an excited or frightened horse, or the thunderous farting of a startled - or triumphant - horse. The horse in a stable or kraal with an *afdakkie* (lean-to) would have generated a cozy, familiar flatulence. Our history tends to be presented deodorized, as Roy Porter has pointed out. But a history of the bodily and corporal reminds one that the smell generated by horses was an everyday part of the life of a significant proportion of people (Swart, 2010).

While this description relates to horses, I would argue that the Karretjie through their long and close association with donkeys have developed a similar level of understanding and familiarity with the minutia of donkey and even sheep behavior. As unremarkable as this learning might seem to an uninitiated outsider, I believe it forms the foundation of what approaches a symbiotic relationship between the Karretjiemense and their donkeys. This intensive understanding of donkeys is representative of the knowledge that Karretjiemense have of other ecological elements within the Karoo. It is this intimate knowledge of the landscape, the ecosystems, and their dynamism that has allowed the Karretjiemense to find subsistence.

This association with the donkey has also changed the way that Karretjiemense are able to perceive and conceive of their world. Swart (2010) explains the conceptual impact equine travel has on geography when she states that the introduction of horses which “could cover well over thirty miles a day if not heavily loaded” changed “the physical elements of increased speed and, concomitantly, decreased relative distance – human geography itself changed” (Swart, 2010, p. 245).

European settler populations initiated much of the change in this human geography. The early Trekboers considered travel into the Cape interior during the 1830’s as dangerous, and “everyone went about armed.” One travelling party had “five encounters with lions in the eight days it took them to pass down the valley in an ox wagon”; but by the 1840’s it had become marginally safer because night-time attacks by Bushmen had decreased

significantly” (Sampson, 1994 p. 69). With travel into the interior becoming safer, the routes became more established and infiltration by European settlers become more endemic. The routes the Karretjie began using, in the early 20th century, were these established road networks, which had been built upon the framework of early Dutch ox wagon tracks, initiated and established through use by the Trekboers. These early tracks established routes that were predicated on the locations of water sources, and adequate grazing. The Trekboers following these early routes would encamp in outspans

where wagons were parked. The oxen and/or horses would be watered then hobbled for grazing in the immediate vicinity . . . Outspans were also important sources of information about local conditions and directions . . . Outspans were unevenly spaced, reflecting various difficulties along the road. The average spacing was about 12-15 km, the length of a day's travel. The spacing of water points was usually less, so that a midday break to water the team was often possible (Sampson, 1994 pp. 68-69).

While the use of wagon transportation declined in use by European settlers cultures by the middle of the twentieth century, Karretjiemense in the meantime began utilizing the transportation networks being vacated by the European’s who were utilizing automotive transport, and now travelling further than 15km a day, and relied less on water supplies and suitable grazing, and consequently desired more direct routes. The Karretjiemense in addition to using these wagon routes, also co-opted the social organization structure of the outspan. The Karretjie outspan can be demarcated as an important noetic space because it is a “site of sociability” for the Karretjiemense. The outspan is the place where “a number of Karretjie families come together, so that the burden of loneliness, which falls acutely on women, is relieved . . . and there is a great deal of sharing of the dwindling resources of cash and provisions amongst the people who make camp together” and “[t]he opportunity of meeting up, of relaxation, and of socializing round the

camp fires at night is greatly anticipated” (Steyn, 2009 p. 452). Steyn (2009) goes on to describe in her work on spatial mobility, domestic fluidity, and residential instability, how the co-opted cultural structure of the outspan has been revalorized within the Karretjiemense context. She describes the outspan as:

a piece of neutral i.e. not privately owned land usually located between a dirt road and the fence enclosing a farmer’s property. . . These outspans are where the Karretjie People spend their time between shearing contracts. They are situated on public land, often close to the back roads of the Great Karoo. Like the corridor camps, they are – strictly – against the law, because the relevant road ordinance prohibits camping at the roadside for more than 24 hours. With the assistance of the police, local authorities and farmers sometimes instruct Karretjie People to keep moving; at other times they turn a blind eye to their presence. . . [One outspan is] at the bridge that spans the Seacow River 22 kilometres west of Colesberg on the road to Philipstown. This outspan has been over many years a preferred location. The individual members who frequent this outspan may fluctuate, especially during the shearing season and have varied from two to fourteen Karretjie units. The river is an important resource because not only does it provide water for drinking, cooking, washing, and swimming for the children in summer, but it also serves to supplement their diet because it provides opportunities for fishing and it offers grazing for the donkeys and a supply of firewood along its banks. There are however no other amenities (p.450).

The value of a dynamic and vibrant noetic space is essential for a cultures capability to respond to external and internal pressures that may affect the society’s viability. The fact that the Karretjie are able to coalesce in outspans provides an opportunity to evaluate, and reconstitute, however informally, the cultural and practical elements that will ensure the viability of the group. While many cultures may have a more reified and institutionalized noetic space, the Karretjie within the noetic space of their outspan, as well as in the details of their daily lives, embrace flexibility. In fact Guenther citing a variety of authors

specific to Bushmen, but whose observations would give a reasonable account of Karretjie culture as well, argues that

[f]lexibility is all pervasive . . . in composition the society is fluid, with members coming and going at all times (Lee 1976b); it is open with respect to territorial and group affiliation (Lee 1976b, Guenther 1981a); it is loosely corporate with respect to ownership of land and other resources (which include very little property) (Lee 1981); it is slack in Political organization (Lee 1982; Siulberbauer 1982). Interpersonal and gender relations are not structured by any hierarchal order but are egalitarian (Lee 1979, Barnard 1980b, Guenther 1983) and there is a virtual absence of craft specialization (Guenther, 1996 p. 79).

Steyn (2009) describes the flexibility and survival strategies of peripatetic groups in detail, and has determined that “the most common denominators of group actions and social activities are flexibility and an awareness of the elements comprising the socioeconomic milieus of those communities amongst which they maintain themselves” (Steyn pp. 113-114). Karretjie communities rely on human resources, which includes the farming communities for employment, and access through “in kind” payments that might include old clothes, kitchen utensils, and other agricultural and domestic goods. Most farmers have their sheep sheared in August or September, this seasonal demand for employment influences, but does not define entirely Karretjie mobility networks. Instead, as Steyn (2009) suggests, “[t]he principle of their [Karretjiemense] adaptation lies in the emphasis on flexible skills and a realization of available resources in the larger social networks (including kin) that the Karretjie People occupy” (Steyn, 2009 p110). As mentioned previously, this flexibility is ubiquitous in the Karretjiemense’s lives and the kinship groups of the Karretjie. Steyn (2009) has outlined how child rearing is very often the responsibility of the broader kinship group, and Karretjie children may spend significant amounts of time away from their biological mothers, usually in the care of the

kinship group's matriarch. These separations in kinship groups most often coincide with diminished resource availability, with the elder matriarch's often able to access social security monies to help support the children. This adaptive mechanism makes visible the use of kinship as a mechanism that facilitates Karretjiemense's mobility so that they might extract a livelihood from the "intricate interplay of seasonal, social, economic and ideological" sources (Ibid, p. 115). Flexibility around kinship association are not always founded on such cooperative endeavors, as Steyn explains "It is important to note that not all patterns of mobility are economically determined; moving may often be related to avoidance of conflict and for social reasons. Amongst Karretjie communities it often occurred that a group would split, mostly temporarily, due to internal dissension" (Ibid pp. 113-114). Most Karretjie units are economically "independent in that each attempt as far as possible to generate its own income. Still, sharing amongst different units is customary" (Ibid p. 112). This said, a groups Karretjie units will coalesce and disperse depending principally on the availability of resources, and the relationship between different units; with most "outspans consist[ing] of *Karretjie* units that represent proximate generations based on association between parents and the units of their married children" (Ibid, p.112). This spatial mobility occurs within various scales within the Karretjie group ranging from individual mobility, to group mobility. Group mobility usually revolves around specific economic activities such as sheep shearing assignments. "Individual mobility may include men being absent from the group for shearing assignments, women being absent to engage in labour, usually domestic work, and children either being sent to schools, if the Karretjie unit is near a settlement, or, as

mentioned earlier being assigned to another unit “to lessen the strain on their own Karretjie unit” (Steyn, 2009 pp. 112-113).

In addition to this kinship and group membership flexibility, the Karretjie have unique housing requirements that improve their capability to be spatially mobile. Steyn (2009) describes Karretjie dwellings as “both process and artifact” because in most cases “housing is continually moved, dismantled and reassembled on a new site, it is the idea of the dwelling which persists”. (p.90). The Karretjiemense housing is typically of corrugated metal sheets, plastic and hessian or burlap bags. The dwellings “are rarely high enough to stand up in, and barely long and wide enough for adults to lie down. Karretjie People have no furniture beyond a few wooden squatting stools, mattresses, and the tin trommels (trunks) in which they store their most precious possessions, such as their shears, tools and, for those who recently obtained them for the first time, identity documents” (de Jongh, 2002 p.450). These dwellings are essentially organic in the process through which they are created, maintained and improved upon. Materials are gathered as they become available, or discovered through their travels. Consequently, “each Karretjie unit differs from other units in terms of style and shape. The Karretjie People themselves can ‘read’ and recognize the characteristics of a particular Karretjie home, donkeys and donkey cart from a distance” (Steyn, 2009 p. 90).

