Meaningful Inconsistencies

MEANINGFUL INCONSISTENCIES

Bicultural Nationhood, the Free Market, and Schooling in Aotearoa/New Zealand

Neriko Musha Doerr

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For Toshimitsu and Tazuko Musha, my parents,
in love and gratitude

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANZAC:	Australian and New Zealand Army Corps
ANZUS:	Australia, New Zealand, United States Security (treaty)
BIP:	Business Immigration Policy
EEC:	European Economic Community
ERO:	Education Review Office
ESL:	English as a Second Language
NCEA:	National Certification of Educational Achievement
NZOY:	New Zealand Official Yearbook
NZQA:	New Zealand Qualification Authority
PAT:	Progressive Achievement Test
SNZ:	Statistics of New Zealand
SNZCCP:	Statistics of New Zealand for the Crown Colony Period
TACSA:	Te Aute College Student Association

INTRODUCTION

Changing Subjectivity

"How's racism in the States?" asked one of a pair of Māori students as they passed me in a school corridor. It was my third week at Waikaraka High School (all names are aliases) in Aotearoa/New Zealand, where I did nine months of fieldwork in 1997–1998. The question was tossed out like a casual greeting. The pair never stopped walking, and by the time I mumbled "okay," they were already a few yards away. I had visited their bilingual class a couple of times before this incident, so they knew that I was visiting from the United States to do my fieldwork. They knew that I had been born and raised in Japan and was doing my graduate work at an American university. I paused in the middle of the corridor, thinking about what had just happened. Perhaps because I grew up feeling like part of the mainstream culture in Japan, I did not see myself as a minority and certainly not as a potential victim of racism even when I was a member of minority group, either in the United States or in Aotearoa/New Zealand. I had sympathized with victims of racism as an opponent, not as a co-victim, of racism until this incident. Students and teachers who are Māori—an indigenous, and now minority, group of Aotearoa/New Zealand—interpellated[1] or positioned me as a co-victim of racism many times during my fieldwork. Experiences at Waikaraka High School, including the one introduced above, changed my subjectivity.

Meaningful Inconsistencies investigates and analyzes daily actions at Waikaraka High School that place students, teachers, and even a researcher into certain subject positions. A special focus is devoted to the effects of the school's bilingual program, which uses the Māori language (Te[2] Reo Māori, or Te Reo for short) and English. School produces categories, assigns students to these categories, and directs their actions accordingly. Students and teachers produce each other's subjectivities by supporting, resisting, or disrupting such orders in school. The presence of the bilingual program constitutes an important part of how people make each other different through daily interactions. *Meaningful Inconsistencies* investigates such cultural politics around bilingual education.

Categorization of individuals in ethnic terms wreaked havoc around the world in the twentieth century. Its effects on how individuals view themselves and are viewed by others in the educational arena are especially stark in societies that recognize their bi- or multicultural makeup. Such categorization has been affected throughout the world by recent neoliberal reforms, especially the prioritizing of market forces as the prime agent in transforming our institutions. The small town of Waikaraka in Aotearoa/New Zealand is a prime example, given Aotearoa/New Zealand's current official biculturalism and extensive free-marketization of schooling. In the microcosm of a secondary school in Waikaraka with a bilingual program, this book examines the everyday effects of multiple and inconsistent intersections of market forces and other forces that categorize individuals in ethnic, linguistic, and academic terms.

Schools in Aotearoa/New Zealand and Waikaraka High School

Compulsory education in Aotearoa/New Zealand is divided into primary, intermediate/middle, and secondary education. The school year starts in January and consists of four terms with a couple of weeks of vacation in between. Children who start school between July and December of their first school year, usually on their fifth birthday, are referred to as Year 0. A child who starts school between January and July is classified as Year 1. The Year number rises by an increment of one each year after that. As shown in Table 1.1, primary education is from Year 0 to Year 8. Years 7 and 8 may be spent either in a separate intermediate school (Type A) or as part of a primary (Type B), secondary (Type C), or composite/area school (Type D). Secondary education is from Year 9 to Year 13 (Statistics New Zealand 1997).

