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A postcolonial perspective of distance education

A case study of The University of the South Pacific’s Distance Education Program

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A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

February 2000
The work submitted in this thesis is original, except as acknowledged in the text. The material therein has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other university.

Richard Terry Ung Wah

February 2000
DEDICATION

To Mum and Dad

Gina, Nicholas and Bradley

And the rest of the family for your support and

patience with me during these studies
ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with distance education (DE) as practised by the University of the South Pacific (USP). The USP's DE program is considered essential for its existence. This thesis attempts to analyse that program through a postcolonial lens. The objective of this thesis was present a reconstitution of USP's DE program. I feel that I accomplished this objective and in doing so I treat theory and data as mutually complementary, with a number of initial explanatory models refined during the course of the study. This strategy has defined its initial problem as susceptible to certain kinds of theoretical analysis, particularly from contemporary social and literary theory, but thereafter seeks to ground this research in a progressive focussing towards emerging explanations.

To be able to reconstitute USP's DE program, within the paradigm and standpoint that I used, I had to do five things. Firstly, I presented myself in the thesis by explaining my position within the DE program of USP and my position within the political and cultural milieu in the USP countries, but especially in Fiji, my home country. Secondly, I presented the context of the USP's DE program, the Pacific Island Countries, the people, their histories, their education and the infrastructures that were required for DE. Thirdly, I presented the DE programs of the Pacific with special emphasis on the DE program of USP. Fourthly, I presented the dominant discourses of DE, the theories and the practices, that dominated the operations of DE.
Thus having presented the scene of DE from different perspectives, I set out to fulfill the fifth requirement: the need to find suitable tools to reconstitute the USP's DE program. I struggled with the search for suitable methodology, but eventually decided to create a methodology that I called *i-tukuni*. This methodology was informed by postcolonial theory and criticism, postmodernism; and driven by Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

The *i-tukuni* is the local reconceptualisation. It also provides space for the local people to use their ways of thinking, writing, seeing and knowing within research. It provides space for, rather than privileges the local, as it attempts to bring the local and the global to a meeting place. The local is conceived in various ways, but the one that I have used often in this thesis is that of everyday experiences, everyday ways of making knowledge. Similarly, the global is conceived in many ways, and one that I use often is that of the formal colonial education system that many of the countries of the Pacific inherited and continue with today. An attempt is made to bring these often different ways together, in an attempt to get the students to move out of a feeling of dependency towards one of interdependence and self development.

Throughout this thesis various binary oppositions are presented, then deconstructed to show the power relations that they impose. In their place, I have proposed an alternative positioning that was informed by notions of *thirdspace*. 
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

At the end of this thesis I ask for the forgiveness, of all those who helped me with this thesis, in more ways than they will ever imagine, for not doing justice to their unselfish contribution to my learning. I have certainly learned an enormous amount in the four years that I have been at the University of Queensland.

I would like to thank and acknowledge the assistance of:

The spirits of the past and present workers within DE in and of the Pacific
Dr. Claire Mattheeson for her continued interest and encouragement, Peter McMechan for all the support that he provided behind the scenes, numerous friends and colleagues in Australia, New Zealand, Canadian and American DECs. Professor Kobayashi for providing the NIME Publications. To those who helped me with the initial formulation of the thesis: Professors David Jenkins, Tupeni Baba, John Dekkers and Terry Evans.

Postcolonial Studies Group at the Graduate School of Education
Special mention must be made of the Postcolonial Group consisting of PhD and masters scholars from so many different parts of the world who studied at the University of Queensland between 1996 and 1999. The discussions and soul searching that went on at the POCO seminars allowed me to break away from the original notions of cost effectiveness and move towards a re-configuration of that notion through a postcolonial lens.

The Coffee Gang
Samuela Bogitini, Biman Prasad and Chandra Dulare who were the sounding board for many of the ideas that I developed within the thesis.

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Professor Allan Luke, Dr Don Alexander, Merle Warry and Aaron Hoppe. Allan, thank you for sharing your many thoughts and insights and, for continuing to expect the most from me. Don, thanks for giving me the space to grow, as I wanted. Merle, without your excellent help with the editorial work this thesis would not have been possible. Aaron, your friendship and help with backups and the inevitable computer glitches that abound during the preparation and production of a thesis.
The University of the South Pacific for giving me leave to study and to undertake attachments at numerous DE institutions that helped me clarify, within my mind, many issues about DE especially as they pertain to USP.

Colleagues at USP especially those within University Extension, bursary and computer centre who sent me information on request; and also personnel of the staffing office that facilitated the arrangements for my studies.

My many friends in Brisbane who helped me drink kava and listened as I bounced many of my ideas and thoughts off them. Special mention must be made of Douglas Singh, Tony Wong and Brij Kumar.

My Family to whom this work is dedicated
My immediate family: Gina and our boys - Nicholas and Bradley for coming to Australia with me. My extended family who stayed at home in Fiji (Mum, Tasha and Daniel) and supported me in prayers, and finally the families in Australia who made my stay there enjoyable and fruitful.

Our families in Fiji and Australia for putting up with me, as I struggled through these studies.

However, all errors found therein are mine alone.

Richard Terry Ung Wah
# TABLE OF FIJIAN TERMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bati</td>
<td>The warrior clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bete</td>
<td>The priest clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galala farmer</td>
<td><em>i-Taukei</em> who chose to lease land, move out of the village and farm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gonadau</td>
<td>The fishermen clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-Taukei</td>
<td>The collective term for the indigenous people of Fiji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-tukuni</td>
<td>The telling of a story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalvalegi</td>
<td>A person with white skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kerekere</td>
<td>The <em>i-Taukei</em> practice of ‘borrowing’. It is a traditional system of allowing various persons in the community to share the community's resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mataissu</td>
<td>The carpenter clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matanivanua</td>
<td>The spokesperson clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oga</td>
<td>The obligations of an <em>i-Taukei</em>. To the <em>i-Taukei</em>, obligations are obligatory. Persons who do not carry out their share of the oga, do so to their own detriment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tabu</td>
<td>The term used to designate that a certain action or thing is forbidden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talanoa</td>
<td>In this thesis it means a story that is considered fact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tao</td>
<td>The call for a round of yaqona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanoa</td>
<td>The traditional wooden container in which yaqona is mixed and from which it is served</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tei</td>
<td>Gardens which provide food for the family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turaga</td>
<td>The chiefs or those of chiefly status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sauturaga</td>
<td>The king maker clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sevusevu</td>
<td>The presentation of yaqona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>susu mai na siti</td>
<td>The phrase used to excuse <em>i-Taukei</em> who were brought up in the city and therefore did not know the <em>i-Taukei</em> customs and traditional ways</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>susu mai the koro</td>
<td>The phrase used to explain and compliment the <em>i-Taukei</em> youths who know the <em>i-Taukei</em> customs and tradition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qasenturaga</td>
<td>The king teacher/adviser clan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vasu</td>
<td>The term by which one is known amongst one's mother's people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>valevatu i ra lago</td>
<td>A type of story-telling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viavisevu</td>
<td>Fijian equivalent of the English term 'smart Alec'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veiwali</td>
<td>The <em>i-Taukei</em> form of clowning, joking. It is not as strait forward as English jokes. Often veiwali is used to get across sensitive points in a discussion in the form of joking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaqona</td>
<td>A traditional drink that is used for ceremonial purposes. Recently, it is used a form of leisure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION:
SPACE, PLACE AND POSITION WITHIN THIS ANALYSIS

We coloured folks are told that: the coloured are inferior and 'whites' as superior. The coloured breed like flies (not rabbits) and if we can only keep down our numbers, by means prescribed by the non-coloured world, then there will be much less starvation in the world.

During one of the early postcolonial seminars that I attended at the University of Queensland in 1996, I heard for the first time the notion that:

Ten African children eat as little as two American children—so who is to blame for the starving in the world (not just those in Africa but those in America also). The Africans are told to keep their families down but their American counterparts can have two children who eat more than ten African children—and the Africans are made to feel guilty about this.

As a student of science, and one who had a good colonial education, my first thoughts were, so what? The Americans have got the better technology, they are superior and more moral, produce more agricultural products so therefore they are entitled to allow their children to eat more, they have worked hard to be in their current situation so let them enjoy it. The rest of the people needed to work hard if they wanted to achieve similar lifestyles. Then we too could reap similar benefits. However, as I read more and more postcolonial literature, I
began to become self reflexive and cynical. Over the last few years, the latter trait was replaced by a compelling urge to deconstruct and thereby critique and negotiate most of what I read, write, see, hear or think about. In writing this thesis I document the journey of becoming 'de-colonised'. I feel that I have succeeded in many areas and ways, though every so often I see the colonised me emerge. I now feel the very education system that colonised me was structured to do just that. Thus this thesis is an attempt to provide an alternative to a colonial education. It is written from difference, by difference and for difference.

This type of thesis is written when we (oppressed folk) get into the centre of the production of knowledge and we find: that ten African (representing the oppressed) children not only eat as little as two American (representing the oppressor) children, but that the Americans have huge barns of grain where the grain rot while they are being stored; that the Americans, according to Said, make up 6% of the world's population but use 30% of the world's resources (scc7881@is2.nyu.edu); that going further afield 80% of the world's food is consumed by 20% of the world's population; and, finally, that no matter how hard the coloured countries work they will never be able to compete with, or attain, the same status as their Other. The rules of the games are stacked against the coloured folks and the oppressed, their people will continue to starve (Mander & Goldsmith, 1996; Sklair, 1991).
This thesis is not about the reversing of binary oppositions; rather it is about the deconstruction of them. For surely, not all the white people eat like this or all the coloured like that. Surely not. There are many starving whites also. There are also many filthy rich coloureds. The moment for the 'black/white' dichotomy has passed. This thesis is a search for alternatives, for desiring differently, for seeing differently, for doing differently, and for constructing differently. Within this spirit of difference, I firstly, speak about the position that I bring to this thesis, without any hang-ups, I position myself in the midst of this work. At the conclusion of this introduction to my thesis, I present the rationale and aims of the thesis.

As a young child from a poor socio-economic background, I was always told that education was the only way forward - we had to work hard and if we did we would succeed in this world. I have i-Taukei and Chinese blood in my veins, but my upbringing was biased towards my Chinese heritage. Throughout my education, I studied very hard and was most ably supported, firstly by my mother, who took me through my primary and secondary education and Bachelor's degree, then later in life by my wife, who supported and forced me to read for my Masters and then this PhD. I concurrently completed a Bachelor of Science Degree with double majors, Chemistry and Biology, and a Graduate Certificate in Education from The University of the South Pacific (USP) in 1976. With these qualifications I taught mathematics and the sciences for nine years in secondary schools. Then I moved to The USP as an Extension Studies
Lecturer and today I am Head of Distance Education, and Deputy Director of University Extension (UE). While at USP, I completed a Masters of Science majoring in Computing from the University of Essex, England. In mid 1994, I started part-time PhD Studies at the USP under Professor David Jenkins. The thesis focussed on the notion of searching for a cost-effective approach to distance education as practised by USP. However, due to staff shortages at UE in early 1995, I suspended these studies, resuming in early 1996 under the guidance of Professor Tupeni Baba. On Baba's suggestion, I moved to the University of Queensland (UQ) and continued my studies with Professor Allan Luke in July 1996. Before continuing with the events at UQ, I need to provide more background about my experiences, and myself especially how my feelings of inferiority towards the whiteman were constructed, then overcome.

My mother, like the majority of people in our country, revered the whitemen. I was born during the colonial era in our country. The year I turned seventeen, Fiji gained political independence. Before this event and even long after that, I remember being told to give up my place in queues to the whiteperson behind me. We 'knew' to respect them as they had come to save our country and us from ourselves (especially our primitive and heathen ways) and from other invaders. As a child, teenager and young adult, I shared these sentiments of inferiority with my mother. Our feelings of the superiority of the whitepersons, their ways and their country to ours were passed from mother to son and through my formal education. As a child, if I was deemed to have behaved properly, I was sometimes invited to our white neighbours' houses and allowed
to play with their children and their toys and some times even eat at their table with them. This was a treat for me and I felt indebted to them for the generosity of inviting me to their house. But these feelings of inferiority started to fade as my experiences grew and I became successful in my education and work, and travelled and studied abroad.

During my years as a science teacher I taught two very distinct groups of students in two very differently constructed schools. One school had students who came from predominantly i-Taukei families and the other from predominantly Caucasian ones. The latter group saw themselves in the studies and felt comfortable reacting with the content, pedagogy and evaluation techniques used in their formal education. The former group displayed attitudes and behaviours indicating that they felt their formal education was something they had to tolerate, something divorced from their everyday 'reality'. It was alien to their values, customs, culture and traditions. It was imposed on them and, to succeed in the new lifestyles that were being created in their countries, the people had to conform to that education system, those ways of thinking, the English language and new social rules, and norms of globalisation. So the situation was that the formal education presented a lifeview (worldview?) that was different and, in many aspects, contradictory to that of the students' everyday experiences.

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2 The school of i-Taukei was the most prestigious i-Taukei school in Fiji: Queen Victoria School. The Caucasian school was the International Secondary School.

3 Here, I mean that I write as though I am able to look through the eyes of the Caucasian and i-Taukei children. These different views of the studies are crucial. For one group were happy with the studies because their lives were part of the 'reality' that the studies depicted. The other group struggled to comprehend the language but more so the 'reality' that their studies described.
Therefore, to remain sane, the students either had to keep these two conceptualisations of the world quite separate in their minds, or construct a hybrid.

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 1.1:** Showing the creation of the conflicts within the students' realities

At the top of Figure 1.1, you will find these two contradictory conceptualisations of the world. From these two conceptualisations, I postulate that the students adopt, in their minds, one of the three possible worldviews, as shown in the middle of the Figure: 'continual conflict', 'hybrid' or one of the two presented
views. The middle of Figure 1.1 shows these possible choices. The students opt for one of these worldviews as they attempt to reconcile the differences between the two experiences that constitute their lives—formal education experiences and everyday experiences. Unfortunately, these two experiences tend to emphasise different values, aspects and attitudes to life thereby leading to possible conflict, but, more importantly, to difficulties in education that are not easily recognised and even when there are recognised solutions, they are difficult to conceive, construct and implement. If the first case, then when decisions or actions need to be taken, the student will default to one of these views (marked 'A' on Figure 1.1) and appear to a person 'not in the know', to be inconsistent. In the second case (marked 'B' in Figure 1.1), the choice of decision/action taken will depend on the situation/trialectics. This is the strand that I prefer—one that forms a hybrid of the two competing versions, a hybrid that encases notions of 'both and' (Wilden, 1972) and 'thirling'. In the third case (marked 'C' in Figure 1), the students' behaviour will appear either consistently 'good' to 'bad', depending on the perspective of the observer (See Figure 1.1).

Having arrived at this conclusion, I felt that I had been conscientised (Freire, 1992). In the final case, the hybrid perspective, the decision/action will be the one dictated by the preferred worldview. Thus, to an observer, certain decisions and actions of the local person, who belongs to this third strand, appear inconsistent with previous behaviours and decisions. To the Other it is as though a split personality exists. As Ratu Mara, the President of Fiji, said of
the previous Prime Minister of Fiji, Sitiveni Rabuka, 'the strongman, the architect of the coups is prepared to having arrived like a lion, depart like a lamb' (End of the Road. Editorial Comment, 1999, 18 May).

I would like now to focus on ‘events’ that empowered me to metamorphosise into the person that I have become and continue to evolve into, especially in getting rid of my imposed inferiority. Five ‘events’ led to my personal enlightenment from the supremacy of the kaivalagi (white people) and the superiority of the formal educational worldview to my own everyday one. Ironically a number of these events initially led many others and me to accede to the supremacy of the white western worldview. These five events enabled me to reframe my position and identity within academia, my work and my everyday worldview, and they enabled me to be comfortable within the spaces that I constructed for myself (hooks, 1984). They also gave me a better understanding of my Other; therefore, I did not feel inferior to him, I could work with him, as an equal, rather than as a workhorse.

The first event was my ‘conversion’ to Christianity in my late teens. Especially the teaching that all (wo)men were equal. The bible taught that we were all children of God, both men and women, and that the notion that men were superior to women or that some men were superior to other men was not acceptable to my understanding of the Scriptures. I base this on the Scriptures, which say:
that under the new covenant there need not be any intermediary between God and man (the old covenant placed other men, priests, as superior to most men, but the new covenant removed the differentiation amongst men); (Hebrews, 10:8), and

- that, which states that there are different roles that are played out in relationships, not roles of dominance, but of functionality, based on love (Ephesians, 3:5). Mara (1994:189) also supports this position.

The second event was the many occasions when I witnessed the locally trained locals holding their own against expatriates and overseas trained locals. The overseas trained were not necessarily superior. The third event was 'seeing' whitepersons doing menial 'dirty' labour intensive jobs (like cleaning drains and toilets, digging ditches, working in mines), observing that many of them could not read or write their own language\(^4\), and discovering that there were many poor white folks, some even beggars in their own countries. The fourth event was the formal education that I received from mainly missionary teachers from Australia and New Zealand. Today, I realise that these men and women saw the injustice of the education system and spent a good proportion of their teaching emphasising critical thinking skills. So the dichotomy that I have been alluding to was not about black/white, but oppressed/oppressor, dominated/dominator.

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\(^4\) We were made to feel that it was no big feat to read and write in one's own language, but to read and write in English was of great importance. To read and write in the local languages were not considered important, yet here were white people who were not literate in their own language. I never thought that was possible.
The fifth significant event was that I had 'worked' as an equal with many white men and women in my teaching careers, in churches, during conferences and while studying in Australia, Canada, England and New Zealand. I found that they were no better than we were.

I thus achieved personal enlightenment. The little boy who was grateful to even enter white people's houses realised that he was as good as they were—that he did not have to feel grateful—as he did not have to feel grateful when he entered coloured people's homes, played with their children and toys and ate with them. For the record I must state that my children and many other children in Fiji have different experiences and do not feel inferior to the white person. They did not experience Fiji as a British Colony. They acknowledge that the white western worldview is the dominant one, but they also feel that they can make their mark by both assimilating and contesting the borders of their lives.

In summary I must make the point that these five 'events' are 'both and' phenomena. Many commentators have listed them as moments of colonialisation (Apple, 1979; Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1986). Yet here I present them as moments of pragmatic and ideological resistance. Throughout the thesis, I appropriate many notions of my former colonisers, being informed by the trajectory of using the 'master's tools against the master' (Lorde, 1984: 112). That is, I attempted to comprehend the tools of the master then appropriate them for my usage. I reach down 'into that place of knowledge' inside myself.
and draw on that to appropriate the master's tool, not using it as he intended me
to use it (p. 113).

As the thesis unfolds it will become obvious that my strategies are presented
not as 'either or' propositions, they are 'both and' propositions (Wilden, 1972).
This position is not a compromise between the two original positions but a
different kind of project, one that represents/reanalyses/reconstitutes the
polemics of the dominant cultures, especially through the deconstruction of the
underpinning assumptions, contexts, concepts, value systems and ways of
doing. Coupled with the first project (the deconstruction) is the necessary
second one that calls for shedding and shredding of the traditional, subjective
and cultural as something static, and moving towards notions of them being
more fluid and dynamic. Yet at the same time, having essences different from
their others, thereby causing persons with similar essences to form coalitions.

There are sets of attributes that make me singularly Fijian, 'difference between'
ethnic groups and by definition these sets of traits construct me as distinct from
other Fijians, without understating the 'difference within' fellow Fijians.
Unfortunately, these differences cannot be understood by many persons from
within the 'dominant knowledge creation club', because they don't understand
the customs, cultures of the context. Burbules (1997b) refers to this as
'difference beyond' and I discuss these notions of difference in Chapter 3.
From the foregoing it may appear that I am an essentialist. I cannot say that I am one or not but I can say that I do not condone the racist injustice meted out in the name of essentialism, nor do I condone the construction of essence on the assumption of fixed diverse objects (Kripke, 1972). Essentialism is contested by various theoretical positions—including post-structuralist, postmodernism, feminism and postcolonialism. In spite of this, I have used essentialism as one of the theoretical positions that underpins my studies. Within postcolonial and feminist studies the notions of anti-essentialism are presented as: 'strategic essentialism' (Rooney, 1989), 'historically situated responses' (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1995: 255), 'risk of essence' (Heath, 1978) and 'strategic use of a positivist essentialism in a scrupulously visible political interest' (Guha & Spivak, 1988). These perspectives are attempts to dialectically cancel and appropriate principles of essentialism.

Some writers adopt the position of strategic essentialism (historically situated responses) and others tend more towards relativism. Moving beyond this point I prefer Shen's (1997) notion that essentialism should address materialist need and does not become reified as an epistemology. I agree with his view that essentialised epistemology moves into the domain of the 'natural' and will lead to 'erasure' rather than uneasiness, erasure of the weaker and uneasiness of the stronger.
I began to subscribe to the notion that people tend to cling to their culture for if they lose it; they cease to be the people they were. A Hawaiian has captured the essence of this in a reflection:

As long as we [the Hawaiians] keep the keys to the treasures of our temples, we remain spiritually rich indeed. If we give those keys to curious haoles they will rob us of our knowledge and render us poor. What we know, and they don't know, is the only thing we have left. (Waddell, 1993: 29)

The other aspect of this discussion was the strong romanticising arguments by many Europeans for us to preserve our 'primitive' culture, not to lose it like they had. I now view these suggestions as further attempts to maintain the status quo of societal hierarchy, as regards the so called primitive nations to continue to be positioned as primitive and thereby remain on the bottom rung within the global village in these 'new times'.

So my culture appears to be contingently linked to a comparison with 'high' culture (i.e., Is it up to that standard? Is it worthy of being called culture?) and preservation of something that 'used to be' so that it does not change (i.e., Is it authentic?). However, I prefer to invoke the notions of 'thirding' (Soja, 1996) and 'both and' (Wilden, 1972) when discussing my culture. At this moment within 'new times' (Hall, 1996b; Wah, 1998: 18), I have started to form the view that each culture has an essence which is ever changing. Is this a contradiction? Not from the perspective of 'thirding'. In New Times, cultures are more dynamic, multiple, polysemic and heteroglossic because of influences which come from outside via global educational standards and curriculum, mass media (TV, radio, music, newspapers, magazines, videos, movies, internet) and
tourists, travellers, overseas experts, and different ideologies through the introduction of different languages. Notwithstanding, Bullivant's (1981) definition of culture is still relevant today: culture is ever evolving and that its evolution was based on the adaptive change that enables social groups to cope with the problems of living in a particular habitat.

In my first twenty-five years, education for me was the only vehicle that could take me towards a better lifestyle, a lifestyle lived by the white people. I did not question the assumptions that presented one lifestyle as better than another did. So I thought that I could help my fellow countrymen if I became a dedicated teacher. I enjoyed the nine years that I taught in secondary schools, but I felt that more needed to be done. So I moved to distance education because it offered greater potential and access for more people, especially those who needed a second chance.

Once in DE, I joined others and agitated for improvements in efficiency and effectiveness. Better services and facilities were provided for the students, however most of these initiatives were put into place with little appreciation and knowledge of distance education theories, their assumptions and the implications of their implementation (Wan, 1992). As I became more involved with distance education policies and their implementation, I began to have doubts about the products of that education within the South Pacific, not its methodology. Thoughts about efficiency and effectiveness gave way to ones about the students who were being produced by these systems. My thoughts
were first put in a paper, 'Distance Education—A Conflict of Interest' (Wah, 1995) at the eighth ODLAA Conference that was held in Port Vila, Vanuatu in September 1995. The major point of this paper was that in imparting education via DE, a number of negative effects of education became evident in society. These effects included but were not limited to: the educated being alienated from their societies; the people feeling more disenfranchised from the education; the imposition of a foreign language with its foreign ways of thinking and doing thereby colonialising the minds of the people to the notion of their inferiority; the learning translated into manpower training programs leading to products being ‘skilled in the machinations of a status race but divorced from their origins and unfamiliar with their native soils’ (Collins, 1972 : 7). I wrote an expanded version of my conference paper, discussed above, as a chapter in *Shifting Borders. Globalisation, Localisation and Open and Distance Learning* (Rowan, Barlett, & Evans, 1997). The chapter was titled ‘Distance education—in the South Pacific—Issues and Contradictions’. The deconstruction of the assumptions on which DE was created, have formed the major part of my thesis.

Eric Waddel, Geography Professor for a number of years at the USP, argues that:

> We are quite good at training experts: accountants, economists, earth scientists, even English Language specialists! We teach social science and computer science, Gramsci and postmodernism. And we tell dismal stories about the future: accumulation, dependency, pollution, and global change. It is indeed an apocalyptic universe, in which we invite our students to travel steerage, much as the blackbirders and Imperial Britain
condemned earlier generations to journey without joy and with little possibility of return.

Certainly we make no sustained effort to help the students enlarge their world, their Pacific Islands future world. Isn't this the reason for their silence and their tears? The terrible rupture that is their lives and which surfaces only when the body is full of yaqona and of beer and the mind is divested of all its inhibitions. When they say that what we teach them is 'our world', not theirs, and to the fact that appearances are deceptive; that inside they are Pacific Islanders .... (Waddell, 1993: 33)

Putting this quotation into the context of the distance education (DE) student I perceived that the distance students were getting a raw deal. Besides studying in isolation from their peers and teachers, and in a foreign language, they were more often then not not being taught the colonial perspective while their own perspective was ignored or, worse, ridiculed. (For example in Fiji, the Fijian tradition of kerekere was frowned upon in the formal education setting whereas the values of credit and competition, notions foreign to the Fijian way were emphasised as the way to conduct official transactions.) Another aspect of the colonising influence of the education system was strategy that when one encountered difficulties in teaching, one usually taught the way that they were taught, (this was in most cases by the colonialist) and therefore perpetuated the baggage that came with the colonial education (Thaman, 1988: 4). The vehicle of emancipation, 'education', was as a rule a major tool of colonisation. It was not 'value free', acultural or neutral—it was more than a vehicle. Through the curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation the colonisation of the mind was naturally realised. Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1995) explain that education ‘...establishes the locally English or British as normative through critical claims to “universality” of the values embodied in English literary texts, and it
represents the colonised to themselves as inherently inferior beings—"wild," "barbarous," "uncivilised." (p. 426)

This thesis attempts, in part, to supplement the constructions of strategies for the resistance to the process of the 'colonisation of the mind' (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1986). It does this by presenting DE as the metaphorical Other of a colonising education and, secondly, by presenting a pragmatic Other to the present system of DE of USP. There does not seem to be much that anyone can do to change the type of education. Not surprisingly, even indigenous professors have written about this apparent helpless (Baba, 1985; Hau'ofa, 1985, 1993; Ravuvu, 1991; Subramani, 1985; Thaman, 1991).

The distance education system and the methodology used at USP were imported from Occidental countries creating problems because they did not address the needs, context, and cultures of the students. The DE system also introduced costs, both for the institutions and the parents, that could not be sustained over time. There did not seem to be much that anyone could do to modify the system to fit the context. The boys at Queen Victoria School may have the answer: that we should just tolerate the system while we are in it. But what of the DE student who chose to be there? How would they respond to the negative effects of their education? Would they see them as negative as I now do? Have they been able to reconcile the difference between their ways and those of their education? Does it matter? It is my contention that it does matter.
The contestation between responding to the needs of the people (who decides what these needs are?) and ensuring that ‘international standards’ are maintained is an ongoing issue within education in many parts of the world, including the Pacific. Attempts are being made to strike a balance between the two positions. Too often these needs are in direct conflict. However, outsider perspectives are more often the dominant ones in those discourses that seek solutions to these contestations. They tend to be considered progressive, rational, scientific and economical; that is, they are presented and received as superior to the local. So, in the Pacific, whenever Pacific Islander academics turn to their own cultures for inspiration and guidance, ‘charges of romanticism, mythical consciousness, speciousness and valorisation, especially from our own people’ tend to be levelled at them (Hau’ofa, 1993:129). Unfortunately, very few academic Islanders were strong outspoken supporters of this position, most preferring to side with their western education and educators and be seen as being progressive, or remain silent and be seen as part of the silent supporters of the hegemony.

Too many Pacific Island educators want to dislocate the Pacific cultures and replace them with more efficient and rational and thereby more productive cultures. For example, when I was a trainee teacher, I learned to gauge students’ background knowledge. Yet, within DE, distance educators, including USP’s, (hereafter, we) ignore this fundamental issue. It is assumed that the students should know the requirements of the course, therefore it is their responsibility to ensure that they have the pre-requisite knowledge and skills to
complete that course (Chief & Hola, 1992; Faasalaina et al., 1991; Kirkwood, 1995; Landbeck & Mugler, 1993; Lockwood, 1995). The academic counsellors only advised the prospective students of their suitability or otherwise for doing a particular course. The institution enrolled the students, took their money and provided them with an education that ensured they could be colonised forever, dependent forever. This type of education reproduced the ideologies of the hegemony in the society rather than dismantling them, however, there were few cases in which ‘border crossing’ between the structures of society was allowed (Giroux, 1992).

Furthermore, educators tend to ignore the strong familial ties within Pacific communities, their communitiness, (and their traditional teaching strategy of mentoring/apprenticeship, rather than direct theory teaching—the theory came later) and construct and work within a framework of neo-liberal economic rationalism. The communication is basically one way, from the teachers to the students with little regard for the students’ actual readiness for the course. Too often this results in the students uncritically ‘swallowing’ the ‘education’ given to them and thereby becoming colonised. The students are encouraged to rationalise economically and to compete at the individual level, and through the silences of the local ways within the curriculum, and present themselves as dependent and inferior to their former colonisers. This is the product, the student, that I was becoming more apprehensive about.
Epeli Hau'ofa, Professor of Sociology at the USP, explains it another way:

Two years ago I began noticing the reactions of my students when I described and explained our situation of dependence. Their faces crumbled visibly, they asked for solutions, I could offer none. I was so bound to the notion of 'smallness' that even if we improved our approaches to production for example, the absolute size of our islands would still impose such severe limitations that we would be defeated in the end.

But the faces of my students continued to haunt me mercilessly. I began asking questions of myself. What kind of teaching is it to stand in front of young people from your own region, people you claim as yours, who have come to university with high hopes for the future, and to tell them that their countries are hopeless? Is this not what neocolonialism is all about? To make people believe that they have no choice but to depend?

Soon the realisation dawned on me. I was actively participating in our own belittlement, in propagating a view of hopelessness. I decided to do something about it, but I thought that since any new perspective must confront some of the sharpest and most respected minds in the region, it must be well researched and thought out if it was to be taken seriously. (Hau'ofa, 1993:5)

Like Epeli, I was haunted but for different reasons. I felt that because of the many barriers, notably geographic, economic and political, DE was the only way to provide tertiary education to the masses in the Pacific. However, at this point I realised that the processes used for constructing DE pedagogy were modelled after face to face pedagogy. We were perpetuating a colonialist legacy in our face to face education. Therefore there had to be a greater affect in distance education, since knowledges (contents/skills) were passed mainly through the printed texts with little clarification and dialogue between the teacher and learner or amongst learners themselves. The learners interpreted the texts from their perspectives that were often different from those of the teachers and
other learners. What was taken from the text was not necessarily what the author expected the reader to take from it.

From my experiences of teaching computer related courses, including surfing the World Wide Web, and teaching with technology it has become clear to me that new mindsets are required to maximise benefits from working within these domains/spaces. Only with these new mindsets could more appropriate strategies be developed for the students to gain the maximum benefit from the learning experiences. Similarly, strategies that are geared to distance education per se, rather than strategies that attempt to simulate face to face within DE pedagogy, are needed within the DE mode. Shaw (1995) argues: 'Rather than just a re-creation of a face-to-face learning environment, distance education approaches allow for learning to be facilitated in environments beyond these created classrooms' (p.108).

These strategies are useful for those for whom the language of instruction was their mother tongue. For those who were studying in a language other than their mother tongue, additional bridges were needed for overcoming these additional barriers, barriers discussed over the genre of critical literacies. The vast majority of USP's DE clientele are not studying in their mother tongue, therefore special strategies are needed for them. Thus it is unfortunate that USP places the responsibility of becoming proficient in the language and study skills required for fruitful DE studies onto the students. It also does not place a greater emphasis on the special language needs of the DE students; rather we
spend more time reproducing what is being done on-campus. The students and the community want the DE courses to be the same as those offered on campus.