The Karretjie, maintain very little in terms of property. Not only does this allow for greater spatial mobility, but also by limiting the reification of intellectual property, they have greater flexibility in adopting or revalorizing cultural and social structures to suite the environment and the resources that they provide. Rao (1987) describes that even though peripatetic groups typically use the same language as “their customers and/or the

sedentary community” they often use what is often described as a “secret language” (pp.18-19). This strategy is evident in the Karretjie communities because “[t]he Afrikaans that the Karretjie people speak can be said to have their particular ‘stamp’ on it. Once a Karretjie owner related the following to Steyn (2009): “Ek roep een van my donkies Kaffertjie maar as ek by Kuyasa verbyry skree ek eerder Geelbek en nie Kaffertjie nie”.

“I call one of my donkeys Kaffertjie (derogatory term for a ‘Black’ person) but when I travel past Kuyasa (‘Black’ residential area) I rather call him Geelbek (derogatory for a ‘Coloured’ person) and not Kaffertjie” (Steyn, 2009 p. 115).

Guenther’s (1996) contributes to this discussion that centres around diversity, flexibility, and the dynamism inherent to Bushman and Karretjiemense’s culture. As previously outlined in this chapter, characteristics that apply to Bushmen, can just as appropriately be applied to the Karretjie as peripatetic subsistence foragers. When discussing this diversity and flexibility Guenther isolates two “basic dynamic factors, one internal, pertaining to social organization, the other external, pertaining to the ecological and historical settings within which” peripatetic groups in Southern Africa have had to contend. The first factor is internal and “is the institutional, structural, and personal flexibility of the [peripatetic group’s] culture, and individual” (p.77) agency. The second factor, which is “mutually reinforcing” with the first, is external and relates to “the variability of the ecological and social-aculturative contexts in” which the Karretjie have subsisted for generations. These two factors are not dissimilar to Wallerstein’s concepts of internal and external expansion as they relate to the capitalist hegemon. The Karretjie response to the factors outlined by Guenther, I posit are responses that would effectively

ameliorate and revalorize for their own purposes the internal and external expansion described by Wallerstein (2010), and consequently “render[s] that society the more ecologically and socially adaptive” (Guenther, 1996 p. 77). Even with this cultural reflexivity and adaptability Karretjie society has maintained, to a large degree, its cultural integrity and capacity for social reproduction, and has achieved this “protean adaptability” through the inherent flexibility of Karretjie social organization and values, beliefs, and ideas (Guenther, 1996).

While this adaptability and flexibility is used as a mechanism that allows Karretjie Mense to retain “their cultural integrity and their social autonomy throughout centuries and even millennia of contact with encroaching and encircling settler groups” (Ibid, pp.81-82). However, this process and the management of change requires meticulous and prudent foresight because “[i]n the course of this contact some [communities] have lost their independence and have become the marginal underclass of more, hegemonic agro pastoralists. Others may have become so transformed, through stock ownership or sedentism, that egalitarianism and reciprocity have eventually given way to social hierarchy and centralized power” (Guenther, 1996 pp. 81-82). I would argue, that these individuals or communities who have given way to social hierarchy and centralized power, could still maintain the viability of their noetic space, and capacity to revalorize cultural norms, if they maintained their “[s]ocial institutions that furthermore allow for “ad hoc distortions of formal structure,. . . [and] allow for a wide margin of individuation” (Guenther, 1996 p. 78). This individuation, is asserted within small egalitarian societies like the Karretjiemense by the “self-assured and self-directing characteristics of individual’s personalities” (Guenther, 1996 p.79). Woodburn (1982)

describes how personal autonomy is actualized through “a lack of dependence on specific others” amongst people who lead their social lives “without dependencies or commitments to kin, affines or contractual partners. Lack of craft and ritual specialization, in a culture of which the material and mystical elements are accessible to everyone” (p.438). These processes especially , the accessibility of culture in its material and mystical forms speaks to the de-institutionalization of power and the structures that typically serve to consolidate and differentiate access to power.

In discussing Karretjiemense’s access to education it is important to reiterate de Jongh (2002) who suggests that “[t]he endemic poor quality of education in most rural areas of South Africa applies to the Karoo region as well, and particularly to farm labourers, but the epitome again must be the Karretjie people who, until recently had no [formal] education at all.” (p.451). There are structural elements that essentially limit the quality and access that rural populations have to education. The central policies dictating rural education is Hendrik Verwoerd’s apartheid policies. Verwoerd was the prime minister of South Africa from 1958 to 1966 and was aptly called the “architect of apartheid”. The “Verwoerdian ideal (i.e. apartheid strategy) was said to have been a school on every farm” with the rationale “to stabilize the labour force on farms; maintain the presence of woman and children on farms as part of the labour force; and prevent migration from farms to the cities and towns” (Steyn 2009 p. 268). Within this apartheid structure of rural education, over 4600 farm schools were in operation. This constituted 17 percent of all schools. Therefore, 1 in 5 schools in South Africa during the latter half of the 20th century were farm schools. The 600 000 student’s that attended these schools had access

to buildings in poor repair, lack of clean drinking water, poor nutrition, and few books, and finally undertrained teachers (Asmal, 2000).

To this end, Christie and Gaganakis (1989) reaffirm what Graaff et al. (1990) suggest is a “simple and compelling argument”; that South African farmers are an integral component to the Afrikaner Nationalist Coalition that introduced and precipitates the apartheid political and social system in South Africa. The privileged position, that these farmers enjoy within the political system, has allowed them to create a legislative environment which has for the most part ensured, for farmers, an extremely cheap and immobile labour force. Graaff et al. (1990) suggest that “[t]his has produced an almost feudal set of social relations in which workers are tied into an extremely oppressive and exploitative situation” (p.36).

Considering that Farmers subsidize 50% of the farm schools costs, it is not in the interests of the farmer to educate rural farm workers so that they might compete in the urban labour market. Christie (1989) suggest that “farmers do not see much benefit to themselves in providing schools for farm-workers. Hence, schooling is a voluntary act of benevolence on the farmer’s part, rather than a legal entitlement of children” (p.84). As a consequence, most farm schools do not go beyond Grade 6. This is consistent with Earlier Bantu Education policies which sought mass education for non-whites to a primary level only. Michael de Jongh articulates this lack of access to formal education structures and argues that “[w]hen fieldwork commenced in this area [Colesburg] in 1992, almost all these people were illiterate, having never had the benefit of schooling or even access to a school. Since then, some of the children have started attending farm

schools and a few, while their parents camped on the outskirts of one of the towns, were enrolled at the local primary school” (de Jongh, 2002 p. 451).

Graaff et al. (1990) summarize the obstacles facing students in farm schools especially in the Southern and Western capes, by stating that student engagement in these schools is largely a “trial by space”. (p.23). They expand upon this concept of trial by space by suggesting that “[t]he central mistake is to equate dropout rates with failure rates. In rural areas two crucial reasons why children are out of school is *not because they fail exams*. It is because (a) they cannot gain *entry* to the school either at the primary or secondary level, and (b) because their parents (and their farmer employers) cannot or will not carry the *costs*, both direct and indirect, involved in schooling. In both cases the problem is about *finances*.” (pp.23-24). Graaff et al. (1990) go on to suggest that “rural education is more about available classroom space than about pass rates” (p.24). In other words, teachers restrict the number of students who pass a specific grade based on the number of spaces that will be available in the subsequent grade’s classroom, with classroom spaces being predicated on the available financial resources. With this process taken into consideration, “academic achievement is not only uncoupled from dropout, it is also at times uncoupled from exam results” (Ibid, p.24). Beyond these factors student success in school is primarily determined by the parent’s ability to carry the cost of education, and whether or not there are actually classrooms available for students to learn in. This emphasis on finances and the parents capability to support their children’s schooling is supported by de Jongh’s (2002) statement which suggests that “[f]ew parents can afford even the R7.00 per term that it costs to attend a farm school and their itinerant lifestyle of course rebels against the predictability and sedentarism that effective schooling requires.”

(pp.451-452). This said, sedentary farm schools are not the only education available to Karretjiemense. Even though most Karretjie parents are illiterate, and have spent, “most of their adult lives subject to segregated governance” (Steyn, 2009 p. 263) they are able to perpetuate cultural norms and subsistence skills because just like the “Gypsy child” Karretjie children’s education “takes place within a collective system” (Ibid, p.265). Itinerant groups, worldwide, are often, like the Karretjiemense, illiterate, and consequently place greater emphasis on the acquisition of culture through oral strategies (Dyer, 2006). In most instances, these oral strategies limit the child’s ability to access learning spaces within the schools, and consigns the children to crucially contributing to the Karretjie unit by minding younger children, and fetching firewood and water. So, while

itinerant communities specialised training (such as sheep shearing), informal instruction and other socialization processes are integral parts of the child’s day-to day activities. While primary education for sedentary communities takes place in the classroom, peripatetic children’s education occurs in the household and general community. Itinerant children are integral to the entire social system of which they form a part and are evaluated in terms of their individual experience and skills and not in a general category of children (Steyn 2009 p. 264).