Table 1.1 Kinds of New Zealand Schools

<table>
<tr><th>Year</th><th>0</th><th>1</th><th>2</th><th>3</th><th>4</th><th>5</th><th>6</th><th>7</th><th>8</th><th>9</th><th>10</th><th>11</th><th>12</th><th>13</th></tr>
<tr><td>Type A</td><td colspan="7">Primary school</td><td colspan="2">Intermediate school</td><td colspan="5">Secondary school (Years 9–13)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Type B</td><td colspan="9">Full primary school</td><td colspan="5">Secondary school (Years 9–13)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Type C</td><td colspan="7">Primary school</td><td colspan="7">Secondary school (Years 7–13)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Type D</td><td colspan="14">Composite/Area school</td></tr>
</table>

Most state (public) schools are co-educational, though there are several single-sex private schools. While most schools use English as a medium of instruction, Te Reo–English bilingual schools, or programs within schools, appeared in the late 1970s. Te Reo immersion schools controlled by Māori communities began in the mid 1980s (Walker 1990a). Students can attend any state school, although most attend the one closest to where they live.

Waikaraka High School is a co-educational state secondary school that enrolls 560 Year 7 to Year 13 (ages twelve to eighteen) students (Type C in Table I.1). It is located at the edge of suburban sprawl in the North Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Waikaraka High School institutionally categorizes students in many ways, creating multiple subjectivities of students. Students are categorized by age into different Years and learn class content according to their Year. Year 7/8 is a mixed-age Year. Within a Year, students are categorized into Form classes (homeroom classes), which are created according to certain criteria, as shown in Table 1.2. For example, Form classes are categorized by the language of instruction—either Te Reo-English bilingual ("bilingual"[3]) or English monolingual ("mainstream")—up to Year 10. The bilingual unit was formed in 1981 in order to raise Māori students' self-esteem and revitalize Te Reo. There is a bilingual class for each Year from 7/8 to 10. All bilingual students join the mainstream class as of Year 11 (I call such students "ex-bilingual" students, and I use the term "bilingual" to denote the institutional belonging rather than the linguistic ability of students throughout this book). Mainstream classes use only English as the medium of instruction. Within the mainstream, students are categorized by "academic achievement" via tracking, but at the time of fieldwork there was no tracking in the bilingual unit. Starting in 1998, Year 11 was tracked by subject in compulsory subjects (English, mathematics, and science). Table I.2 below describes the number of Form classes and their labels.

Table 1.2 Number of Form Classes and Their Labels at Waikaraka High School

	Bilingual class	Mainstream class		Total
		Upper-track	Lower-track	
Year 7/8	1	1	6	8
Year 9	1	1	2	4
Year 10	1	1	2	4
Year 11 (until 1997)	0	1	4	5
Year 11 (from 1998)	0	Subject tracking		5
Year 12	0	No tracking		5
Year 13	0	No tracking		1

Because I was researching how the existence of the bilingual unit affected the subjectivities of students, during my nine months of fieldwork I followed a set of both bilingual and mainstream Year 10 students as they transitioned to Year 11, when all bilingual students joined the mainstream classes. During my fieldwork in 1997, there were seventeen students in the Year 10 bilingual class. In three mainstream classes, there were seventy-two students altogether. The mainstream upper-track class had twenty-nine students and the two lower-track classes had twenty-five and eighteen students.

I regularly observed social studies classes when those students were Year 10, and English, mathematics, and geography classes when they became Year 11. I also regularly observed classes of other Years—the Year 7/8 Japanese language class and Year 9 social studies classes—as well as occasionally visiting various classes of all Years. I conducted 219 interviews with Year 9 and 10 students (sixty-five students, thirty-nine of them twice), teachers (thirty-five teachers out of thirty-nine), school administrators[4] (four out of four), and parents (seventy-six parents, or parents of fifty-five out of eighty-nine Year 10 students).