But educators within an education institution want to do more than just train for peoplepower needs. But who decides what is to be done? Do we need learning strategies that allow the students to see themselves in their studies—taking an equitable place therein rather than, as in the current situation, where they are mostly nonexistent? If we did, and if we wanted the education to be relevant and shifting towards a continuity between reading, conversation and writing—an integrative approach (also one in which education and lifestyles merge) with more critical thinking and perspectives which tended towards the postmodern and 'new times', rather than an outdated monolithic approach, then clearly the answers to the previous questions above would be a resounding 'yes'. Thus content and pedagogies different from those currently being used in DE at USP are essential.

As Hau‘ofa (1993) puts it, 'I was actively participating in our own belittlement, in propagating a view of hopelessness' (p. 5). I felt that DE was also doing this to the DE students but to a greater extent than Hau‘ofa felt. The curriculum content, assessment systems and pedagogy were presented as acultural, value-free and neutral, but in practice they alienated the students. Because of their different styles they frustrated and confused the students as their 'institutional cultures' were diametrically opposed to the students' 'embodied
cultural' norms (Bourdieu, 1986). These ideas are also clearly enunciated by Living End's (1997) lyrics in, 'Second Solution/Prisoner of Society'.

Well we don't need no one
to tell us what to do,
'Cos we're on a roll,
and there's nothing you can do.
So we don't need no one like you,
to tell us what to do.

We don't refer to the past,
We'll tell you what we're done,
A generation gap means the war is never won,
The past is in your head,
The future's in our hands.

Cos I'm a brat,
And I know everything,
And I talk back,
Cos I'm not listening
To anything you say
And if you count to 3
1..2..3
You'll see it's no emergency
You'll see I'm not the enemy
Just the prisoner of society.

These lyrics, part of the everyday experiences of the once subaltern Australian students, were made famous by an Australian pop group. So I suggest that if this group's members were frustrated with their education which was taught in their own language, then how much more frustrated would the students taught in another language feel. Many of the youth today have their own 'symbolic cultures' (Bourdieu, 1977; 1986; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). These notions of culture add an additional layer to the conflict mentioned earlier. Many teachers tend to discount these cultures referring to them as passing phases. The realities, though, are that during the years of schooling these symbolic cultures are crucial for the translation amongst the your, our and my worlds. Many
students don't make these translations in these years of formal education and abandon attempts at them in later years. For these students, education has lost; they show up the failure of education. For this perspective, there are more failures than successes for education—the dropout rates in formal education bear testimony to this. For example, in Vanuatu, 50% of the students who complete primary education go to secondary schools. Of the 50% who don't go to secondary school, what is their outlook on their village life that their education denigrated? The failures usually go to the lower paying jobs and the successful take the higher paying jobs.

To complicate the analyses even further, I emphasise the importance placed on Neo-liberal managerialist strategies in place in each of the countries. All the countries (except Nauru) being studied in this thesis are aid dependent and are obliged to comply with structural adjustment policies recommended by the World Bank. In the Pacific, the educators find themselves working within the frameworks of economic rationalism and Pacific communitiness, two opposing process forces.

Initially this study was about cost effectiveness of distance education—with a very strong bias towards quantitative methods and the cold hard facts of cost effectiveness of DE in the South Pacific. My readings and the discussion groups that I attended (postcolonial, postmodern, policy) at The University of Queensland influenced me more towards the ideas of critical thinking, grounded theory and qualitative methods and less to quantitative ones. It was clear that
quantitative research had its place in studies different from the one that I was engaged with, especially since I was also interested in the social, rather than just the economic, costs of DE. During the initial year of my studies, I considered DE methodology the panacea for the education of the masses ('universally benevolent,') and I believed that with appropriate funding, this mode would be the best option to cater for tertiary education within the Pacific. However, I soon discovered that other narratives of DE could be constructed.

This thesis has moved on to attempt to present a postcolonial perspective of DE in a context like that of the USP. I felt that it was important that this perspective be constructed and told so that the sites of authority and power are contested, deconstructed and finally (re)constructed by/with/from (but not for) the viewpoint of the subaltern key players. This narrative also needed to be told by an 'insider' both from the perspective of an islander and from that of a postcolonial distance educator as that story has not been told before. The multiple and critical ways of seeing and analysing of the postcolonial necessitated the paradigm shift to post-colonial theory and criticism.

I finally decided on a large proportion of qualitative methods, little traditional fieldwork and more theorising and abstraction than I would have ever imagined I would have succumbed to as a science graduate would. I realised that data had been accumulated on distance education in the Pacific, the hermeneutics were missing, and there was little interpretation and much less re-theorising through Pacific lenses. I was also influenced by the madness of 'mindless data
collection'. Apart from these points I had collected over the years many documents, reports and memos concerning various issues relating to the notion that I was developing therefore I felt less inclined to comprehensive fieldwork. I felt that my time would be better spent reading and reflecting on distance education. I had lots of practical experience, and wanted to spend time revisiting these experiences within the framework of current dominant discourses and the post-colonial theory.

The idea of discourse and narrative holds very strong sway on my thinking now, thus the shift in approach and methodology. Reflexive action research and phenomenological methodology would lead to conclusions about emancipation that I now feel have passed. There is a need for greater emancipation—a more fluid type that is not really attainable, but towards which one steers in this life. It is my contention that post-colonial pedagogy (criticism and theory) within DE should be used as a style of counter discourse, a response to Gramsci’s (1992) ‘cultural domination operates by consent’ or specifically to Farish’s words: ‘The Natives must either be kept down by a sense of our power, or they must willingly submit from a conviction that we are more wise, more just, more humane, and more anxious to improve their condition than any other rulers they have’ (Farish quoted in Ashcroft et al., 1995: 436). Having recognised the identity that Pacific Islanders have been constructed into, I posit that this is the opportune moment for resistance or ‘period of considerable transformation,’ because of the emergent ‘changing political economy’ and ‘changing social base’ in higher education, and the ‘new knowledge-ideology base’ informing
higher education today (Rowan & Barlett, 1997:117-188). Within the thesis I discuss this issue in more detail and take up the issue of resistance rather than a complete rejection of things white and western. The thrust is to construct our own identities/subjectivities at the intersection of these divergent discourses, taking on that which we desire and rejecting that which we do not, as a matter of survival for our changing people.

Education was used to colonise the minds of the oppressed. My thesis is that DE can be reconstituted to humanise the key players and so the community is involved in (re-)constructing the identities of the students and teachers, the curriculum, pedagogy and the assessment systems, a Freirean and Udagama approach (Ashcroft et al. 1995:425-27; Udagama, 1983). As suggested earlier there are two strands running through the thesis. The larger one critiques the role of education in development by using DE as a metaphor of educational reform and illustrating this by presenting a conceptual frame for DE at the USP and presenting an alternative pedagogy (Rowan & Barlett, 1997). The second strand involves the direct application of the principles involved in the redevelopment of technology and DE at USP.

This study is characterised by ‘methodological pluralism’ (Roth, 1987). To a large extent, it uses techniques of philosophical inquiry, discourse and document analysis. It treats theory and data as mutually complementary, with a number of initial explanatory models refined during the course of the study. It has defined its initial problem as susceptible to certain kinds of theoretical
analysis, particularly from contemporary social and literary theory, but thereafter seeks to ground the research in a progressive focussing towards emerging explanations.

A number of quotations and references made in the thesis may be considered unfair or that they have been quoted out of context. These are Spivak's strategies that she called 'reconstellation' and 'catachresis' that I explain in Chapter 3. However, I have chosen them carefully to support the point that I am trying to make throughout this thesis: that the colonial and the colonised were both affected by the colonisation process. Notwithstanding, the colonised came out the worse for it, their minds were subjugated and, when they were educated to the point of critical pedagogy, they became confused, and as the child said to Geronimo before he killed himself, 'So what!' So what if my dignity is taken away—life is hopeless anyway. Throughout the writing of this thesis I have struggled with this issue. We cannot do much to change the monstrous organisations (formal education) that we have set up so we may as well tolerate them.

Also a number of the statements made and arguments that follow may give the impression to the reader that I am striking out at particular persons or groups of persons or institutions. This is not the case. Like Nakata, (1998), I want to create space for an indigenous standpoint. However, rather than using indigenous in a restrictive sense, I use it in/with a sense of the local, the underprivileged, the oppressed, the subaltern. In its restrictive sense
indigenous includes the rich and the poor first people(s), however, in this thesis, I am concerned about those who are prejudiced against, for example by the education system. Thus my preference is to broaden the meaning of the term, as many of those from the 'coloniser' group belong to those groups prejudiced against by the education system also. 'Unfortunately, it is often only a consciousness that can be translated into attitude and demeanour because there is no language, no 'acceptable' alternative to contest and influence debate about these issues, that fits the requirements of academic convention' (Nakata, 1998:3). And when it is put into texts it appears abrasive, confrontational and broadbrushing over the issues because it is read through the eyes of those who are 'different beyond' (Burbules, 1997b). I have had to change sentences many times in an attempt to accommodate these conflicting writing styles.

This thesis, then, is basically a writing back, a re-telling of the narrative from a postcolonial viewpoint generating a critique of USP distance education rationale then, rationale itself is less likely to be comfortably aggregated than dispersed and contested. In a roundabout way I have come almost full circle. I see myself within, yet outside the narrative that I have written. I see the contradictions of writing this thesis here at UQ rather than at USP, yet realise that it could not have been written at USP. I have become a traveller, an exile like George Lamming (1995) and say with him: 'The pleasure and paradox of my own exile is that I belong wherever I am' (p. 17).
RATIONALE AND AIMS OF THE THESIS

This thesis is a critical reconsideration and reconstruction of distance education in the South Pacific. Various kinds of critique, analysis, formal government reporting and commentary on distance education in Fiji and the other Pacific Islands (hereafter Pacific) have been undertaken over the past twenty five years. As my biographical preface noted, I have been a participant in the development and analysis of that system. But having had some time to stand back from that system, having had some time to compare notes with colleagues, innovators, conservatives, radicals and others from Asian countries, from Africa, from North America, from Australia - my understanding of how that system can be changed, the directions of that change, and indeed what that system is, has shifted, matured and acquired a theoretical basis.

What is different about this thesis is that it is deliberately written from a perspective of 'difference'. Arguably, my colleagues and supervisors might claim that I have forced that 'difference' in perspective, both by writing from Australia (as other postcolonial critics, from the 'west'), and by writing from a postcolonial perspective, and by engaging directly with the implications of new technologies and economic globalisation. This is the case. Throughout the rather difficult birth of this work, I have had to deal with the intellectual, political and, indeed, personal, spiritual and community problems raised by not taking a conventional road.
This has, not surprisingly, created huge problems with the actual 'writing' of this text: with gaps between what I know and see, and technically am able to say and write; between what I would like to say and can say, given my life position and pathway; between what I see a thesis can and should say and what my supervisors and colleagues will allow or encourage me to say.

Nor should this thesis be taken as a direct application of 'postcolonial theory' to Fiji and the Pacific, to education or to distance education. Not that there are a lot of these around. But the multiplying of postcolonial theses internationally has led to a lot of work that is theoretically complex, smart and clever, but might not 'do anything' in the world.

I do not intend here to take the work that originated among postcolonial theorists and simply apply it. My aim is to move beyond the intellectual and textual orientation of that work towards a very specific, practical political agenda for the change of a system, a system that has lots of problems and contradictions but, despite any 'deconstruction', has to keep operating and serving people and communities. At the same time, this is not a simple dialectical move of replacing an outmoded postwar model of distance education with the 'new'. That's has been done before, as Chapter 2 documents. Rather this thesis is an attempt to provide an alternative 'third position' to binary oppositions of innovation that drive fields like distance education, educational administration, and higher education.
How do we develop a ‘third position’? From a postcolonial and post-structuralist perspective, I must by definition begin with the local, the regional, the site-specific. The move here is to start not with grand theory, not with a comprehensive literature review, not with overarching methodology, but with a contextual description and ‘reading’ for all that follows in the thesis. But my approach to introducing context in Chapter 1 is not that of an anthropologist or case study researcher. This is not a description of the local, but rather a critique of previous descriptions of the local that have, through colonisation and cultural hegemony, become to be believed as ‘truth’ by, among others, locals and intellectuals (both insiders and outsiders). To re-see the context of Fiji and the Pacific, then, we need to begin by taking apart prior constructions of Fiji and the Fijians, the South Pacific and the South Pacific Islanders.

But Chapter 1’s critique doesn’t ignore the need for a preliminary and situated description of what I view to be the focal educational and distance education problems of Fiji and the Pacific. I am aware, as my Preface indicated and as Chapter 3 will show, that this thesis begins from my standpoint and reading position, which I ask the reader to accept provisionally and strategically in order to later test, weigh and judge my reconstruction of distance education. Chapter 1, then, provides a context, a standpoint, a reading position, and a problematisation of the local from which we can proceed.

Unfortunately, there is a long history of solving the ‘problems’ of South Pacific education that has defaulted to distance education because of the economies of
Chapters 2 and 3 show how the Anglo/American and Australian methods of distance education have been transported to the Pacific with little consideration of local context. More specifically, Chapter 3 describes traditional versions of distance education which have tended to view problems not as Freire would - as always fundamentally socio-cultural and political - but rather as technocratic objects of 'needs analysis'; 'industrialisation' for the purposes of the development of 'individual learners'. There I describe the basic vocabulary of distance education, its taken-for-granted philosophy and its assumptions about institutional development. The field, I argue, is currently caught up in the shift between Fordist and Post-Fordist models of production and delivery.

Much of the critical work on postmodernism and Post-Fordism of the 1980s and 1990s was a debate by and about the transformations in the industrialised West (e.g., Harvey, 1990), that takes for granted the 'fallout' of Post-Fordism on the South Pacific without a rethinking of the local. My fear here is that even as Distance Education as a field engages with Post-Fordism and new technologies, its vision of the 'natives' remains a vision of the 'Other' without a close analysis of the changes brought about by colonialism and neocolonialism.

Chapter 4 is an attempt to change the subject, the seeing and the scene of distance education by using and adapting views and ideas from postcolonial theories. Chapter 4 does not simply 'buy into' postcolonial theory, but involves a Fijian, personal appropriation of some of that work to construct a new methodology and thereby new knowledge: i-tukuni. This involves a Fijian approach to narrating the world that evolves into knowledge.
Having set the context for distance education, reviewed its conventional vocabulary and proposed an alternative way of seeing distance education in Fiji, Chapter 5 is a narrative reconstruction of distance education in postcolonial conditions. Using the i-tukuni, I attempt to generate a 'third position' that reframes and renames the persistent unresolved practical problems of distance education in the South Pacific. This requires a different epistemological perspective and a different 'mindset' for viewing distance education — one that shifts from economies of scale to a concept of economies of learning, one that shifts from a view of generic individual students, to a focus on learning, to finding and reclaiming spaces where learners have been silenced and excluded (Evans, 1995). I agree with Edwards's strategy of differentiating between the students and learners. Edwards makes the point that the student has a 'clear role and identity ...[s/he is] part of something, [s/he] belong within an institution, ... This concept of the student is very much linked to the modern conception of education in which a canon of knowledge, skills and understanding are transmitted to the participants.' The student is 'bounded'. The learners on the other hand, 'are given greater opportunity to negotiate their own way through the range of learning opportunities available to them and invest their meanings within the learning process and negotiate the relationship between learning and other activities.' Thus the shift from student to learner is that of the slippage from being a member of an institution to being an individual (Edwards, 1996). The notions of economies of scale and economies of learning are discussed in Chapter 5.
Yet one of the principal criticisms of a postcolonial critique is that typically it is divorced from practical relevance and value – only standing as a deconstruction with limited power to reconstruct systems and practices. Chapter 6, being the final chapter of this thesis, contains my summary and conclusions. Within it I summarise what I did in each of the chapters. Then I tell my story again with regards to what it means to me and what I am trying to say to the DE practitioners, firstly within the Pacific Islands, then further afield. I do this by drawing some implications of this study for USP, for DE theory, for Pacific Island Countries' government policy and for sociological methodology generally.
CHAPTER ONE
THE SOUTH PACIFIC ISLANDS AND THEIR EDUCATION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter consists of four sections. This section (1.1) briefly maps the areas covered in the remainder of the Chapter. It then draws attention to, and provides the justifications for, the writing positions that I have opted to use in this thesis.

In Section 1.2, the Contradictions of the Place, I paint/sculpture/portray some contradictions of the Pacific Island Nation States—especially those that resulted from the process of naming, thus transforming these islands from spaces in the Pacific Ocean to places there. The major part of this section provides the 'stage' made up of sociological, economical, historical, political, geographical markers and borders, many of which were imposed and structured for the 'containment' and 'orientalisation' of the Pacific Islanders (Pis); the places that the colonisers defined and filled with people that they constructed. Many of these constructions have been assumed by the 'natives' as their own way and they continue thus to this day in tourist brochures and the names that people bear—their customs, lands, traditions and very beings (Baba, 1986; Bogitini, 1998a; France, 1969; Hau’ofa, 1985; Kaplan, 1995; Lal, 1992; Nicole, 1996; Puamau, 1998; Wah, 1997d). I am attempting here to reconstitute the Pacific,
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not wanting to be complicit with imposed identities, but rather to see them for what they were/are and to thereby empower the people to move on from there. As an aside, I agree with Mara, Foliaki and Coxon's (1994) explanation 'that Pacific Islander' is a blanket term used in metropolitan countries like New Zealand to identify people from a number of different Pacific Islands countries (and their New Zealand-born descendants). Its use conceals and undermines the historical, social, political and cultural uniqueness of each Pacific Islands society' (pp. 181 - 182). Another example of this process is the formation of the 'ideology and identity for regional unity among Polynesians, Melanesians and Micronesians'—the Pacific Way, 'which represents half-hearted attempts by rather unconvinced politicians and regional academics' (Hau'ofa, 1985:168). Further Mara et al. (1994) ask their readers to abandon the mistaken assumption that Pacific Islands people and their social (including their educational) institutions were totally overwhelmed by these external forces. Resistance to, negotiation with, and manipulation of those who assumed power - missionaries and colonial administrators - meant that the subsequent social, political and economic changes were not just imposed. (p.138)

This quote clearly illustrates the postcolonial perspective that both the coloniser and the colonised are contaminated by the colonialism, but more importantly, that the colonised cannot always be conceived as passive recipients of constructed identities. Where they found agency, they appropriated the constructed identities. Thus the need for a third way of analysis (see section 4.1.6).
Section 1.3 takes off from where 1.2 finished. It deconstructs the spaces in the places that were constructed, especially the space that was carved out for elitist (academic) education that continues to be provided to the majority of students within formal education systems of the Pacific. Section 1.4 is a fictional dialogue that occurs around the tanoa yaqona in Fiji. Within all the communities in Fiji, informal discussions tend to take place around the kava bowl as it is known to persons from outside of Fiji. To us it is not the kava bowl, but the tanoa yaqona. Although the dialogue is fictional, the issues and contradictions have been raised and presented by various authors at conferences, in journal articles, research findings, books, interviews, and in personal conversations with me. By presenting the data in dialogue, various tropes and motifs, emotions and perspectives that form the collage, and also a kaleidoscope of seemingly layered issues, can be presented to show the intimacy and interrelationships amongst the different perspectives. The reader is invited to be part of the discussions, if they can, to make their own interpretations and draw their own generalisations, if that is possible.

1.1.1 Writing positions: categorical and postcolonial
My first version of this Chapter was a ‘raw’ and dry narrative of Distance Education (DE) in the South Pacific. In this version, I present the ‘writing’ as ‘a method of inquiry’, ‘a way of “knowing”—a method of discovery and analysis’ (Richardson, 1994:516-524). In this Chapter, I introduce a style of narrative which is informed by postcolonial methodology (Bhabha, 1994; Chow, 1997), feminism (Stanley, 1990), ‘situated knowledges’ (Butler, 1993; hooks, 1994), postmodernism (Derrida, 1978; Harvey, 1990; Luke, 1995; Luke, 1997; Lycottard.
1984) and Laurel Richardson's article 'Writing: A method of Inquiry' (1994) that I use throughout this thesis.

While I work hard to keep within the genre of a PhD thesis and try not to be too provocative and different, I continuously test the borders of writing by moving from technical and jargon writing to simple, almost conversational writing, and back again. There are five reasons for writing thus: to write in styles that are different; to deconstruct naturalised binary oppositions; to provide space for what I want to say as there is not sufficient language to say it in; and finally to get the reader to feel like many DE students (being passive interactors with the printed text).

Firstly, I create a kind of third writing style, not being too scientific and detached, not being too familiar and therefore not academic but, rather to be 'both and' (Wilden, 1972), to be a piece of writing with which the academic, and maybe layperson, may identify. In practice, I write from a number of different perspectives, using the lenses of the various stakeholders, students, community leaders and academics, involved in the project of DE in the Pacific.

Secondly, I deconstruct, but make a conscious effort not to erase and/or specify attitudes for the produced concepts, rather opting to reconfigure, re-constitute and evaporate the binary oppositions that are the foundations of labelling, discriminations and hegemonic relationships. The binary opposition that I refer to here is that of power relationship of the dominator and dominated and all the
other labels such as: oppressor/oppressed, dominant/dominated, coloniser/colonised and oriental/occidental. Implicit in my writing are the notions of 'both and' (Wilden, 1972) and 'thirdspaces' (Bhabha, 1990; Soja, 1996). This type of writing aims to dismantle binary oppositions by offering alternative perspectives. These perspectives are not compromises between the polemics of the binary oppositions, rather they analyse the problematics/situations from different perspectives, not as dialectic but from a holistic perspective, attempting to consider the importance of time, space, different stakeholders and their sociality. They do not profess to have answers and/or to know their final destinations, rather they want to provide freedom by providing the opportunity for their holders to think outside their bounded spaces. This is a strategy for thinking outside of the spaces bounded by 'naturalised', objectivised knowledge and by the categorisations that their knowledge presented.

Thus my writing position consists of multi-identities—as stated earlier I try to write from the view of various key-players. As the researcher my standpoints are both insider and outsider. At a simplistic level, I am part of the system under study, but I am also outside of that system because I am writing this thesis here in Australia. Yet at the teleological/epistemological/ontological level the positions of insider/outsider are much more complex and are notions that I return to at various points in the thesis. Issues like who decides who is an insider/outsider? Which position yields power that of insider or outsider? This leads to my third reason for 'writing as knowledge'. The struggle between
writing in a genre and defining my discussions in terms alien to, and opposed to, my project and the orientation of the genre within which my work is bound, and writing from the 'heart' yet be grounded in theory. My project is about deconstructing the very discourse and colonising influence that I am using to 'write-back', to resist and the orientation of this work is 'self-referential'. But the theory that I am working towards does not exist and the current theories have similar notions, but not the ways of telling, to allow legitimacy for my project.

It is from these positions that I attempt to narrate distance education in the Pacific Island Nation States. I tell the story from the perspective of the islander turned academic who has come to understand that his space was just that, empty space until the colonisers arrived, categorised and labelled all of it and us and only then did we become 'Fijians', 'Samoans', 'Tongans', 'Solomon Islanders' and others. Before that we did not exist in their categorical terms, colonies or nation states. But I try to rise above coloniser/colonised oppositions and move to alternate spaces. In all this mine is just one of the many possible stories already written and yet to be.

The fourth reason for writing in this manner is to attempt to put the reader of this thesis in a similar position to that of the beginning DE student. Such students are isolated with 'no contact' with the writer of the article that they are studying, nor with peers of the writer, and have only limited contact with their fellow learners. They come across different (from their own) ideas, facts (that they don't agree with), obvious (to the writer) yet 'unseen' (to the reader) metaphors.
and phrases, and different ways of expression. So they need to weave their way through these different ways of communication, if they have the endurance to persevere, before they can come to the 'meat' of the discourse. Many students do not, for various reasons, reach the meat. Therefore they use different learning strategies, including rote learning and mimicry. Thus I use this style to attempt to talk about those things which are viewed and understood differently in the worlds of the writers and readers. The language (English) and the particular textual genres used in DE, and in the particular disciplinary areas knowledges add to the barrier that the language itself created, in the first place. Thus as Richardson (1994:516), would say, 'writing is method'. It is method in DE, it is method in pedagogy and for you the reader of this text, it is method for this thesis.

1.2 CONTRADICTIONS OF THE PLACE

1.2.1 The space
The islands that I am designating the Pacific Islands (PICs) consist of 22 island nations and territories, comprising 7,500 islands spread across more than 32 million square kilometres of Pacific Ocean, part of the Pacific Community. The Pacific Community, formerly the South Pacific Commission, consists of American Samoa, Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, French Polynesia, Guam, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, New Caledonia, Niue, Northern Marianas, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Pitcairn, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, Wallis and Futuna and Samoa. Within this
thesis I do not focus on any Island Nation, although, because of my familiarity with Fiji, I have used various examples from that country to illustrate many of the points that I make in this thesis.

Only about 500 of these islands are inhabited. They range in size from 462,243 (Papua New Guinea) to 5 (Pitcairn) square kilometres and only seven out of the twenty-two island nations have land areas of more than 2900 square kilometres. Only one of the islands (Papua New Guinea) is not a tiny speck in the large Pacific Ocean. The islands are small, resource deficient, and they will always be dependent on their larger neighbours for aid to survive. This is the view of the space, the Pacific Islands, that one gets whenever one reads about these islands.

An alternative perspective has been offered by Epeli Hau'ofa (1993) in 'Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands'. In this geography, Hau'ofa, focuses on the vastness of the oceans and the smallness of islands as a composite. The Pis 'lived' on the land and the sea—these two entities were considered as one. Thus rather than considering themselves as deprived and without resources, the 'precontact' Pis considered themselves in harmony with their environments (lands and seas) with which they lived in symbiotic relationships. This is different from the way post-contact Pis saw themselves, and were formally taught about themselves and their presence in the modern world through the civilising missions of their colonisers. To develop this discussion further, I have provided three tables of data. These tables show the 'spaces', the 'terra nullius'—the uncolonised spaces being given identity through attributes that the coloniser
and the neo-coloniser thought were useful. In fact, a number of these attributes painted a picture of the dependence of the common people on hegemonic groups, both nationally and internationally. Thus from spaces they have become places which have been mapped, labelled and thereby categorised and so known.

1.2.2 The place

Table 1 supplies demographic information: populations and their growth rates, literacy rates and numbers of years of schooling, and the percentage of the populations that live in urban areas. Table 1.2 illustrates the land and sea areas, number of islands, date of political independence and transportation systems to the islands. Table 1.3 lists information about the educational systems and the languages spoken. While these attributes are important in comparing our Nations with other parts of the world, they silence those attributes of ours that we consider important: attributes like family ties and genealogies, social narratives, respect and reverence for our environments, love of life through a ‘carefree’ living style and so on; attributes which recently have begun to be considered important in the wider world.

Table 1.1 shows that the populations of the PICs vary from 1,500 in Tokelau to 3,862,700 in Papua New Guinea (PNG), with population growth rates ranging from -2.4% in Niue to 4.2% in the Marshall Islands. It is interesting to note that in two countries (Niue and Tokelau) the populations are decreasing, whereas all the others are increasing. Table 1.1 also shows that the students of PNG, the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu will average 2.1, 2.8 and 4.0 years, respectively.
in school. Whereas students on the other PICs spend at least 6 years in school.

The data in Table 1.1 indicates that the literacy rates are high in the PICs.
Table 1.1: Basic demographic information of Pacific Islands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Populations (000) 1993</th>
<th>Annual Population Growth Rate % 1980s</th>
<th>Mean Years of Schooling</th>
<th>% Urban</th>
<th>Literacy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cook Island</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>775.1*</td>
<td>0.8'</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>46.4*</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guam</td>
<td>133.0</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiribati</td>
<td>70.6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marshall Island</td>
<td>52.5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nauru</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niue</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>-2.4</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papua New Guinea</td>
<td>3,862.7</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon Islands</td>
<td>355.4</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokelau</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>n/a-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonga</td>
<td>97.8</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuvalu</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanuatu</td>
<td>159.6</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samoa(formerly Western Samoa)</td>
<td>182.6</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5,704.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:
5. * 1996 Fiji Census of population and Housing (p. vii)

Note: For Niue and Tokelau there are no distinction between urban and rural areas as the landmasses are so small. The mean years of schooling for Tokelau were not obtainable.

It was uncomfortable for me to draw up Table 1.1 and also the other tables in this Chapter, as the narrative of the table is exact, homogenising, and fixed in time. Clearly the style used within the thesis genre that I am writing in is one in which I cannot fully describe the situation, as I perceive it. Unfortunately it disregards the spatiality and sociality of that space. I return to this in Chapter 4 under the notion of trialectics. When constructing Table 1.1, I felt that I was writing a grand narrative discourse of these islands and the process was disquieting. Thus my attempt to present an alternative reading of the data. My work here is informed by Richardson's (1994) approach to avoid 'meta-
narrativising my story, but making the point that it is a partial, local historical knowledge ... without over subjectivising it and therefore detracting from the genre but knowing the rules of the genre and writing within them' (p. 518). Thus once they were labelled they became known. The minority, marginal and hybrid were usually ignored and left out of the classification system as though they did not exist—they remained 'unknown'. They became known through particular lenses, the lenses that are used when doing this type of discourse. Thus my attempt at challenging the textual genre that I am writing in.

Table 1.2 provides some interesting information about the colonial legacy of the PICs under discussion. They have become independent countries in the last thirty years and many of them continue to use the currency of their former colonisers. The islands themselves are many tiny specks of sand scattered over many hundreds of thousands of square kilometres of ocean.