The education processes outlined by Graaff et al. (1990) and described as rural or farm schools were the norm within the apartheid era in South Africa. This education began to evolve in the late 1990’s, to the extent that both attendance rates and finances being directed towards rural, and farm schools were increasing. In fact, provincial legislation, and policy during this time was shifting towards increased government participation and funding

There was much political manouvering after the end of apartheid as groups sought to position themselves so that they might derive the greatest bennefit politically, economically, and socially for their constituent groups. To this end, the Karretjiemense were “[o]pportunistically ‘discovered’ as citizens by the main political parties for the 1994 election, they have become increasingly sensitized to the realities of disempowerment and political maneuvering. They have, however, not yet asserted themselves: although they are aware of their Khoisan roots, their self-perception is still ill defined and their autochthonous status not explicitly articulated (de Jongh 2002 p.441). Throughtout this process the Karretjiemense have been exploring mechanisms, and understandings of identity politics and self-determination as San or Khoekhoen populations so that they might particuipte more effectively in demanding a more comprehensive representation in South Africa’s new political arena (de Jongh, 1994). The Karretjiemense in their articulating of a socio-economic identity, demonstrate their social and political acumen by suggesting that “[o]ns is te arm om bruin mense te wees. Ons is die geel mense” (we are too poor to be brown people, we are the yellow people) (Ibid., p. 442).

The political forum opened up by the 1994 general election in South Africa, was one where “dramatic reassertions of Khoisan identities” could be “reclaimed without the stigma that had been attached to them under apartheid” (Robins, 1998 pp. 87-89).

Michael de Jong (2004) utilizes Morris (1997) to explain how the Khoikhoi histories have been used by a variety of groups including the Griqua and Baster groups in the Western Cape and Northern Cape. He explains that through the use of Khoisan ancestry

[r]epresent[s] the dynamic transformation of these people into new entities in parallel with the urban transformation that produced the apartheid socio-political class, 'coloured'. What has made the new entities seductive is that they provide a distinctive 'coloured people's' history and a cultural connection that helps to restore pride in KhoeKhoen origins that were suppressed or lost in the urban areas over the years. The KhoeKhoen origins and the 'special' history of the Griqua are now both important. For the Griqua people, this history provides a religion and a sense of pride, difference and continuity based on this, claims to land and traditional leadership are also being made. Representatives of the Griqua National Conference of South Africa have been to Geneva where they have sought to establish an 'unbroken continuum' with the pre-colonial past and to stress their KhoeKhoen antecedents (p. 458).

But, precedents for reasserting Khoisan identity extend further back to the 1980's and early 1990's where the Afrikaans and Nama-speaking Cape Coloured people's publicly displayed their Nama/KhoeKhoen past; the San of the Kagga Kamma nature reserve actively pursued a strategy for survival, which included recreating their San identity and submitting a land claim based on their eviction from the Kalahari Gemsbok Park some 30 years before; Baster and Griqua groups reclaimed a KhoeKhoen identity and also general cultural and political rights (Ibid, p.457).

The articulation of rights within the context of post-apartheid has been problematic for many disenfranchised groups. Michael de Jongh (2002) suggests, "[t]he underlying issue here is that the young South African democracy has thus far failed to deliver the full benefits of citizenship to large numbers of people, but conspicuously to local communities in the rural areas" (p. 455). This is further articulated by Karretjiemense Chrisjan Steenbok who puts it, 'Ons het nie ons eie reg nie, ons moet maar vat of ons moet maar gaan' (We don't have our own rights, we must either 'take it' or we must go)" (as cited in de Jongh 2002 p. 455). The problem of developing capacities around the

assertion of specific rights, whether they be land tenure, recognition as an indigenous group, or greater political involvement within the current political context is problematic because the Karretjiemense “are still scattered across a vast area, moving in small family groups. There is as yet little opportunity for common perception, and few individuals articulate enough to lead to concerted political action towards shared goals” (Ibid p.459). With an economic shift within the Karoo initiating greater land consolidation, a shift towards game farming, and reduced demand for shearers, Karretjiemense are beginning to demonstrate a “new tendency towards sedentarisation” (p. 459). This movement towards permanent settlement effectively ends the Karretjiemense’s peripatetic lifestyle, being stationary may magnify the dynamic noetic processes the Karretjie experience within their outspans. However, these changes initiated by permanent settlement, de Jongh (2002) suggests, “will come about not simply because people will be living for longer periods in close proximity. It will also result from the fact that their sedentary existence, inevitably in squalid shack settlements on the outskirts of increasingly impoverished towns and villages, will thrust their outcast status in their faces, and will make it more difficult to escape into the expanses of the Great Karoo” (pp. 459-460). But there are other less desirable, yet immediate consequences that Karretjiemense face when they settle near towns. Michael de Jong (2002) suggests that:

More often than not, these families do not experience a significant improvement in employment opportunities and, at the same time, the town presents an additional allure to spend what little income they have – not least on alcoholic beverages. Almost without exception, such Karretjie units are caught in a vicious downward spiral where short-term strategies, including the sale of capital assets such as their Karretjie and donkeys, became the only alternative for survival. They lose their mobility and, to all intents and purposes, become squatters on the fringes of town. The fundamental change in lifestyle has far-

reaching implications. Children progressively become socialized into sedentary patterns of behavior (p. 455-456).

With Karretjiemense recently becoming increasingly sedentary, the process and applications for land tenure is becoming more urgent, most Karretjie People are still confined to their temporary shelters on the verges of the country roads. They have no land, or even free access to any space or place. In fact the last time any official attention was given to the problem of Khoisan access to land was in the early nineteenth century when the Toverburg and Hephzibah missions in the Colesburg district which were seen, by colonial farmers and Trekboers, to be colluding and abetting, the Bushmen and Khoikhoi, failed. De Jongh (2002) outlines the finality of this initiative when he states “[o]nce these and similar mission stations had collapsed, the whole of the Khoisan population in the region was subordinated to the regime of private property, and to a uniform system of colonial law and governance” (p. 457). It is important to note at this point, that the peripatetic lifestyle of the Karretjiemense, while a response to private property regimes, in some instances may be viewed as the revalorization of ancient bushman cultural traditions within an evolved socio-political climate. These sentiments are articulated in van Vuuren (1999) who summarizes some Colesburg district farmer’s perceptions of the Karretjiemense with a few poignant quotes: 'their toenails sprout after a while which cause them to migrate', they do not stay in houses because 'hy het nog 'n sort wildheid in hom' (they still have a kind of wildness in them) (p. 99). However, if we consider that this revalorized nomadic foraging may be an essential survival strategy that was adopted out of necessity, in response to exclusionary colonial land tenure, and later the decimating impacts of apartheid era politics and economics. If we consider that the

Karretjiemense have a penchant, or central cultural canon that promotes and facilitates diversity, ingenuity and reflexive cultural flexibility, then in an evolving political, social, and economic climate it is reasonable to expect that Karretjiemense would adopt strategies that will ensure the cultural viability and define a new economic and social niche. To this end, de Jongh (2002) suggests that:

the situation in the Great Karoo is not one in which the poorest coloured people are desperate to defend vestigial privileges against the intrusion of blacks. On the contrary, the Karretjie People would envy the security of a place that is available even to those people who were relegated to the homelands. For the Karretjie People, the recuperation of KhoeKhoen and San identities would, first and foremost, be a cry for access to land, for the option of a fixed place that would spell, if they should so wish, an end to their wandering and help them to reinsert themselves into the regional society, and to reassert themselves in their place and space (p. 460).

Gaining access to land, through land-tenure legislation or other political means may not eradicate the lack of security that accentuates the vulnerability of the poor. This insecurity not only revolves around accessing a sustainable livelihood, but also ensuring that there can be a consistency of care for children. This consistency of care most often revolves around acquiring food, firewood, and water. “The essence of this way of life is sharing, a practice that is extended more widely in the foraging mode of production than in any other” (Lee, 1982 p. 54). Thus relationships and social capital as resource is reinforced within the Karretjie context to meet these subsistence needs, and revalorized within the broader settler, and newly democratic political structure to ensure continued access to resources that are ascribed through rights. Michael de Jongh (1995) effectively articulates this process when he states:

the Karretjie people neither have access to the natural resources of the region nor are they primary producers. Hence for survival, their resources are derived from the key card that they have to play in an asymmetrical relationship with an employer/patron, in this case the wool farmers, by providing a specialized skill, the ability to shear. But perhaps even more important than this specific skill are the social resources which they exploit. The peculiar socio-economic niche that they occupy has necessitated a shift in emphasis to resources of a non-material kind. Access to opportunities and people has become important and hence strategies, resourcefulness, flexibility, knowledge, skills and relative freedom of action have been exploited and developed as important resources (p.57).