The bilingual unit at Waikaraka High School is similar to what Colin Baker (2006) calls the "maintenance/heritage language" model of bilingual education, which Baker characterizes as being for a language minority with the aim of maintaining the minority language and fostering pluralism. However, whereas Baker maintains that the "maintenance/heritage language" education emphasizes the students' first language, in the case of Te Reo–English bilingual education in Aotearoa/New Zealand the students' first language is not necessarily Te Reo. Because one of the aims of this kind of bilingual education is to revitalize Te Reo, and because English is the dominant language in Aotearoa/New Zealand, English is the first language of the students or is at least one of them. In comparison to transitional bilingual education that aims at assimilating language-minority students (common in the United States), maintenance/heritage language bilingual education aims at bilingualism and biliteracy.

The bilingual unit at Waikaraka High School follows the mainstream curriculum. One bilingual teacher, whose class I observed regularly, taught social studies in both bilingual and mainstream classes (some bilingual teachers did teach some mainstream classes) in a very similar way, with some Te Reo words but mainly in English. Other bilingual teachers taught the mainstream curriculum but from a Māori perspective. For example, a bilingual teacher in a social science class (he had moved from the bilingual unit to mainstream several years prior, but he taught a Year 10 bilingual class during my fieldwork) explained the position of Palestinians by likening it to that of the Māori, framing them both as indigenous peoples struggling for decolonization. In contrast, a mainstream teacher taught the same curriculum module by comparing Israel and Aotearoa/New Zealand in terms of climate and the size of the territory and population.

Up until the end of Year 10, the difference between bilingual and mainstream students was strongly felt in daily life. Bilingual and mainstream students occupied separate classrooms as well as different parts of the schoolyard. Also, the bilingual students, with their reputation for being "sporty," often dominated the gym during recess and lunchtime. Mainstream students tended to gather in the fields, on benches along the wall of mainstream buildings, and at picnic tables in the mainstream area. They were also found in the gym, but often in the audience seats. Bilingual and mainstream students' views about each other became apparent as misperceptions only retrospectively, when they reached Year 11 and began befriending one another. As one bilingual student told me, "I used to think that the mainstream students are ballheads [skinheads]. Now I think they are all right. Some are ballheads, though." One mainstream Year 11 student told me that "before [mixing with the bilingual students in class in Year 11], people told me 'don't mess with bilingual students because they'll bring their friends and they'll beat you up.' A lot of my friends were scared of them. But now, I think they are not like that."

"Separatist" was what some mainstream parents, as well as some mainstream teachers, called the bilingual unit, because, they argued, it divides students into opposing groups, Māori vs. Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent)[5]. In fact, given the generations of intermarriage between Māori and Pākehā, the students' self-identification as Māori or Pākehā was strongly influenced by their institutional membership in the bilingual unit or mainstream class. Bilingual students, regardless of their degree of Māori ancestry, tended to identify themselves, and be identified by others, as Māori. In contrast, mainstream students with Māori ancestry often identified themselves, and were identified by others, as Pākehā. However, some acknowledged that they "*have* Māori *in* them."

Some mainstream parents who called the bilingual unit separatist resented the existence of the bilingual unit. However, others who *did* support the bilingual unit, saying that it raised the self-esteem of Māori students, called the bilingual unit separatist nonetheless for various reasons: one Pākehā mother's son was scared of Māori students when they were in a group; one Pākehā mother's children were excluded from it; one Pākehā mother who married a Māori had two children—one in the bilingual class and the other in the mainstream class—who fought over alleged different rules for students in these programs (for example, bilingual students can have some time off from school to attend a Māori-style funeral but mainstream students cannot) (see chapter 5 for details). While many mainstream parents problematized the division between bilingual and mainstream students, some of these same parents praised the differentiation of upper-track vs. lower-track students within the mainstream. Few parents problematized other kinds of divisions among students—for example, Year and extra-curricular sport teams—that socially divided students at school.