Table 1.3 presents a snapshot of the education provided within PICs. Once again the colonial legacy of these islands’ education systems are clearly shown. The education systems of these PICs were mainly influenced by New Zealand (Mara et al., 1994) which provided the curriculum content, curriculum experts and assessment systems. ‘What was included in the curriculum of these schools was as significant as what was not included. ... During this period, we can see the beginning of the undervaluing of indigenous knowledge and skills’ (Pp. 188-189).
### Table 1.2: The spaces becoming the places

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Land Area (Sq. km)</th>
<th>Sea Area (Sq. km)</th>
<th>No. of Islands &amp; Currency</th>
<th>Date of Political Independence</th>
<th>Transport Systems (Teledensity)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cook Islands</td>
<td>246 (coral atolls and volcanic islands)</td>
<td>1,830,000</td>
<td>14 (Cook Islands and NZ dollars)</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Airports on all outer islands (19.44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>18,972 (mainly volcanic islands)</td>
<td>1,250,000</td>
<td>301+, 100 inhabited (FJ dollars)</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>** (1.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiribati</td>
<td>816 (coral atolls)</td>
<td>3,550,000</td>
<td>33 (Australian Dollars)</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marshall Islands</td>
<td>151 (coral atolls)</td>
<td>2,131,000</td>
<td>34 (American Dollars)</td>
<td>1995 Compact of Free Association came into effect (Signed in 1982)</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nauru</td>
<td>21 (a raised coral atoll)</td>
<td>320,000</td>
<td>1 (Australian Dollars)</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>A sealed coastal road around the island-linking all villages. (20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niue</td>
<td>236 (a raised coral atoll)</td>
<td>390,000</td>
<td>1 (NZ Dollar)</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>A coastal road around the island-linking all villages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papua New Guinea</td>
<td>4,472,243 (mainly volcanic islands)</td>
<td>1,340,000</td>
<td>100 (Kina)</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Very wide network of internal air services; over 100 coastal vessels provide internal shipping services. (1.45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon Islands</td>
<td>27,505 (mainly volcanic islands)</td>
<td>1,340,000</td>
<td>6 major islands and many smaller ones (St Dollar)</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokelau</td>
<td>12 (coral atolls)</td>
<td>260,000</td>
<td>3 Atolls (NZ dollar)</td>
<td>Dependency of New Zealand</td>
<td>No airstrip; monthly sea service.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonga</td>
<td>891 (coral atolls and volcanic islands)</td>
<td>700,000</td>
<td>156, 36 Inhabited (Pa'anga)</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>** (1.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuvalu</td>
<td>25 (coral atolls)</td>
<td>900,000</td>
<td>9 Atolls, 6 inhabited (Australian Dollars)</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>No airstrip on outer atolls; monthly sea service.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanuatu</td>
<td>12,160 (mainly volcanic islands)</td>
<td>680,000</td>
<td>50 (Vatu)</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samoa (formerly Western Samoa)</td>
<td>28,442 (mainly volcanic islands)</td>
<td>120,000</td>
<td>2 major and a few smaller islands, (Tala)</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:**

Note: Teledensity information was not available for all the PICs.
**Airports only on some outer islands, sea transport provided by government & private operators.
### Table 1.3: Languages and education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>No. Of Indigenous Languages (Lingua Franca)</th>
<th>Education Legacy</th>
<th>Contemporary Formal Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cook Islands</td>
<td>3 (English)</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>Instruction in Cook Island Maori in primary schools, English in secondary schools. Education Act 1966: free and compulsory education for 6-15yrs old.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>3 (English)</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>Instruction in English. Education not compulsory, but free for grades 1-12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guam</td>
<td>1 (English and Chamorro)</td>
<td>America</td>
<td>Instruction in English and Chamorro. Free and compulsory education for 6-16yrs old.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiribati</td>
<td>1 (English, i-Kiribati)</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>Instruction in English and I-Kiribati. Grades 1-7: free and compulsory education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marshall Islands</td>
<td>1 (English)</td>
<td>America</td>
<td>Instruction in English and Kapin-Majol. Cost-free instruction under the executive authority of the Minister of Education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nauru</td>
<td>1 (English)</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Instruction in Nauruan and English. Free and compulsory education for 6-16yrs old.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niue</td>
<td>1 (English)</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>Instruction in English. Compulsory education for 5-15yrs old.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papua New Guinea</td>
<td>715 (English, Pidgin)</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Instruction in English. System struggling to cope: two distinct systems are for the expatriates and another for locals. 1997, 41% of expatriate schools are indigenous students.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon Islands</td>
<td>63 (English, Pidgin)</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>Instruction in English. Primary schools, Provincial schools that provide vocational education, and National secondary schools that provide an academic education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokelau</td>
<td>1 (English)</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>Instruction in Tokelauan and English. Free and attendance for 5-16yrs old. Aim to prepare child for life in Tokelau or for a career in New Zealand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonga</td>
<td>2 (Tongan, English)</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>Instruction in English and Tongan. Primary education compulsory since 1876. 1974 Act provides free education for 6-14yrs old.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuvalu</td>
<td>1 (English, Tuvaluan)</td>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>Instruction in English and Tuvaluan. Mainly concerned with primary school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanuatu</td>
<td>110 (English, Bislama)</td>
<td>France and Britain</td>
<td>Instruction in English and French. Since independence, government working towards a unified Vanuatu system, rather than the separate French and British systems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samoa (formerly Western Samoa)</td>
<td>1 (Samoan, English)</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>Instruction in Samoan in primary schools and English in secondary schools.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Sources:
2. Lynch (1993:27)
3. [http://www.sil.org/ethnologue/countries/Pacific.html](http://www.sil.org/ethnologue/countries/Pacific.html)

According to Quanchi and Adams (1993)

Colonial rule involved the domination, or at least the attempted domination, of one group of people over another. There was also a pronounced racial dimension because it involved the maintenance of white supremacy (p. 118).
Even after political independence, these PICs education were influenced by their former colonisers. For many years these PICs used the New Zealand assessment systems, the New Zealand School Certificate and the New Zealand University Entrance Examinations. When these examinations were replaced by local examinations, they were also influenced by New Zealand through experts from this country advising the PICs on the construction of their systems and also through many of the local people who were educated in New Zealand tertiary institutions, playing leading roles in these reconstructions.

1.2.3 Summary of data in the tables
Differences were used to carve out spaces and those items that did not fit into these spaces tended to fall into the gaps between them. I will discuss three attributes from the tables: notions of lingua franca, transportation and population growth rates.

1.2.3.1 Lingua franca
While most of the countries report English as the lingua franca, other languages are used more often. For example, in Fiji either Fijian or Fiji Hindi is used interchangeably with English, and in Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands local versions of Pidgin English interchangeably with local dialects and English or French.
1.2.3.2 Transportation
Postal systems and telecommunications systems within island nations are usually only developed in the major islands and concentrated in the urban centres. The transport system described in Table 1.2 gives an impression of vast desolate areas, but in reality there is a fair amount of movement between islands. The movements, though, are not the types described in such tables. They are often via fishing or leisure boats. The airports on all the small outer islands have grass runways and are not fenced, they are considered primitive. But on these islands and atolls there is no need for sophisticated airports, in fact such airports are detrimental to the islands' fragile environments.

Telecommunications from main islands to smaller islands are frequently via High Frequency (HF) transceivers, which depend on the weather and whose aerials take up a lot of space in the small outer islands. Postal services between these islands are virtually non-existent. To get a letter or parcel to someone on an outer island one usually has to go down to the wharf or airstrip and give the item to one of the passengers travelling to that outer island to carry it there. The situation is improving and there are island states that have extensive telecommunications systems throughout their nation. A notable example is the Cook Islands, which has satellite earth stations on all its islands.

1.2.3.3 Population growth rates
Table 1.1 gives the impression that PICs in the Western Pacific (PNG, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu), those islands of Melanesia, the islands of the black skinned islanders, have birthrates that can be up to six times the birthrate of the
PICs in the Eastern Pacific (Cook Islands, Niue, Tokelau, Tonga and Samoa), those islands of Polynesia, the islands of the fair skinned islanders. The implication being that these dark skinned persons breed like rabbits whereas the fair skinned persons of Polynesia have been able to control their birthrates. For example the population growth rate of Tonga was 0.5 whereas for the Solomon Islands it was 3.4. However, closer analysis of these population growth rates show that they are influenced disproportionately by out-migration from Polynesia Islands thus their lower population growth rates. The birthrates in Melanesian countries range from 35 in PNG to 40 in the Solomon Islands; and in Polynesian countries they vary from 27 in the Cook Islands to 34 in Samoa. Clearly, the impression about the large differences in birthrates was not true. Table 1.1 also gives the impression that the Melanesia Islands do not value education, since the mean years of schooling are much lower in those PICs. However, using ‘education expenditure as a percentage of GNP’ as an indicator of commitment to education shows that the Solomon Islands is as committed as Tonga and Samoa. These countries ‘education expenditure as a percentage of GNP’ were 7.0, 7.2 and 5.3 respectively.

Yet tables of data can give a very skewed picture of the objects of research because, as the personal perspective takes over, the interpretation of the data can become tainted beyond recognition. Furthermore, tables give the impression of finality and fixity. This is certainly not the case of the islands under discussion. Clearly, the process of putting information into columns in Table 1.1 can cause mis-reading of the context. Table 1.1 named the Islands
1.2.3.4 Case of mis-representation

Another example of the mis-representation concerns the phenotype of the Pacific Islander. Much has been written about the romance of orientalising the Pacific Islands and Islanders (Nicola, 1996), the beautiful South Sea Islands—with swaying palms and dancing beauties, lovely weather—the tropical unpolluted paradise. The picture that is formed in the mind when the Pacific Islands are mentioned is of beautiful, sun drenched beaches and dancing Polynesian beauties and muscular studs. However, the vast majority of Pacific Islanders are dark skinned people and not the dancing Polynesian (though there are also dark skinned Polynesians). Within the countries being discussed, Melanesia accounts for 98% of the land, and 84% of the population. The population densities in the islands group are 10, 70 and 146 people per square kilometre in Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia respectively. About 40% of the population in all groups are under the age of 15 years. While life is reported to be primarily rural with only about 25% living in urban areas (Blunt, 1995:6-7), there are huge increases in the number of persons moving to the urban areas (Gau-Carter & Haberkorn, 1995). Increases in both infectious diseases and non-communicable diseases (NCD), the so-called life-style diseases, are testimony to the changing or transitory nature of the island nations. The life-style diseases are the major causes of death in the islands. Between 1978 and 1988 Vanuatu and Fiji’s Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) dropped by half—these were post-independence years. Does this say something about the colonial
attitude to the health of the natives? What is there to say that everything bad occurred after political independence? There was also great improvement after political independence in many former colonies.

In presenting this section, I hope I have been able to dispel the notion of the Pacific Islander as someone in a grass skirt, dancing on the sunny beaches without a care in the world. The Pacific Islander is in transition and also a 'screen image identity'. As is clear to those of us from the Pacific, we usually put on a 'veil' when we are in the presence of a researcher, thus the veil is seen and it is assumed that that is us (Das, 1996 uses 'veil' as the device that the researched uses to hide their 'true' self).

1.3 EDUCATION IN THE PACIFIC

'Education, unlike schooling, was not introduced to the South Pacific islands, it was carried out in villages by older members of society prior to the coming of the missionaries' (Baba, 1986 : 79). In the same paper, Baba (1986), defined education as the 'initiation into the ways of life of community or society and includes both the informal initiation that takes place in the home and formal school' (p. 79). I subscribe to Baba's definition of education and make the point that the PIs needed both forms of education, that which takes place in the school (formal education) and that which takes place in the home (traditional education) to exist side by side to provide them with the necessary life skills to survive. Without the former, the PIs would not be able to cope with the modern
demands of their changing environments, and without the latter, the Pis would become the outsiders in their communities. In effect these latter Pis would either not be aware of their communal obligations or refuse to participate in them because they consider them primitive and outdated. Thus their community will then tend to ostracise them from some of the communal activities. Examples of this include invitations to and opportunities for these persons to speak at village or other such gatherings. In other words, if the Pis were not exposed to both forms of education, they may develop an identity problem because the formal education emphasises 'things' western and the traditional education emphasises 'things' traditional (Mara et al., 1994:188-189; Thaman, 1991, 1993). The traditional education enabled one to know one's genealogy, and 'knowing one's genealogy is knowing one's place in society' and therefore one's space becomes known to one (Mara et al., 1994:183).

Having presented one of the major conflicts in education in the Pacific, I now turn to describe the traditional and formal education systems of the PICs.

1.3.1 The traditional education
Prior to the European contact, education 'was concerned with inculcating valued beliefs and passing on the collective knowledges of the society to its members' (Mara et al., 1994:182). As an example of the traditional education, I will briefly describe some characteristics that are emphasised within the traditional education of Tonga as an example of this type of education in the Polynesian Island Nations of The University of the South Pacific Consortium members.
Thaman (1988) researched the 'teachers and their perception of their role, which ... reflect(ed) certain valued contexts of Tongan thinking as well as basic Tongan educational ideas, such as ako (learning), 'ilo (knowledge), and poto (skillfulness), and their many derivatives' (p. iii). She found that the educational thinking in Tonga emphasised the 'social and moral rather than intellectual considerations' (p. iii). Within this context, the members of the traditional society grew up and learned their place and the actions that they were expected to and could undertake therein. Each member of a society, based on his or her genealogy has a role to play within it and the traditional educational system reinforced that role. For example in Fiji, there are the turaga, matanivanua, sauturaga, qasonituraga, bati, beta, gonadou and mataisau roles all of whom laboured for the enjoyment of their chiefs.

In order to maintain the hierarchical structure of society, the traditional education emphasised obedience and respect with socialisation. Within these contexts, the teacher was the knowor, the person in possession of the knowledge and the teacher had other skills superior to that of the student. Thus the attitude of belief and acceptance, to what was being taught, was instilled in the learner. In other words, to disagree with the teacher or other superior person in society was tabu5 (Mara et al., 1994:182). The basis of knowledge within traditional Polynesian society was genealogy. 'Knowing oneself is knowing one's genealogy, and knowing one's genealogy is knowing one's place in society (p. 183). Learning, in this context, was through observing, listening, memorising and practical application. The student thus acquired knowledge
and skills of the ‘teacher who was always an elder’ (p. 184). But the type of knowledge available to the people depended on their place in society. For example, knowledge suitable for the chief was never taught to the commoner.

Thaman (1988) noted that the Tongan traditional education system emphasised: ‘the role of the supernatural, concrete contexts, conformity, rank and authority, social relationships, kinship relationships, Tongan traditions, the concept of ofa, restrained behaviour and a tendency to discourage overt criticism’ (p. 92). These characteristics of the traditional education system of Tonga are similar to those in other Pacific Islands and capture the cultural nuances of Pacific Islanders. They ensure that the PI know their place in society and behave according to that position. Thus if one is not schooled within the traditional education system one cannot be part of social system. What I am saying here is that to be part of the social system one must be schooled in the traditional education system. In Fiji we use the word susu mai the koro, meaning, they were brought up in the village so they know the traditional ways. Or susu mai na siti, meaning they were brought up in the city and therefore have not been schooled in the traditional ways so they don’t know the tradition ways.

1.3.2 The formal education
The PIC’s formal education systems have similar beginnings. The major reason for these similar beginnings was that the PICs were colonised by Christian countries that considered civilising the natives their duty. The first formal

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5 Tabu is the term used to signify that something was not allowed.
education was the formation of the village school by the various missionary groups to teach the natives 'the package of skills necessary for living in what was conceived by each mission group as constituting a Christian society' (Baba, 1986:80). The medium of instruction in these schools was the vernacular languages, such as Bauan in Fiji and Tongan in Tonga. Bauan is the indigenous lingua franca of the i-Taukei. The second formal system was the government schools which were initially created to train clerks and civil servants to run the colonial administration, but which were later developed to respond to the 'needs of preparing people for self-government or independence' (Baba, 1986:80). The government schools used 'the language of the metropolitan powers, such as English, French and German as the medium of instruction and they also introduced foreign curricula and examinations' (Baba, 1986:80). Apart from setting up schools, the missionaries also established a number of theological colleges throughout the Pacific, such as Takamoia College in Cook Islands, Malua College in Samoa, Methodist Theological Institution in Fiji, Saint Peter's Anglican College in the Solomon Islands and the Tonga Training Institute in Vanuatu (Tuwere, 1988). The third formal education system to be created was the Central Medical School which was built in Suva in the 1920s with funds from the Rockefeller Foundation to train doctors for all South Pacific islands except French and Chilean territories' (Crocombe, Baba, & Meleisea, 1988: 21). Simultaneous with all these were the development of the formal school systems, which were sponsored by the churches, government and local community, groups, in that order through time. Examples of these include: Tupou College in Tonga which was built in 1849 by the Wesleyans and Marist
Brothers High School built in the 1940s by the Roman Catholic Church in Suva. Later teachers colleges, technical colleges and other post secondary institutions were created, for example Derrick Technical Institute (now Fiji Institute of Technology), Solomon Islands College of Higher Education in Honiara, The University of the South Pacific in Laucala and Samoa National University in Apia. These formal systems could not be adequately funded to cope with the growing demand for education, so there was a search for an alternate form of education. Distance Education was the logical choice because of the assumption that it was cheaper due to economies of scale made possible in that mode. Parallel to these systems, the 'traditional learning' continued in the villages.

For most persons in the Pacific their formal (primary, secondary and tertiary) education was conducted within a closed classroom environment. The content was presented in a foreign language, through alien ways of knowing and thinking, and in their reality assessed individually rather than as a group. Laird's (1992) paper, 'Philosophy for children in remote Aboriginal classrooms', presents these issues succinctly. He says that language is the primary way in which meaning is made of human experience and that it is central to people's experience, understanding and culture. It is inextricably linked with thought and therefore since thought is central to learning, language plays a central role in learning. Thus, thinking in English means thinking in conceptual ways that are only possible in that language. Other ways of thinking are marginalised. To think in a language is to think in the culture of that language, to adapt the
notions of examinations of ideas, the various assumptions and hidden meanings inherent in that language. Therefore, over a period of time, the learning rules of the language of instruction, in this case English, become dominant. Thus the rules of western thought (supremacy of rationality, inductive and deductive thinking) and western value systems, and western knowledge culture become dominant. Each day when the students go home, they play a different language game. The formal education has little in common with their everyday lives, except as a means for securing employment later in life, or for those who want to adopt the ways of that language. The conflict of learning in a different language is down played within the Pacific Islands education system. It is assumed that the students can, after only a few years of primary education in their vernacular languages, maintain their identities as Pis. This issue must be challenged head on and an alternative position found so that the use of English in the formal schools will not erase the Pacific from the Pis.

The instruction was via face-to-face teaching, that is, the students and the teachers were at the same physical location during the period of instruction. The teacher was in charge and dominated the learning 'process'. The students were directly dependent on the teacher for their learning. The teacher disseminated knowledge and the students absorbed it and regurgitated it during the examinations. The praxis of education reflected a theoretical framework informed by the 'transmission' model of teaching and learning. Although this conception of education has been superseded by other conceptions, it was/is in reality, from one perspective, very academic learning, (i.e. 'it was mediated
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rather than experiential ...' and it dealt 'with other people's conception of how the world is understood' (Laurillard, 1993:8)). Until very recently there was little encouragement for the students to reflect and/or critically analyse their education and its process. The 'cooperative' and 'collaborative' models of teaching and learning have only been introduced within the last 15 years. Even so, the students own cultures, traditions, and epistemologies continue to be largely absent from, or inferiorised in the formal education system. As Christian (1987), says 'our theorising (and I intentionally use the verb rather than the noun) is often in narrative forms, in the stories we create, in riddles and proverbs, in the play with language, since dynamic rather than fixed ideas seem more to our liking'. Because these resultant theories were 'different from the Western form of abstract logic' they were marginalised (p. 457). Therefore the cognitive constructions of the students could be quite different from those of the teachers. The students are educated so that they do and become what the educators want them to become rather than allowing them to develop to their full potential in any direction that the learners so desire.

Thus communications between the teacher and the students, and amongst students, to facilitate the teaching/learning and socialisation processes depends for their success on teachers and students cognitive constructions within any such situation. There is the need for feedback from the students for the teachers to assess the success of the process. In face-to-face settings, two-way communication includes verbal and nonverbal communication, which are predominantly synchronous.
Notwithstanding, within the framework of teaching/learning the concept that is in the teacher's mind has to overcome three types of barriers before it can be received/reconstructed by the student. I refer to these barriers as noises: the 'internal noises', the 'physical noises' and the 'external noises'. The internal noises are the cognitive conflicts that the senders themselves have with the concepts. The external noises are the cognitive conflicts that the receivers themselves have with the concepts. The senders or the receivers lack of a complete comprehension of, and belief in, the concepts and associated processes, their lack of experience in using these concepts, and their own ethical dilemmas about the usefulness of those knowledges to their students or themselves. A good example of this is integrals that are taught to students in year twelve mathematics. 'Physical noises' are the physical barriers: other persons talking or other sounds or visual or mental distractions that make it difficult to receive the signals being sent or to receive a secondary set of signals.

Before leaving this section on formal education, I want to introduce some data on its costs. What Kennedy (1980) said, almost twenty years ago is still true today.

Most countries spend 80-90% of their education budget on teachers' salaries alone and because there is a far higher proportion of teachers in the populations than of any other category of skilled workers - especially where 1/2 the population is of school
age - this represents a large slice of public expenditure. Pacific states spend up to a quarter (e.g. Fiji 25.03%) of their operating budget on education whereas in New Zealand the percentage is at present about 16%, with some 46% on teachers' salaries.

In the small states many education services cost comparatively more than in larger countries. A science curriculum officer in say the Cook Islands (20,000) is 30 times more expensive than one in Fiji (600,000) in relation to the population served. The principal and specialist staff of a teachers' college or a technical institute in a small country is similarly more expensive than in a larger one. The same applies to specialist equipment. The duplication of secondary schools in scattered states, to serve small island communities, is very uneconomical both in terms of costs and in the use of teacher skills. This, especially when there is duplication of science equipment, industrial arts programs, and libraries. (Pp. 353-354)

Today, the situation has not improved. Teachers' salaries continue to be the major drain on the education budget. The proportion of the population under the age of 15 averages around 40%. Table 1.4 shows that the proportion of the population under the age of 15 ranges from 34.1% in the Cook Islands to 51.0% in the Marshall Islands.
Table 1.4: Percentage of population under 15 years and education expenditure as percentage of GNP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>% Population under 15 years 1994</th>
<th>Education expenditure as % of GNP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cook Islands</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiribati</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marshall Islands</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nauru</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niue</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon Islands</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokelau</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonga</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuvalu</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanuatu</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samoa</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:
UNICEF (1995: 56-57)
* 1996 Fiji Census of population and Housing (p. vii)

It also shows that the proportion of cost of education as a percentage of GNP ranges from 4.6 in Vanuatu to 15.7 in Tuvalu. The community cannot be expected to increase the education expenditure, but the population statistics indicate that it will need to, in order to cater for the younger populations. Clearly, the problem must be reconstituted from different perspectives, one of which could be from the perspective of the younger members of the population. If this is not done then the future looks bleak, as the population gets younger and...
therefore the education gets more costly. Clearly, other ways of conceptualising the problem and finding solutions to it must be found. These alternative methods must employ different strategies to the ones being considered.

1.3.3 Issues of language

Having briefly discussed how and why formal education was introduced in the Pacific, I want to now turn to the issues of the medium of that education. Of the twelve USP members, only slightly half of one country (Vanuatu) has an education system that has not incorporated English as the language of instruction. However, the levels of written and spoken English vary considerably across the Pacific. This is due to the fact that although these countries use English in formal settings, viz., schooling, business and legal systems, the local languages are used in everyday activities. In those countries that have developed more towards western civilisation, the usage of English is more frequent and hence it is of a higher standard. The implications of imposing this language are well-documented (Ashcroft, 1989a; Crystal, 1997; Kachru, 1995; Lawson & Tiffin, 1994). Briefly, one language dominates the others to such an extent that the value and belief systems, thought processes, ways of knowing and doing of the dominant language become 'naturalised'. In the worst cases the dominated languages die out (Aitchison, 1981). In practice, English dominates the local ones, and soon the local language becomes anglicised (Das, 1996; de Reuck, 1998; Lotherington, 1999; Riggins, 1997).
These languages and other differences that produce differing education standards across countries have caused major problems for USP as it tried to accommodate students from educationally inter-heterogeneous societies.

A good example of this is other students talking when the teacher is explaining a concept. The 'external noises' are the differences in the use, levels of understanding and versions of the language between the sender and the receiver of the words. A good example of this is the use of idiomatic or literary (metaphors, metonyms) expressions used when explaining concepts. This last barrier is especially critical when the communication is between persons from Non English Speaking Backgrounds (NESB) and native speakers of English, though it is not restricted to those groups. The NESB students usually understand the individual words but not the intended meaning when words are combined in ways unusual to them. The ethnic, cultural, gender levels of understanding and usage of the English language in communication, and the socio-economic and other differences between the sender and receiver create this barrier. Rao (1963 : 296) makes the point that English 'is the language of our intellectual make-up ... but not of our emotional make-up'. Ashcroft contributes to this discussion when he asks, '... can writing in one language convey the reality of a different culture'? (Ashcroft, 1989a : 298). Ngugi (1986) thought this was such an important issue that he abandoned a very successful writing career in English to write almost entirely in his native Gikuyu.
1.3.4 Conflicts

Conflicts between the two systems (traditional and formal) simmered beneath the surface, at the societal and individual level. At the societal level, the students' attitudes to their traditional ways tended to be modified through their schooling, often generating unhappiness amongst the communities' elders because the students tend to opt for western rather than traditional roles and activities. At the individual level, the students were confused as to the identity/subjectivity that they were to assume. That aside, there were visible, concrete and immediate problems which are taken up in detail in section 1.5, problems related to the tyranny of distance over the oceans and seas with very little/few formal supporting systems. This occurred because many of the proposers and implementers of that DE system were not familiar with the situation on the ground. They assumed that the public infrastructure available to students in cosmopolitan countries was similar to those in the islands. They were wrong. At best the systems were unreliable, at worst they were non-existent, more so for postal than telecommunications infrastructure. Fortunately, the situation has improved significantly in recent years and continues to do so.

This type of colonial education initially denigrated things local, then it celebrated the local by changing words in textbooks, for example in Fiji 'apples to mangoes, and in India, pounds to rupees. But the elitist concept of education of the whole child remains intact' (Udagama, 1983). The children were being educated about a world divorced from their own. The students were taught not to look at their society, but at the cosmopolitan model. Thus they desired the
cosmopolitan existence. So how is this problem resolved? Thaman (1991:5 & 10) suggests that ‘cultural analysis, the systematic process of examining a particular society in its social and historical context’, is ‘an essential factor in making curriculum development more appropriate and meaningful in the Pacific Islands contexts’. I agree with Thaman and in this thesis I suggest that the resistance strategies of postcolonial theory are an ally of cultural analysis. The resistances provided by postcolonial theory are a crucial element of this thesis.

Clearly, colonial and neo-colonial education were, and continue to be, the major tools that reinforced the inferiority of the islander to their former masters, thereby providing fuel for the continuation of the ideology of dependency of the islanders on their former masters. Fanon described some of the former colonised as ‘intellectual vigilant sentinel’. These persons, Fanon maintains, will always come to their former colonisers’ rescue for they feel indebted to their colonisers for civilising them (Fanon, 1965:37-8). Many PIs acknowledge the superiority of their colonisers to this day thus they exist within the frame of coloniser/colonised. They always feel inferior to the white person. Notwithstanding, the Pacific communities are challenged within this conceptualisation to find ways to adapt their cultures as they interact with other cultures, rather than moving back to a culture that was. The challenge is to find ways to integrate into the globalisation process (Human Resources Development Working Group Education Forum, 1994:63). In other words, the PIs are seeking ‘to preserve their culture ... not as a heritage item, not as a museum piece, but as a living, vibrant, growing entity one that can selectively
adopt what it wants to from the west without losing its very essence, its cultural integrity' (Teasdale & Teasdale, 1992: 70).

No longer military, Christianity or education; it's now the non-coercive—it's a material-consumerism—driven by desire—the market economy and advertising have taken over—the monster that was created is now in charge. 'The challenge facing the Pacific people is to carry forward the strengths of their cultures, at the same time adopting and adapting as they interact with other cultures and as they inevitably integrate more fully into the world political economy' (Human Resources Development Working Group Education Forum, 1994: 63).

1.3.5 Conclusions
Within the period of rapid transition, many young Pacific Islanders are being bombarded with different media, perspectives and levels of information. It is often difficult to distinguish between the real and unreal, truth and untruth, notions that are usually indisputably cut in their worldviews. The analytical tools to deal with this information explosion are, for most of the islanders, nonexistent. They are easily caught up in the consumer society—the desire for consumerism, yet are unprepared for it.

6 Two papers, 'The politicization of Military Professionalism in Fiji' in The Military, the State, and the Development in Asia and the Pacific (Ed) Viberto Selochan, by Jim Sanday and 'Anthropology and Authoritarianism in the Pacific Islands' in Confronting the Margaret Mead Legacy (eds) Lenora Foerstel and Angela Gilliam, by Simione Durutalo assert that militarism is very much a force to be wary of, especially since the military coups in Fiji in 1987.
The communities of the Pacific Islanders, and their islands themselves, are very small. From the time when the islanders began to 'understand' this, they developed a sense of hopelessness, or rather dependency, on their larger and more developed neighbours, Australia and New Zealand. Prior to this realisation the islanders considered the Ocean part of their home (Hau'ofa, 1993) and rather than thinking of their islands as small, they thought of them as their 'sea of islands'. The settlers came and named the islanders and their islands—thus giving to both new meanings, attitudes and myths, which have become ingrained and are only now being realised and attempts being made by the islanders to re/present themselves through their own lens.

Before leaving this section about the place and space under study, I want to make two points. First, it should be obvious from the foregone that there is a need for adequate postal and telecommunications infrastructures to be present for effective DE so that communications between the learner and the teacher can be affected. These infrastructures include the provision of a public postal system (to carry printed mail between teacher and students) and, possibly, a sophisticated telecommunications system that enables the DE program to incorporate video and teleconferencing, computer communications and internet resources into its courses to provide closer interaction between students and teachers. It is clear that we don't have these infrastructures in place in the USP's major catchment areas. Second, the industrialisation of education through the cooperative functioning and inter-relatedness and inter-dependence of the substructures with a distance education system—design, development,
production and support—can only be successful if they can dialogue along the lines discussed by Freire (1992:75 - 118). I discuss this point in more detail in Chapters 3 and 4. Too often each of these sections feels that they are more important than the others are; they feel that the others do not understand their contexts, that the others are not fully committed to the task of DE, etc. Freire made the point that dialogue cannot occur in such scenarios. He talks about the tearing down of binary oppositions to affect effective dialogue. The second need is to humanise the distance education project, i.e., rather than emphasise the industrialisation of the distance education process which has gained agency from economic rationalism, my concern is to understand the cultural/ideological/sociological baggage that the students and staff bring to the distance studies and to construct strategies to lighten their burdens.

1.4 THE STORY: EDUCATION ISSUES IN THE PACIFIC

In attempting to relate the various issues and contradictions about education in the Pacific, I have opted to present the information from documents, new papers and research findings as a fictional dramatic dialogue. I have situated the dialogue in Fiji because it is the country of the Pacific that I know the most about. The phrases, grammar, structure of the dialogues and Fijian-English are used as part of the story in an attempt to give the reader an insight into the contexts of the issues and also to present, for a person not familiar with Fiji, a feeling of knowing what is being said without knowing what is implied. Some Fijian words are retained for effect. In presenting data in this semi-dramatised
mode, I hope the reader will appreciate the emotions and the attitudes that are coupled with different issues and contradictions of education in the Pacific. The people know how to express themselves in this setting. They know the language, the protocols and the tabus. They can read the nonverbal communications, and they know their place(s) and their space(s) within these settings (Bogitini, 1998a). They contest the borders and cross them only in jest and in those settings. In different circumstances many of these border crossings would not be attempted. The society in Fiji, as in much of the Pacific, is a hierarchical one and there are strict protocols within gatherings of people. Within informal yaqona sessions, people move across the borders in veiwali7. These border crossings would not be contemplated in other spaces.

The 'friends' have been meeting regularly for many years to drink grog (yaqona, kava) and engage in 'pleasureable conflict management discourses' (Arno, 1993 : ix). During a yaqona session there is a strict order of seating and in which the yaqona is served. The people know their place(s) and space(s). If someone new comes to the group, the leader of the seated group usually indicates the visitor's place and space. When someone leaves the gathering the place(s) and space(s) of the persons remaining changes. Persons from the group know their places they don't need to be told, only visitors need this. During these occasions there are a lot of discussions, mainly about sports, sometimes politics, religion or even education. Women are usually not present at these functions though they are often within earshot and usually contribute a

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7 Veiwali is the i-Taukei practice of joking. It is not as straight forward as English jokes for often veiwali is used to get across sensitive points in a discussion in the form of joking.
comment or two to the discussions. Often times their comments are solicited. The ‘friends’ consist of Tui, Anare, Jese, Jimi, Rico, Raphael, Tevita, and Sony. Tui is the chief of an outer island and considers himself not well educated. During the dialogue some speakers refer to him as Ratu, which is the customary form by which a chief is addressed. Anare is only interested in sports and drinking kava.

Jese is the group clown, but his clowning is really a veil to hide his intelligence. He prefers to be part of the group rather than above it because of his academic achievements, work and wide reading. Jimi is from the interior of the island of Viti Levu. He came to Suva to study, and is currently lecturing at the USP. Rico is the old man of the group. He used to work for the government in the colonial days. Raphael graduated with a BA in sociology from the USP seven years ago and has been the head of department of social science in a school in a low socio-economic area in Suva. The school is run by a Hindu organisation, is co-educational and about 45% of its populace is i-Taukei.

Raphael brought an ‘outside’ friend (some one who has not been to this group before) to the grog session. The ‘outsider’ is Raj, a graduate teacher of three years, and one who is interested in the ‘professional’ issues of education.

\[8\] The women usually have other interests or are drinking yaqona together within earshot of the men. Often there are comments passed from one group to the other.
When Raphael and Raj get to the kava session, it is in full swing. They present their sevusevu, then after the introductions, a talo is called. There is silence, as the ‘friends’ size up Raj – and assess the ‘baggage’ that he has brought with him. There are racial overtones, there are educational barriers, and there are communication barriers. Why did Raphael bring this Indian here? There is tension in the air.