While the Karretjiemense are developing capacities to stabilize their access to resources, and are beginning to articulate their cultural identity within political and social venues in attempts to gain greater autonomy and agency. These processes of accessing political structures are problematic because they involve an ascription to institutionalized state power. Accessing these institutionalized state powers theoretically inhibits the maintenance of their de-institutionalized and largely egalitarian culture. This process of enculturation and institutionalization is magnified by the actions of the state. An example of this type of state action is the introduction through the South African Bureau of Standards that introduced the nation's first standards for donkey cart construction and performance. These standards are being introduced under the guise of what Dr. Cliff Johnson suggests is for "improving the quality of life of our people" (as cited in Anonymous, 2004). But this could be viewed through the lense of Gramsci's hegemon, where the beliefs and structures of the core are taken to be the only valid beliefs and structures, so that traditions of karretjie construction, and maitainence become subverted to the centralized power of the state. This regulation of donkey cart construction and performance has a precedence in the regulation of Wagon transportation in the early 20th

century that contributed to the precipitous decline of the industry (van Vuuren, 1999).

These regulating and centralizing processes undermine the methods of enculturation, socialization that van Vuuren (1999) outlines in the following excerpt:

These carts are normally inherited and the rear axle of a motor car is often used to build a new cart. The differential is constantly 'serviced' - lubricated with heated oil. The owner carries a toolbox with all the necessary tools in case of a break-down (flat tyre, broken axle, etc.). The entire construction of the cart and its accessories reflects skill and innovation of people who virtually have no resources to their avail. Suffice to say that donkeys are crucial. The Karretjie people take great care of their donkeys and fillies are often given to younger boys as personal responsibility, to take care of. Donkeys will receive special names at an early stage (p.99).

It is important to note that these centralizing and institutionalizing process can be mitigated as Guenther (1986) suggests after studying the Bushmen of Ghazi who for three generations were being assimilated into farm labour, sedentism, and a cash economy, that “[t]he band remains the basic social structure and the sharing ethos, despite being challenged by the new values of negative reciprocity, is still basically intact” (Guenther 1986 pp.289-290). It will be essential for the Karretjiemense, if they hope for similar successes to the Ghazi Bushmen to maintain the vitality and dynamism of their noetic space, which supports their most valuable skill the capability to be ubiquitously flexible.

5.4.4 Transformation

The Karretjiemense are skilled in heuristic thinking. They are constantly developing original solutions to novel problems. It is worth restating here Guenther’s (1996) observation which suggests that “[l]ike other hunter-gatherers, the Khalari Bushmen were and are foragers as much for ideas as for *veldkos*” (Guenther, 1996 p. 73). The

Karretjiemense as foragers are “not located at the margins of society, but on the margins itself, between different worlds and cultures” (Connor, 2013 p. 381).

Lee substantiates this perspective further while outlining the inherent flexibility to Bushmen and Karretjiemense culture by suggesting that “[i]t is clear that the maintenance of flexibility to adapt to changing ecological circumstances is far more important in hunter-gatherer group structure than is the maintenance of exclusive rights to land. Flexibility favours a social policy of bringing in more peoples rather than keeping them out, hence the emphasis on the social principle of recruitment rather than exclusion” (Lee, 1982 p. 53). This recruitment rather than exclusion of peoples within and into their communities is a reflection of their inclusive intellectual and cultural practices, and their ability to forage for ideas. The ecological, social and economic environment in which the Karretjiemense have survived has evolved dramatically from pre-colonial to contemporary times. The Karretjiemense have subsisted and survived through these changes primarily because, as Polly Wiesner states when discussing the Bushmen that “their economy and social organization can be seen as the direct product of their interaction with the environment” (Wiesner, 1982 p.61). So within the Colesburg district of the Karroo which comprises 247 farms on 534 792 hectares, with an economy that is showing signs of evolving from strictly sheep-breeding, wool, and mutton to include game farming, and social services. Recent indicators, according to Atkinson et al. (2003 p. 3), suggest that as an economy the agricultural sector of the region has been overtaken by Community Service (mainly government services) as the principal employment generator of the region (Steyn, 2009).

The Karretjiemense as itinerant sheep shearers who trace their descent from KhoeKhoen and Bushmen exist in the Great Karoo as a rural underclass. Their wandering lifestyle, economic and social dislocation, and negligible access to political structures have largely been shaped by historical events such as the expansion of commercial agriculture, especially the production of wool, in the region. The Karretjiemense were able to adapt to these significant changes and found an economic and social niche engaging in activities such as repairing fences, shearing, and nomadism. Steyn (2009) highlights a poignant illustration of how Karretjie children have internalized their social and economic position when she states “[t]he answer of a Karretjie child to a question “if you are a Karretjie person, what would I be?” perhaps describes it best. The Karretjie children’s answer to this was, “I am a Karretjie (donkey cart) person and you are a motor car person”. This identification as a “donkey kart” person and differentiation to a “motor car person” reveals complex and disparate relationships to resources. The donkey is “a free good” while the motorcar represents a significant capital investment. These disparate relations to resources and capital are also relevant indicators of differentiated social structures.

Lee (1982) further articulates this point when he states:

Central to the foraging mode of production is a lack of wealth accumulation and the social differentiation that accompanies it. This lack of accumulation, even though the means for it –free time and raw materials-are at hand, arises in part from the requirements for Nomadic Life. For people who move around a lot and did not keep pack animals until very recently, it would be sheer folly to amass more goods than can be carried along when the group moves. Portability is the major design feature of the items themselves. The total weight of an individual’s personal property is less than twenty-five pounds and can easily be carried from place to place. (p. 52)

The Karretjiemense do not have access to economic and political resources within the context of the Karoo. In fact, they are at “the extreme edge of socio-economic marginalization” and their “entire existence and well-being centers around the cart and the donkey. The concept of homestead (the cart and the outspan) and household (all its members who contribute to its existence) is not to be found elsewhere in South Africa. Yet, much of their socio-cultural 'make-up' could be explained in terms of a pristine past when they were foragers” (van Vuuren, 1999 p. 103). However, he goes on to suggest that we should be cautious not to romanticize this “pristine precolonial past of San Bushman and KhoeKhoen inhabitants in the region, a trend one could argue, which one might equate with the Western obsession of dealing with the so-called noble savage” (Ibid p. 103). Lee (1982) suggests that the fact that foragers such as the Karretjiemense “succeed as well as they do in communal living, in spite of (or because of) their material simplicity, offers us an important insight” (p. 56). These insights if we are to use Meiksins Wood’s (1999) terms of opportunity and/or imperative as it relates to the agency reflected in choices that the Karretjiemense make when revalorizing the ways in which their cultural cannons might be manifest, suggest that many Karretjiemense adaptations have been born out of the imperative of survival on the one hand, and may be seen as an opportunity to perpetuate their socio-cultural structures on the other. Sahlins (1965) illustrates how material simplicity may promote, or be the catalyst to the perpetuation of generalized reciprocity, an almost universal socio-cultural attribute of foraging peoples. Generalized reciprocity, the giving of something without expectation of equivalent return is socialized into each member of the group. Lee (1982) argues that

Sharing . . . is not automatic; it has to be learned and reinforced by culture every human infant is born equipped with both the capacity to share and the capacity to be selfish. During the course of socialization each society channels these impulses into socially acceptable forms and every society expects some sort of balance between sharing and selfish behaviour-between the needs of the self and the needs of others Among the foragers, society demands a high level of sharing and tolerates a low level of personal accumulation compared to Western capitalist norms (Lee, 1982 p. 55).

Sharing goes beyond reciprocal exchange of material goods within the group, and extends into sharing leadership and authority. This non-centralized authority allows for a significant personal agency and self-determination. A respondent in one of Lee's (1982) studies suggested that the bushmen have headmen, by stating "of course we have headmen . . . in fact we are all headmen . . . Each one of us is headman over himself" (p. 50). Individuals have significant agency over their personal lives, and life trajectories, this correlates to the inclination many Karretjiemense have to adapt and adopt strategies that will best serve their interests. These individual daily decisions become manifest in the aggregate cultural cannon of adaptability and flexibility, and manifest specifically in the skills and capacities required to support spatial mobility, domestic fluidity and residential instability (Steyn, 2009).

This representation of cultural formation and reification may seem arbitrary, and even unduly influenced by external forces, but this responsiveness to change is the vital key to its success, and is more deliberate than initially conceived. Lee summarizes this perspective by stating that

[i]n egalitarian societies such as the !Kung [Bushmen] we see group activities unfolding, plans made and decisions arrived at all without a clear focus of authority or influence. But, closer examination, however reveals that patterns of leadership do exist. When a

waterhole is mentioned, a group living there is often referred to by the !Kung by a single man's or woman's name. . . These individuals are often older people who have lived there the longest or who have married into the owner group, and who have some personal qualities worthy of note as a speaker, an arguer, a ritual specialist, or a hunter. In the group discussions these people may speak out more than others, may be deferred to more than others, and one gets the feeling that their opinions hold a bit more weight than the opinions of other discussants. Whatever their skills, !Kung leaders have no formal authority. They can only persuade but never enforce their will on others (Lee, 1982 p. 45).