"There are not many Māori in the [upper-track] stream class." This was another commonly heard comment by mainstream teachers and parents. It suggested their view of and concern about Māori students' underachievement. However, some bilingual parents and students perceived it differently. As one parent of a bilingual student, Norma, said: "[T]o be in the bilingual unit and to be in the [upper-track] stream class is an either-or choice at Waikaraka High School." This was why there were not many Māori students in the mainstream upper-track class. However, some Year 10 bilingual students moved out of the unit to join the mainstream upper-track class. Such moves created the impression among bilingual students that the bilingual unit was not good enough for achieving students. Thus, among both mainstream and bilingual students, parents, and teachers, perceptions that Māori students are underachieving prevailed. I show in this book, however, that this was a misperception (see chapter 6 for details).

It is worth noting here that the operation of tracking was difficult to grasp, because there were competing interpretations of how it worked and because it operated slightly differently depending on the Year. Also, not all the parents were informed about the existence of tracking. Knowing how tracking worked and understanding how to successfully threaten the school were important steps toward sending their children to the upper-track class (see chapter 4 for details).

Specific images of bilingual students held by teachers were also expressed in my interviews: they are difficult to teach as they "lack discipline and motivation" and do not have "respect for teachers"; they intimidate mainstream students; they look after each other, especially younger and weaker ones, within the bilingual unit; and they are "arrogant" and think that Māori culture is superior to Pākehā culture (see chapter 7 for details).

One of the things mainstream teachers noted about the bilingual students was that they routinely laughed at the mispronunciation of Te Reo words by mainstream teachers. Many mainstream Pākehā teachers could not pronounce Te Reo words—for example, names of Māori students and Te Reo titles of books. (Ex)-bilingual students' laughter at mainstream teachers' mispronunciation of Te Reo words often created moments of tension and a reversal of authority, to which each teacher responded differently: some felt belittled by it, some ignored the laughter and continued on as if nothing had happened, and others asked the bilingual students, "Do I laugh at you when you make mistakes in mathematics or English?" That is, they responded differently to being interpellated as ignorant of Te Reo: they accepted it, ignored it, or resisted it, respectively (see chapter 7 for details). Some ex-bilingual students even laughed at a mainstream teacher's mispronunciation of my Japanese name, bringing me into their language politics at a very personal level. At the same time, I was challenged by another ex-bilingual student to read a Te Reo name, thus myself becoming a potential target of laughter (see chapter 8 for details).

Dance performances at school also interpellated individuals into certain subject positions. There were two kinds of dance performances at Waikaraka High School. One was by visiting Asian students. At Waikaraka High School, there were a small number (for example, five in 1997) of students from abroad, mainly Asian countries, who paid one hundred times more in school fees (for example, $7,500.00 (NZ) per year compared to $75.00 (NZ) for Aotearoa/New Zealand citizens) for the English as a Second Language (ESL) education that Waikaraka High School provides. Being able to afford high fees, these "fee-paying" students from Asia were often considered wealthy by other students. Except for separate ESL instruction twice a week, they joined regular mainstream classes, staying from a year to several years. Besides these long-term fee-paying students, there were short-term (two to three weeks) fee-paying students from Thailand who came twice each year to Waikaraka High School. These short-term fee-paying students performed Thai dance concerts for the school community.

The place of Asians in Aotearoa/New Zealand has been ambiguous, especially in relation to Aotearoa/New Zealand's current official biculturalism (Māori and Pākehā cultures). In the bicultural formulation, Asians were sometimes included on the Pākehā side and sometimes not on either side. In the Thai dance performance, their culture was placed in opposition to "Western" culture—a Waikaraka High School student performed Gershwin's "Summertime," an American song representing Aotearoa/New Zealand as "West." There was no mention of Māori culture in representing the Aotearoa/New Zealand side to the Thai visiting students.