**Tui:** So Raj, kaise. How come RKS beat QVS at the Deans Trophy last week? Who is the coach there now, must be one fella who did not play rugby himself while he was at school?

**Raj:** They were lucky to win, you know ga! The ref was from Lodoni and so he had to let RKS win otherwise the villagers would hassle him during the grog sessions.

*Everyone laughs. Some of the tension in the air is relaxed. There is usually a lot of veiwali like this during a kava session. It usually goes on for quite a while, in fact sometimes that’s all that happens during a session. For the purposes for which I introduced this dialogue, that will be all the veiwali that I will use.*

So you have been teaching at QVS for the last three years? Tell us why the boys there have been doing badly up to the last five years?

**Jese** (The group clown): Well, the teachers are mainly Indians today and they don't understand the i-Taukeis’ mind and cannot help the i-Taukeis who are having problems at the school. You know, we discussed this last month when the Fiji Junior Examination results came out, the point that the education system discriminates against the villagers and is better suited to the urban dwellers who are mainly Indians.

**Anare:** Talo, man. None of our childs goes to QVS that for the riches people. So long as they can win the Deans Trophy (a rugby competition) and the Coke Cola Games (an athletics competition) it's okay.

*[Jimi claps and hands the kava bowl around]*

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9 Sevusevu is the presentation of yaqona. Whenever one attends a yaqona session, it is customary to provide a presentation of yaqona to the group.
10 Talo is the call for a round of yaqona. All the persons in the group drink in a strict order.
11 Fiji-Hindi equivalent of hello.
12 RKS (Ratu Kadavulevu School) and QVS (Queen Victoria School) are the initials of two leading rugby union schools in Fiji. The Deans Trophy is the highest rugby trophy that is competed for amongst secondary schools in Fiji.
Raphael: Good call ref. Jese you work at the statistics section in the Ministry of Education so you should know that what you said is not true. The 1997 census shows that more than 50% of i-Taukeis live in the urban areas. Anyhow most of the students at QVS come from the elite i-Taukei families who live in the urban centres of Fiji. So if what Anare and Jese are saying is true then they should do well as the children come from predominantly wealthy, elite, urban i-Taukei families. There must be another reason for the failures.

Tui (Butting in): Raj, please excuse Rap and Jese, they are always like this, would you like to comment on the question?

Raj: Vinaka\(^{13}\), firstly, thanks for allowing me into this session, please forgive me if I say anything that may offend anyone or might sound racial or give the impression that I am too smart.\(^{14}\)

There are many reasons that can be given for this problem: cultural deprivation of the i-Taukei students, lack of books in the i-Taukei homes, too much physical work in the schools for the boys, parents not emphasising the importance of school and education in general, parents giving the impression that there will be a scholarship and a job for the i-Taukei, and if there isn't one or the child fails that child has the option of returning to the village. However, I am not so sure that this option has really been fully examined. I mean looked at from different perspectives. For the other ethnic groups in Fiji failure in school means failure in life therefore many of these students generally work very hard and many of their parents pull out all stops to support them.

Jese: Rap just tell Raj not to bring that kind of bull here, just tell us what he thinks.

[Tui and Rap glare at Jese, Jese looks at Raj and laughs, Raj smiles back.]

Raj: Okay, I have given this a lot of thought and I have read up a lot about this. For learning to take place there needs to be the student, the teacher, the ideas of learning and what is needed to be learned and a working relationship between all these four notions.

[Silence. The tension builds up again. But like the true chief, Tui dissolves it, by dismissing Raj's point, by inferring that he cannot]

\(^{13}\) Fijian word for 'thank you'. This is the customary way to start talking when the elders at a gathering have given you. One does not just start talking, one expresses his thanks for being allowed in that gathering and to even speaking before he speaks. Thus it is clear to the others in the groups that Raj knows i-Taukei protocol. If Raj had not acknowledged this custom the members of the group would have tolerated his presence but not been friendly towards him.

\(^{14}\) This is the proper way of addressing a group like this. Usually this is said in Fijian, but because Raj is not comfortable speaking in Fijian, he says the words in English. All those seated appreciate what Raj has just done, and some of the barriers that were put up around him have been lowered because of this approach.
understand the i-Taukei, that only the i-Taukei can understand each other]

**Tui:** What you say is absolutely correct, but the i-Taukei is a different kind of person, he has a very different outlook on life and he has his traditions which are unique. He has his obligations to the vanua. He does not fit into the way that the other races in Fiji fit into the education system. The system has not been able to understand the i-Taukei and allow for his ways.

**Jese:** I agree with Tui is it about the context? The village, the housing estate, the baggage that one brings to the school?

**Mere:** (One of the women who is in another room in the house.) Jese, you just drink kava and shut up, you talk too much and don't know anything!

**Raj:** Thanks Jese. Yes context is most important. Within the current theories of education, the teachers consider themselves the catalysts, not just the content/knowledge disseminators i.e. they don't just give out facts and expect the students to regurgitate these in exams. They try to guide the students to bring out their own thoughts and ideas and previous knowledge and build on these. Here then is the problem. I don't think that the students see themselves within their studies, they are not part of the book culture, they are not part of the history, of the mathematics, of science and their society reinforces that demarcation, sorry, the gap between their societies and their formal learning. Yes, they are in the modern world, but only in areas that have been made available to them because of direct profits of those in economic power. For example the newspapers, magazines, radio, television and other mass media show ideologies, fashion, music, etc from overseas. They in fact are saying to our children here, your ways are wrong, forget them and take on mine. This is the same message that the students get at school. These are pressures, from the schooling system and the mass media, on the students, telling them that their ways are wrong, primitive and something that should be thrown on the rubbish heap. Yet at home their parents growl at them for ignoring their ways. The students who are able to situate themselves within these pulls on their being and please both sides (the modern and the traditional), survive; others are labelled rebellious and 'good for nothing' by their parents and society and drop out; still others 'revert' to the old ways and fail. I am reminded here of a Caribbean writer, George Lamming, who made the point that he is comfortable wherever he goes.

**Jese:** This is like what I experienced, bro. I did well in school, but my parents did not think that I should go to uni. They said I was getting
too smart (**viavialevu**\(^\text{15}\)), cheeky and rebellious. My father said that he did not go to uni and he had done well for his family. What was good for him was good enough for his son. So I started working and when I got my current job, I started doing short courses directly related to statistics, now I am doing studies through the Fiji Centre, University Extension and have only two papers to complete my diploma in applied computing.

**Anare:** Talo man, too much talk going on here. Why waste our time talking about that? Leave these issues to the politicians to solve, they know better and it’s their job not ours. Oh sorry Tui, it’s for the great council of chiefs too.

**[Jimi claps and hands the kava bowl around]**

**Tui:** Raj, you heard that I am a chief of a small island in the Lomaiviti group. I feel helpless... How can I help my people? I want them to be able to know the things of the modern world but I think it will be bad for them to put aside their traditional cultural ways. I think they have to change with the times, but our traditions and culture should not be rubbed off completely by a modern way. I watch movies of developed countries and think about the big problems there. I feel we are going in that same direction and I don’t know how to protect my people from those bad things.

**Raj:** Ratu, you have a difficult problem but one that can be overcome by you and your people with your help and wisdom, I think. Our ‘pre-formal’ or everyday education does not teach our people to think about themselves, our current formal education system also does not do this. The teachers must know and appreciate the ways of the people whose children they are teaching so that they can apply that context to the students learning. But the people must also understand the limitations of the current form of education and decide whether they want more of that same type of education or they want something different.

**Jese:** This kind of talking makes my head sore, just *talo* the *kava* man!

**Raj:** (Continuing) Another issue is to look at the *i-Taukei* children who have been successful in schooling, the majority of them belong to the *galala*\(^\text{16}\) group. What does this tell us?

**[Raj’s question is sidestepped]**

\(^{15}\) Fijian equivalent of the English 'smart Alec'.

\(^{16}\) Fijian word which describes the Fijian families who left their villages to live on other land, usually leased, not too far away from the village proper. These people could represent the hybrids, they wanted part of their world but also part of the world of their colonisers.
Tui: Yes, but the many i-Taukei do not consider the galala farmer a genuine i-Taukei in terms of their cakacaka vakavanua (social/cultural obligations to the community of which one is a part). They complain that these people have tried to sidestep their village obligations, they have become more individualistic, and to a certain degree more like the Indians. These people made their choices that emphasise a path different from the i-Taukei, they have assimilated some ways of the modern into their own. For example, their ways emphasise the familial obligations but also respect the individual, unlike the mainstream i-Taukei way that puts the community above all else. They have adjusted their priorities, ways of thinking and value systems and knowledges to allow them to live within their communal obligations but also successfully interact within the norms of modern Fiji. But one of the things that I have noticed about these people is that their contributions to the veimafagafi oga are more substantial than other families in the village. They have earning power and help in village projects in those ways. It is only because they don’t socialise in the village ways that they are treated differently.

Raphael: In hearing all of this, I think the reason for the problem is ‘we want our cake and we want to eat it too.’ We hear your teachers saying this very often in school.

Jese: Well if you want the cake and you don’t want to eat it what is the use of wanting and getting the cake in the first place? That would be stupid!

Raphael: True, I never thought of that before, anyway what I was trying to say was that we want our ways and those of the modern world. You know Nayacakalou, the first i-Taukei PhD said these two ideas were mutually exclusive. He said people must make their minds up about what they want. I think that once the community!

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17 Nayacakalou, (1975 : 6) presents the galala farmer (an independent farmer who chose to lease land, move out of the village and farm commercially) as the product of the dispute between Dept of Agriculture and the Fiji Administration (Spate 1959, 77). Bogrini (1997) makes distinction between galala in physical spatial sense and galala in a psychoanalytical one. The physical spatial galala is as presented by Nayacakalou (1975), the farmers became independent of their villages and the communal system. In the psychoanalytical one – the chief is in a state of galala, they translate into and out of their traditional roles and obligations as situations dictate and are convinced that the choices they have made are good for their people and their immediate families.

18 Bhabha’s third space and the notion of hybridity that is brought out here to dispel notions of essentialism. These groups of people are translating into another space.

19 Oga is the Fijian word for obligation. However, to the Fijian, obligations are obligatory. Persons who do not carry out their share of the oga, do so to their own detriment.

20 Nayacakalou, (1975 : 135-136) ‘The belief that they can do both simultaneously is a monstrous nonsense with which they have been saddled for so many years now that its eradication is very hard to achieve. The administration and the Central Government hold the key. Between them they have the power and the authority to tell this simple fact to the Fijians: between them they employ very nearly every Fijian whose counsel on the matter can possibly be heeded.’
makes a choice then the students will come home to a society that fully supports—by providing conducive learning environments for the children both at home and at school. The community needs to get itself organised to provide these environments in all the homes. Most of our i-Taukei homes don’t have books, discussions around educational issues are considered too sophisticated for the parents who did not go to school. This widens the generation gap by the inclusion of an educational system that alienates rather than converges the ‘learned’ with the ‘lived.’

**Tui:** Raj, I feel like that all the time. You see I only went up to class three and when my daughter shows her fourth form maths or English to me, I feel very embarrassed about it. I can see now that I make her feel that our ways are stupid. Maybe I should try to understand her work and put mine into hers or hers into mine. Something about what you was talking about earlier ... the involvement of all the people in the education of the children and to try to bring the everyday education and the formal education closer together.

**Raj:** You might not be able to help her with the specifics but you are older and wiser and can help her in other ways, like I mentioned before lots of understanding is needed. When they are trying to study and you have visitors and there are errands to be done etc, we must show them that education is important and that it takes precedence over other matters. In an Indian house, usually if the children are studying they are not disturbed, even if some work needs to be done. Also the visitors don’t expect the children to help if they have studies. Someone who is not studying does that work. We Indians place a lot of emphasis on working hard in school, yet you still see a lot of Indians failing. i-Taukei don’t usually place much emphasis on school and you see a lot of Taukei failing, but the galala farmers emphasise schooling and most of their children pass.

**Jese:** Raj, I think you have a point but what about the cost to the galala families. It maybe okay for the heads of the families because they have a vision and hope that drives them, but other members of the family are criticised, insulted and ridiculed by some villagers. However, both parties realise that their blood ties are still intact and familial relationships will continue. Or as the Taukei says, ‘our blood is in their veins’. Their crops can be damaged and they have to fend for themselves, the villagers won’t help them.

**Tui:** That’s true, the cost is high.

**Jimi:** And yet the common people have to pay for the corruption of all those who are supposed to be in charge of looking after the country. They can’t even pay for their own children’s schooling and the rich people’s children get the scholarships and they still steal all the
money from the bank. And when there is a village function, the poor contribute more, on a proportional basis than the rich. So the poor people think they are sharing their riches with the poor. I just hope this new government of Chaudhary is allowed to run for the full five years. Let’s see if the Indians will really abuse the Taukei. Well we seen by last weeks paper how corrupt the last few governments were, so I am for giving Labour a chance.

Raj: Yes, but as we Indians say, nothing good comes cheap. We have to work hard for good things, especially if we really want them. And as for the galala farmer when the good thing is ripe then even those who were against them in the beginning come and rejoice with us.

[Raj is noticeably silent on the issue of the so called Indian dominated Labour Government.]

Jimi: I know of a Professor, a colleague of mine who happens to be the first PhD graduate from his area. He attributes this to the move made by his father to be a galala farmer. Their families were ostracised21 for many years but, when the rewards of their ways become apparent, they were given a place in the ‘new’ hierarchy that was formed. Now the villagers go to this professor’s father for advice and finance. It’s the choice, change and the initial pressure that is brought to bear on those who dare change that is the most difficult to endure. That is why the vision, the need and the will for the change are so important. The galala elders created a space for their families, they worked hard to make that space comfortable for them and their families and now life is better for them.

Anare: Talo Jimi. But the galala children comes and plays with the village childrens to have funs. Some times, I saw them being punished for playing instead of studying.

[Jimi claps and talos the kava.]

Raphael: Talking about costs, the costs of the education are expensive enough for the rural Fijian without bringing more costs to bear onto him—the conducive environment that you were talking about Raj. Putting more books into the homes, paying to travel to the towns to buy the books, buying bookshelves and the books themselves. Developing a book culture of reading and caring for books amongst the people. I suppose is not an either or but a both together. Something else has to take less time so that reading and writing takes up this time. What can be given up?

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21 This ostracising is done in the Fijian way. The members of the family are not snubbed but made to feel, in subtle ways, that they have let the village down by moving out.
Mere: The kava drinking, you mens spends too much time drink kava and not enough for your childrens and wives. You should think about your family like the Indian man. That's why the Taukei womans want to go with the Indian husband.

(Mere's comments are ignored)

Anare: It must not be sports, they makes us healthy and cannot be kavas because they are for relaxations. Might be we should just stick to our old ways.

Tui: No, I don't think so Anare, times have changed and .... must move with it. The answer is obvious, the time wasting activities. Not necessarily grog drinking though, that could be voluntarily slowed down, those who want to indulge should not be forced not to: they will see the benefits of their ways and their neighbours' labours. We should get better organised and become more efficient peoples.

Old man Rico: (Clapping) very good you have just solved the problems of the great school of QVS. So when do we start getting good results. [Rico laughs] I say that the system stinks: the system favours the capitalists, especially the Americans who want to make sure that the other countries stay in their places. I believe there is a conspiracy out there.

Mere: I think the problem is you men. When you get a good education or good job, you forget your family and your vakavanua and want to be like a whiteman. You can't even put anything back for the people, you just think of your own self, you put yourself above the community.

Prologue:
The characters in the story are multi-centred hybrids; multi-identities of mine as I progressed through my development and through this thesis.

Some of the major themes that occur in the dialogue include:

• the position of the subaltern: those who don't want to get involved in the actions that bring about change. These people feel that these are the
functions of their leaders, they prefer to get on with their lives as they are. Examples of this are Jese and Anare:

- the position of hybrid: those who find themselves being confused about the situations in which they find themselves. Sometimes they want to support their cultures and at other times their education. For example, Tui and Jese;
- the source of little stories: there are many different little stories about the problems of education in Fiji. Anare thinks it's not suited for the Fijians, Jese feels that the problems are that the school system does not align itself with the cultural context in which it finds itself, Tui feels inadequate and Raj is trying to make sense of the situation from an academic perspective which is informed by the cultural context. Each of these little stories has their own adherents and cause conflicts at surface and deep levels amongst the people. There is an urgent need to find negotiation strategies for these little stories to be synthesised, yet at the same time avoiding sensitive cultural issues. These sensitive cultural issues include notions that Fijians do not do well in education because they are lazy and stupid, and that the parents do not supervise their children’s school work or emphasise the importance of school. But the i-Taukei claims that those who make these allegations have been allowed into the conceptual space of the i-Taukei but cannot understand the relationships and their operations in that space, especially the notion that the chief is supreme there.

The dialogue showed that there is not a single Fijian view on education even amongst very close friends like these. Thus differences with those with different
interests could be greater. This brings to the fore the notion of the heterogeneity of the population. The human factor is very important in discourses that involve people and must be analysed with qualitative methods. While tables and diagrams may provide a conceptual frame, the narratives are very important and must not be silenced if a clearer picture of the situation is desired.

Thus having presented the spaces and the places of the Pacific, some different perspectives of the Pacific Islanders and their education systems and their problems, it is clear that there is a need for an alternative system of education. Within this thesis, the alternative that I present is DE. I present the reasons why I used this mode in Chapter 4. Briefly, there are three reasons. First, I work within DE and thus write about my work within this thesis. Second, is because the reality is that the education systems of the world have become too expensive, and so cheaper alternatives are being opted for. DE is one of these cheaper options. Finally, I use DE as a metaphor for the resistance to colonial education. I write in some detail about this in Chapter 4.

1.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter started by presenting the contexts which consisted of the place - the Pacific Islands, the people - the Pacific Islanders, their relationships to each other, and how these were affected by colonisation, especially through
education, Christianity and modernity. However, in presenting these data, the perspective that was used shifted between a detached scientific one (for example the presentations in the tables, as an outsider) and a postcolonial one (for example the discussions about the data in the tables, as an insider/outsider). This method of writing was used as I considered writing as an integral part of the knowledge building process therefore my writing emulated the shifts that were occurring in my thoughts.

Why did I use this writing technique? I wrote thus to show, by doing, what I was saying. I was problematising our history and pre-history by writing my version of history. I tried hard not to convey to the reader that this is the true history, but that this is an alternative to the history that I learned at school within a colonial education. An education that said we were primitive, thus our ‘pre-history’, our nothingness, before the whiteperson came and our history began.

I write also to dialogue with the work on ethnographers and anthropologists who came and continue to come to the Pacific to document us, as objects. These scholars described the similarities and the diversities amongst the PICs by naming them and through the names bestowed a hierarchy amongst the peoples themselves. My dialogue consists of deconstructing the imposed ‘names’ of the peoples’ and their lands. This strategy introduced a method of analysis that I use throughout this thesis, a strategy which calls for the dismantling of binary oppositions and borders that were erected by the dominant for the subjugation of their other.
Having set up my theoretical frames and standpoints, I moved on to describe the DE in the Pacific through a survey of selected DE institutions which illustrate some of the different emphases of this project. In doing this, I have tended to homogenise but not to exploit in order to give the reader a feel for the complexities of the people at the margins in an attempt to tell our story from our many different perspectives. Notwithstanding, the influence of our colonisers is always beneath the surface, structuring what is being described. For the colonialists brought their version of distance education to the Pacific and in following their example, 'Fiji' is 'taking their' modified version of that education to the other 11 countries within the USP consortium.

I now turn to Chapter 2 and present what is happening in DE in the Pacific.
CHAPTER TWO

AN OVERVIEW OF DISTANCE EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Section 2.0 provides an introduction to the chapter. Section 2.1 answers the question 'Why distance education?' Section 2.2 presents a survey of Distance Education (DE) in the Pacific, excluding DE at USP. An important point made in section 2.2 is the importance of DE to the developments in the Pacific. It very briefly documents the process of DE in selected institutions of the Pacific. The institutions discussed are: New Zealand Correspondence School, Pacific Theological College, College of Distance Education, University of Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands College of Higher Education. In presenting the process of DE, a special place is reserved for the USP, as it is the major focus of this thesis.

Section 2.3 presents the DE at The University of the South Pacific. It draws from selected commentaries of community spokespersons, administrators, educators and students of the USP. It summarises some major events associated with DE at the USP and asks some fundamental questions. The issues of technology in the program are given prominence.
Section 2.4 presents the problems of DE in the Pacific. Section 2.5 is a summary of my thoughts and in it I ask myself questions about this project of mine.

2.1 WHY DISTANCE EDUCATION?

In the last chapter I presented the problems of the education systems, traditional and formal, and suggested that DE was a possible alternative for the Pacific. As suggested, the two major problems were the conflicts between traditional and formal education systems, and the huge costs of the formal systems with no reduction in the need for education for at least the next twenty years, because of the continuing reduction in the ages of the Pacific populations.

The first reason for DE then is the lower costs. The relationship of DE to cost reduction is well-documented (Dhanarajan, Ip, Yuen, & Swales, 1994; Hendey, 1994; Paul, 1990; Pillai & Naidu, 1991; Rumble, 1983; Smith, 1988; Wah, 1992). The notion is that with DE, the expense related to the huge teachers' salaries, that I discussed in Chapter 1, will be drastically reduced. The cost of expensive buildings, science laboratories and industrial arts equipment will be shared rather than duplicating them for each of the small island states. The strategy being that this equipment is taken from island to island rather than duplicating it for each of the islands. The issue then becomes one of scheduling i.e. time then is the cost and not finance. But this is what I meant
when I mentioned in Chapter 1 that alternative ways of looking at, and alternative solutions to, the problems of education in the Pacific are required.

Apart from the financial advantages of DE, is its ability to make available an innovative and flexible system of education (Holmberg, 1989). Evidence of this is shown by the different approaches to education that DE has produced ranging from various technological practices: audio-graphics, tele-conferencing, video-conferencing; and various innovative strategies: flexi-mode learning and independent learning (Holmberg, 1983; Kirkwood, 1995; Markowitz, 1983; Ortner, Graff, & Wilmersdoerfer, 1992; Perraton, 1982a; Smith, 1984). This ability for innovation inherent in DE practices is one of the strands of this thesis. ‘Mauritius College of the Air, for example, was able to introduce technical and practical subjects to the school curriculum by developing courses for use by teachers and students’ (Perraton, 1991 : 2). In a sense this is the strand of DE that allows its practitioners and students to resist the colonising influences to education that I wrote about in Chapter 1, especially the influence of the silencing of traditional education. Although the problems of conflicts between traditional and formal education are more complex, and cannot be broadbrushed by an appeal to the innovative ability of DE, I posit DE as one of the strategies for the resolution of those problems. Used in this way DE will resolve many of the secondary effects of DE which are related to the conflicts between traditional and formal education (Wah, 1995, 1997a). It will enable the learner and the practitioners to work together to form coalitions between traditional and formal education rather than the current practice which
denigrates the traditional education. This is possible if the conceptual frame that is suggested in this thesis is operationalised as suggested in Chapter 4. This is the second reason for opting for DE.

The third reason for DE is related to access of education for those in the Pacific who have missed their first chance at formal education and also for those who want a second chance at it. DE allows a wider section of the community to access education, as it is generally available to anyone who wants to use that mode. Issues of equality of opportunity within education are provided by DE. Of importance in this regard is the provision via the internet of DE courses to students in the Pacific Islands.

Currently, it is possible for Pacific Island students to study for a distance course that is offered in developed countries. The only proviso is usually that the students would need to have regular access to the internet so that interaction between the students and teachers are possible. The problems and the issues that are important in this regard relate to the cultural and contextual sensitivity of this provision. Should students enrol for these courses when there are similar courses that have been designed for the Pacific Islander and provided by an institution that is sensitive to the learning needs of these students? By the same token, should the courses that are available in the DE mode by Pacific DE providers be accessible to students outside of that region? These are challenges that the DE providers and users must respond to. The position that I take in response to these questions in this thesis is that both the providers and
the users of DE in the Pacific must clearly analyse the reasons for the education that they are undertaking. Rather than opting for one or the other of these positions, I prefer to suggest that the reasons for wanting the education should dictate the choice. For example, USP should provide some of its DE courses to students outside the region so that those students who are interested in the Pacific and things Pacific can learn with a Pacific provider. Similarly, students wanting to migrate outside the Pacific region or wanting to obtain an international recognition of their qualifications and abilities should be able to opt for courses from outside of the region.

The fourth reason for DE is 'to provide continuing education to meet the changing requirements of people working in various walks of life' (Reddy, 1988c: 6). This reason enables people to upgrade their skills and knowledge while they are working. Therefore it helps with the human capital development of the country.

The fifth reason for providing DE in the Pacific is evident from the data presented in Table 2.1. That table shows that the majority of the PICs have people living in rural areas, areas where formal education is not available or available in a substandard form. By providing an education for the people where they are, especially an education that does not denigrate the things traditional, DE may help to slow the rural urban drift that is becoming a major problem in the PICs. Having presented the reasons for DE for the Pacific, I now turn to present descriptions of selected DE providers there.
Table 2.1: Distribution of populations in USP member Nations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cooke</td>
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<td>10886</td>
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Source:
South Pacific Commission (Commission, 1994: 40)
* 1996 Fiji Census of population and Housing (p. vii)
(I need to make the point that for most of the countries of Polynesia: Cook Islands, Niue, Tonga, Tokelau and Samoa, Auckland is the major urban centre. This fact adds another dimension to the already complicated picture that I am trying to paint in this Chapter.)

2.2 DESCRIPTIONS OF SELECTED DE PROVIDERS

2.2.1 Descriptions of selected providers
The DE providers in the Pacific include:

- primary schools: The New Zealand Correspondence School (NZCS), the College of Distance Education (CODE);

- secondary schools: NZCS, CODE, the preliminary level courses at USP and the Solomon Islands College of Higher Education (SICHE);
• theological colleges: The Pacific Theological College (PTC) and the Adventist College;
• technical colleges: The Fiji Institute of Technology, the Samoa Polytechnic, the Solomon Islands College of Higher Education;
• medical schools: The Fiji School of Medicine (FSM), the Fiji School of Nursing (FSN), SICHE;
• professional development providers: The Rapid College, International Correspondence School (ICS), Commonwealth Youth Program (CYP), USP;
• internet based courses offered by a number of institutions from Australian (University of Southern Queensland), Indian (Indira Gandhi National Open University) and American providers;
• non-formal education providers: Basic English, Basic Writing; and
• credit courses at universities: USP, UPNG, University of Technology (Lae), University of Guam, SICHE, University of Southern Queensland, University of Central Queensland, Monash University, Deakin University, Massey University.

I have selected a number of groups and the above list as 'representative' institutions. I need to make the point that there are similarities in the operations of the selected group, therefore rather than repeating the commonalities each time, I present them in a general section before I describe the selected group in detail. As much as possible, I have tried, in this section of descriptions, to do just that, present descriptions rather than including any critique of the systems being described. Two groups of providers of distance education that I have not
included because documentation concerning their activities are not available are the commercial correspondence schools (for example International Correspondence School which offers professional training like radio repairs, computer member courses for various computer societies) and, on-line distance education providers of which there are many that may be accessed with the right equipment and telephone lines.

Generally, DE providers in the Pacific are attached to an established educational institution. The handbooks of most of these providers show that they were established to provide educational opportunities to those persons who for various reasons could not enrol for face-to-face courses. Typically, a Pacific DE provider is centrally located on the main island of the nation, with study centres distributed at strategic locations around the country, usually in or near the capital city. Courses are developed and produced centrally and despatched to the study centres for collection by the students. The students, in turn, take their assignments to the centres that forward them to the institution for marking and comments. Thus the centres are much more than just study centres, they provide various types of support for the DE students, including counselling, advice of course requirements and procedures, venues for examinations, tutorial support and many other facilities like science and computer equipment. There is always a staff member at the centres, during office hours, to help with students' queries and to generally support them. Most of these operations were not designed for PICs; their structure, philosophy and
operations were imported by the expatriates who originally implemented the DE programs in these countries. This is a major issue within this thesis.

Today, many of the DE educators concede this point and have moved on to find solutions and implement changes. For example, in the early days of USP's DE, course materials were sent directly to the students, as many countries did not have extension centres. Assignments were also returned directly to the students. However, the lack of public infrastructure meant that the system would break down, since in those early days success in getting the materials to the students and getting assignments to the University were dependent on the generosity of many people who were not employed by the USP. So institutional strategies were designed to overcome the problem of a lack of a public network system.

2.2.2 Primary school DE and secondary school DE providers
As an example of this group I use CODE of Papua New Guinea and NZCS. CODE was selected because it is the latest DE provider in the PICs and its documentation provides a picture of many of the issues facing DE providers of the Pacific as opposed to DE providers in the Pacific. The former group was situated in the PICs, whereas the latter group operated from outside of the PICs, from Australia, New Zealand or some other country from outside the region. Another reason that I present CODE, is that I had been in DE for just under ten years before I had heard about CODE, and when I visited there, I was humbled by the work conditions, but impressed by the dedication and commitment to the work by the staff and students. I work in DE in the Pacific
and had not heard about this excellent provider of DE. I wanted to present its case. I chose the NZCS because it sends its courses directly to the students and interacts directly with them. It does not go through any intermediary to get to its students and also because it was a DE provider in the Pacific not of the Pacific.

CODE of Papua New Guinea started in 1957 in the Public Service Commissioner’s Department, but was moved to the Adult Education branch of the Department of Education with ‘haphazard staffing procedures’ (Lipscomb, 1984 : 102). In 1970, the demand for junior secondary courses was so high that applicants had to be held over a year ... the College had reached an impossible situation of over-demand and inadequate resources’ (Lipscomb, 1984 : 102). To cope with this over demand, the fees were increased 100% from $6 to $12 and studies at forms 1 and 2 level and the technical course were stopped. The enrolment was then 16,000. By 1979, its staff was cut from 31 to 21 and the enrolments were around 9,000. In 1982, the fees had risen to $40 per subject, almost 400% in just under ten years. By 1985, the government was subsiding fees and had opened branch offices in each of the 19 Provinces. It is interesting to note here that the UPNG DE program also used these centres. The arrangement between CODE and the centres was the same as that between UPNG and the centres. The institution provided the course materials, management of the programs and support of the students at the centres, and the provincial governments provided the centre buildings. Agreements of understanding were entered into by all the parties concerned.
Today, CODE offers two main programs, Secondary Studies (Grades 7-10) and a Certificate in Business Studies, the fees for which are US$45 and US$60 respectively. The government has allocated US$50,000 per year for needy students. The approximate budget per annum is US$1.6 million. The teaching is mainly via correspondence through study materials and textbooks, though there are face-to-face sessions at local study centres. There are over 27,000 subject enrolments. The establishment consists of 40 academic and 117 non-academic staff.

The second example is the NZCS. This school describes itself as ‘New Zealand’s school with no classrooms’. It enrols ‘over 20,000 students every year’ in ‘a choice of over 300 courses’. The school boasts that you can study ‘where you like’ and ‘when you like’ in areas ranging from ‘Mandarin to technicraft’. The learning materials are presented in various formats including booklets, tapes, and videos. In addition, students may contact their teachers via phone, fax, e-mail or snail mail (http://www.correspondence.school.nz/).

The cost of these courses varies according to location, age of student and whether they are attending a school. For example the costs for:

- an adult living in the Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau, ranges between $40-$80 plus airmail postage costs;
- an adult not living on one of the three PICs mentioned above, averages around $750 plus postage;
students attending school in Cooks, Niue and Tokelau, free if their school cannot provide the subject; and

- other students, ranging from $500 - $750 plus postage (Green, 1999).

The differential fees of NZCS illustrate the 'user pays' concept of funding education that is being implemented in the Pacific which this DE provider of the Pacific has introduced. USP's DE has a similar policy with students from outside the region paying more than regional students, but it has even gone further and set in motion plans to equate the fees of DE students to the fees of students studying on-campus (The University of the South Pacific, 1998: 36-37). Thus the economies of scale of DE are only being considered from the institution's perspective; the students of USP, and possibly those of other DE providers of the Pacific, have not been consulted on this issue.