The Karretjiemense have, it seems, revalorized most components of their culture in order to survive in the ever dynamic and precarious social and economic position they occupy. While these changes may have occurred slowly over time to evoke an idea of creeping normalcy, where incremental changes are not easily conceived and it seems as though the status quo is maintained. But, over time, the amalgamation of these incremental changes reveals a significant cultural evolution. But as van Vuuren (1999) notes, this cultural evolution may not have corresponding and proportional social, and economic benefits. Instead,

[l]ocal (white, black and coloured) perceptions of these Karretjie people reflect categories of prejudice, ignorance and blatant racism. In the words of some white farmers in the Colesberg district, they are . . . unpredictable, lazy, they just want to shear and itinerancy is inbred in them, etc. Coloured people regard them as an underclass but are generally empathetic towards them, while local black people hardly socialize with them and refer to them as Bushmen in a derogatory way (p.99).

Karretjiemense persist within the Karoo despite this pervasive prejudice. Their primary skill of sheep shearing is passed on from father to son by way of in-service training (van Vuuren, 1999), and the remainder of their enculturation and socialization is achieved through the informal mechanism inherent to everyday life. While these education

strategies have thus far allowed the Karretjiemense to respond to changes within the Karoo, I agree with de Jongh (2006) when he states that by “bringing basic skills to, and developing a positive value system within this community, a significant contribution was envisaged to enable particularly the adults to compete socio-economically in a more equitable manner and improve their quality of life” (de Jongh, 2006 pp. 94-95).

However, I do not fully agree with de Jongh’s emphasis on “practical skills training as well as guidelines and procedures for health care, childcare, parental responsibility and hygiene” curriculum (de Jongh, 2006 pp. 94-95) as these outcomes interfere with the small personal spaces of the Karretjiemenses lives, and in this respect has incidious and paternalistic undertones. Instead, I would focus on his suggestion of implementing a literacy curriculum. It would be through this literacy curriculum that capacities of personal, social, and political advocacy may be more fully developed and refined. This process of *conscientização* (Freire, 1968) would provide the Karretjiemense with the requisite capabilities to enhance, and make more politically comprehensive their attempts to revalorize their cultural canons to be attuned to 21st century economic, political, and intellectual structures. Promoting capacities to engage with spaces both physical, intellectual, and political that have long been denied to them, and promoting literacy as a mechanism for reducing isolation in these same, aforementioned areas would promote a more full and free interplay of ideas. This full and free interplay of ideas might allow “Karretjie youth [who] are, if anything, more sensitive than their elders to the manifestations of contempt on the part of the settled population, largely because they find the attractions of the urban areas alluring.” (de Jong 2006, p. 454) to be better equipped

to control the process of sedentarisation with its tensions resulting from closer proximity to the settled population.

Michael de Jongh goes on to suggest that a comprehensive education would promote “progressive empowerment and upliftment” . However, he also articulates a caveat and suggests that a development initiative through education as is outlined above “implies a massive ethical responsibility. Education of whatever kind, would, for example, result in an irreversible, even drastic change in lifestyle for the Karretjie” (de Jongh, 2006 pp. 94-95). These concerns are legitimate, but do not adequately incorporate the Karretjiemense’s abilities to ascertain the strategies that they find essential to their ongoing survival, strategies that have proven useful to them through the preceding two millennia. Strategies such as promoting *conscientização* through literacy training should allow them to navigate successfully through the most recent socio-political and economic shifts, and survive through revalorized cultural cannons into the foreseeable future.

6. Concluding Discussion

Throughout this dissertation, I have discussed how learning takes place within nuanced socio-economic and cultural contexts that embody assertions of ideology, culture and power (Wals, 2007). I have explored the relationships of learning that take place at the level of individual, communal, cultural, and even non-human world. Education within these relations and in defining these relations is set against the horizon of each culture's ontological perspective or cultural worldview, which is constructed through each culture's response articulated through their symbiotic relationship to a particular milieu. For each culture, and context, this symbiotic relational response constitutes a particular vision of reality (Harman 1988). The function of each culture's worldview promotes and perpetuates a contextual perspective through which their symbiotic relations can be predictably and continuously maintained. However, a conceptual and cultural dysfunction emerges if an "incoherence develops between worldview and world" (Bohm, 1992 p. 66).

In many respects the universal and normative values of the West have become dysfunctional, and the incoherence of this dysfunction is evident in emergent global socio-economic, cultural, and environmental crises (Trainer, 1989). Bateson (1972) suggests that the West's worldview is founded "upon an epistemological error" (p.463). This epistemological error, which is embodied in the West's relations, is the perception and belief in separateness and it lies in stark contrast to holistic approaches embodied in more symbiotic relational perspectives. This epistemological error of separateness has resulted in a conscious, but also largely in an unconscious ascription to a hegemonic

socio-economic and intellectual dysfunction that is resulting in a catastrophic accumulation of threats to humanity and our ecological systems (Bateson, 1972). Willis (2011) ratifies this perspective when he states that the “dominant societal discourses (such as those which separate culture from nature and which reduce all that is not-human made to the category of resource) . . . have led to the environmental crises we face today” (p. 1). I would add to this cultural crises as well.

The promotion of this Western epistemological error inordinately benefits those who profit from the maintenance of the socio-economic hierarchy, and it is this imposition of the West’s epistemological error that constitutes the greatest threat to cultural and environmental diversity. This imposition is most acutely articulated through formal education systems modelled on the hegemonic intellectual and cultural institutions, and processes endemic to the West. The Banking model of education that these institutions produce through their industrial focus on efficiency and productivity, also produce human resources essential to the economy (Freire, 1968; Luykx 1999). This actualization of humans as a resource lies in contrast to a transformative education that envisages or enables humanity to actualize as creative heuristic problem solvers, that can act as subjects in the world through their critique of the structures that inhibit their agency. Althusser's maxim "a technically competent but politically insubordinate labor force is no labor force at all for capital" (Luykx, 1999 p.306) underscores the correlation between the traditional banking model of education and institutional and intellectual subservience. I believe that it is this traditional form of education foisted upon the world’s majority

populations that imposes the Western epistemological error regardless of any more altruistic motivations or intentions.

Resistance to the imposition of this epistemological error is perhaps the most urgent, yet least challenged, and under assessed, threat to humanity. Humanity's future is intrinsically linked to the ecological well-being of the planet, as the ecological and evolutionary future of the planet has now become intrinsically linked to the future of humanity (Glasser, 2007). This understanding is not new, but, it is becoming increasingly more urgent. It is made all the more urgent because alternative contexts, ecologies, and ontologies are being subsumed within the normalizing hegemonic epistemological error articulated and perpetuated through the institutions of the West. This is resulting in the reification of a Western epistemological monomyth that does not adequately address symbiosis and relationality (Willis, 2011). The added challenge that comes with resisting the West's hegemonic monomythical narrative lies in supporting and exploring alternative storylines. These stories as the embodiment of previously marginalized epistemologies, ontologies, contexts and values are essential to sustaining and perpetuating diversity, and "relationships between people and the more-than-human world." (Willis, 2011 p. 1). To find stories outside the realm of reified and homogenizing narratives requires agentive storytellers. Bosman (2000) suggests that the storytellers require a context, an audience, and a legitimized narrative characterized in his example as "know[ing] just at what moment you must knock your pipe on your veldskoen" or "nod your head wisely". Alternatively, or perhaps in addition to this, McKenzie (2007) suggests that an understanding of agency is required. The articulation of agency

McKenzie (2007) posits is the capacity to deconstruct and construct our identities through alternative narratives and perspectives as a critical response to dominant discourses with the goal of articulating a more responsive and contextually and personally analogous socio-ecological activism. (McKenzie, 2007). This agency could be manifest in the process by which we “become aware of ourselves as questioners, as makers of meaning, as persons engaged in constructing and reconstructing realities with those around us, and we may be able to communicate to [through our relations] the notion that reality depends on perspective, that its construction is never complete, and that there is always more” (Greene, 1995 p. 381).

As a consequence of my learning throughout this dissertation, I have come to a greater awareness of my capacities as a questioner, and maker of meaning. I can’t unlearn these capacities, I read the *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Calls to Action*, and question calls to action in the sections on Education , Language and Culture, and Education for Reconciliation which state [my emphasis]:

10.i Providing sufficient funding to close identified **educational achievement gaps** within one generation.

10.iii Developing culturally appropriate curricula [**without specifying context and process**].

10. vii Respecting and honouring Treaty Relationships.

13. We call upon the federal government to acknowledge that Aboriginal **rights** include Aboriginal language **rights**.

62. ii Provide the necessary funding to post-secondary **institutions** to educate teachers on how to **integrate Indigenous knowledge and teaching methods into classrooms.**

62. iv Establish senior-level positions in government at the assistant deputy minister level or higher dedicated to Aboriginal **content** in education.