Bilingual students often performed a dance called *kapa haka* for the school community. However, their dance performance was framed very differently from the Thai performances because it was part of a Māori ceremonial greeting that consists of Te Reo speech and performance of Māori song and dance. Bilingual students performed *kapa haka* to welcome official guests to Waikaraka High School. Here, bilingual students represented Waikaraka High School just as Māori represent Aotearoa/New Zealand in various national occasions (Bell 1996; Mead 1997). The dance performance interpellated Waikaraka High School students as people being represented by Māori culture. During my fieldwork, bilingual students and Thai students never staged their dance side by side (see chapter 9 for details).

I observed and was drawn into these daily practices of interpellation as a Japanese, someone from the United States, a researcher, a quasi teacher aide (although I made clear that I was doing research in classrooms, I ran errands for teachers and answered students' questions), and a graduate student. My past experiences in Aotearoa/New Zealand—all in all twenty-three months by the time I began my fieldwork for this book—also had some influence. I first came to Aotearoa/New Zealand when I was eighteen and in my last year of high school, as a Rotary Club International Exchange Student in a town neighboring Waikaraka in 1986–1987.

I lived with host families who were Rotary Club members and attended a local public high school as a Year 13 student for a year. While I did socialize with Māori, Fijian, and Samoan students in class, most of my close friends and host siblings were Pākehā. I tried to take a Te Reo class (there was no bilingual unit in that school at that time), but there was no beginner class for my age.

I came back to Aotearoa/New Zealand for a month in 1990 in order to do fieldwork for my Japanese bachelor's thesis on the 150th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi between Māori chiefs and the representative of the British Crown (see chapter 1 for details). I came back again for nine months in 1992 to do research for my master's thesis—on the Māori concept of *hapū* (subtribe) and Māori land ownership—in a town a day's drive away from Waikaraka. During that fieldwork, I regularly attended meetings at the local *marae* (Māori meeting place) and helped out in the *marae* kitchen. The leader of the *marae* asked me to teach Japanese to local Māori people because at that time Japanese was considered the language of the tourist industry, and I agreed to do it. However, some elders opposed the idea, saying that Māori people should learn Te Reo first, as many Māori people knew little Te Reo due to past assimilation policies. As a compromise, I taught Japanese for a short while, but outside the *marae*. This experience gave me the perception that Māori and Japanese cultures, while they are often compared as both non-Pākehā, can compete against each other.

I then went to the United States for my PhD program and returned to Aotearoa/New Zealand for a month in 1995 for preliminary fieldwork and for nine months in 1997–1998 for fieldwork for my PhD dissertation. This book is based on the fieldwork of 1997–1998. This time, I had an additional subject position as a resident of the United States, where I had been living for four years, three of them in a small college town. Meanwhile, by the mid 1990s an influx of new wealthy Asian immigrants had arrived in Aotearoa/New Zealand and created a perception of "invasion" by wealthy Asians (Fleras and Spoonley 1999; Kelsey 1995), as I will explain in chapter 1. During my 1997–1998 fieldwork, I was sometimes categorized in this subject position as well: for example, one bilingual student asked me if I was rich because I am Asian.

Through examining the ways by which students, teachers, and parents interpellated each other in various subject positions, *Meaningful Inconsistencies* investigates what kinds of subjectivities, ethnic relations, and nationhood of Aotearoa/New Zealand these interpellations produced via the existence of a bilingual unit. This book asks: Given many divisions among students, how and with what effects did these parents single out the bilingual unit, a program that is created to revitalize a minority language, and refer to it with a term that evokes the injustice of South African apartheid? How was it that these very parents, forgetting that most Māori students are in the bilingual unit, worry about the absence of Māori students in the *mainstream* upper-track class as a sign of Māori underachievement? How and with what effects did these bilingual students laugh at the mainstream teachers' mispronunciation of Te Reo, and even Japanese, words? What are the effects of Thai dances and *kapa haka* being staged separately?