2.2.3 Religious education DE provider

As an example of this group I use PTC. I selected this provider because it is a beginner in DE provision, yet it has incorporated many of the advantages and strengths of the DE provision with minimum difficulties. It carried out extensive dialogue with its learners before, during and after implementation of its first course, and it modified its operation as required. For example after the writing of a course on Bible Study Methods, a review team sought the support of an instructional designer from USP and also decided to offer that course as an interdisciplinary course rather than restricting it to the Biblical Studies Department students. The designers of this program have also, clearly, spent a lot of time thinking about the institution's approach to education and to DE in particular, as will be apparent from the following description.
This program started in 1989 as a joint program with the Pacific Council of Churches with the aim of 'training the church leadership in Micronesia, the majority of whom have not had any formal theological training' (PTC, 1996:82). PTC was given, and accepted, sole responsibility of the DE program for theological studies in 1993. By 1995, three courses had been written and students were enrolled. Since that time more courses have been written and the program is on target to meet its plan of full implementation.

The philosophy of the program at PTC deserves special mention, as I believe it has frog-leaped other DE programs in the Pacific, having learned from the mistakes of others and been informed by Freire's 'reflection and action [praxis] approach' (PTC, 1996:83). The aims of the program include: notions of creating an atmosphere for the people to educate themselves; notions of facilitating, developing and helping students articulate their own understanding of notions of social justice; and notions of conscienticising people to development issues in the Pacific region. The content of the courses was mapped out in consultations with the 'church leaders and participants', 'the people determined what they wanted to learn' and PTC 'facilitated the formulation of the curriculum based on the fact that their learners were to interact between themselves keeping in mind the three "W", words, work and worship' (PTC, 1996:83). The focus of the program was on 'generating creativeness, initiative and independence among the participants' (p. 83). The delivery was based on a 'three week training' program and other course work that was done at the student's pace. In this
sense this program could be called open learning. The number of students in this program is not more than two figures for all the courses.

The description of provider of tertiary, vocational and technical DE courses will be USP. The major reason for this is because details from other institutions are difficult to obtain, as they are not written down. There are also many gaps in the information. While this may seem limiting, it is important to remind the reader that USP is the premier DE provider in the Pacific. Its description follows.

2.3 DISTANCE EDUCATION AT USP

2.3.1 The Royal Charter
The University is charged with the maintenance, advancement and dissemination of knowledge by teaching, consultancy, research and other methods; and for providing, at appropriate levels, education and training responsive to the well-being and needs of the communities of the South Pacific. Extra-mural studies are particularly mentioned in the Royal Charter of the University (March 1970), as an important institutional activity. Since then the activities of Extension Services (University Extension, since 1992), and the responses to them from the communities, have demonstrated the demand for distance education courses in the region. It appears that there are many advantages for delaying to bring students to the campuses, therefore USP has resolved, through its distance education program, to take the university to the people. The University of the South Pacific’s DE program enroled its first
students in 1971. These 154 students studied towards a Diploma in Education. Those who graduated from these courses became registered teachers in the USP member nations. They were trained to teach humanity subjects and mathematics up to year 10.

2.3.2 The Regional Conference on Future Directions

The 1983 Regional Conference on Future Directions for the University of the South Pacific, a conference to 'discuss possible future roles of USP in relation to the educational manpower needs ...' recorded that the clearest and most consistent message from the region was the need for USP to establish a stronger presence in the countries it serves (The University of The South Pacific, 1983:3). The members of the Conference were mainly politicians and representatives from sponsor nations, Australia, New Zealand and England. The work of USP Extension Centres obviously is valued and appreciated, and most countries' delegates suggested enlarged facilities and an expanded role. In particular, requests were made for the wider availability of diploma and degree courses through the extension mode (The University of The South Pacific, 1983:6-7,15,18). On page 20 of the report, the delegates say 'It is our strong desire that greater emphasis be given to Extension Services'. Thus, from its humble beginnings, DE enrolments now surpass the on-campus mode. From a single program, USP currently offers seventeen certificates, eleven diplomas and one bachelors degree program (University Extension, 1996:13-15) wholly by the distance mode. There are many more programs that students enrol for in mixed mode, i.e., some courses are done via the external mode and
others, not available through this mode, are undertaken via on-campus or summer school mode.

2.3.3 The University Grants Committees

The last two University Grants Committee reports (University Grants Committee, 1991-1993; 1994-1996) also show stronger commitment towards extension studies. The 1995 UGC’s progress report noted that most of the Extension Centres were visited. This report also had a number of recommendations about the importance, roles, facilities and needs of these outposts. As a result of these UGC reports the USP continues to prioritise its DE work.

2.3.4 The structure of DE at USP

The USP caters for the tertiary education of the students from its consortium countries through face-to-face courses on three campuses (Laucala Campus in Suva, Fiji; Alafua Campus in Apia, Samoa; and Emalus Campus in Port Vila, Vanuatu) and distance education at its National Extension Centres in eleven of the countries (Tokelau does not have a centre).

I will use Kaye’s systems view of distance education to describe its structure. Kaye’s systems consists of: the operating activities (course subsystem and a student subsystem), logistical activities (administrative systems that procure and the resources required of the enterprise) and regulatory activities (operations and organisations of the environment) (Kaye, 1981). The USP’s
course subsystem activities are carried out by teams of academics from teaching departments and the University Extension's (UE) distance education unit (DEU). These teams design and produce the course materials. The USP's student subsystem activities are carried out by the staff drawn from the National Extension Centres and University Extension Headquarters (UEHQ) administrative and UE's despatch units. These staff ensures that the needs of the students are catered for within the constraints of the system. The logistical activities are carried out by staff in the central bursary, central administration, central maintenance section and UEHQ administration. These staff carries out functions related to the purchasing of equipment and consumables, maintenance and repair of buildings and equipment, staff recruitment, training, motivation and research. The regulatory activities are carried out by staff of the UEHQ and central administration. These activities include decision making and higher management functions of planning, financial management, project control and evaluation. Each of the above mentioned subsystems report to appropriate committees of the University Senate to which these committees report. For example, the regulatory and logistics activities subsystems report to the Distance Education Committee which is chaired by the Pro Vice Chancellor, Academic.

From the above description it is clear that the National Extension Centres (NECs) are the intermediary between the part of the Institution on the main campus and the students. All communication between the students and teaching campuses is via these Centres. There are, however, many
communications that circumvent this structure. The structure was devised and maintained because external students' requirements are usually placed on the 'back burner' by staff on-campus. The huge distances and high costs of communications make it necessary for a presence, on-campus, for the external students. That presence is the UEHQ. UEHQ follows up the requests and requirements of the students and National Centres with appropriate sections of the University.

The link between the students and the Centres suffers from the lack or inadequacy and high costs of the infrastructure (postal and telecommunications) in most of the USP member countries. In most countries students go to the Centres to collect their assignments—thus for the outer island students, their distance to their teachers on-campus is greater still. A number of Centres have their own in-country telecommunications system—all of them introduced through the efforts of the Centre Directors in those countries. (Fiji Centre has an audio conferencing facility that links Suva, Lautoka, and Labasa students. The Centre plans to expand this to more sites in the near future; Tonga Centre has a audio conferencing facility to Ha'apai and Va'va'u from Tongatapu; Kiribati Centre has an audioconferencing facility to the Northern Gilberts; Solomon Islands Centre has the SIDEN net that it shares with SICHE; Vanuatu Centre has a phone patch system from Vila to Santo; and the Cook Islands Centre has an audio conferencing facility from Rarotonga to Aitutaki.) For example the Outer Islands Telecommunications Systems of Kiribati and Tonga, and the Solomon Islands Distance Education Net (SIDEN). These systems provide
tutorial and administrative support for students on outlying islands. Through these systems students in remote areas are taught, messages passed onto them and their isolation factor reduced.

During the early half of 1990's UE resisted the introduction of video conferencing preferring to put the money into better support at the Centre level and especially for the students who did not have access to Centre facilities, the students on the outer islands. The reasoning behind this was that the preferred option of telecommunications, which included video conferencing capabilities, would further disadvantage the students who did not have access to the Centre facilities. However, once access systems for remote student have been clearly planned and implemented then videoconferencing could be considered. An example of the type of basic system that is being referred to is the installation of toll free telephone numbers at the Centres. The Fiji NEC has implemented this strategy and the Centre Director reported that the system is used extensively (University Extension, 1997:64).

The Centres deal with the students and UE deals with the academics and the administrators; thus they (Centres and UE) need to keep in close communication. The Communications System between the campuses and NECs is called the USPNet. Though the USP prefers to use that term to refer to its telecommunications network, within this thesis, I use USPNet to refer to the total communications systems of the USP. That system includes telephones, facsimile, snailmail, e-mail, USP's private mailbag (which is a
system of mailbags that are sent between NECs and the main campuses on a weekly basis) and a teleconferencing system.

The telecommunications component of USPNet started in 1973, as an experiment on ATS-1 under the auspicious of PEACESAT\textsuperscript{22}. Today, it operates a system of satellite linkups and High Frequency (HF) transceiver links. There are satellite links to Cooks, Fiji, Solomons, Tonga and Vanuatu; and HF transceiver linkups to Kiribati, Nauru, Niue, Tuvalu, Tokelau and Samoa. The hub of the USPNet is in Suva, Fiji. A number of attempts have been made to re-use PEACESAT terminals in some countries, but these have proved to be problematic. Telephone patches into the USPNet from countries not currently on the USPNet have been successful but are very expensive in the current financial arrangements. The USP has for a few years now, been trying to find sponsors for a newer and upgraded USPNet that will be able to provide more features than the current one. The current system is half-duplex and is in urgent need of repairs.

Student enrolment details are logged into computers at the NECs and downloaded to the central database on campus via the e-mail system. Even with all these communication paths there are often problems, since the USP operates across four time zones and two different days.

\textsuperscript{22}PEACESAT is a distance education satellite based telecommunications system that operates from the University of Hawaii.
In the 1970s, the Extension management system was very centralised, enrolments were vetted at Laucala campus, and course materials sent from there directly to the individual students. Subject specialists wrote the course materials, many of who had no knowledge of DE strategies or philosophies. From those early days until early 1990s, Extension Services was deemed, by many staff of USP, as the unit that provided typing and administrative servicing support—just a servicing unit—thus its name, Extension Services. By the 1990s, the USP realised the importance of Extension Services—it did more than just service the distance courses. It provided Continuing Education courses, communication links to the region\(^2\), and partook in the academic and professional planning of the University. Thus the change in name from Extension Services to University Extension in 1992:

As the number of courses and enrolments increased, so course development and student support became more refined. Course development teams mostly consisted of two staff: subject specialist(s) and course developer (instructional designer/editor); later it included a course development assistant and media specialist(s) whenever one was required. In the 1990s the course teams were expanded to four or five staff: the subject specialist, instructional designer, editor, course development assistant and media specialist (if required). The expanded course teams were an endeavour to make the course materials more suitable to the Pacific Island Extension students.

\(^2\) Region is the term used in the Pacific to relate the Island Nations
Student support services progressed from printed materials and satellite support to printed materials, audio and video tapes, satellite and audio conferencing, local, visiting and peer tutorials and increased library, science, computing and classroom facilities. The direct student support functions: counselling, enrolment vetting, tutorial support, and course materials distribution were transferred to Extension Centres towards the end of the 1970s. However, for equity purposes, the USP subscribed to its philosophy that the learning package was all that the student needed for studying the course—there was little need for additional support. This was put into place partly because of the USP's recognition that it could not provide tutorials and other services to students in the remote islands. This view has changed over the years and by 1996, a line item had been established for the first time for funds to be allocated from central sources for tutorial support in the Centres, and admission to certain courses are restricted due to the lack of access to facilities like science and computer laboratories. More ways are being sought to support the students.

2.3.5 External advisers
Subject Specialists from other Universities are invited to advise the teaching departments about their courses, programs and to make suggestions for change. These advisers have increasingly taken interest in distance education courses and a number of them are travelling to Extension Centres to assess first hand DE's impact in the member countries. Their recommendation that the teaching departments put more emphasis on DE has been encouraging.
2.3.6 The students

It is nonsensical to try to identify an ‘average’ student. Therefore, I present a picture of the type of persons who study through the USP’s DE program by describing the populations of PICs within the USP consortium—then go on to describe the characteristics of those students who enrol in courses.

Table 2.1: Enrolment: 1980 - 1995

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<td>Samoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:

Within the societies across the USP consortium:

- most of the population live in rural areas (except Polynesian countries where the large proportion of the populations live in Auckland, New Zealand),
- more than 50% of the population is below the age of 20, with 52.4% between the ages of 14 and 59 years;
- the mean years of schooling is 6.3 years;
• 48.9% are female;
• the population distribution is Melanesia—73.5%; Micronesia and Polynesia have 8.7% and 17.9% respectively;
• the GDP is US$1269.2;
• the HDI is 0.5;
• primary school enrolment is 97.5% and secondary enrolment 42.1%.

The 'average' extension student will mostly be described from data obtained about students who enrolled in 1994/95. The enrolments in each group are Melanesia—72.7%, Polynesia—16.9% and Micronesia—9.2%. But the question that I began to ask myself was what is an average student, apart from a construct from statistics?

In the earlier years there were many more males than females, however DE has been able to provide access to more women in recent years, 44% female. When comparing the external and internal students over 23 years of age, we find that there are 64.6% and 45.7% respectively in this age group. Although conclusive evidence cannot be presented, the little that has been documented indicates that there are more extension students living in urban areas than in rural ones. These students will often have access to electricity, running water and the Centres facilities. Most of the extension students have had at least fifth

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$^2$ Data were from the Pacific Human Development Report, United Nations Development Programme, Suva, Fiji; and Pacific Islands Populations, Produced by the South Pacific Commission for the International Conference on Population and Development, 5-13 September, 1994, Cairo, Egypt.

$^3$ Urban areas are defined as in South Pacific Commission, Population Statistics, Statistical Bulletin No. 42, p. 2. In which the main criteria is the predominant type of economic activity, i.e., a place qualifies to
form level education. Out of a cohort of students who enrol, just over 50% are expected to complete the course successfully, around 30% complete the course but fail, and 20% dropout, i.e., either not show up for examinations or withdraw (University Extension, 1995: 29). Contrary to common belief, most of the extension students live in urban areas, 70-100%. Other characteristics of the extension students are:

- they study in isolation however, wherever possible, they form informal learning groups and study together;
- have to master the language of instruction, English, before they can master the subject matter;
- are probably engaged in employment and in many cases could have a number of years experience in employment;
- have limited financial resources (the cost of fees, textbooks etc., very often represent great personal sacrifice) and even the small amounts available could have emergency calls made on them by the families or communities;
- are initially motivated but because they tend to be the elite in their community. There are a number of responsibilities from the workplace, families and communities which compete for their study times;
- may not have the support of friends, peers, family, and the community, and usually study under great opposition (this is one of the many contradictions of education in the Pacific);
- are usually having their first attempt at tertiary education;

be urban if the majority of its working population is engaged in activities other than fishing and agriculture; and the populations are concentrated in settlements of around 1,000 persons.
• usually have very limited reference and general reading materials available in the homes;
• usually do not have someone to turn to who understands and can sympathise and help them with their study problems as very few villagers would have studied to this level; and
• their access to a basic telephone and wordprocessor cannot be assumed.

2.3.7 The problems of DE at USP
Although English is the language of instruction at the secondary and post secondary levels, there are around 300 languages of which not more than 10% are from Polynesia and Micronesia.

In addition to having to cope with the problems inherent in DE and those extras brought about because of the sociological and economical context, transportation and telecommunication inadequacy, USP has to contend with the different and changing agendas of its consortium members. It is a credit to all those who work and study in this mode, either directly or indirectly, that the system has grown and continues to expand.

Everyone in the Pacific with a university degree is familiar with the face-to-face mode of teaching. However, the same cannot be said for distance teaching, practice, theory and ideology. Thus, Reddy’s (1988b) words are appropriate.

The tasks to be performed in open universities are very different from those performed in conventional universities. As a result, the persons working in
open universities need to be oriented and trained in distance education.

These universities need to evolve a culture of their own and anyone working in them must follow that culture. (p. 14)

The actual distances and times between students, local tutors and lecturers on campus, which have been compounded by the inadequacy of the local postal and telecommunications infrastructure, have necessitated the creation of ingenious methods of giving the assignments and learning materials to the students. For instance although there is a flight direct from Suva to the Marshall Islands, the assignments and learning materials are sent to the Marshalls either via Honolulu or Guam, because they have previously been off loaded from the Air Marshalls flight too many times due to the low cargo capacity of their planes. Anare Tuitoga (Centre Director of Marshalls Centre) describes how he gets assignments to students on the outer atolls, ‘we go down to the airport on the days that they have a scheduled flight and just give their packages to the pilots to deliver them or if we know someone going on the flight we ask them to deliver the packages for us. This is the same process that the students use to send us their assignments’ (Tuitoga, 1998).

Anare writes about the route of an assignment from a student on an outer atoll. The assignment is hand-written by the student, then taken to the airport, passed to the pilot or a passenger who promises to deliver it to the centre or a centre staff member waiting at the airport. At the centre the assignment is logged and sent to UEHQ in Suva via the USP mailbag system. On arrival at despatch
within UEHQ, the assignment is logged and hand-delivered to the marker. If the marker lives on another island (or country) it is sent to that marker by courier. The marker can take up to two weeks to mark an assignment. He/she returns the assignment to despatch at UEHQ, who puts it into the USP mailbag to the Centre. The Centres then forward the assignment to the students by one of the routes mentioned on the receipt of the assignment. This process is necessary because of the lack of an adequate postal system. If that system was satisfactory, some of the above steps could have been eliminated.

Apart from the technical barriers, personal communications, especially between the Centres and UE, are also vital. The ‘Pacific Way’ has been portrayed as a way of consensus and compromise. This can easily lead to complacency and lack of responsibility. There have been a number of cases of this within the USP system, however these are slowly giving way to more professionalism from both the senior and junior staff.

2.4 PROBLEMS OF DE IN THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

2.4.1 Lack of understanding of the cultures and spaces
The point that I am suggesting here is that there was not enough understanding of the cultures and spatialities, therefore the planning for the implementation of the DE programs was deficient. Due to these deficiencies, the planning and implementation of DE in the Pacific emphasised the creation of an infrastructure (the ‘how to do’) with little thought about the origins of the theoretical basis and justification (philosophical underpinnings) for the infrastructure being
implemented, and of the inter-relatedness of historicality, spatiality and sociality of the context in which the implementation was executed. Thus principles to guide the practice were past practice in another spatiality, rather than praxis.

2.4.2 Lack of public infrastructure
Returning to the notion of commonality, it should have been clear from the three tables (1.1, 1.2 and 1.3) presented above of the inadequacy of air, road and shipping transportation, postal and telecommunication infrastructure that are needed to support DE, especially the correspondence type of DE that is being used in the islands. However, there have been a number of initiatives that have been implemented to overcome these barriers but, unfortunately, the effects of these projects will not be felt for some time. Therefore, currently, the available telecommunications systems are used more for administration (especially contacts between institutional staff in the outposts and those at a central location) than teaching. Thus the systems of DE in the Pacific are basically at the low end of the technology. They are basically print, supplemented with telecommunications tutorials, local tutorials either conducted by peers or local tutors and visiting tutorials by staff from a central location. The need for face to face contact between the teachers and the learners is requested by both parties. Unfortunately, the attendance at such contact points has been very disappointing. Assignments and communication between the students and their teachers tend to be mainly via snail mail and as attachments to assignments.
2.4.3 Lack of institutional infrastructure
Since these DE systems were introduced because of the lack of finances to provide face-to-face education in isolated areas, the money which was initially poured into the DE ventures has dried up, leaving the systems to fend for themselves and for the staff at the ‘coal-face’ to make the necessary adjustments without appropriate compensations, usually because the institutional machinery can not cope with the needs of such systems.

2.4.4 Difficulties with new technologies
New technologies that were brought in by ‘outside’ help for supporting students and administrative tasks became white elephants either because of lack of applicability of them or lack of training of staff or high running costs. Further, methodologies are inputted into the area under study from institutions outside the region. These foreign institutions are well endowed with resources, trained and experienced personnel and the institutional infrastructure to support DE. Thus they assumed that the technologies that they donated would be useful. Unfortunately, the PICs DE institutions have experienced difficulties when attempting to adjust to these technologies, probably due to misfits of methodologies to the context.

2.4.5 Difficulties with English at a distance
The mention of methodologies leads me to think of the difficulties associated with the use of English as the language of instruction. By using this language exclusively, the institutions are sending strong signals about the inferiority of the local languages to their clientele. There is also a lack of experience with
'academic' English, the styles of discourse including specific genres, grammar, major works and silenced works within particular areas, thus students tend to resort to rote learning of passages which are reproduced in toto for assignments and examinations, and considered as plagiarism by teachers.

2.4.6 Implementation by expatriates with limited local understudies
The pivotal staff in the formative years of DE in the Pacific were persons from outside the region. Some of these persons were at the end of their careers and others at the very beginning. The latter group had very limited experience and training in this area but it was assumed that they knew more about DE than the Pacific Islander. The former group came with great ideas for their parts of the world. Irrespective of their agendas, these persons could usually get their way within institutional development plans - they knew the rules of the games within institutions, and played these to their section's advantage. Unfortunately, these sometimes did not fit with the students' needs, but were, rather, attempts to emulate the DE of Other countries in terms of modes of design, production and delivery of courses, course packages, support structures and administrative subsystems. Therefore many of the systems implemented were excellent for another place and time. They failed to deliver 'cheap, mass education'. The victims, the students, were blamed for the short term failure, and the 'local' distance educator was blamed for the long term one, since the implementers, the experts, had left and these locals could not continue with the excellent system that had been put in place by them.

26 Examples of new technologies brought in are: special phones for teleconferencing, e-mail systems,
But, the 'outside' help were not all 'bad'. Some tried to adapt their knowledge of DE to the Pacific setting and succeeded in working with the people so that the people could reach their prescribed goals. (An example of this is the DE program at PTC and CODE). Others have tried to get the people to fit into their perceived ideas about those people. Obviously, this latter group succeeded in setting up an elaborate infrastructure that looked fantastic and rivalled that found in other parts of the world, but the system was not sustainable and depended on further 'outside' help for its longevity. (An example of this is USP's telecommunications net).

2.4.7 Misunderstanding and unskilled of the demands of DE
The other point is that clientele of possible DE systems are not aware of the demands that they bring to bear on themselves when they choose to study by distance mode. This is because their life is organised around community activities rather than those of the individual, unlike the demands of DE that are oriented to the individual. The learners come to the DE programs as students, and expect to be treated as such, and when they are not they become disoriented. Their time management, independent study skills and information processing skills, especially in gleaning information from the learning package, are limited.

2.4.8 Isolation of the DE professional
The support for the PI DE professional has increased over the last two decades. This support can be conceived as support from the outside as well as internal support. Support from outside the region continues to be helpful. In this regard
the distance education associations and sponsors in Australia, (formerly Australian and South Pacific External Studies Association (ASPESA) now Open and Distance Learning Association of Australia (OODLA)), New Zealand (Distance Education Association of New Zealand (DEANZ)) and, recently, Commonwealth of Learning (COL) and England (International Council of Distance Education (ICDE)) have been very helpful. These institutions actively supported the formation of the Pacific Islands Association of Distance Educators (PIRADE), financially and through reciprocal membership arrangements.

Unfortunately, internal support has been neither organised nor widespread. It was hoped that the formation of PIRADE would fill that gap. However, PIRADE has had teething problems and has yet to make its presence felt. The major problem continues to be one of communication, thus it has been difficult to get a critical mass of PI DE providers to rally together to support one another. Problems of institutional rivalry, suspicion, feeling of either superiority or inferiority to the other institutions are made more difficult because of the expense in time and finance of communicating across institutions.

2.4.9 Dedicated staff in DE units
The other set of commonalities that I want to refer to are the strengths of DE in the Pacific. It is run by very dedicated staff who take on more than their normal workload and tend to work to limited time constraints and conditions, with very limited training and/or experience with DE, either in the teacher capacity or as a DE student. The key factor that I have found time and again in the Pacific is that the people at the coalface are committed to their work as educators. This, I
think, is the strength of the process; no barrier is considered insurmountable. Ways are found by the people on the ground to solve the problems that occur on a daily basis. Most of the work is done on a shoe string budget. It is as though the politicians want the work done but they don’t want to put in the required finances for infrastructure adaptation for DE, staff training for DE roles and staff and student resources to allow them to efficiently undertake DE studies.

2.4.10 Political without sound ideology
With hindsight it appears that the systems were a political tool. They appeared to be providing a needed service i.e., taking up the slack left by an inadequate face-to-face system, yet on careful deconstruction it is clear that the situation is much more complex and a reconstruction, to fit the cultures and spatialities, is required.

2.5 SUMMARY

This Chapter started with a discussion of the following reasons for the use of DE in the Pacific:

• the lower costs of that mode of education,
• the ability of the DE mode to make available an innovative and flexible system of education including the use of technological solutions,
• the access to the required education for all persons who desired it,
• the access to the required education where the people were, and
• the provision of continuing education to meet the changing requirements of people working in various walks of life.

The Chapter then described in detail the DE student of USP. After providing a brief history of the DE provision in the Pacific, the Chapter described selected DE providers before focussing on the USP’s DE operations. Consequently, the problems of DE in the Pacific were highlighted as:
• The lack of understanding of the cultures and spaces and thereby the implementation of inappropriate strategies especially by expert DE expatriates,
• the lack of adequate public infrastructure, for example insufficiently low teledensity and telephony penetration,
• the lack of institutional infrastructure within the DE providers (these are usually designed around the face-to-face mode),
• the various difficulties with the new technologies in that environment,
• the difficulties with using English as the language of instruction for students whose mother tongue is another language,
• the students and staff being unskilled in the demands of DE and their misunderstanding of its requirements,
• the isolation of the DE professional, and
• the political will to provide the DE approach without appropriate and sound ideological and philosophical foundations.

Therefore, having set the context and highlighted the problems of DE in the Pacific, alongside the importance of that mode of education, I turn to Chapter 3 where I present the dominant discourses, issues and developments of DE, to provide the basis for the discussion that I expound in Chapter 5. I need to do this as I need to show that the system used in the Pacific are based on the transportation of systems developed and used successfully in Other locations donot mean that they would be suitable for the USP region. These issues are discussed in more detail, once the various stages of context, theoretical frame and methodology have been pressed in the next two Chapters.
CHAPTER THREE

DISTANCE EDUCATION—DOMINANT DISCOURSES, ISSUES AND DEVELOPMENTS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

What did I mean by the notions of dominant discourse of DE that shaped DE in the Pacific? Dominant, in the sense that a group of countries imposed their ideologies about DE on another group of countries. But this is contrary to the theoretical frame in which I am writing my work. Clearly, what I am doing is homogenising a set of countries and their ideologies, a practice that a postcolonial theorist would reject. The way that I move forward is to set up my parameters for analysis, contingently, only for the purpose of analysis, then discard them, as they become redundant, when the discussion moves on.

The thesis is that one group of countries' views on DE have unduly influenced the way other countries think about DE and thereby design their DE practices. The group of dominant countries include Australia, Canada, England, Germany, New Zealand, Sweden and the United States of America. Why do I put these countries into that group and not others?

First, the language in which these countries' theorisation was written or translated into was English. The major journals and books on DE were written in English. Therefore, works of academics from these countries formed the majority of articles that appeared in journals and books on DE, thereby
dominating that discourse. DE practices in former English and American colonies adopted practices and conceptualisations of their former masters. For example, DE practices in Africa: University of South Africa, University of Nigeria; DE practices in Asia: Universiti Sains Malaysia, Indira Gandhi National Open University; and DE practices in the Pacific Islands: CODE, UPNG and USP.

Second, the academics in the dominant countries initiated the theorisation of DE, and shaped the space of DE discourse by defining which activities and components constituted DE and which did not. Examples of these works are shown in Table 3.1

**Table 3.1: Key sources of distance education development in dominant countries**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>(Evans &amp; Nation, 1991; Evans &amp; Nation, 1989; Gough, 1979; Gui ton, 1979;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gui ton, 1981; Smith, 1984; White, 1982)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>(Morison &amp; Saraswati, 1988; Mugridge, 1992; Mugridge &amp; Kaufman, 1986;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paul, 1989)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>(Bates, 1981; Kaye &amp; Rumble, 1981; Marriot, 1981; Rumble, 1983; Smith,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1988; Stewart, 1978)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>(Bewley, 1982; Bewley, Kinella, &amp; McVeagh, 1975; Doulis, 1992)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>(Mackenzie, Christensen, &amp; Rigby, 1968; Moore, 1973; Wedemeyer, 1977;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>Wedemeyer &amp; Childs, 1981)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>(Bååth, 1979; Holmberg, 1974; Willen, 1983)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Many of the key sources of DE (Table 3.1) described the developments of ‘traditional’ distance education history, relating the stories about the transitions from correspondence education through to open learning, mixed mode teaching and flexi-mode in dominant countries. There was an increasing sophistication of the DE mode project that was linked to the technology being used.

These works were seminal in separating DE into a field of education distinct from conventional face-to-face education. They provided descriptions and numerous case studies of DE, which resulted in various views, and definitions of DE. These different views emphasised different aspects of the DE process as will be shown in 3.4.1. However, over time, these different views and definitions which only emerged in the late sixties were synthesised such that DE was regarded as being constituted of five independent elements which ‘remain constant essential components even if their content is different in separate institutional situations’ (Keegan, 1986: 49). In other words, the academics in these countries decided what was to be DE and what was not to be DE. Interestingly, when they decided that DE was an acceptable mode of education in its own right, an acceptance that was signalled by the establishment of the United Kingdom Open University (UKOU), Open universities were also established in many other countries as is clear from the dates shown in Table 3.2. Prior to that, the DE mode was tolerated so long as it remained on the periphery of conventional education.
**TABLE 3.2: Survey of selected distance education institutions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Start date</th>
<th>Enrollment</th>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Start date</th>
<th>Enrollment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University of Wisconsin - Extension, USA</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>University of South Africa, South Africa</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>130,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania State University, USA</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>College of Distance Education, Papua New Guinea</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>35,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Nebraska, Lincoln, USA</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>The University of the South Pacific, Fiji</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>15,953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand Correspondence School, New Zealand</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>2,100</td>
<td>Allahabad Open University, Pakistan</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>290,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massey University, New Zealand</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>Central Radio and Television University, China</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>540,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Southern Queensland, Australia</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>Korean National Open University, Korea</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>268,535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open University, United Kingdom</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>160,000</td>
<td>University of the Air, Japan</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>68,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athabasca University, Canada</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>25,312</td>
<td>University Tenbuka, Indonesia</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>357,843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Universitas, Germany</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>56,000</td>
<td>Indira Gandhi National Open University, India</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>430,832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deakin University, Australia</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>26,000</td>
<td>National Open School, India</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>425,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish Association of Distance Education, Sweden</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>Sukhothai Thammathirat Open University, Thailand</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>200,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:**
http://www.icdl.open.ac.uk/icdl/geograph/index.htm

Table 3.2 shows that most open universities in dominated countries and dominant countries were established after the UKOU (Rumble & Keegan, 1982). The other interesting point that Table 3.2 illustrates is the much larger number of students enrolling for courses in DE in dominated countries than in dominant countries. Yet the theories which informed practices in these
countries came from the dominant countries which continue to have the greatest influence on the trends within DE.

However, not only the views and definitions of DE or the organisational structure of the institutions of DE but, also, the theoretical basis for the DE systems were introduced from the dominant countries. The dominated countries wanted the output of the DE systems to be a more educated person at a lower cost, so they imported systems that were working well in the dominant countries. They wanted the outputs, but they did not consider the need for additional public infrastructure, the implications of their choice of definitions of DE that were chosen, the organisational structures which were necessary for DE success nor for its theoretical frames. These were crucial issues of DE that the DE practitioners had to contend with after the decisions were made to implement that mode of education.