My primary concern, as is evident in the highlighted portions of the above calls to action, is the “ongoing social battle . . . covering every pore of the social body; it is the struggle to impose the space-time of the state, which is that of capitalism” (Zibechei, 2010 p. 65). Normative achievement gaps, rights, institutions, classroom, and the prioritization of content over process are all mechanisms utilized in the reification of the structures of the state. While Zibechei also argues with respect to Indigenous history, “the history of societies without classes is the history of their struggle against the latent state” (Zibechei, 2010 pp. 66-67). It is important to restate a previous discussion on this process of constant antistatism through the assertion by (Kopenawa, 2013) that Indigenous peoples’ aspirations went beyond the attainment of rights, and strove more determinately toward an assertion of value. This point clearly illustrates the institutional impersonal power of the state in its capability to create “the abstract concept of a legal subject, which turns people into bearers of rights” (Zibechei, 2010 p. 95) instead of the more contextually relevant affirmation of the value, and obligation of a community member engaging in dialogue towards consensus. Zibechei (2010) invites us to complexify our thinking around Indigenous negotiations, and challenges to institutions and statism, when he states “Indian reality cannot be understood as pure opposition to the state, but rather as a creation of autonomous spaces or powers within the state, including incumbent desires to

become the state” (p. 132). This is concerning because as Greene (1995) suggests the current manifestations of Indigenous education in the majority of global contexts does not adequately address agency as a matter of positioning within a discourse as a means to engage opportunities for resistance and change. Instead, the dominant mood in many classrooms where young people find themselves described as “human resources” is “one of passive reception” (p.376). She utilizes Umberto Eco who suggests that there is “a critical need to introduce a critical dimension into such reception” and that it is “more important to focus on the point of reception than the point of transmission” (Greene, 1995 p.376).

Eco’s concerns over the point of transmission substantiate my apprehension over the omission of process within the calls to action. If the medium is the message (McLuhan, 1964) and the institutions of education themselves represent the curriculum of hegemonic norms (Apple, 1979), then the omission of the processes by which learning occurs, subtly but completely subverts the content of the curriculum.

I fully support, and understand the inclusion of the call to action that requires us to respect and honour treaty relationships. However, my concern is in how this call to action has been manifest in regional and national contexts. The phrase “we are all treaty people”, and its incitement, is ubiquitous in government documents, on reconciliation and education.

We are all treaty people is eerily similar to the phrase “we’re all New Zealanders. We are one people,” uttered by Governor William Hobson at the signing of the treaty of

Waitangi in 1840 (Penetito, 2010 p. 180). Penetito goes on to describe how “[f]rom the Maori perspective, the phrase represents the ultimate cultural ‘clobbering machine’. How can two fundamentally different peoples and cultures become one as the result of a treaty? The answer, of course, is that it is not possible, unless Hobson and others who share his sentiments have something else in mind” (p.180). It is worth quoting Penetito’s further substantiation of this point at length:

Early communication between Maori and Pakeha, of which the treaty of Waitangi was the most important, established the logic behind consultative approaches to participatory democratic methodologies. They are founded on notions of ethnocentrism (cultural superiority), racism (white is right), cognito-centrism (priority of individualism) and ideals of improvements through acquisition (property rights) (p. 179).

It is difficult to read, and consider, the aforementioned Calls to Action generated by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, as constituting a departure from previous hegemonic and assimilative practices. The Calls to Action as a mediative structure intended to maintain equilibrium between the Canadian state and Canadian Indigenous populations, is intransitive. It is intransitive in that “one of the parties to the mediation is repeatedly placed in the position to acquiesce in order to assure equilibrium . . . There does not have to be a policy or a regulation to maintain this position if ideological mechanisms such as mediating structures can be relied on to deliver the same result” (Penetito, 2010 p. 16).

If the point of transmission cannot be relied upon to promote, or generate mediative structures that are transitive, then as Eco suggests, we need to focus on the point of

reception. The principles of Indigenous education of turangawaewae, revalorization, and promoting heuristic thinking through dynamic noetic spaces, which I have articulated throughout this dissertation, primarily focuses on the point of reception.

It is important to reiterate that while I have modelled the use of these aforementioned principles in contributing to the dialogue around initiatives in Indigenous education within the Canadian context, these principles can be informative within Indigenous contexts globally. In order to reaffirm this contextual transferability, it would be useful to briefly summarize these principles and their potential application.

6.1 Turangawaewae

The contemporary Maori cultural identity constitutes the current manifestation of turangawaewae, and just like land in the nineteenth century constitutes the fulcrum around which much state action, and subsequent Maori resistance is centered. The following principles outlined by Smith (2000), encapsulate the concept of turangawaewae as the agentive manifestation of “a place to put one’s feet”, and opposition to the mechanisms of the state.

1. The principle of self-determination or relative autonomy.
2. The principle of validating and legitimizing cultural aspirations and identity.
3. The principle of incorporating culturally preferred pedagogy
4. The principle of mediating socioeconomic and home difficulties.
5. The principle of incorporating cultural structures that emphasize collectivity rather than individuality such as the notion of the extended family.
6. The principle of a shared and collective vision and philosophy (Smith, 2000 pp. 66-68).

It is important to acknowledge the caveat of the self-determination/turangawaewae discourse that Rata contextualizes as being manifest within Maori tribal politics when she states, “While indigenous elites operate in the real historical world, those they represent must remain fixed as the people in whose name Indigenous politics can operate. In this way, Indigeneity as a discourse of self-determination becomes complicit in incarcerating ordinary people in a polity that allows no contestation, despite the inequalities of class division” (Rata, 2011 p. 376). In the enactment and embodiment of turangawaewae, it then becomes essential to maintain collective social structures that prioritize collectivity rather than individuality.

Toffler (1970) suggests that in the aforementioned context and others where there is an expectation to deal with accelerated change, and the critical need to adapt, agents require the capability to exercise choice, which he advises, requires the ability to comprehend what is being offered and to predict the impacts to the best of their abilities. Thus, the conceptualization and implementation of Turangawaewae cannot by itself be considered the panacea for Indigenous education. Instead, we need to explore how cultural noetic spaces can contribute to developing the capacity to comprehend what is being offered and to predict the impacts to the best of their abilities.

6.2 A Vibrant Noetic Space

The plaza as a social context echoes with the mores of social reciprocity and complementarity that has formed a cultural canon for the Aymara since ancestral times. Embedded in this reciprocity is love, and “[t]he metaphor for love is *arishi* (to speak

mutually)"(Hardman 1996:25–31). *Arishi* denotes a reciprocal humility that requires each speaker to recognize and affirm the other's legitimacy.

The widespread collective mechanisms that gave rise to the plaza as a physical and intellectual space arise out of, and reflect the viscidities of daily life. They are complimentary and reciprocal and become embodied as the the cultural noetic space of the plaza or marketplace where they have influenced thought and action since ancestral times. It is this noetic space that "serves as a point of interchange of traditional products and is a place in which the spirit of Andean social organization and complementarity survives and flourishes" (Eisenberg, 2013 p. 36). So while Third World cultures are involved in an ever increasing "intercontinental traffic in meaning" (Hannerz 1987 p. 552), it is important to acknowledge that the intracultural traffic in meaning that occurs within the noetic space, with its attendant processes and mechanisms. This intracultural traffic in meaning is manifest as communication within the plazas, and, as Zibeche has observed, can amplify and extend agency acting through a broad network of relationships, and can be understood a type of collective education of shared vision and a shared responses to problems(2010).

These expanding modes of action result in the broadening of spaces for social expression that is achieved through the rupturing of hegemonic social inertia. In many ways, the broadening of space for social expression is congruent to attempts at state control over Aymara noetic spaces through actions such as fencing off plazas to eradicate, or ameliorate social upheaval. However, in this instance, the Aymara are asserting and

expanding their space-time over a broader context with the significant political, economic and social ramifications that this implies.

Luykx (2012) perceptively suggests that the “reproduction of ideology need not involve any heavy handed indoctrination or conspiracies of domination by the powers that be. Rather, she notes, “subjects are produced - and hegemony reproduced - through the gentle tyranny of everyday practice” (Luykx, 2012 p. 125). It is through the noetic spaces of the plaza that the Aymara can monitor, control, evaluate, and critique the traffic of meaning, and negotiate the gentle tyranny of everyday practice. It is in this process and space that cultural canons can be maintained, abandoned or revalorized. To understand the processes of revalorization more fully, we turn to the Karretjiemense of the South African Karoo.

6.3 Revalorization

The Bushmen of the Kalahari in Southern Africa, as the direct ancestors of the Karretjiemense, were not, as it is often thought, “passive victims of European invasion and Bantu expansion” but, as Gordon (2000) has observed, were

one of many Indigenous people operating in a mobile landscape, forming and shifting their political and economic alliances to take advantage of circumstances as they perceived them. Instead of toppling helplessly from foraging to begging, they emerged as hotshot traders in the mercantile world market for Ivory and skins. They were brokers between competing forces and hired guns in the game business. Rather than being victims of pastoralists and traders who depleted the game, they appear as one of many willing agents of this commercial depletion. Instead of being ignorant of metals, true men of The Stone Age, who knew nothing of Iron, they were fierce defenders of rich copper mines that they worked for export and profit (p. 11).

In fact, this capability to smelt metal has been reiterated by Prins and Lewis (1992) who suggest that this metallurgical capacity highlights their mediative position as agents who could produce cultural artifacts (specifically metals) from nature.