This volume is by no means a critique of the efficacy of the bilingual unit at Waikaraka High School or a critique of the actions of people in the mainstream part of Waikaraka High School. Rather, *Meaningful Inconsistencies* seeks to examine and analyze various practices, hegemonic and counterhegemonic, that are spawned and shaped in the contemporary cultural politics of Aotearoa/New Zealand and its changing nationhood. Politicization of culture and transformation of nationhood and international alliances are part of wider changes around the world in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Practices that I analyze in this book—calling the bilingual unit separatist, worrying about minority students' underachievement, responding to mispronunciation of minority language, performing cultural dance—are features that can be seen in many parts of the world with bilingual education. Through an in-depth analysis situated in a particular context of Aotearoa/New Zealand, *Meaningful Inconsistencies* offers analyses that will be useful in investigating cases of bilingual education in other settings.

Aotearoa/New Zealand and Global Connections

Aotearoa/New Zealand was known until the 1960s as an "England in the South Seas," created as a "pastoral paradise" for industrialized Britain in the mid-nineteenth century (Comaroff 1989; Phillips 1990). In the 1970s Aotearoa/New Zealand's nationhood began to be redefined in two ways. First, it changed from a British settler society to a Pacific country due to Great Britain's joining the then European Economic Community (EEC), severing economic as well as symbolic ties with Aotearoa/New Zealand. Second, Aotearoa/New Zealand changed from a monocultural (Pākehā) society to a bicultural (Māori and Pākehā) society due to the intensification of protests by Māori against their cultural marginalization, breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi, and various forms of institutional racism. The disparity between Māori and Pākehā in economic levels and educational attainment also attracted public attention in the early 1970s. The prevailing official and academic interpretation of the disparity was that it was caused by social alienation due to a loss of "cultural identity." Thus, it was suggested that officially promoting and affirming aspects of Māori culture among Māori as well as the wider public would reduce such a disparity (Sissons 1993). However, the disparity between Māori and Pākehā did not disappear, and in the mid 1980s Māori began seeking autonomy in various arenas, especially education (Sissons 1993; Walker 1990a).

These shifts are transformations into what Comaroff and Comaroff (2004) call a *poli*cultural nation-state: a postcolonial nation-state characterized by its cultural plurality and its politicization of culture. Aotearoa/New Zealand is "post-"

colonial in the sense that its tie to Britain as its symbolic "mother country" was severed and Aotearoa/New Zealand was forced to redefine itself as a country in the Pacific and, later, in the Asia-Pacific region (Dale and Robertson 1997; Fleras and Spoonley 1999). This shift toward biculturalism occurred against the backdrop of increasing demand for the recognition of cultural difference around the world (Taylor 1994). In many societies, we have witnessed the institutionalization of cultural differences in nearly every arena—legal, political, economic, and educational—increasing the importance of couching arguments in cultural terms (Clifford 1988; Keesing 1982a, 1982b, 1989; Linnekin 1990; Povinelli 1998; also see Dominy 1995; Webster 1995). As will be detailed in chapter 1, biculturalism became the government's official position in the mid 1980s. The name of the country changed from "New Zealand" to "Aotearoa/New Zealand" by adding a Māori name for New Zealand at the front to symbolize its new bicultural nationhood[6] (Sissons 1993).

Revitalization of Te Reo, which had suffered under past assimilation policies, became a focal point of biculturalist efforts. Bilingual schools and programs that use both Te Reo and English as media of instruction in state schools began in the late 1970s, as mentioned. Waikaraka High School's bilingual unit is one such program. Because all Māori spoke English by that time, bilingual programs helped revitalize Te Reo, create Te Reo–English bilingual people, and establish the self-esteem of Māori students. In the 1980s, when Māori autonomy became the focus of efforts for Māori empowerment, a Māori-controlled Te Reo–immersion kindergarten, Te Kōhanga Reo, was established. Elementary schools (Kura Kaupapa Māori) and secondary schools (Whare Kura) were established soon after to cater to the graduates of Te Kōhanga Reo. Revitalization of Te Reo, especially the establishment of the Māori-controlled schools, is a highly politicized movement (Irwin 1990; G. Smith 1990a). While Te Reo was still marginalized in Aotearoa/New Zealand during my fieldwork in the late 1990s (Benton and Benton 2001; Chrisp 1997), its revitalization has been considered among linguists to be a success because of the increase in the number of Te Reo speakers and the Māori self-control in the area of education (Henze and Davis 1999; May 2001).