In the previous chapter, I wrote of Distance Education (DE) in the Pacific. In this chapter, I retreat to write about the dominant paradigms of DE, those paradigms which enabled DE practitioners and theorists to slowly make inroads into academia in metropolitan countries. Where appropriate I have linked this discussion with DE practices in the Pacific. The DE paradigms currently dominating the field and practice were formed by and guided the practice of DE in Australia, Canada, Europe, United States of America and New Zealand. DE was viewed as economically efficient and effective and therefore it would be
useful to the countries that were experiencing problems in educating all their people because of the high costs of face-to-face education.

Also in this Chapter, I discuss a brief history of DE and thereby introduce many important issues of this mode of education, and present a selection of the context in the countries whose practices of DE dominate the world DE scene, the growth of theorisation and the major theories that continue to dominate DE literature, practice and research.

3.2 INTRODUCTION TO DISTANCE EDUCATION

3.2.1 A brief history
The idea of an 'open university' was first hinted at in 1884 (Marriott, 1981 : 15). Marriott claimed that the driving force for such an institution came from two directions. The first was that the demand for education was no longer the preserve of the elite, the masses wanted it too. The second was that the existing educational bodies were unable to provide for this demand of the masses. One such body, the London Society, resolved to 'propagate an ambitious idea of the place of Extension in a future teaching university' (p. 27). The growth in the number of DE providers was slow till the opening of the Open University of United Kingdom in the 1969. I return to this history of DE in sections 3.2.4 to 3.2.7.

DE was 'developed as a creative political response to the increasing inability of the traditional university structure to grow bigger...'. The university ... in effect,
reach[ed] out, offering not seats, but opportunity to learn’ (Hall, J., 1996:10). For example the establishment of the UKOU can be traced back to a speech that Harold Wilson made in September of 1963 (Smith, 1988). The politicians needed to push this idea as the educators of that day were sceptical of the notion of an open university, but there were insufficient funds to continue with the status quo. As more countries adopted the premise that education was a right of the masses, distance education became the economic saviour that they turned to for the implementation of the notion of ‘mass education’. Institutions developed their own strategies and philosophies for responding to these clients.

3.2.2 Separation of DE from mainstream education
The separation of Extension from mainstream education and the problems relating to standards and the ‘democratising idealism’ are documented in books with similar titles, *A backstairs to a degree*, Mariott (1981) and *Learning at the Back Door*, Wedemeyer (1981). Both books describe alternative entry points into academic courses. The titles of the books give the perception that these approaches were somehow inferior or even illegitimate, a view that prevails today. Many academics frowned upon such entrances into academic studies deeming them inferior and/or dishonest. The premise was that everyone should enter by the same door—leaving open and unanswered the issues of ‘cultural reproduction’ and ‘cultural capital’ and the lack of social justice, especially that of equality by homogenising the clientele (c.f Apple, 1979; Bourdieu, 1986; Peters, 1994).
The implication of the previous paragraph is that the graduates from the DE modes are inferior. And, by extension, that the graduates from increasingly less sophisticated DE institutions would be more inferior than the DE graduates from a more sophisticated DE institution. But both sets of students are considered not good enough to enter the universities by the normal channels so they have to apply to some inferior form that will grant them entry. However, this prejudice against the DE mode and its students has been proved wrong (Keegan, 1990; Lockwood, 1995; Peters, 1994).

However, the reality or pragmatics of the situations were not made known. The peoples' needs for education were different and some people merely wanted to study via that mode, others had no choice for further education except by that mode, and then there were the workers and 'dropouts', the second chance enrollees. Clearly many of these learners were not inferior and, rather than DE being the backdoor, it was the front door for many of the DE students in dominated countries as their education systems could not cope. This is clearly the case for many of the students of USP's DE program (See Bolabola and Wah 1995).

In Sweden, Norway and Germany the view was that 'practically any subject at practically any level can be learnt by distance study' (Holmberg, 1974 : 45). Today, especially in the first world countries, DE continues to be integrated into mainstream education: 'interactive education' (University of Southern Queensland) 'mixed mode' (University of Queensland), 'fleximode' (Deakin
University) and 'dual mode' (University of Wisconsin). It is interesting to note that, in spite of this trend, certain single mode DE institutions such as the Open University in the United Kingdom (UKOU), Athabasca University in Canada and Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) continue to survive. Whereas in the second and third world countries, DE is looked at as the answer to the educational needs of the masses and is still separated from mainstream education, either by being situated in single mode institutions or by operating as a separate entity in dual mode institutions. Notwithstanding this trend, experts to 'dominated' countries from dominant countries tend to recommend that DE in dominated countries should be developed as DE in dominant countries—with similar pedagogical basis, increasing technological sophistication and recommendations to have more face-to-face strategies included in DE mode especially tutorials. Yet the aims and expected outcomes of DE in these different countries were, and to a certain extent remain, diametrically opposed.

Look at what Perraton (1982b) says.

Distance Education is taken up more seriously in the south than in the north. That is the most striking difference between the two. In the west, it has been used mainly to help small minorities of students beyond the reach of ordinary schools and colleges .... In the east distance teaching is more important ... Stalin chose it as a way of increasing the production of technicians and technologists.... In the south, it has come far nearer [the] centre, and has been used for example in the vital task of training teachers in a dozen or more countries. (p. 16)
So not only were the aims of distance education different but they were also used for different purposes in different parts of the world. The preferred and actual outcomes, student profiles and approaches to learning are also different for these different countries (Chief & Hola, 1992; Ekins, 1992; Inglis, 1995; Landbeck & Mugler, 1993). For example the DE students in the Pacific usually study in a second, third or fourth language (Matthewson, 1991). Whereas in dominant countries learners usually study at a distance in their own languages. The students in dominant countries are used to a reading culture (they like reading books or sending letters), whereas the students in dominated countries are used to an oral culture (they prefer to communicate face-to-face or on the telephone rather than through print). Yet these latter students are expected to do well in the mode of education that depends on a method of education that is influenced by the experience of the correspondence schools, especially in relation to the preparation of the study packages—a methodology of 'teaching by writing' (Peters, 1994:49). Thus, by implication, and method of learning by reading. 'The face to face method of teaching is based on common sense, pragmatic approaches and didactic recipes' (p. 48).

3.2.3 Definitions of DE

The definitions provided in this section answer the question 'What does the term mean?'. They not only serve as convention for usage in discussion but in addition explain the defined terms by giving an account of their prior usage. Scheffler refers to these types of definitions as descriptive definitions (Keegan, 1990; Scheffler, 1968).
Some DE definitions tend to describe what is done or should be done within the institutions and between the students and the institution and others describe the interaction between the students and the institution. However, since these views of DE come from different countries they emphasise different aspects of DE. "Moreover, the boundaries between "distance", "open", "extramural", "extension", "correspondence", and "flexible education" have become radically blurred" (Matthewson, Fairbaim-Durlop, Wickham, & Wah. 1996 : xii). Therefore, within this thesis I look towards maintaining a flexible definition. That DE is an education system whereby the teacher is the educational institution rather than an individual, and the students, only very occasionally, during the period of instruction, may come into face to face contact with their teacher. An added restriction that is imposed on the term within this thesis is that it is practised within tertiary institutions unless explicitly stated to the contrary.

Rather than building on one of these conceptualisations of DE, I prefer to draw from them and to construct DE starting with the students' needs, needs not only about support for the students' learning, but also the content of the materials themselves, in the changing world. To be able to do this I need to trace the development of various definitions of DE and their synthesis.

For Dohmen (Cited in Keegan, 1986), 'Distance education is the systematically organised form of self-study in which student counselling, the presentation of learning materials and the securing and supervising of students' success is carried out by a team of teachers, each of whom has responsibilities. It is made possible at a distance by means of media which can cover long distances' (p. 39). Clearly, Dohmen's definition emphasised what the institution did in the DE process. The students appeared to be an object out there to which something was done. They were assumed to be passive.

For Peters (1973), 'Distance teaching/education is a method of imparting knowledge, skills and attitudes which are rationalised by the application of division of labour and organisational principles as well as by the extensive use of technical media, especially for teaching materials which makes it possible to instruct great numbers of students at the same time wherever they live. It is an industrialised form of teaching and learning' (p. 41). Peters' definition emphasised the necessity for technical media to enable the institution to reach masses of students by industrialising the teaching and learning processes. Peters acknowledged the students learning was part of the DE process and that learning was also industrialised. Once again the emphasis in this definition is clearly what the institution is doing to the students out there.

For Moore (1973), 'Distance teaching may be defined as the family of instructional methods in which the teaching behaviours are executed apart from the learning behaviours, including those that, in a contiguous situation, would be
performed in the learner's presence, so that the communication between the teacher and the learner must be facilitated by print, electronic, mechanical or other devices' (p. 664). Within his definition Moore, like Peters, wrote about the students' involvement in the process. It is also interesting how he has taken the notion of education, broken it into teaching and learning and situated these in difference spaces. Like the two previous definitions Peters includes the necessity of technical media.

For Holmberg (Cited in Keegan, 1986), distance education is 'the various forms of study at all levels which are not under the continuous, immediate supervision of tutors present with their students in lecture rooms or on the same premises but which, nevertheless, benefit from the planning, guidance and teaching of a supporting organisation' (p. 3). Interestingly, Holmberg does not mention the use of technical media in his definition, rather he refers to planning on the part of the DE provider to provide support for the students who are learning in a space different from where the teaching behaviour took place. By implication this leaves the responsibility of communications between the students and the teacher, with the teacher as the party that must plan for it. In other words the two-way communications are not left to chance, they are planned for and are often integrated into the learning package.

These four definitions formed the basis for further definitions of which there are many. Others include that of the United States Distance Learning Association which defines 'distance learning as the acquisition of knowledge and skills
through mediated information and instruction, encompassing all technologies
and other forms of learning at a distance' [c.f. \http://www.usdla.org/define.html].

A synthesis of various views of DE is provided by Keegan (1990) which states
that the DE process itself comprises:

- quasi-permanent separation of a learner and a teacher throughout the length
  of the teaching process;
- quasi-permanent separation of a learner from a learning group throughout
  the length of the learning process;
- participation in a bureaucratised form of educational provision;
- utilisation of mechanical or electronic means of communication to carry the
  content of the course; and
- provision of means for two-way communication so that the learner can
  benefit from or initiate dialogue. (p.105)

This synthesis of DE is one that has come to be accepted by professionals
within the field today. If a practice does not fit with these components then it is
not DE. For example learning from teach yourself books, or programmed
learning texts or television teaching programs are not DE as these are all only
one way communication systems.

The DE practitioners from dominant countries had their own definitions of DE.
These definitions were synthesised by Keegan (1986 : 42 - 52). With the
introduction of more telecommunications and computer technology to DE the
field diverged. DE was evolving at a very fast rate. It had become a lot of different things and new definitions and vocabularies of DE have continued to emerge in the literature.

Thus different categorisations of DE providers were constructed. For example Peters categorised DE institutions as either an eastern model or a western model (Keegan, 1990: 117) and Keegan and Rumble's categorisation was based on organisational structures (pp. 122 - 123). There are also different perspectives of DE (See 3.4.1). The categorisation that I use is shown in Table 3.3. I chose this categorisation over the others as it is based on a specific period of time which is appropriate for this discussion on the history of DE. Table 3.3 shows this evolution through four generations of DE provision.

Table 3.3: Categorisation of distance education into generations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Period</th>
<th>Characteristic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Generation</strong></td>
<td>Late 1800's, early 1900's. Correspondence courses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second Generation</strong></td>
<td>1970's. Open Universities. TV and film.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third Generation</strong></td>
<td>1980's. Video cassettes, broadcast, satellite, and cable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fourth Generation</strong></td>
<td>1990's. Computer-based, web-based, network-assessed DE.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:
http://www.phs.org/adultlearning/als/diweek/ocr.htm

3.2.4 *First generation - Late 1800's - early 1900's*

'A correspondence course provides actual teaching by itself and is thus a substitute for both the textbook and the exposition of a teacher' (Holmberg, 1960: 8). The student did not need to be in physical proximity to the teacher in
order to learn. In practice, the essence of correspondence education was mediated subject presentation, and mediated tutor-student interaction. Mediated subject presentation meant that the subject was not presented to the students directly by the teacher, it had to be transmitted with the help of media. Mediated tutor-student interaction meant that the teacher who prepared the course did not teach it, it was taught through other persons and/or by technological means. The subject matter was presented to the students in a format that attempted to overcome the physical barrier between the tutor and the student. The two-way communication between the tutor and the learner that is considered essential for learning to occur was affected, indirectly, through print. In the case of the children in the Australian outback, the print was supplemented by ‘the labour of wives and mothers as supervisors and teachers’ (Bolton, 1986:12).

The correspondence education was for those out there, the less fortunate because they could not attend face-to-face classes. But since it depended on wives and mothers, the view was that it could not be used for sophisticated education, as those ‘tutors’ were untrained (p. 12). Thus in many cases correspondence education was clearly second best (p. 1). And it certainly did not encourage tutor student interaction (p. 12). ‘Correspondence education ... was designed for a rural minority whose educational attainments were not expected to be especially high’ (p. 13).
Early attempts at correspondence education include: Sweden, where in 1833 the teaching of composition was affected by correspondence; England, where Isaac Pitman in 1840 taught shorthand by sending lessons on postcards to his students; and North America where Thomas Foster in 1891 'attempted to teach mining and methods of preventing mine accidents by correspondence courses' in the mining district of eastern Pennsylvania (Holmberg, 1974: 4). Clearly, correspondence was possible because of an efficient public postal system.

Correspondence schools have existed since the early 1900's and continue to this day. Examples of correspondence schools are the Australian School of the Air and New Zealand Correspondence School. These two schools however, have evolved to a much-improved system of correspondence education. One in which there is a lot of support for the students and they are encouraged to contact the institution when they encounter problems.

British Commonwealth universities offered correspondence courses for teachers who were working in rural areas in the 1920's (Bolton, 1986:13). Other European and North American universities started offering these courses in 1880's (Holmberg, 1995:48). Correspondence education has occupied the Cinderella position of being 'beautiful and presentable' but only when it is in the interests of the conventional education:

In principle it offered no challenge to notions of excellence or character development ... For that reason the orthodox (when they
did not reject the idea of Extension utterly) were impelled to show
that it could be only a marginal activity. (Marriott, 1981:58)

Correspondence education continues to be an important component of the
distance education provision of most institutions, even in those countries which
have sophisticated technological communications systems. For example Moore
(1995:32) stated that about '250,000 Americans enrol annually in
correspondence courses'. The reasons for this are that the correspondence
education system is well established, it has been thoroughly researched, it is
cheap to administer and it has been successful.

In the Pacific today, correspondence education is used in CODE, PTC and in
practical terms many students of USP are involved in correspondence rather
than DE. The point about USP is made because most of the communication
between the students and teachers is one-way, from the teacher to the
students. The students tend not to communicate with their teachers on the
main campus because of the lack of means to do so, because of their previous
educational experiences of not questioning their teachers and/or because the
system does not encourage this contact. Statistics show that support systems
provided by USP to shift from a predominantly correspondence type education
to DE have not been successful. For example in 1997 in semester one there
were 297 satellite tutorial hours of conducted tutorials which were attended by
513 students (University Extension, 1997:53 - 54). This represents 8% of all the
students who sat for examinations in that semester, or 17% of such students
from Centres other than Fiji. Figures for visiting tutorials are similar. The
attendance at 62 tutorial visits organised for centres outside Fiji ranged from less than 10% to 100%, with the average attendance being around 40%.

I conclude this section by making the point that correspondence education is relevant for the Pacific in that it can allow any PI to study for any of the courses offered by USP. The drawback is that of the lack of readiness of the PI to learn in that mode, and the isolation factor of learning by print in an oral culture and in another language. And although the communication between the teacher and students is not encouraged in correspondence education, the ‘correspondence teacher must be patient; sympathetic, and alive; whatever a dead teacher may accomplish in the classroom, he can do nothing by correspondence’ (Harper, 1880 cited in Keegan, 1990 : 87). The majority of DE teachers at the USP fall into this category: they are patient, sympathetic, alive and aware of most of the constraints under which their students study.

3.2.5 Second generation - 1970's
The opening of the UKOU marked the beginning of this new era. An era filled with radical changes with 'gradually more sophisticated use of methods and media' (Holmberg, 1995 : 49). Prior to the 1970's the major medium used in DE was print. The UKOU presented a changed structure and method of DE. It emphasised the use of television and film as part of the learning package. Off peak television times were used to broadcast lectures to students, thus enabling the community not enrolled in the courses to listen to the lectures. This use of television meant that course production teams were large and the lead-time for course preparation was much longer than in other DE units, by up to 2 years. In
the UKOU model, the content specialist was no longer the centre of the teaching process, that person was just one of the course production team. The UKOU model also provided more student support especially through the provision of study centres which were equipped with books and equipment that the students needed. Generally, the UKOU model encouraged more interactions between the students and the teachers. These practices of UKOU were emulated in other open universities that opened in many countries around the world. 'The clear design of the UKOU system is to provide education at a distance and not just information giving (Keegan, 1990:193).

The difference was that in England, the telecommunication systems were appropriate and there was adequate capacity for the educational use at reduced rates. Therefore although the structure of UKOU was emulated, their method was generally not as the preparation and production costs were too high (Keegan, 1990:190-195).

The open universities have been confused with the notion of open learning. But the two concepts are different. Open universities are usually single mode institutions that provide DE, usually supported by various multimedia technologies. However, 'Open learning is a concept whereby a student is in control of his or her own learning, while distance education is merely one means by which open learning can be achieved' (Paul, 1990:43). Open learning is an ideal that no institution has attained, for open learning, as is evident from the above definition, cannot be implemented in the present political
climate. Politics guide the use of the money and therefore influence how DE is funded and more importantly its contents and practices. Thus these functions will not be fully open, some play will be tolerated but only as dictated by the politics of the period.

Common characteristics of open universities include:

- a commitment to the belief that most adults can succeed in studies at university level;
- a commitment to the provision of structures, processes and services which help the students overcome barriers to university access and support;
- a commitment to the notions of open learning (Paul, 1990:42).

Although Open universities are relative newcomers to the higher education scene, they have 'shown remarkable growth, resiliency, and innovation. While still subjected to occasional skepticism (sic), both within and outside of higher education, open universities have a clear record of success' (Morrison, 1992:51). Open universities usually have an 'open' enrolment policy whereby anyone who wants to may enrol for a course. On careful analysis it is clear that even these so called open policies have exclusions with regards to the language of instruction, the level of competency within that language and the ability to pay the fees.

Within this period, instead of relying solely on the post to facilitate the communications between the learners and their teachers, radio, film and
television were also used. The open universities tended to use multiple media combined with an administrative backbone to support their distance students. Examples of these institutions are the UKOU which used television programs and videocassettes extensively to communicate with its students and the Australian School of the Air which used high frequency transceivers to facilitate communications between the teachers and learners.

During this period, USP was just starting its DE program that, in practice, was education at a distance by correspondence. At that period the postal system there was not as developed as it was in Britain in the 1840’s when Pitmann started correspondence education there. Post was not delivered to all homes. People had to pick their mail up at the post offices. However, the USP DE was the first DE institution to experiment with and introduce satellite technology in teaching at a distance. ‘The comment by the [Tonga] centre’s first director in 1972 that she was unable to contact neighbouring islands in Tonga as there was not adequate telephone service, yet USP was launching satellite technology for international communications, remains true today’ (Crocombe, 1988). This is a major area of dilemma for USP: does it try to cater for minorities or forge ahead with global trends?

3.2.6 Third generation - 1980’s

By the 1980’s the momentum of the rapid advances in information technology associated with what may be called an electronics revolution of the 1980’s made it possible for the first time in history to teach face-to-face at a distance. By
electronically linking students and teachers at various locations by
cable, microwave or satellite it becomes possible to create a virtual
classroom. (Keegan, 1995 : 108)

Of significance was the rapid introduction of electronic teaching aids in DE. The
public infrastructure systems became more complex and so more variety was
possible over them. For example teleconferencing. In the United States of
America, the mass media was being ‘harnessed to service education at a
distance’ (Perry, 1981:6). In Canada the developments in DE were centred on
‘experimenting with collaborative ventures’ (Moran & Mudridge, 1993 : 4).
Similar developments occurred in Europe and Britain (Keegan, 1995).

These technological developments in DE, which appeared to be technologically
driven, rather than driven by pedagogy, brought about more changes in the
structure and method of DE in dominant countries. Corresponding
developments in dominated countries did not occur. The course development
teams became more powerful, the growth of DE units in dual mode universities
outstripped growths in other sections of these universities, eventually leading to
the end of the DE being administered by a separate section within the
universities. By the end of the 1980’s and early 1990’s the DE and mainstream
functions of many universities were integrated (Smith, 1984; Smith, 1988). The
instructional designers were being trained in the use of technology and desktop
publishing skills were being learned by textprocessors within DE units. The
typewriters were being replaced by the wordprocessors. The students did not
have access to many computers and telecommunications equipment so these
were provided in the study centres established in phase two.

The 1980s saw a rapid growth of distance education publications viz., books
and journals (Delling, 1985). These publications named the strategies,
structures and acceptable DE practices and praxis. In other words, the authors
and editors of these publications assumed the position of the knower and
defined the field; and controlled what occurred in it. These publications became
the knowledge base of DE theory and practice, but they were controlled by the
knowers. In recent years there have been more writers from dominated
countries contributing to these publications, however, the seminal DE
theoretical work has been done, and therefore it would be very difficult for their
different practices to be accepted. This is in spite of the fact that more practice
of DE occurs in the dominated countries (See Table 3.2). Thus, DE
practitioners from dominated countries must become more active in the
international DE publication arena, if they want to contribute to theory building in
DE.

During this period the USP telecommunications system was struggling to
survive. The satellite being used had drifted off course and so the islands to the
north, Kiribati and Tuvalu, could not receive the satellite signal. Thus, by the
mid 1980's the audio performance became more and more erratic and
frustrating (Crocombe, 1988: 129). The USP was without audio contact with its
staff in the centres from August 1985 to September 1986 (pp. 130 - 131). USP
approached telecommunications carriers for access to INTELSAT.
The proposed charge for access was $352,000 pa which the USP could not afford. The telecommunications carriers made a counter proposal in 1986 which the USP felt was affordable. The countries which could not link into the system were connected by HF transceivers. Other communications technologies used by USP to keep in contact with its staff at the centres during this period were facsimile, telephones, slow scan television and computer. However, except for the facsimile, these technologies were only for experimental purposes and were not used to improve the students-staff or the staff-staff academic interaction. For various reasons, the communications technology used at USP could not be relied upon, so communications via them to the students were considered supplementary to the learning package rather than being either complementary or an integral part of the learning. This continues to be the case today. The only way that the telecommunications can be considered an integral part of the learning is for the enrolments of the courses to be restricted to students who have access to these facilities. This will restrict enrolments to students on the main islands and, in many cases, only to students in urban centres who have access to the Extension Centres. Besides the lack of public infrastructure for USP's adequate telecommunications systems, there was the matter of very limited resources in finance, trained personnel in use of technology, training facilities, end-user equipment and end-user readiness. Thus, much more funds than just capital expenditure needed to be identified before USP put strategies into place which would shift the focus on communications via technologies, from a predominantly supplementary role to an integrative one.
3.2.7 Fourth generation - Now and the future

Today, the provision of DE includes print materials, audio/video programs and satellite broadcast, Internet and CD-ROM. By providing instruction via the World Wide Web, travellers and students in isolated areas can enjoy interactive, virtual classrooms no matter where they are or what time zone they may be in. The digital technology will provide distance learning opportunities for anyone, at anytime, anywhere in the world. Also by:

Combining new technologies like animations and streaming video with older (relatively speaking) on-line media like e-mail, listservs, and chat rooms, a distance education instructor can build a successfully interactive course.


Today many students in many dominant DE countries have options for both synchronous (at the same time) and asynchronous (not simultaneous) learning environments. As users and institutions become more sophisticated users of computers and the Internet, and as the public telecommunications systems become more complex and available to more people, courses will become more advanced to include multiple forms of interactivity, related hyperlinks and intelligent graphic design and much more. Thus, with the rapid increase in technology, the future for DE seems limitless.

Now, more than ever before, the course development team must be maintained and developed to incorporate the new technologies into DE programs. The notion of the teacher includes more persons from different fields who need to work together to produce the desired pre-recorded teaching packages. Moore
(1995) makes the point that all major American universities have the satellite link-up hardware, production studios and personnel required for use of these technologies (p. 33). The telecommunications technologies have enabled the DE institutions to provide more advance mediated tutor-students interaction, including audio-graphics, one way video and two way audio, interactive television, two way video, video-conferencing and interactive compact disc based programs. There are two trends that have emerged from this account. One is

the merging of computer and video technologies and the proliferation of highly interactive, low-cost, desktop computer-based communications media. The other trend is the homogenisation and globalisation of the communications environment as a result of satellite delivered programming. (Moore, 1995:38)

The above quotation refers to the situation in the United States of America. The scenario is very different in the Pacific Islands, although persons with the appropriate internet access may access these American course offerings. The unfortunate fact is that those who need access to this technology, persons in remote areas do not have access due to the low teledensity and telephony penetration in most parts of the Pacific. The computer and video technologies have barely infiltrated the education industry in the Pacific, although there is a growing awareness amongst many people in the Pacific of the immediate differences that this technology can make in there (see for example http://www.sidsnet.org/). As for the homogenisation and globalisation of
During this period, the USP is desperately trying to keep up with the two trends presented in the previous paragraph. It is desperately trying to be in the fourth generation of DE. Since the USP feels that the public infrastructures in its consortium members are not adequate for fourth generation DE, it has opted for its own telecommunications systems, complete with its own earth stations. The planned USP telecommunications system which should be completely implemented by the end of 1999, should be sufficient to enable the USP to frog-leap into the fourth generation of DE (Chandra, 1999). This new system will enable two-way communication; and provide other support to students who have access to the Centres. Those students who do not will continue to be disadvantaged, and therefore an important question for USP is, will the new system allow two-way communication to be integrated into a DE course, be complementary to it or will it continue to be just supplementary?

### 3.2.8 Instructional design

One of the major drawbacks of the first three generations of DE is that they were developed by applying face-to-face teaching practices to the DE mode. This fact, itself, is not a problem as many fields were developed in this way. The problem, as I see it, is that the hangups, the props of face-to-face teaching/learning theories continue to influence DE theory and practices too heavily today. The research which founded these praxis were developed from the classroom or in face-to-face teaching situations, where the actions and
behaviours of both the teachers and the students could be observed while indulging in the teaching-learning process.

Within DE this is not possible as teaching and learning occur in different spaces. The teaching part of the process could be studied since it was under the control of the DE institution and outcomes of its actions could be measured through suboptimal techniques discussed earlier. However, the task of observing distance students working was a different and more difficult matter. DE practitioners assumed that the students would do all the self-assessment exercises, read the concept maps, read the books in the teaching/learning package in a particular order, do all the activities described in the learning materials and purchase the required textbooks and learning materials. Recent preliminary research at USP has shown that the assumptions on which a lot of the instructional design strategies were built were not the way the students saw the process (Chief and Hola, 1992).

Furthermore, the methods used in instructional design (ID) were informed by a behaviourist approach to learning, an approach that is itself under challenge from socio-cultural learning theorists (Cole, 1996). The opponents of the function of instructional designers make the point that learning is a much more complex activity than just getting students to react to stimuli that instructional designers present in learning materials (Wiseman, 1995). There is evidence that learning involves more than the construction and manipulation of mental models (Inglis, 1995; Thorpe, 1995).
Notwithstanding, and rather than abandoning ID, Inglis argues that it is preferable for instructional designers to find a standpoint from which they can reconcile behaviourist perspectives (which informs ID strategies) with socio-cultural theories of learning (which resists ID strategies). These latter theories argued that ID had the effect of alienating the teachers from the students and the students from each other and from the wider educational and social process (Inglis, 1995). I agree with Inglis that instructional design is essential for the preparation of DE learning materials and, that the field must take seriously the campaign against ID as presented by Evans and Nation (1987, 1989, 1993).

Lisewski (1994) makes the point that the learner is effectively abandoned at a stage when they need most support from their learning materials, before they have become independent learners. The point being made is that the instructional design process has not adequately addressed the issue of making the learner independent. In practice, ID strategies assume that it is the learners’ responsible for their own readiness to study by distance.

For students in the Pacific, the above issues are crucial and must be dealt with if DE is to educate the people to become productive citizens. Citizens that are educated in western academic ways and yet citizens who do not dismantle themselves from their own cultures. I am not advocating the notion that culture is a fixed entity, rather it is the process by which, in this case, Pacific Islanders ‘come to be known and so come into being’ (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1998: 60). Culture is the evolving set of attitudes, knowledges, values and skills that a group of people have attained for their survival and by which they are identified.
They have attained these characteristics at various periods in their groups' struggles with life. I return to this notion of culture and the link between culture and DE at various points throughout this thesis.

3.2.9 Aims of DE

The following is a collection of aims of DE programs. The aims listed in Table 3.4 can be summarised as follows. The DE systems were encouraged to enable the institutions to provide education for students who in the past they did not cater for, and to consolidate the place of universities in the educational systems of these dominant countries.

**Table 3.4: DE Aims of Selected Dominant Countries**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Australia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. To provide education for disadvantaged groups in the education system, eg children in the out-back, aboriginals, other minority groups, women, disabled, educationally and also socio-economically disadvantaged groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. To provide access for rural and other geographically isolated groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. To increase the enrolment capacity of German universities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. To develop a system of academic continuing education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. To support the reform of university teaching in post-secondary education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. To provide a second opportunity for higher education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. To realise the national potential of the country through education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. To produce a more enlightened population equipped with the knowledge and capacity to evaluate and improve the quality of their lives and those of others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. To enable resource sharing amongst educational institutions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. To provide higher education for people in remote areas.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In the early years, universities in dominant countries had a fixed clientele. However, with the push for mass education, the universities needed to reach minorities and geographically remote students. DE was able to reach these students in a way that conventional education could not. DE reached the students who could not attend lectures at the university and it provided an
alternative entry point for mature age students. Thereby DE boosted the student numbers, an important consideration in the times of economic rationalism. The universities in those countries needed DE to boost their dwindling student numbers and to provide the impetus for them to change to meet the changing demands for education. DE provided the venue for continuing education for those who wanted it.

In summary, DE provided the first chance opportunity for tertiary education to minorities and remote students, second chance opportunity for tertiary education to those who failed in their first attempt and continuing opportunity for tertiary education to those who wanted or needed it.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Aims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>China</strong></td>
<td>1. To provide educated manpower.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. To provide mass education, particularly to remote and minority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>areas which are lagging behind the remainder of the country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Japan</strong></td>
<td>1. To provide working people and housewives with the chance of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lifelong university level education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. To provide an innovative and flexible system of university level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>education that is open to all high school graduates.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. To encourage cooperation amongst Japanese universities with the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>view to improving the countries high education system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>India</strong></td>
<td>1. To increase the number of the workforce who are educated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. To support the formal system which was unable to cope with the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>millions of people who needed to be educated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indonesia</strong></td>
<td>1. To expand the educational opportunities of the people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. To strengthen the governments’ commitment to improve the quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. To make education more relevant to the national development needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>South Pacific Countries</strong></td>
<td>1. To provide tertiary education to people across the whole Pacific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. To make higher education needed for regional development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>accessible to more people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. To provide bridging study, part-time study, and home-based study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>while retaining employment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Thailand</strong></td>
<td>1. To meet the need for multiple opportunities for higher education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. To provide for the increase in the demand for education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. To meet the need for more non-formal education.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The aims listed in Table 3.5 can be summarised as follows. These countries' tertiary education systems could not cater for the demands for places. Their education budgets were stretched to the limit (Hendey, 1994; Perraton, 1982a; Reddy, 1988b). These countries were entering into modern and postmodern economies and therefore needed educated workforces. Thus, for these countries, DE was necessary to provide places for first time study at tertiary level because of the lack of places at conventional universities.