This point is essential to contemplate, because the Bushmen throughout history have produced their culture from their environment. They have utilized critical flexibility in determining advantage within their circumstances. This intellectual, physical, and cultural acumen has allowed them to survive for countless centuries. Even with this cultural reflexivity and adaptability Karretjie society has maintained, to a large degree, its cultural integrity and capacity for social reproduction, and has achieved this “protean adaptability” through the inherent flexibility of Karretjie social organization and values, beliefs, and ideas (Guenther, 1996). This capacity for protean adaptability that allows for change that can be subsumed within functional continuity is the essential component to cultural revalorization.

Woodburn (1982) describes how personal autonomy is actualized through a fluid social structure that promotes pragmatic individual choice, and articulation or non-articulation of relations and dependencies with others. This social agency along with a democratic and accessible culture where the mystical and material elements are available to everyone speaks to the de-institutionalization of power and the structures that typically serve to consolidate and differentiate access to power. It is this de-institutionalization of power that is characteristic of the Karretjie Mense’s agency within social-economic structures. This personal autonomy actualized through the processes of de-institutionalization, if we are to use Meiksins Wood’s (1999) terms of opportunity and/or imperative as it relates to

the agency reflected in choices that the Karretjiemense make when revalorizing the ways in which their cultural cannons might be manifest, suggest that many Karretjiemense adaptations have been born out of the imperative of survival on the one hand, and may be seen as an opportunity to perpetuate their socio-cultural structures on the other.

It is the enactment of the axiological preferences of the Karretjiemense in response to the opportunities and imperatives that constitutes the catalyst for cultural revalorization. The principles of turangawaewae, noetic space, and cultural revalorization while often implemented in isolation, would be most effective, and are complimentary when utilized in unison. Throughout this dissertation, I have given representative examples of how these principles have been utilized within particular contexts. This presentation in no way precludes alternate manifestations of these principles in heterogeneous particular contexts globally, and may provide guidance to education of Indigenous peoples that facilitates a truly endogenous development.

6.4 A Return to the Middle Ground

The heart has its reasons which reason knows nothing of. . . We know the truth not only by the reason, but by the heart- Pascal.

This dissertation explored an education process that would allow Indigenous populations to be agents of a truly endogenous development. The guiding principles of heuristic thinking, promoting a vibrant noetic space, and cultural revalorization are guiding concepts that are useful to consider when designing and implementing an education process that would allow Indigenous populations to be agents of an endogenous development. While this objective was realized, I feel it is important to address the corollary that has emerged as a consequence of this study, of exploring Western

education and epistemology that would allow Indigenous populations to be agents of a truly endogenous development.

The purpose of including this corollary is to address the relational. Indigenous peoples are not constructing education systems in isolation; in fact, a conceptual position needs to be secured to better understand the relationship between Western Universalism and Indigenous Particularism so that shared interests and future decisions can appeal to values that are mutually affirmed albeit from incommensurable cultural perspectives (Kahn, 2000 p.2). This relationship currently embodies a significant and disproportionate capacity of Western Universalism to silence through political, social, and economic censorship the perspectives of the Indigenous particular. John Stuart Mill (2002) succinctly recognized this dislocation of social responsibility when he states:

The "people" who exercise the power, are not always the same- people with those over whom it is exercised, and the "self-government" spoken of, is not the government of each by himself, but of each by all the rest. The will of the people, moreover, practically means, the will of the most numerous or the most active *part* of the people; the majority, or those who succeed in making themselves accepted as the majority; the people, consequently, *may* desire to oppress a part of their number; and precautions are as much needed against this, as against any other abuse of power (p. 3).

As I have discussed in this dissertation, education as the foundation of “[p]olitical life is much more than a set of rules: it is a practice of life and death” (Kahn, 2014 p. 21). This struggle has brought the realization of new articulations of oppression and resistance, for “[t]he strongest is never strong enough to be always the master, unless he transforms strength into right and obedience into duty. . . To yield to force is an act of necessity, not of will – at most, an act of prudence (Rousseau, 2003 pp. 3-4).

Up until this point, I have been focusing on these necessary and prudent strategies that Indigenous groups have, or can utilize in order to deal with change as it is forced upon them by the hegemonic structures and mechanisms of the West. While my discussions in this dissertation have centered on conventional constructions of Indigenous people, I have also paradoxically been describing, through Indigenous relations, the power and political nature of the West. While this relationship appears inordinately reified through a differentiated access to power, I propose that there is an urgent need to foster a landscape and debate that allows Indigenous people to escape the endless antinomy within which they find themselves victimized by the power and reason of the West.

In the model of education that I propose in this chapter, I move beyond coping, beyond victimizing, and seek a better world where endogenous development becomes possible. An endogenous development that is not responding to the pressures of cultural annihilation, but rather a development that meets the aspiration, and further fulfillment of the humanity of the group.

To this end, I propose a model of mutual learning amongst Indigenous societies, of which the West is considered a member albeit an extremely powerful and influential member. This shift in the way that we categorize the West is a shift of the subject position within the conceptualization of the universal (Colectivo Situaciones, 2007). So instead of maintaining a static binary that precludes the possibility of relations, we can state that “[w]e are just like them” – [and] the centrality of us is not ensured, that is, the inferiority in the power of us is instituted instead of the superiority” (Sakai, 1997 p. 165). This semantic realignment, shifts the traditional conception of the universal toward what has

conventionally been viewed as “other”. The significance of this conceptual shift should not be underestimated. Khan (2000) suggests that “[t]he change demanded is of Copernican dimensions” (p.18). This paradigm shift challenges the long held and buttressed foundations of Western ethnocentricity, by challenging the West’s perceived centrality in the universe. This challenge is further unsettling for Western structures and institutions because in addition to challenging the canon of western superiority and centrality, there is no provision of alternative truths. This uncertainty is beneficial because “rather than providing definitive answers, which risk foreclosing on alternative storylines” (Willis, 2011 p. 2) we can entertain new storylines and possibilities that can constitute a renegotiated reality. Glasser (2007) suggests, in paraphrasing John Gardner that “we have before us breathtaking opportunities disguised as insoluble problems.” (p. 54)

This breathtaking opportunity of exploring and embodying alternative storylines, can essentially be a mechanism for social change as Willis (2011) explains “individual lives and individual self-stories are so deeply embedded within relationships and cultures, when individual lives change, societies change. It is this possibility for social change through helping individuals that is the central hope” (p. 3). It is this central hope of social change that must become the central tenet of critical consumers of Western education and epistemology because as Skott-Myhre (2014) argues:

capitalists did not create the world we live in. The world was created by those who actually produce and who struggle to overcome the obstacles to their freedom to express their capacities fully. Capitalists are merely the latest in a series of groups who attempt to rule over and control the productive work of others to their own ends. Such groups have historically failed as empires have fallen and ruling classes have been overthrown. What is important for us to note here is that all

efforts at domination are founded in the exploitation and corruption of the common production of life itself (p.35).

In order to develop a more comprehensive discussion concerning a Western model of education and epistemology it is important to have a thorough understanding of the underlying principles that determine the limitations of the hegemonic liberal Western society. To this end it is important to bring into the discussion the important work of Paul Kahn in his book *Putting Liberalism in its Place* (Kahn, 2000).

Kahn suggests that the debate between the universalizing reason of the West liberalism, and other communitarianism of Indigenous groups “presents an unavoidable and unresolvable antinomy between a capacity for abstraction and a practice of contextualization. . . If antinomy is a function of discourse itself, no resolution will ever be reached. For just this reason, efforts by liberals and communitarians to absorb the other always fail; they merely end up replicating the antinomy . . . the only way forward is to deepen the framework of understanding” (Kahn, 2004 pp. 49-50). Kahn’s decision to use antinomy to describe the impasse is significant because an antinomy is a contradiction between two beliefs or conclusions that are in themselves reasonable. It is this prioritizing of reason that demonstrates the insidious power of liberalism when evaluated through first principles. Kahn (2004) suggests that these first principles are “already marked by their own culturally contingent character” so “we must directly confront the contingent character of our own [western] position. Our ambition must be to create a space from within which to assess our own normative beliefs and practices, which include, but are hardly exhausted by, liberalism” (p.8). This assessment is difficult to even conceptualize because our understanding of the world has been constructed

through permanent education whereby “tolerance is administered to manipulated and indoctrinated individuals who parrot, as their own, the opinion of their masters, for whom heteronomy has become autonomy” (Marcuse, 1970 p.90). Kahn (2004) reiterates this sentiment when he states “[o]ur ability to engage in moral deliberation suffers from the success of liberalism. That success has left us with a moral language too impoverished to recognize what is at stake when we confront extreme differences in cultural norms . . . Anyone who can’t strip himself down to [a] position of bare rationality and undifferentiated need is excluded; he is unreasonable. Unreasonable appears as nothing less than a form of prejudice” (p. 33).

This problem of the rationale viewed as a prejudice, Kahn goes on to say “may go all the way down” (Kahn, 2004 p.3). Canessa reiterates this point in his book *Intimate Indignities* (Canessa, 2012) in which he describes the exploitation predicated on Western power and suggests that exploitation may go all the way down from the macrosocial characterized by hegemonic liberal policies to the intimate microsocial spaces of the sexual. He argues that there is no distancing within this exploitation, as it permeates every social, economic, cultural, and relational structure. The exploitation is ubiquitous, and there can be no rational response to the “unavoidable intimacy” (Canessa, 2012 p. 25) and the violence that is meted out. This structural violence is an affront to Indigenous culture’s transcendent values. Irrationality is, in the instance, a hyperbolic euphemism for an ineffable and ineffectual rage (Lear, 2006). “There is after

all, a sense of outrage that arises in the head as well as the heart.”¹⁰ (Barrington, 1965 p. p. vi).