Te Reo revitalization and other government-supported shifts toward biculturalism met with resistance, however. Monoculturalists wanted to maintain Pākehā hegemony (McDonald 1985; Scott 1995), and multiculturalists wanted other minority cultures to be included in the framework of nationhood (Ip 1998; Loomis 1991). Descendants of immigrants from Pacific Island states (for example, Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji) in the post–World War II era constituted a major ethnic minority group, accounting for 5 percent (one could choose several affiliations) of the total population of 3,681,546 in 1996, around the time of my fieldwork (Statistics New Zealand 1997: 124). Also, an increase in Asian immigration as of the late 1980s, due to a change in the immigration policy that eliminated the nationality criteria and prioritized business investment, created a small but well-publicized presence of Asians. Together with descendants of Asians who had immigrated during the late nineteenth-century gold rush, Asian New Zealanders constituted 4 percent of the total population in 1996. Māori were 14.5 percent and "New Zealand European and other European" (Pākehā) made up 83.8 percent[7] (Statistics New Zealand 1997:124).

Another major transformation of Aotearoa/New Zealand society began in the mid 1980s with neoliberal reforms in various domains that turned this welfare state into a society run by market-based ideologies (Belich 2001; Kelsey 1995). Most important for this book is the 1989 education reform that significantly changed the way school is run. One major shift was that schools became more like businesses, focused on attracting students for government per-pupil funding and selling services such as ESL education to noncitizen (fee-paying) students from abroad for high fees (Gordon 1997; Lauder and Hughes 1999). Consequently, the relationship between school and parents changed from one between experts on education and parents of learners to one between providers and consumers of services. Under such circumstances, the presence of strong Māori cultural activities in school, including the bilingual unit, sometimes attracted students. However, in some schools the presence of "underachieving" Māori students caused "white flight" by those who sought "schools without disruptive students" (Gordon 1997). The discourse of Māori underachievement thus continued as an alibi for "high achievers" (both Māori and Pākehā) to move to another school (Gordon 1997) or as a critique of a schooling system that failed Māori students (Sissons 1993; Spoonley 1988). Aotearoa/New Zealand's neoliberal reforms of the mid 1980s were part of an "international consensus" (Cox 1996) of the time. While Aotearoa/New Zealand followed the neoliberal reforms of Great Britain, other parts of the world have also experienced various types of neoliberal reforms (Giroux 2004; Harvey 2005; Ong 2006).

The worldwide shifts that the Aotearoa/New Zealand case reflects—emergence of a *poli*cultural state and neoliberal reform—are often analyzed as a globalization process, because ideologies are introduced from some areas to other areas. Current research on the movements and settlements of ideologies around the globe suggests that ideologies spread not so much like a flow of water (Appadurai 1990) as a channeled movement along certain paths as a result of individuals' and groups' active seeking of linkages to globality (Broad and Orlove 2007). The movement of ideologies may encounter friction, as they may be interrupted or resisted (Tsing 2005). The links between diverse, globally available ideologies may be forged in the process of constructing "global assemblages" (Collier and Ong 2005; Dunn 2005; Ong 2005). Some ideologies that enter into a particular configuration in a society may get incorporated in the local ideologies while others may not, which Philips (2004) calls an "ecology of ideas," just as certain plants take root in certain locales while others do not. *Meaningful Inconsistencies*' examination of production of subjectivities at school is, then, an investigation