The notion of DE for the minorities, remote students, second chance opportunities or continuing opportunities was also important in these countries, but they were secondary. The practices of DE in these countries clearly supported this contention. For example, after twenty-five years of DE, USP has only very recently investigated the problems of access for women (Bolabolabla &
Another example from USP is the fact that institutional infrastructure for support for DE students is being consolidated around the National Extension Centres. Students remote from these Centres are often left to fend for themselves in the sense that strategies for supporting them are affected on an ad hoc basis rather than as a matter of routine practice. When Herrmann and Wasuka (1988) were Centre Directors of the Cook Islands and Solomon Islands Extension Centres respectively, they made the point that large proportions of populations live in rural areas but the reasons for not being able to support these remote students were 'cost[s] in time and money, and the sheer difficulty of reaching' them (p. 142). Kacimaiwai (1988), a former Centre Director of the Fiji Extension Centre, pressed the case further, 'distance courses are only available and applicable to a very small proportion of those off-campus' (p. 147).

In summarising Tables 3.4 and 3.5 the point is that for dominant countries the provision of DE was a luxury in the sense that it was for disadvantaged groups, whereas in dominated countries it was a necessity. The dominated countries' conventional education could not cope with the demands for education and so DE was selected as the cheaper alternative.

3.2.10 Summary
In summary, I make the point that a lot of changes were occurring in universities, especially universities that provided for the DE students. The universities felt that they needed 'new approaches' to open their structures and practices to the needs of their present and future students in ways that were
shaking the traditions of these universities. Yet many of these "new approaches" differ little, if at all, from distance education as it has been practised for the last three decades' (Evans & Nation, 1996 : 3). In other words, DE providers were implementing changes that universities were planning to implement; the DE institutions were providing motivation and momentum for changes.

It is important to point out in this summary that DE in dominant countries has generally progressed through the various stages shown in Table 3.2. But there are others within these countries that have continued in one of the earlier stages. For example, the New Zealand Correspondence School continues to offer correspondence courses; University of Southern Queensland also offers DE courses that consist mainly of print materials; many of the UKOU courses also have major components still in the print mode.

There have been many critiques of the mode and term DE from the dominant countries, but few, if any, from dominated countries. Rawson-Jones (1974), summarised a strand of the debate about distance education and how it put 'undue emphasis on the distance between the teacher and the learner', but he could not think of 'a better name for a multi-media educational process in which the teacher and the student may never meet in a face-to-face situation' (Cited in Keegan, 1990 : 32). Yibing (1995 : 105) suggests that one of the reasons for this is that 'the practice of distance education keeps changing especially in the use of new information technology'.

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It is important to remember that we are concerned with a system that is still evolving to provide and sustain suitable learning for students who are usually remote from their teachers. However, today, DE caters for many students for whom access, rather than distance, is the major issue. As Evans and Nation (1996) highlighted: 'Distance education provides 'time-flexible' learning for these people and enables them to study without having to disrupt their work or family lives in order to attend classes ... the means to provide education at times and places determined as much by the students as by the institutions they are enrolled with' (pp. 4-5). How are these DE providers structured?

3.3 STRUCTURE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION PROVIDERS

The DE literature emphasises the infrastructure developments in the institutions, especially administrative structures that would make the institutions more effective and efficient. Keegan (1986), following from Peters (1983), argues that DE providers' administrative systems are more like industrial sector systems than conventional university systems. 'The distance systems have daily preoccupations with lead times, deadlines, print runs, job schedules, typefaces, delivery and dispatch', similar to industry (Keegan, 1986: 196). Today, we may add the following to this list: technological knowledge, technological breakdowns and a knowledge of the public infrastructure and jargon that the systems use, for example telecommunications, baud rates, and any special postal service requirements. A pre-requisite for students' learning within DE systems is an efficient and effective management system overseeing
a range of processes: 'deadlines for printing materials, layout formats, production schedules, timing of dispatch, turn-around-time for assignments, communication of guidelines and instructions by mechanical and electronic means' (p. 196). In other words, even though the teachers (teaching materials, support systems and tutorials) are excellent, and even though the students are motivated and the conditions in their homes exemplary, learning may not be able to be begun or be successful if the DE management systems are not of the appropriate standards.

Keegan (1986) says that in administrative theory the process of administration is to achieve output. However, output of a DE institution is difficult to measure. Keegan stated 'It is difficult to reach an agreement on, let alone measure, the "advancement of knowledge" or "the preparation of a student for life"' (p. 195). I agree fully with Keegan and also his suggestion that the alternative is to 'suboptimise, that is to establish a level of output which can be measured ("how many students pass the examination")' (pp. 195-196). However, when suboptimising, it is too easy to forget that the thing that is being measured is not the major reason for the process, and thereby these secondary targets, over time, become the targets of the process itself. In other words, if suboptimising is followed too closely, the purpose of DE, that is to educate students at a distance, becomes unfashionable, and the new fashion becomes how many DE learners can be put through the system. I am not saying that it is a bad goal to try to get as many students as possible through the system, but what I am saying is that that goal should not be the paramount one. The paramount goal
should be to ensure that the education that is provided to the students at a
distance is useful for the advancement of the students' knowledge and also to
provide them with further life skills. Thus, having defined itself, the discipline of
distance education turned to described the organisational structures that were
used by DE providers in dominant countries. These structures were developed
from administrative systems that were created to achieve an output.

3.3.1 DE organisation structure
So what does the distance education organisation structure look like? The
organisation, in the frame that I will use, is a system that can only exist by
exchanging materials across its borders. I use this frame because it has been
used in education before. It is a systems view. It takes materials from outside,
processes them, keeps some of the 'profits' for its own maintenance and
exports the rest. Viewed through that frame, one of the inputs in a DE system is
the students. The DE systems teach the students then exports ex-students:
either failures or successes. DE has been chosen in the Pacific because of its
lower costs and efficiency, thus my preference for a systems view. That is a
view that highlights issues of costs and efficiency.

There are many issues that result from this theorisation. What are the operating
activities that make the students into ex-students? How are they performed?
When do students change from being students to becoming ex-students? What
are the attributes of ex-students who are a failure and those who are
successes? How are these measured in relation to the aims of the
organisation? But, more importantly, what are the activities that are beyond the
control of the organisation? For example, the breakdown of telecommunications systems and other commitments to students or the influence of the community. If a different frame or perspective were used, a different set of questions could emerge. For example, in Chapter 5 I use the same frame but my perspective is postcolonial. Thus, though my questions are generally similar, they emphasise different issues.

But there are other inputs to a DE system besides the new and continuing students, there are staff, finance, equipment, information and pre-existing course materials. The effect of the DE process on these other inputs is different and is not directly related to the issues that I am concerned about so they will not be discussed any further. Returning, however, to Kaye's model of organisations, we find that he presents a systems view of distance education in which there are three types of activities: the operating, logistical (maintenance) and regulatory.

The operating activities directly contribute to the import, conversion and export processes of the organisation which define and differentiate it from other organisations. In DE organisations, therefore, operating activities are divided into two subsystems: a course subsystem and a student subsystem.

The course subsystem involves: planning, designing, producing the prototype learning package and mass producing the learning package; recording the teaching process; evaluating the teaching process and thereby modifying the
appropriate sections of this subsystem itself. For example, at USP there was a
reaction from the students that the binding of the course books was not strong
enough. The printers were informed and a different glue was used in the mass
production phase. Clearly, this subsystem deals with preparation of the pre-
recorded teaching process.

The student subsystem involves: ensuring that the students get their course
materials on time, enrolling students, providing academic counseling for
students, supporting students in their own homes and by providing facilities at
study centres, providing assessment processes and guidance for students who
fail courses. This subsystem is the focus of two of the theories of distance
education: autonomy and independence, and interaction and communication.
Thus the types and emphases of the student subsystem are often formulated on
the bias of the DE policy makers of the institution to one or other of these
theories. For example, institutions that are biased towards the autonomy and
independence theory would provide minimal support for their students, putting
more resources into the course subsystem. Whereas the institutions that are
biased towards the interaction and communication theory would provide
maximum support for the students, putting less resources into the course
subsystem. There are obviously hybrid systems that attempt a balance
between the finances for the course development and students support
systems. Clearly the institution needs to monitor the needs of their students to
decide which approach to take. These studies must be on-going and their
results must produce changes. Unfortunately, the results of the studies cannot
help the students who are being studied but they can help future students. This is an important issue for instructional design. Why can't the studies be designed so that their findings appear in time to be useful for the students who are being studied? If this were possible then this would be extremely helpful for an educational institution like USP and its students.

The logistical activities procure and replenish the resources required by the organisation. In DE organisations, therefore, logistical activities would include: purchase and maintenance of equipment and their necessary consumables; recruitment, induction, on-going training and motivation of staff; research activities for the maintenance and growth of the DE process. These activities are usually put on the back burner in most DE practitioners’ schedules as their work time is usually taken up with the more direct issues of the two subsystems of operating activities. That is not to say these process are not important, but the time constraints of the work of DE practitioners tend to restrict the time they may allocate to certain logistical activities. Activities such as staff induction, on-going training for students and staff and motivation for students and staff, research and maintenance of growth. Other logistical activities must be done otherwise the DE process would not be able to function. Activities such as purchase and maintenance of equipment and their necessary consumables and staff and student recruitment. At USP the situation described above occurs.

The regulatory activities relate all the other activities (operating and logistical) of the organisation to each other and to the environment in which the organisation
exists. These activities include higher management of the institution in decision making, overview planning, financial management, project control and the evaluation of the whole process.

Within a mixed mode university like the USP, these processes are carried out in committees in which the DE representation is outnumbered. Many of the persons involved in the regulatory activities are heads of sections that are competing for resources with DE. Thus it is possible that the DE process will at one level lose resources for economical and political rather than educationally sound reasons and at lower level lose resources because of the quality of the case presented for maintaining the current level of resources. However, DE at USP has been strengthened by a number of very supportive internal and external reports (Bolabola & Weh, 1995; Renwick, Shale, & St-Clair, 1991; The University of The South Pacific, 1983; The University of the South Pacific, 1998; University Grants Committee, 1991-1993; University Grants Committee, 1994-1996). The senior management team of USP (Vice Chancellor, Deputy Vice Chancellor, Pro-Vice Chancellors, Registrar and Bursar) is also very supportive of DE at USP. Thus the DE system has been able to grow. However, there are signs at USP that the DE program is getting too large and as has happened in Australia, other forces could be brought against it from amongst its own allies.

In Australia the Distance Education Centres were decommissioned because they appeared to be becoming too powerful. For example the funding model that was introduced at USP in the mid 1990's was similar to the system
introduced in Australian Universities in the 1970/80's that led to the demise of the major Distance Education Centres (DECs) in that country (Evans & Nation, 1993). Though those who introduced the funding model felt that it would give DE more control of the time of academics who worked on DE courses. The Australian experience proved otherwise, and there are certainly signs that USP could, like Australian institutions, integrate University Extension (UE) into its central processes. For example on a number of occasions the registry attempted to assume control of the registration and counselling of DE students. So far these attempts have been successfully thwarted by UE. But what is this argument against integrating the DE systems with the institutions central systems?

The problem is that the systems are different, in structure (industrial versus craft), method (mediated versus direct), types of students (independent and autonomous versus dependent) and teachers (individuals versus teams), and their aims (mass education versus elite education). Therefore the systems should be kept separate. If they are integrated the institutional systems that were designed for conventional students would be prioritised and the distance student would need to be physically present to discuss any problems or discrepancies. The distance system would however, communicate with the distance students at a distance and not expect the students to come into the institution to present their case.
The early history of DE tells little of the reasons why various changes were implemented, the history describes what happened as it was mainly concerned with the question of how the changes took place. It seemed as though they were asking themselves how could we take what we do in the classrooms to the students who cannot get there. My preference would be to ask the question, Why do we need to get what is done in the classroom out there? Then if the answer to that question is satisfactory we would proceed to the next question, How can we achieve the aims of the processes in the classroom for the students who cannot come there, being mindful that these students will be different from those who attend classes at an educational institution? The answers to these questions will form the philosophical basis for the formation of DE theories, infrastructures and strategies for the DE systems to achieve the desired objectives.

3.4 THEORETICAL MODELS OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

3.4.1 Perspectives of DE

Due to choice and in some cases, circumstances, many people will not attend conventional institutions. 'DE was needed for study alongside paid work and for individual learning as opposed to classroom learning that was the great instigating force' (Holmberg, 1995:47). Consequently DE became, according to Keegan (1990), 'a coherent field of education[al] endeavour' ... with 'its own laws of didactical structure and its own quasi-industrial administrative procedures' (p. 6). It evolved into 'a form of education fraught with problems for administrators, teachers and students. For example, the problems of the DE
administrator include: there is more than one teacher per course, students are more often than not invisible, the DE process can be directly influenced by a number of factors that are outside of their control. It is characterised by the fragility of the non-traditional in education. These difficulties concern quantity, quality, and the status of education at a distance' (p. 6).

'On their way from small aristocratic elite-breeding institutions to huge democratic mass-educating organisations, universities all over the world have lost some of their traditional communicative qualities' (Holmberg, 1995 : v). Peters made the point that in face-to-face education communication was oral and that DE was print based(Peters, 1996). The universities used to have small classes and there were a lot of communication between the teachers and the learners, but as the universities took more students, the distance between the teacher and learner increased. In some cases the distance was so large that some learners never got a chance to talk to their teachers. For example in large classes of more than 300 students in which the lecturer did not take all the tutorials and tutorial times were too short for the tutors to build up an effective working relationship with students. 'Traditional education has demanded that teachers and learners meet in the classroom, so that time and space intersected in the teaching situation' (Peters, 1996 : 48). Whereas DE was constituted by a re-alignment of time and space of the students and their teachers to emulate the intersection of the student and teacher in the face-to-face learning environment.
From the presentations in 3.3 a number of different perspectives can be formulated for comparing DE with conventional face-to-face (F2F) education. Each of the perspectives are presented as continuums rather than binary oppositions or, as in the last case, as distinct separate processes. The first perspective is based on definitions, the second on preparation and presentation of the teaching and the third on the process of offering a course.

The first continuum then has at one end pure DE and on the other pure face-to-face. Here, pure DE is the traditional correspondence courses, in which during the period of instruction, the students and the teacher are separated by physical distances, never meet face-to-face and, communicate only by print. Pure face-to-face is the Socratic method, where the teacher and the students are always in face-to-face contact during the period of instruction. If the pure face-to-face part were on the left of the continuum, then the DE as practised in USP would be about a quarter of the way from the left. I position the USP thus because the majority of its DE students actually study in a mode similar to the pure traditional correspondence one, but there are pockets of students, those who have access to the Extension Centre, who are able to take advantage of the face-to-face support that is provided by these Centres.

**Figure 1: Comparison between DE and F2F Education:** Continuum based on definitions of DE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pure DE: No meeting of the students with their teachers. Traditional DE</th>
<th>USP: 'S DE APPROACH : MAINLY PRINT BASED.</th>
<th>Pure F2F: teacher and students always in contact. Socratic method</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Continuum
The second continuum has at one end the type of institution in which the preparation and presentation of the DE course are separated and, on the other end they are combined. The point here is that in the former case, one set of persons prepares the teaching materials and a different set of persons presents them to the students. In the latter case, the preparation and presentation of course materials are by the same persons. An example of the latter was the DE model used at the University of New England and an example of the former is USP's DE model.

**Figure 2: Comparison between DE and F2F Education: Continuum based on the type of institution**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DE institution where materials are prepared in one section and offered by another section e.g., UNE</th>
<th>USP's approach, the responsibility for DE lies more with UE, then the schools, though this is changing</th>
<th>DE institution where materials are prepared and offered by the same section, e.g., USP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The third continuum, that of offering a DE course, is different from the first two in that the ends of the continuum are not opposites. In this case they are the starting and ending of the process. The focus in this perspective is not on the differences of the modes but on the component processes of teaching/learning which need to be carried out: conceptualisation, planning, preparation, production, enrolment/counselling, distribution, support, assessment of the students, evaluation of the process and certification for the education to be successful.
Conceptualisation involves the thinking that precedes the detailed planning for the offering of a course. Within a dual mode institution, conceptualisation may involve taking an existing on-campus course, and thinking, on a very broad level, of the implications of offering it via the DE mode. If the course does not exist in the on-campus mode then its aims and objectives need to be formalised at this level. At USP, this stage occurs as a result of requests for the course from the teaching departments, requests from UE so that a particular program may be completed by distance or there have been numerous requests for it from students or the community, but one of the strongest requests is from governments of USP consortium countries.

The planning phase involves making decisions on: the media to use; possible restrictions to the enrolments based on student numbers or access to specialist equipment or particular readiness of the students; reading levels; appropriate level at which to pitch the course; deadlines for production and offering of the course; and marketing strategies. At USP, this phase is carried out by the
course development team that consists of a content specialist, instructional designer, editor, media specialist and course development assistant.

The preparation phase comprises the activities that result in the output of the prototype learning package: course materials, readers and study guides and multimedia to be used; choice of textbooks; design of feedback on the course; design of assessment to be used; and design of marketing materials. At USP this work is carried out by the course development team, textprocessors and appropriate staff from the UE administrative section. The head of the course development team drives the process and is supervised by the coordinator of instructional design. The textprocessors put the designs prepared by the course team in electronic form. The administrators provide the input for ideas on suitability of types of assessment based on current USP policy and they also help in the preparation of the marketing materials.

The mass production of the learning package is usually the responsibility of the course development assistant. Theoretically, this process is carried out after the previous one, but in practice as soon as one component of the previous process is completed the course development assistant will initiate the mass production process by calling for tenders from printers, negotiating copyrights with publishers, ordering textbooks and overseeing the production of media. When these materials are received the course development assistant checks them to ensure that they are of an acceptable quality.
In parallel with the preparation and mass production phase is the enrolment phase. At USP, this phase is carried out at the Extension Centres. Staff from the Centres travel to various locations around their countries enrolling students. The enrolment teams provide academic and advisory counselling to the DE students. Prior to the enrolment, Extension Centres estimate the numbers of students that could enrol in the coming semester and send these figures in to UEHQ. The distribution of learning packages to the Extension Centres are based on these figures. The learning materials are sent, in bulk, to the Centres which pack them into individual learning packages and send them on to their students who have enrolled. There are stocks of materials maintained at the Extension Centres and UEHQ and the distribution process takes these stocks into account when distributing learning materials.

When the students get their course materials then the learning process may take place. This is the support phase of the DE process. At USP, the support for the students consists of organising tutorials (peer, local, satellite teleconferencing or visits by staff from the main campus), counseling students, answering students' queries throughout the semester, providing a place for the students to study and providing appropriate library and laboratory (computer and science) facilities.

Assessment of the DE students needs to be more stringently controlled than for on-campus students. The assignments are often marked by the local tutors but the final examinations are marked by a lecturer on the main campus. The
former option is used to affect quick turnaround of assignments and the latter for standardisation of the examinations marks. This is also the case for USP. There the Extension Centres setup the examination venues, inform the students and prepare the rooms. The examinations are synchronised across the twelve member countries of the USP. After the examinations, the papers are sent to Suva for marking and the Centres are informed of the students’ marks. The Centres, in turn, inform the students of their marks.

The final stage in the offering of a DE course is the certification process. Many of the DE students attend courses for their professional advancement. The certification process provides this. Thus the result forms that are sent to the students could be used as ‘certificates’. At USP, when the students complete all the courses that constitute a program of study, they need to inform the institution that they have completed the studies and therefore be awarded their certificates. If they do not apply to graduate they will not graduate.

Evaluation of the system occurs after the course has completed a full cycle, the course has been presented, students have completed the examinations and the results have been finalised. This evaluation is usually suboptimised. At USP, this process is brushed over. Course evaluation forms are part of the learning package and students are requested to complete these forms and return them to the Centres so that the students’ concerns may be brought to the attention of the course development teams. In 1991, a team from the course development unit at USP compiled a report based on these course feedback forms.
(Faasalaina et al., 1991). This report has influenced the way courses are produced at USP. Evaluation has come from other sources: external reports and research findings. I have previously mentioned such reports on the USP's DE program. USP's DE research findings have included works on students' study habits (Chief & Hola, 1992; Landbeck & Mugler, 1993; Yamanaka, 1994) and student dropouts (Bolabola & Wah, 1995; Prasad, 1997).

3.4.2 Growth of theorisation in DE

... the historian of distance education Rudolf Manfred Delling from Tübingen, claimed in 1966 that although institutionalised distance education existed for about 100 years, it was only during the last few years that the practice of distance teaching had commenced to rely on theory. (Keegan, 1990:51)

Thus it appears that theorisation of DE started in the late 1950's, even though institutionalised DE had been around since the days of Pitmann's correspondence courses in shorthand in 1840, a hundred years earlier.

Theory here means an integrated statement of principles that explains what is known about a particular area of study or practice. In professional practice, espoused theory is the official statement of which lip-service is paid and theory-in-use is implicit in a person's actions; professional practice requires an integration of the two types of theory. Theories being discussed here do not predict outcomes.

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Theories of distance education started with Joanes Riechert's book *Schrieben, Lehren und Verstehen*, 1959 (*Write, Teach and Learn*) and Borje Holmberg's *On the Methods of Teaching by Correspondence*, 1960 (p. 51). Peters (1994) notes that up to the 1960s '... distance education improvements were based on conjectures and principles of "trial and error" ' (p. 52). The point that is being made is that DE was developed on practices without reference to theories.

Additionally, mainstream academics were less inclined to research and theorise distance education as they wanted their work to be in mainstream education rather than within DE which was considered by those in metropolis academia as a 'lesser' subunit of it. Thus theories which were developed since the 1960s originated from practitioners in the field of distance education. These people realised that for DE to gain legitimacy, their practices had to be informed by theories and therefore theories about DE needed to be written.

Fortunately, DE has gained acceptance over the last two and a half decades because of:

- economic rationalistic policies imposed by lending agencies like the World Bank, Asian Development Bank and national governments on education;
- increase and accumulation of theoretical frameworks and philosophies of distance education; and, not of lesser importance,
- the assimilation of distance education materials for on-campus teaching;
- the development of multi-media distance teaching methods; and
- the establishment of the UKOU.
The economic rationalistic policies refer to the importance of an educated work-force, which cannot be achieved by most countries of the world unless DE is implemented. Yet educational institutions are given less to do more. The notion being that today many industries comprise Post-Fordist production processes, which require an educated and multi-skilled work-force which conventional face-to-face education cannot supply because of the overcrowding of those institutions. Thus political will has empowered many countries to provide DE institutions, especially since the establishment of the UKOU in 1969.

The increase and accumulation of theoretical frameworks and philosophies of distance education have eased the passage of DE into mainstream education. Especially since in the past this was one of the reasons for their non-acceptance.

The dominated countries were using DE more, as seen by the enrolment numbers in Table 3.2, yet more theories were developed in the dominant countries. The number of enrolments is not the major issue, rather the concern is that the institutions in the dominated countries have very large enrolments and therefore their practices must be different from the practices in dominant countries (Campion, 1990, 1992, 1996; Rumble, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 1996). Thus the theories created from the practice of DE in institutions which are not as large could not be applied without modification. If this line of argument is agreed to then other differences could mean that other theories developed in
other countries could be contested within countries in which they are applied. This has been the basis for my resistance to importing DE practices from the dominated countries: without carefully considering the contexts of these countries, their telecommunications and other public infrastructures; and the contexts and types of students in these countries. Therefore, it would seem appropriate that practices of DE in dominated countries should be constructed from the practices of large DE institutions in dominated countries and by carefully considering differences between the contexts of the dominated and dominant countries. Chapter 5 continues this discussion.

In the following section the four major proposals for theory of distance education are discussed: autonomy and independence; interaction and communication; industrialisation of education (Fordism); and Post-Fordism. In Chapter 5, I present a proposal for theory of DE in the Pacific. I refer to it as the i-tukuni of DE in the Pacific.

It will be clear from the following sections that each of the theories focussed on particular aspects of the distance education system. The first on the students (autonomy and independence); the second on the interface and interaction between the students and institution (interaction and communication); the third and fourth on the labour and production systems. An interesting aside from the literature, and borne out in my more than 10 years in senior positions in DE at USP is that invariably, much of what many distance education students want to talk about is directly related to the set of assignments. These students are not
interested in theoretical frames, concept maps, conversational styles of texts. They just want to pass the examinations as quickly as possible (Bołabola & Wah, 1995; Landbeck & Mugler, 1993; Yamanaka, 1994).

Table 3.6: Theoretical models of distance education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Focus of Theoretical Principles</th>
<th>Major proponents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Autonomy and Independent study</td>
<td>The type of students and their attitudes to distance education</td>
<td>Charles Wadensjo, Michael Moore and Rudolf Delling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction and Communication</td>
<td>The two-way communication between the teacher and the students</td>
<td>Börge Holmberg, John Bastik, David Stewart, Kevin Smith and John Daniel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrialisation of Education (Fordism)</td>
<td>The labour and production systems—mass production of few standardised courses goods and services leading to centralised single mode institutions</td>
<td>Otto Peters, Dememond Keegan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Fordism</td>
<td>A decentralised system with many different course offerings, and support structures to cater for the diverse student needs.</td>
<td>Mike Campion, Jarvis Peters</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source

3.4.3 Autonomy and independence

This theory emphasises how the processes that occur in the student subsystem directly affect processes in the course subsystem. It is based on a general observation that learners in conventional institutions are dependent on their teachers for their education. The proponents of this theory claim that learners who opt for the DE mode of study do not usually 'accept the conventional educator-pupil relationship (Keegan, 1990:54). These learners prefer autonomy and independence rather than dependence on a teacher. The theorists, Delling
(Cited in Keegan, 1990). Moore (1977, 1973) and Wedemeyer (1977, 1981) also make the point that because of the distances between the teacher and learner, the latter must take more responsibility for their learning, in this sense they are independent of their teachers.

Proponents of this theory suggest that prior to gaining independence and autonomy, the learners required 'a period of preschool individual learning' thereafter, minimal two way communication between the learners and the helping institution (including the teachers) was required for successful learning to take place (Keegan, 1990: 55). The period of preschool individual learning will aid the students to acquire the attitudes, skills and general awareness of DE study that are necessary for success in DE studies. This is especially true of the students who are not autonomous or independent, or who are new to this mode of study.

In this theory, student autonomy is sought in: the setting of objectives; methods of study; and, evaluation. Moore (1977) argued that in both DE and face-to-face teaching, 'the teacher is the active one who teaches a passive person' (p. 21). However, in DE there is a gap between the teacher and students and this gap alters the roles of dependence. In other words, due to the distance between the teacher and the student, the students have no option but to become active if they intend to be successful. Those students who are not already autonomous must make the shift otherwise they will have difficulty with this mode of study. The proponents of this theory submit that the:
... autonomous learner proceeds without need for admonition and little need for direction. If highly autonomous he may have no personal relationship with a teacher but if he has a personal teacher he will be able to control the effect and significance of teacher input in a realistic and unemotional way. To the highly autonomous learner the teacher's role is that of respondent rather than director and the institution becomes a helping organisation. (Emphasis in original Keegan, 1990:66)

The proponents of this theory understand that there are various degrees of autonomy and that certain students cannot be so (p. 63). Some students need more help than others and other students have the ‘abilities of self-stimulations, knowledge of ways to achieve their objectives, and ways of measuring achievement’ (p. 66). In the face-to-face mode, the students need not be autonomous, as the teachers are present and tend to control the direction of the teaching and assume that they are doing the same for the learning. By contrast the DE students must become more autonomous and independent if they are to be successful in distance studies. Thus some measure of autonomy would enable the DE institution to measure this attribute of its students and thereby set up strategies to help the DE student at the various stages of autonomy to become more autonomous. Moore determined the measure of autonomy by analysing three characteristics of the teaching learning process: establishment activities, executive activities and evaluatory activities (p. 67).

The establishment activities are processes used to identify the problems, goals and strategies to be used in the teaching learning process. For example when
considering studying for a course by distance, these activities are carried out before the enrolment. Problems for the DE students could relate to a proper place to study and to obtain stationary and fees, access to the facilities of the institution and fitting the studies into an already busy life style. Goals for the students could involve learning the skills, attitudes and content being provided by the course or just for obtaining a certificate, or even studying for the course as a leisure activity. Strategies could involve discussing with staff of the institution, discussing strategies with students who have done the course previously, deciding to follow the system provided in the learning package or working from previous assignments and examinations papers. Within the USP consortium countries previously, there were only a few students who had studied at a tertiary institution, but after twenty five years of the USP's DE program, there are now a significant number of students who have studied by that mode and therefore the new DE student there should be able to find a friend or family member to discuss strategies, problems and goals with (Bolabola & Wah, 1995; Yamanaka, 1994). Past examination papers are often provided within the course materials or available at the local Extension Centre. Thus the readiness of the USP DE student in as far as the establishment activities are concerned is high and will continue to increase. A study concerned with the barriers to women studying in the DE mode at USP investigated a number of these establishment issues and found that the communities of the Pacific are slowly becoming supportive of the DE student (Bolabola & Wah, 1995).
The executive activities are the tasks that must be performed so that one arrives at instructional solutions. Tasks performed could include seeking patterns out of the data, information and ideas presented; and, carrying out tests and experiments. For example when studying for a course by distance, and having decided that the major aim in enrolling for the course is to pass it, the student could decide to study in great detail only the parts of the course that have been examined in the past. The remainder of the learning package may be ignored or just skimmed over. Such a student's executive activities may then start the studies from assignments and past examination papers and not be concerned with the sequences of the learning package. Whereas the executive activities of a student who has decided to do the course because the information in it enabled the student to function better at work, would probably consist of studying the learning package as the course development teams had planned.

The evaluatory activities are concerned with making 'judgments about the appropriateness of the information and ideas for solving the problems and meeting goals' (Keegan, 1990: 67). Continuing with the example used in the previous paragraph, the student is forced to make a judgement call on the instructional solutions that he/she had formulated under his/her executive activities. Within the DE environment the students are, by virtue of the distance from their teachers, independent of their teachers' guidance on their choice of goals, activities, rewards and punishments for the course under study. Therefore before learning within the DE mode, the DE student must have
developed some autonomy. If this is not the case then the institution should supply that learning, through the preschool individual learning, to provide the rudimentary skills of autonomy.

Having discussed the notion of autonomy, I now turn to the notion of independence. There is the independence of the student from the teacher, and there is the independent system. The independent students are those students 'who may be guided by teachers but who are not dependent upon them, learners who accept degrees of freedom and responsibility initiating and carrying out the activities that lead to learning’ (Wedemeyer, 1973:73 cited in Keegan, 1990:54). The programs of study that were suitable for these students are independent learning systems. Independent learning is ‘learning carried out wholly or largely independently of outside direction or control, characterized by learner autonomy and distance from educational authority’ (Wedemeyer, 1981:xxv). It includes: independent study; home study; and correspondence study and it ‘reaches learners via such media as correspondence, radio, television, satellite, telephone or facsimile’ (p. xxvi).

This theory appears to have been developed from a sense of faith in the learners who opted for this mode of study and also from egalitarian and humanist tendencies (Keegan, 1990:54 & 65). In other words, this theory advocates a student centred approach, and considers the DE institution as a helping rather than a directing institution. It helps the students fulfil their own goals and strategies, it does not decide these for them. It appears as though
the proponents of this theory are saying that the DE students have been conscientised and all they need from the DE institution is help, not control or some neatly defined direction as the on-campus modes tend to provide.

Wedemeyer postulated six characteristics of independent learning systems thus: the teacher and the students are separate in time and space; the process of teaching/learning is carried out with the help of technology; teaching is individualised; learning results from the student's activity, learning is made convenient for the student in his own environment, [and,] the learner takes responsibility for his progress' (Wedemeyer, 1973:76 cited in Keegan, 1990:58). Clearly within this system the onus for learning is on the student's shoulders. The learning package is carefully prepared with the independent student in mind. Another important attribute of an independent system is that it should be able to accommodate the students needs 'any time, any place' (p. 50). These characteristics are more easily applied to the provision of education by the DE mode than the conventional face-to-face one.

This theory therefore posits that within independent study, the learning program which occurs is separate in time and space from the teaching program, and one in which 'the learner has an influence equal to the teacher's in determining learning goals, resources and evaluation decisions' (p. 69). The reason for both of these characteristics of independent study is the distance between the teacher and the student. The distance prescribes that the teaching and learning take place in different spaces.
Opposition to this theory came from two different sources. Ellis (1978) claimed that Wedemeyer's criteria for constructing a distance education system 'lacked specific context, purposes, constraints and cost-consciousness' (p. 16 - 17). Ellis appears to be making the point that DE systems need to be different for different contexts and it has to be sensitive to the issues of cost-cutting and different cultural considerations. Willen (Keegan, 1990:71) claims 'her research shows that ideas of independence and autonomy are not borne out by reality' and that many of the DE students need support even after the initial preschool period. Both of these critics advocate more interaction and communication between the teacher and learners.