But, in a resolute rational contrast to this, Kahn succinctly states that we as Western liberals lack “a conviction in the absolute truth of our own beliefs and practices” and “are uncertain how to respond” (Kahn, 2005 p.1). Kahn (2005) substantiates this position by arguing that we lack an adequate conception of the will. He suggests that:

[t]his may seem a strange claim, given that so much of liberalism is built around a model of contract—the social contract, as well as market contracts. Contract, after all, seems to be nothing other than a formalization and stabilization of the individual's will. Liberalism does indeed model its understanding of the will on the paradigm of contract. But this is just the problem. The liberal will is fundamentally without content. When we speak of the social contract, the content of the will comes from reason. When we speak of market contracts, that content comes from interest. The liberal will is a kind of second-order faculty, affirming a relationship either to an object or to others that has its source and justification in these faculties of reason and interest. On this view, the will attaches to the products of reason or the objects of desire, but has nothing of its own to add . . . (p. 15).

And thus our inadequate conception of the will.

However, he goes on to say,

[w]e are most familiar with this conception of the will [as a conviction in the absolute truth of our own beliefs and practices] in its Christian form: the will is the faculty that makes possible the experience of grace. This is the will as a capacity to experience an ultimate or transcendent value as an historical experience in the world. Neither reason nor interest provides access to a world that shows itself as an image and product of the divine. Through the will we do not transcend the world, yet we find ourselves in a world of transcendent value (p. 17).

¹⁰It is interesting to note that I only became aware of this quote about two months after choosing the Pascal quote as this chapter's title.

We are most acutely reminded of the impacts of our eroded or ill-conceived understanding of the will through the actualization of Wallerstein's concept of "internal expansion" which is created to affect desires, as a catalyst to economic growth, in the most intimate spaces of our lives and which touches everyone under the influence of global neoliberal economic and political forces. This has come to predominate our consciousness to the extent that we are but "fragmented subjectivities, foregrounding the bombardment of information in a consumer economy that generates fears, resentments, pleasures and desires, largely in the interests of capital and governmental control" (Mccoy, 2000 p. 242). As fragmented subjects, we exist, and make axiological preferences, in a context where "the state, on the eve of ruin, maintains only a vain illusory, and formal existence, when in every heart the social bond is broken, and the meanest interest brazenly lays hold of the sacred name of 'public good', the general will becomes mute: all men, guided by secret motives, no more give their views as citizens than if the state had never been; and iniquitous decrees directed solely to the private interest get passed under the name of laws" (Rousseau, 2003 p72).

Unfortunately, our inadequate conception of the will, and our embodiment of the West's epistemological error of separateness, have perniciously undermined our capacities to speak mutually, to love, or even to comprehend the significance of contemporary opportunities and imperatives. In contrast to this, Kahn states, "Politics is a matter of choices made under compelling circumstances" (Kahn, 2004 pp. 60-61). We of early 21st century live in compelling circumstances and we have been called to action (Canada, 2012). We must take responsibility for all the contexts, cultures, transcendent values, and

lives that are [and have been] impacted by our activities, we must promote the displacement of the monomyth with alternate possibilities and becomings (Willis, 2011). When viewed in this way, the “problem” seems somehow more profound, and consequently requiring a reconstruction of our thoughts around it. A reconstruction that could begin with the coining of new terminologies that adequately incorporate the magnitude of the issues at hand.

Kahn uses the phrase “a matter of ultimate significance” in attempts to convey the gravity of the issues that need to be addressed to affect “the image of the institution that is deeply engraved in the mind of the people” (Marcuse, 1970 p. 98). The mind engraved by institutions conforms to the partial. A partiality that embraces without challenging “noise as censorship” (Eco, 2011 p.126) whereby the trivial competes with matters of ultimate significance because of a distorted conception of the will. In fact we should, as humanity be outraged by the erosion of our transcendent values, but instead we remain tolerant and partial to our indoctrination (Marcuse, 1970). This tolerance represents the epitome of Kahn’s (2000 p. 2) “depoliticized” relationships. Willis suggests that we repoliticize our relationships by opening up alternative story lines as mechanisms for social change.

Willis (2011) suggests that

the narrative self proposes that on a very fundamental level people understand their experiences, give meaning to their lives, make decisions about what to do and come to identify their very selves with the stories they and others tell about who they are. One of the most appealing aspects of this concept is that it allows for a certain degree of agency, while at the same time conceiving of individuals as fundamentally embedded in relationship and in social context (p. 2).

But in repoliticizing our relationships, we are confronted by our lack of will. As rational objects (Freire, 1968) we lack “any definite character to which we can attach dignity. We have difficulty respecting a subject who makes choices without commitment. Such a subject will lack a particular identity even to herself. One cannot be “true” to oneself, if the self has no content to be true to (Kahn, 2004 p. 47). But, “the range of our beliefs and commitments is broader than the liberal project perceives” we must will the essence of our own existence in the spaces beyond the rational because the “adequate tools of explanation may not be present in the philosophical tradition that begins with Descartes’s effort to chart the self from the perspective of reason alone” (Kahn, 2004 p.141). It is through the development of our will as a means to and as a capacity to experience an ultimate or transcendent value as a historical experience in the world that we will “break through false consciousness” and perhaps “provide the Archimedean point for a larger emancipation- at an infinitesimally small spot to be sure, but it is on the enlargement of such small spots that the chance of change depend” (Marcuse, 1970 p. 111). It is in these infinitesimally small spaces that we might embrace the reciprocal humility required to speak mutually- to love.

But as Kahn (2004) argues, “We cannot understand the character of the relationship between self and polity without first understanding love. To understand love, however, we need to explore the character of the will in dimensions that are beyond the imagination of liberal thought. . . That which we will do for love cannot always find its measure in justice” (pp.9-12). In reading both Freire (1968) and Kahn (2004), I am faced with love as a mechanism through which social justice can be achieved. Kahn (2004)

articulates a conception of a political love that corresponds most closely with my particular experiences, he states that

love is the experience of power through the creation/discovery of meaning. This combination of creation and discovery links us to others through love. The creations of love are expressions of a common universe of meanings. As subjects who love, we share that world with others. Love is the creation of a universe of meaning, but there is no singular experience of such a universe (p.223).

The caveats to this process are also outlined by Kahn when he states that “if it cost us nothing we could not love” and “[i]f we are unwilling to sacrifice we cannot love” (p224).

This act of love requires a sacrifice of conceit, certainty and privilege and an embrace of humility, convictions of ultimate significance, and “self-exploration in a . . . space of suspended commitments from which to apprehend the self” (Kahn, 2004 p. 8). A blueprint for this space has been previously conceptualized by White on a macro scale in his discussions of the middle ground as a “space where common meaning and accommodation could be made. This space was co-constructed for the benefit of each stakeholder” (White, 2011 p. 523). Being a poet, “a creative maker of meaningful space” wherein the “possibility for such a poet is precisely the possibility for the creation of a new field of possibilities” (Lear 2006, p. 51) is essential for residence in the space-time of the middle ground. Heuristic thinking is essential for poets as it is predicated on love and offers, “now, as always, the best chances for successfully meeting future challenges” (Chirot, 2012, p. 138).

While the middle ground represents, on a macro scale a “space where common meaning and accommodation can be made” (White, 2011 p. 523), the talking circle represents this space in a micro-scale (Chilisa, 2012). The circle represents the holism of Mother Earth

and “encourages sharing of ideas, respect of each other’s ideas, togetherness, and a continuous and unending compassion and love for one another. The circle also symbolizes equality of members in the circle” (Chilisa, 2012 p. 213). Engaging in a talking circle requires intellectual rigor and discipline. For many “Western” participants it is an opportunity to confront the contingent character of their own (Western) position so that they might move forward by deepening their frameworks of understanding (Kahn, 2004).

Thoreau (2004) suggests that

we should oftener look over the tafferel [sic] of our craft, like curious passengers, and not make the voyage like stupid sailors picking oakum. . . . Nay, be a Columbus to whole new [sic] continents and worlds within you, opening new channels, not of trade, but of thought. (pp. 299- 300)

We open new channels of thought, deepen our understanding, discover new stories, and embrace humility when we share in a circle.

Sharing in a circle, any circle, or entering into dialogue for the creation or discovery of meaning requires a will. But, also in equal measures, it requires humility and love.

Gharbaghi articulates this through a correlation to our engagement with the non-human world and suggests that “[t]his is a relationship of reciprocity and deep knowing (being with/in the land), where the land (including animals and plants [and humans]) disciplines each toward the other. All partners matter; all partners provide for and take from each other” (Gharabaghi, 2014 p. 114) Perhaps the commitment to the possibilities of these relations requires as Kahn suggests “a will in thrall to the infinite.”

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