The applications of this theory to USP's DE program is problematic on a number of levels. Firstly, although the USP's DE system is formulated on the assumption that students can study for their DE programs any where and any time, in practice this is not so. Difficulties of transportation limit the effectiveness of the USP servicing students in remote areas of consortium member countries and the structure of other courses limit enrolments to students who have access to the Extension Centres, for example, for science and computing courses. The USP's DE philosophy is that the learning package substitutes for the teacher. But the USP's DE program provides little if any preschool instruction for the distance student. The closest the USP program has come in offering preschool instruction is when it counsels new students during enrolment, and when local tutors provide such support during tutorials and
during DE orientation programs for new students that a number of Extension Contres conduct at the beginning of each semester. The students as suggested in this theory are at various autonomous levels, but the majority of them appear to have made the shift to becoming autonomous, as the dropout rates are low when compared to other institutions. For example USP's retention rate in 1997 was 83.7% which compares favourably with retention rates of around 60-70% for most DE institutions in dominated countries (University Extension, 1997:14).

Another problem with applying this theory to the Pacific is the dependence of the students on the teachers. As suggested in earlier chapters, the colonial and neo-colonial education systems of the Pacific Islands have as their major output dependent students. These are the students who enrol in the USP's DE systems. Clearly these students must have become autonomous, but their dependence on their teachers is evident by the constant calls for more tutorials, yet the irony is that when these are conducted they are not well attended. The UE 1997 Annual Report states that attendance to satellite tutorials 'continued to be a problem' (p. 26). In relation to attendance to Tutorial visits, the report uses the guarded phrase 'attendance constraints' to signify problems with attendance (p. 26). It is my contention that the issues of dependence are directly related to the issues of readability and studying in a second language that compounds the issues of being independent. Routine readability tests are not carried out on USP materials. However, more empirical work needs to be conducted around these issues.
In spite of the two issues discussed above, there is a lot of merit for this theory for USP. The added skills of autonomy and independence that the students appear to form by studying at a distance will be useful for the students in their own personal developments. However, the assumption is that success in this DE mode constitutes independence and autonomy on the part of the students. But there could be other reasons, especially since the measure is suboptimal, it does not directly measure independence and autonomy. It is a measure of how many students are put through the system. With some modification though this could prove to be a useful theory to build upon when creating a theory of DE useful for the Pacific.

3.4.4 Interaction and communication
Holmberg is the major proponent of this theory, having developed ‘a coherent theory from his early statement that “a correspondence course must by definition be something different from a textbook with questions” ’ (Keegan, 1990:92).

This theory claims that learning will be greatly enhanced if there is two way communication between the teacher and the learner. It is supported by the theoretical work of Bååth (1979) who was able to demonstrate links between two-way communication in the DE mode with the major teaching models such as: Skinner’s behaviour control model (p. 26), Rothkopf’s model for written instruction (pp. 31 & 38), Ausubel’s advance organiser’s model (p. 49), Egan’s model for structural communication (p. 56), Brunner’s discovery learning model
Summarising Báath's conclusions from the above models, I make the following general statements. The teacher cannot know how the students are relating to the learning materials unless s/he can receive from the students, during the course of the instruction, some feedback. With this feedback, the teacher can better facilitate the students' interaction with the learning package. The notion is that the materials are stimuli for the students. The reaction from the students via some form of technology or face-to-face contact will provide the teachers with relevant information and the opportunity to guide the students to achieve the learning objectives if the students' responses indicate that they have strayed from them. In proceeding this way the teacher should be able to motivate the students to achieve the learning objectives. Thus this theory provides a venue for the teachers to maintain some control and direction of the students' learning.

3.4.5 Theory of industrialisation

Peters claimed that when comparing distance and conventional education using the Hamburg model, these two systems of education were essentially diverse. The Hamburg model developed by Paul Heimann and Wolfgang Schultz proposed that 'all teaching-learning processes can be analysed in terms of six intrinsic structural prerequisites: aims, contents, methods, choice of medium, human pre-requisites, and socio-cultural pre-requisites' (Keegan, 1990:75). Peters analysed distance education using this model and found 'profound structural difference between distance and conventional education for all six of
the constituent characteristics (p. 75). He further claimed that 'the traditional categories of educational research proved inadequate for a didactical analysis of distance systems and he was forced to abandon them' (p. 75).

In 1965 and 1968 respectively, Peters published authoritative analytical and comparative surveys of DE institutions at different educational levels and from different places in the world (p. 73). From the large amount of data Peters had collected, he developed a theoretical structure for DE. He argued that the structure of DE systems was so different from 'conventional, oral education that the didactic analyst' had to look elsewhere for his models for constructing a model for DE systems. He found that the most fruitful model was the industrial production process.

Proponents of this theory claim that ‘Distance Education is an industrialised form of education’ (Peters, 1983, 1989, 1993). His theory is based on the concepts of rationalisation, division of labour, mechanisation, assembly line, mass production, planning and preparation, standardisation, and functional change and objectification (Keegan, 1990:76-77).

Peters categorised ‘conventional, oral, group-based education’ as ‘a pre-industrial form of education. In that teaching mode, the teaching and the presentation were provided by the craftsman, the teacher. Whereas, in DE, the teaching was developed in the learning package by a group of people. A
different group of people presented the materials to the students. The teaching process was rationalised.

"By rationalization (sic) we mean all "methodical" (that is, rationally guided) "measures" with the purpose of achieving "output with a comparatively (compared to earlier situations) lower input of power, time and money." (Peters, 1994:110). The notion is to get more for less. Applying this notion to education results in less input in terms of power, time and money and yet more students being outputted from the system. Conventional education tried to cope with the rationalisation process by introducing 'lectures to larger groups of students, by the use printed books and by the specialization of university lecturers' (p. 111). But teaching within the face-to-face mode, during the 1960's when Peters formulated his theory, was not rationalised, one person controlled the course structure and contents. Whereas the teaching in DE was already rationalised in the sense that specialists determined the course structure and contents: instructional designers, editors and content specialists. As an aside, today this process is not as distinct especially when one considers team teaching and the use of technology in lectures and in tutorials. Notwithstanding, the DE teaching in Peter's day was industrialised and this continues today.

The rationalisation was achieved by division of labour and the objectification of the teaching process. Work processes were planned in such a way that 'clearly formulated teaching objectives are achieved in the most effective manner' (Peters, 1994:111). The introduction of technology in education, including
communications systems, has made it possible to transmit the teacher's knowledge, ability and teaching skills, by means of the detached objectivity of a distance study course of constant quality, to a theoretically unlimited number of students' (emphasis mine, p. 111). The point being that the course was now detached from the teacher, any one could teach it; its quality was constant, every student who studied for the course got the same learning package; and, the economies of scale for such a system were self evident. So fewer expensive teachers could produce such materials which could then be taught by less expensive teachers thereby achieving a level of rationalisation through the possibilities of mass production.

The 'complete work process', which is split in distance teaching, consists of the teaching activity of the university lecturer: namely, the entirety of the measures he takes in order to initiate and guide learning processes in students (Peters, 1994:113).

The above quote describes the notion of division of labour. The university lecturer's tasks of teaching, the complete work process, are broken into smaller elementary processes that can be undertaken by less skilled personnel. Thus the periods for training required for these personnel will be less. Such persons are in adequate supply; therefore their wages can be lower. Initially the two tasks of the lecturer were broken into counseling and transmitting knowledge and carried out by different sets of DE personnel. But current DE systems have broken these two main tasks into even smaller ones. For example at USP,
counseling is taken up by Extension Centre staff and by UEHQ staff if the Centre staff cannot provide the required counseling. In some cases, the counseling questions are even referred to the appropriate lecturers. The teaching, after the materials are supplied to the students, may be provided by the Centre staff, by part-time tutors appointed at the Centre level, by full-time tutors supplied by the teaching departments concerned or by other lecturers from the same teaching departments.

'Mechanization (sic) means the use of machines in a work process' (Peters, 1994:114). Within the DE process, these machines replace the work done by (wo)men's muscles and/or minds. For example the photocopying machines, delivery systems, interactive teaching systems and telecommunications systems are required machines in many DE systems in operation today.

'In the development of the distance study course the manuscript is passed from one area of responsibility to another and specific changes are made at each stage' (Peters, 1994:114). In other words the manuscript is moved along an assembly line. A production process that uses an assembly line 'saves time, energy and money' (p. 115). Within DE the assembly line may constitute the following. During its development and production, the learning package moves from the lecturer to the instructional designers, then to the textprocessors, then to the editors, is returned to the lecturers, is returned to the editors and finally it is returned to the textprocessors, until it is considered to be in suitable form to be submitted for mass production.
'From an economic point of view, the production of distance study courses represent mass production' (Peters, 1994:116). Mass production occurs when large numbers of an item are made by copying a prototype. It is different from craft production system in which each of the items is produced uniquely. Within DE once the prototype manuscript of the learning package is prepared it is transmitted to printers for mass production. Similarly, any required media are mass-produced from a prototype. For example an audiocassette, a CD disk or a video tape.

Careful and thorough preparation and planning are required in the DE process. Every section of the learning package must be determined in detail and each of the sections complement rather than contradict each other so as not to confuse the students. Also once the materials are produced it is a tedious and expensive tasks to keep informing students of amendments to the learning package. For on-campus teaching this is possible as the students are in physical contact with the teachers. Whereas in USP's DE the system, students could be on an island that is reached by boat once a month. Thus by the time the amendments reach the students they could be too late to be useful.

'It is characteristic of a production situation involving the division of labour and high technology that manufacture is limited to a number of types of one product, in order to make these more suitable for their purpose, cheaper to produce and easier to replace' (Peters, 1994:120). The above quote described the notion of
standardisation. The end product of the production process is exactly the same. The distance education institution needs to standardise its courses so that they appeal to as many of their students as possible without discriminating against any section of the student population. Thus rather than the course taking a particular slant in one semester because of the lecturer’s interests, all offerings of the course are similar.

The industrialisation process causes the de-skilling of the workers involved in the process. In conventional education the lecturer controls and is responsible for the preparation and presentation of the teaching. Whereas in DE, as seen in the section of division of labour, the workers carry out elementary tasks. One task may be concerned with authoring the materials, another with marking the assignments, a third with counseling, a fourth with enrolling, a fifth with collating and processing assessment and so on. These functional changes are part of the industrialisation process.

The industrialisation process has come to be known as the Fordist paradigm. ‘Economies have been linked to mass production, specialisation, standardisation, dedicated machinery, and the bulk purchase of raw materials. Conception of centralised systems leading to cost efficiencies and, production standards through economies of scale …’ (Badham, 1986:4 cited in Campion, 1990:60) was the offshoot of this theory. The UKOU was built on this system and was largely influential for the acceptance of this paradigm worldwide (p.61).
Now this system has a 'privileged and seemingly secure place in the repertoire of [education] policy makers' (p.61).

However, as the years unfolded, it became clear, within the manufacturing sector, that Fordism did not provide the answers for maximum profit on one hand and workers and customers satisfaction on the other. Thus the move towards neo-Fordism and Post-Fordism. Distance education has also made these moves, although at a much slower rate than industry. Industrialisation was considered a feature of large-scale distance education (Bâåth, 1979 : 213-214). Small-scale DE systems do not conform to this Fordist paradigm.

The Fordist DE system is centrally controlled and organised. It is an efficient and effective system as it is informed by the process of rationalisation and therefore preferred by ministries of education in dominated countries whose supply of places in conventional education is outstripped by the demands for these places. This system does not consider the cultural contexts of its processes and is itself driven by economies of scale. It presents an illusion of being acultural and neutral and only being concerned with efficiency and effectiveness. From a postcolonial perspective though, it discriminates against the minorities and ensures that they remain in their lower state.

There are a number of opponents to this theory of distance education who claim that conventional education is as industrialised as DE (Rumble, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c). They based their arguments on the fact that small DE institutions do
not conform to that theory and on the fact that in these Post-Fordist times conventional education is industrialised. Campion (1990, 1992, 1996), I feel, provides the best criticism of this model. He makes the point that the times have changed to Post-Fordist yet, because policy makers continue to hold on the rationalist perspective, they are effectively preventing the shift to a Post-Fordist model of DE (1990, 1992). He does not disagree with the notion of industrialisation of education rather he says that it has outlived its usefulness.

In responding to the critics of the industrialisation of education as DE, Peters (1994) made the point that he never claimed to have developed a theory of DE, rather he interpreted DE with the help of the metaphor of industrialised production process and found similarities (pp. 16 - 17). He made the point that his notion of DE was an industrialisation of education, 'a special way of conceiving distance education - and nothing more' (p. 17). Thus the concept of industrialised teaching and learning distinguishes DE from all forms of conventional face-to-face education. Peters says it is not an approach to general teaching theory, but a sociological analysis (p. 17). This is the perspective of DE that most of its practitioners adhere to.

3.4.6 Post-Fordism
The point of this model is that there is within these contemporary times, changes in the demands of the clients of DE. It is likened to the move from Fordism to Post-Fordism within industry. Within contemporary time, the learners are more demanding, they want more variety. Thus rather than just concentrating their efforts on 'mass production', mass delivery and mass
support systems, the DE systems are trying to cater for the individual needs of their clients and workers within their paradigm of rationalism.

The view of the DE student as the 'paradigmatic "lone wolf" who relies on his [her] own learning strategy and his[her] own extraordinary endurance in order to "survive"' has ceased to be true (Peters, 1994:232). The students want more. Thus the Post-Fordism model attempts to provide the demanded extras and to cater for the 'autonomous groups' which will become the main constituents of the learning process. These groups will provide opportunities for the 'development of wholesome and enjoyable work climate[s]. They will allow feelings of togetherness and belonging. And they will encourage spontaneity and self-expression' (Peters, 1994:232).

This method will enable the students to 'store and retrieve information which will be relevant to their learning process with the help of computers and to develop and refine this particular skill' (p. 233). Clearly then, this is the method of the moment, the method that relies on computers and telecommunications technology, and a system that will be suited for countries that have established the required telecommunications and postal capacity. By implication then, this is not the system for most of the developing world.

My discussion here is informed by Campion (1990). Campion's discussion is informed by the conflation of Peters' conceptualisation of DE as industrialisation of education with mass production, Fordism. 'In terms of distance education.
practice, the United Kingdom Open University was conceptualised and commenced whilst the Fordist production paradigm continued to dominate, and that institution has been enormously influential worldwide' (p. 61). Campion makes the point that the Fordist paradigm has a 'privileged and seemingly secure position in the repertoire of policy makers' (p. 61). In other words DE policy makers are concerned about economies of scale and mass production within DE rather than catering for the needs of the students. Campion is seeking to replace the Fordist paradigm with a Post-Fordist one in the repertoire of the policy makers so that it becomes the paradigm that drives the DE process. Therefore the students' needs rather than that of mass production will be met. The DE process should then emphasise product innovation, process variability and labour responsibility instead of the Fordist emphasis on mass production which results from low product innovation, low process variability and low labour responsibility.

In other words, the development of DE has moved from a period of craft production to Fordism. Campion (1990, 1992, 1996) suggests that the shift to the Post-Fordist production mode is required if DE providers are to provide for the needs of their learners. The craft production model within DE was the period of small numbers of DE students. Within such systems, teachers were able to develop effective working relationships with their students. A good example of this is the Australian School of the Air. But as correspondence education became more prevalent, the production mode became Fordist.
The move to other generations of DE (as suggested in Table 3.2) and the formation of post-industrial societies in material and conceptual terms have not seen a shift to the Post-Fordism production paradigm. In other words what is happening in the societies, especially the demands for greater variety by the consumers and the demands for rights to equal education, can not be matched by what is happening in the education systems. The production systems of DE (which are presented as the panacea to providing education to all) have not made the move to Post-Fordism production systems and therefore they cannot adequately cater for the variety of needs of the DE learners.

Peters suggests that the Post-Fordist DE organisation 'will probably be combinations of intensified and sustained group work—highly sophisticated ways of acquiring the necessary knowledge for self-study and increased telecommunications between the participants. They will have different sets of goals and objectives. And they will have to rely on self-directing and self-controlling—that is, on autonomous students' (Peters, 1993:239). The suggestion is that the current DE organisational structures cannot cope with the demands of Post-Fordist societies. The changes that are needed of current Fordist DE organisation cannot be slight and superficial. But what of DE organisations for hybrid societies like those that USP caters for? The consumption patterns of the many Pacific people mimic those of Post-Fordist societies, yet the material conditions of many of these societies are Fordist and even craft but barely Post-Fordist (except for the upper class). Also the telecommunications and postal infrastructure in many cases is slightly Fordist.
Thus the face of the DE organisation that can cater for the students living in craft, Fordist and Post-Fordist societies needs to be different from a Fordist and a Post-Fordist one. I take these issues up again in Chapter 5.

3.4.7 General theory of DE

Within this thesis, I represent a different perspective on DE, one that takes into account the human element. Based on this strength within the communities in these contexts, I conceptualise DE modelled on community cooperation for survival. I will not discuss this conceptualisation in detail in this section, suffice to note that it is built up from my experiences with DE at USP, Australia and New Zealand, my knowledge of DE in Canada, United Kingdom and the United States of America, my commitment to the Pedagogy of the Oppressed and postcolonial theory and criticism.

Three of the theories presented in this section are prescriptive. They do not depict DE as it is but rather as it should be. These theories are autonomy and independence, interaction and communication and Post-Fordist. The industrialisation of education however is descriptive. ‘It characterises distance education as a form of study that, because of its typical features, is the product of a particular period in the development of our culture: industrialisation. It is useful in discerning and understanding particular features in which it does differ from face-to-face education’ (Peters, 1994:218). I agree with this point of Peters.
3.5 COST ISSUES IN DISTANCE EDUCATION

3.5.1 Economies of scale model
Beyond a critical mass of enrolments, DE is cheaper than face-to-face education, due to 'economies of scale'. The notion is that as more students enrol in a subject, the unit cost per student is reduced. What this means is that if there is less than the critical mass, then the cost of DE is more that of face-to-face. However, once the critical mass enrolment is achieved then each enrolment over that number, are 'profit' and therefore the costs per student are reduced. Therefore a number of institutions will not mount a course if less than this critical mass of students enrol. In most cases, however, the institutions have put into place strategies to ensure that more than the critical mass of students enrol. For example scholarship schemes for courses with low enrolments or enrolling students from other institutions are implemented.

This notion of critical mass enrolment is linked to fixed costs of production of the DE course (Rumble, 1983). What this means is that to mount a DE course certain costs must be incurred irrespective of the enrolment numbers. These costs relate to the production of the course materials, payment of staff who produce the materials for the course, the support systems for the course including delivery costs, tutorials and assessments. Thus whether there is one student or the critical mass enrolment, the 'break-even' enrolment number, the cost per student is the same. But enrolments beyond this critical mass enrolment number effectively reduce production and support costs and increase
revenue, respectively, thereby lowering the unit cost of the subject to the institution.

Daniel (Snowden & Daniel, 1980) makes a very important point about the costs of DE. He classified the economic structures of distance education as, on the one hand, independent activities in which economies of scale are possible and on the other hand, the interactive activities in which they may not be. I agree with Daniel's contention that a course should not be designed as entirely independent. The interactive activities encourage socialisation and feedback. Thus these types of activities are important but their costs tend to be directly related to the numbers of students involved in them.

I conclude this section with a quote from Ortner, Graff and Wilmersdoefer (1992):

As far as I can survey the experiences made in the past ... and the developments to come in the (near) future ... with respect to distance education technology and being an incurable optimist, I dare say that no technological innovation in education will be of long term stability unless it is in close accordance with educational needs and potential, both individual and social. The priority of educational objectives will prevail even in the forthcoming times of the 'new educational technology. (p. 167)
The important point in the above quote is that 'educational needs and potential, both individual and social' should be the driving force when implementing technologies into DE. Although, I am not as optimistic about the prevalence of the educational aims over the introduction of technology into DE, especially in light of the following comments from Yibing (1995) and Bruce (1997). According to Yibing (1995) technology has to be instrumental in changing the definitions of DE, therefore why can't it change DE's aims and at least influence them substantially. Bruce (1997) warns against 'technological determinism' which he says is the trap of allowing the technology to dictate the direction of use of the technology. Within DE technological determinism is rife. Many DE institutions have moved into technological solutions without adequate research into: the students access to such technologies; the suitability or improvement that using such technology will bring; or even the maintenance or hidden operational costs of such technologies. The hidden costs of technologies refer to required staff training, changes in workplace practices, design and construction of new forms to accommodate the new technologies, additional consumables to make the technologies cost effective, for example the purchase of more audio cassettes to tape the audio-teleconferences.

3.6 CONCLUSION

Richard Guy (1994) conducted research on DE in Papua New Guinea during the early 1990s. His empirical data was based on journals that were kept by his DE students at the University of Papua New Guinea. Guy's major conclusion was:
Terms such as individual learning, personal work and independent of tutors (Holmberg, 1983), a plurality of scholarly positions (Holmberg, 1989a), individualisation, self-pacing, evaluation, apartness and autonomy (Moore, 1977), and division of labour, industrialisation and rationalising (Peters, 1983), represent much of the thinking about distance education in the developed world at present, and contain specific ideologies which may not be consistent or at least appropriate in third world cultures.

The metaphors of distance education in the third world might be better thought of as community, relationships, support, practical knowledge and action, and the theorising about distance education in such a context may emphasise collectivism, group learning, dialogue, co-operation and agreed forms of knowledge.

(Guy, 1994:58)

I fully agree with the second paragraph above and in this thesis provide a conceptualisation of my own metaphor for DE that is based around the notions of colonialisation/decolonisation on one hand and education/distance education on the other hand. I agree that DE in the PICs would be more appropriate if it were built on the notion of cooperation of an extended family, where each immediate family was responsible for a particular portion of the work. Therefore for the overall work to be successful, each section must cooperate with the
others. The cooperation based on mutual respect, dependency and agreement not to de-humanise the players within DE nor their knowledges. The strategy that is implemented is based on Freire's dialogic theory (Freire, 1992).

Distance educators in the dominated countries appear to have assumed that the foundations on which the principles of distance education were built in dominant countries are also present in their countries. In Chapter 2, I presented the picture of DE in the Pacific and in this one I wrote about the mainstream theories of DE. Clearly, there is not a good fit between the two, and although the practices in Third World countries follow those in the First World, Guy postulated they 'may not be consistent or at least appropriate in third world cultures' (1994 : 58). In order to present an alternative perspective of distance education, I will present a view of this form of education using selected postcolonial concepts. The next chapter will discuss these selected constructs which will be used in a later chapter to develop an alternate model for distance education. In Chapter 4 I start by problematising the very notion of research.
CHAPTER FOUR
POST COLONIALISM AS METHODOLOGY: I-TUKUNI

4.1 RESEARCH AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This Chapter assembles and proposes a methodology for the critique and reconstruction of distance education in the South Pacific. A hybrid methodology that begins with an exposition of postcolonial theory and criticism, then moves to my own construction of the i-tukuni. As noted in Chapter 1, this particular approach to the analysis of distance education is not only unconventional, but it is based on a perspective that questions the very nature of 'research' and 'research methodology' as they are generally accepted in traditional and, even, critical scholarship. My approach here then is to deconstruct the notion of research and what it represents. I then look at distance education through postcolonial lens and from a particular standpoint within that theoretical frame.

4.1.1 Standpoints as products of truth

Hence, I begin with a deconstruction of the very notion of research. My starting point is that all research is based on situated perspectives, on particular epistemological standpoints (Hardin, 1991). When these standpoints are taken as being the products of an authoritatively science or truth, they may constitute, whatever the intentions of the researchers, a mis/representation or dis/representation of the world. I provide examples of this in 4.1.5.
4.1.2 Paradigms as societal consensus

By misrepresentation I mean that the researchers have deliberately presented their research findings only through the eyes of their dominant theories or what Kuhn (1974) termed ‘paradigms’: dominant theories which are trusted implicitly but which ‘do not fit experimental finding quite perfectly’ (p.297). Thus the metaphysical assumptions undergirding the conventional paradigm, the received view, must be seriously questioned (Guba & Lincoln, 1994:105) as nothing more than a process of constructing borders based on the researchers’ ideologies, values, beliefs systems and research methodologies. For example when the scientist says that it is a fact that water freezes at zero degree, what s/he really means is that many years ago other scientists deemed that occurrence a fact. But on close scrutiny it is clear that those scientists described the set of conditions under which water would freeze. The set of conditions are what I am referring to as the borders. Notwithstanding, a reigning paradigm has such sway over minds that only strong empirical pressure can dislodge. Theories, for Kuhn (1962), evolved in many directions, and by his account, all research is paradigmatic and it would be difficult to argue that any of us could work ‘non-paradigmatically’.

However, there are degrees to which any of us assume or take for granted the absoluteness or the comprehensiveness of the paradigms from which we work. What this means in practice is that some approaches to ‘research’ may be extremely narrow minded and one-eyed in their acceptance of truth, while others may recognise that the knowledge they generate is provisional, conditional and preliminary: that their particular paradigm may be partial and,
furthermore, only one among many. In spite of these views of truth, the products of the research tend to guide action.

Communities of researchers who have documented the South Pacific and its communities, and followed the scientific methodology, have tended to disregard peripheral and ‘minor’ data or findings that did not fit their dominant theories. This methodology generated ‘truths’, disciplinary fields and fixed knowledge boundaries that are today difficult to change. In such contexts research findings that do not fit with the contemporary theories and paradigms tended to be treated as procedural, practical or methodological errors. This applies not only to those ‘hard’ sciences that appear to be insensitive to local contexts — like physics, chemistry and mathematics — but as well to those human sciences that are based on sensitivity to the ‘natives’. Margaret Mead’s (1961) presentation of many of the Pacific communities falls in this category. She presented her analysis of her observations solely through her eyes in a way that missed the customs, texts and traditions of the peoples that she professed to study in a scientific manner (Freeman, 1959).

4.1.3 Research as othering

By dis/representation I mean that type of research that has resulted in the systematic dislocation and decontextualisation of people from their pasts. Pacific Islanders still realise who they are despite the constructions of their society by influential anthropologists like Mead, and missionaries, political scientists, sociologists, psychologists, military experts and others who brought their expert eyes to gaze on them. Yet the results of the experiments, scientific,
moral and scholarly findings - and, more importantly, their institutional applications - may cause the societies of the South Pacific to actually become what I would here term ‘unhoused’. They have become dislocated from their genealogies and need 'in a sense, to be 'reinvented' in language, in narrative and in myths' so that they are freed from their colonised repressive and imposed past (Ashcroft et al., 1998:73). The 'i-tukuni' proposed in this Chapter is one such attempted narrative reinvention.

Examples of this 'unhousing' include biologicist experiments carried out on indigenous peoples including those in America (Gould, 1981 : 198) and Australia (Nakata, 1997). These experiments measured various parts of persons' anatomy compared them to the 'superior' Caucasian and concluded that the indigenes were not fully developed. These scientific results had hegemonic effects, not only confirming the dominant culture's view of their Other, but as well altering the ways in which many indigenous peoples considered themselves, their capacities, and their material conditions. Their traditions, past and cultures were deemed immature and primitive, and needed to be rescued out of that lowly state by the imperial and civilising missions of colonisation (Young, 1990). Their minds became colonised in the process; they became a different people, impregnated with knowledges that conflicted with their own. Interestingly, no such biologist experiments were done on the natives of Fiji, probably because they appeared to concede to the superiority of the Caucasian without much military or other resistance. They even called the Caucasians 'people from heaven', kaivalagi. The natives were convinced of
their inferiority and the Caucasians were convinced of their superiority so they
did not need experiments to support their civilising mission and exploitation of
the natives.

4.1.4 Researching and colonising
In discussions of colonial encounter in India, Nandy (1983) lays out two
chronologically distinct types of colonisers. The first used militaristic methods to
colonise. This type of coloniser, Nandy argues, was greedy, rapacious and
therefore only considered their own self-interests. They raped the colonies for
all that they were worth. The second type portrayed themselves as the civilised
knowers who had come to lift the primitive, immature and 'known' natives up the
hierarchy of subjects and knowledges. They positioned themselves as morally
and intellectually (and not just militarily and technologically) superior to the
natives. Nandy (1983) goes even further,

This colonialism colonises minds in addition to bodies and it
releases forces within colonised societies to alter their cultural
priorities once and for all. ... The West is now everywhere,
within the West and outside, in structures and in minds. (p. xi)

This and other postcolonial writings make the point that the West systematically
attempted to cancel or negate the cultural difference and value of its Other, both
the Other's psychic and spiritual 'inside' and their material 'outsides' (Christian,
1987; Gandhi, 1998; JanMohamed & Lloyd, 1990; Mongia, 1996; Moore-Gilbert,
1997). In some cases it was very successful and in others marginally so,
though the desire and contempt for their Other are still felt by the coloniser and
the colonised. Both have been dirtied by colonialism. But it was through
research (especially ethnography) that the coloniser, through his standpoints and paradigms, came to know the colonised, then taught the colonised to know themselves through the eyes of the knower, and their knowers' value systems, beliefs and knowledge.

4.1.5 What then is the purpose of research?
Clearly, from the foregoing, the research products put the researcher into a position of power over the researched (rather than giving him or her power over the researched). Thus, if the researched became the researcher then they would have put themselves into the position of power over the former researchers. Martin Nakata’s (1998, 1997) work demonstrates this argument. He re-presented the biologistic research done on Torres Strait Islanders, to show how the Caucasian was positioned to be seen as being superior to the Torres Strait Islander. He clearly shows that these research were not able to produce the required results and so they were reconstituted in a number of different ways so that the results obtained could prove that the Caucasian was indeed superior to the Torres Strait Islander. Nakata says the Western researchers could not obtain the desired results and so the research findings were silenced.

However, if results of research proved the required aims they would not have been silenced, rather they would have been used for economic gain. A clear example of this is the use of research in advertisements. Research findings are presented in advertisements to provide legitimacy and truth; irrespective of the suitability of research methods used, and thereby entice people to purchase
particular products because of research findings. Therefore, ethics and more importantly social justice issues must be carefully considered when designing and using methodologies of research and their findings. The use, to which the product of the research will be used, must be considered both before and after the experiment is conducted. The reasons for conducting the research in the first place must be critically examined to avoid being used. For example, I was once on a research team to look for DE projects for Pacific Islanders. The project appeared to be very useful, then I was questioned as to why I was conducting the research and not someone else, and why were we looking at just DE projects and not education in general. I became conscious of the fact that often the outcome of the research is predetermined and the process carried out to gain legitimacy for a particular course of action. This is done by setting parameters of the research such that only a particular result would be obtained. This is not always the case but the point is that research and their findings can be used for ulterior purposes and the researcher must be careful that their research and findings are not used in this way. As an aside, when researchers are aware that this is being done, then they could ensure, since they are being used, that they also use the research to gain space for their political projects. In other words, in the case given above, I would ensure that the projects were the DE projects that were clearly needed by the people in the areas that we researched, that the projects were sustainable and of long term use (Matthewson et al. 1996). If and when the researched became aware of the sequence of events they too can use the researcher to their advantage.
4.1.6 A third way?

Paradigms are not just problem-solving practices and rule systems, as Kuhn (1962) argued. They are also meta-narratives, grand scale stories based on the value and belief systems of disciplinary and scholarly discourse communities. These stories – whether those smaller scale stories of Mead (1961) and other anthropologists (Malinowski, 1961; Thomson, 1908), or those grand stories of Christianity, Darwin, Adam Smith, Marxism, the scientific method, mathematics, medicine and the legal system that have been so important in shaping the South Pacific - are all historically contestable constructions. However, these constructions were presented as being built on scientific method and therefore superior.

Scientific knowledge is constructed through the process of positivism and later post-positivism. It focuses on efforts to verify or falsify a prior hypothesis and is used to predict and control natural phenomena (Guba & Lincoln, 1994: 106). These were the 'hard' knowledges. There exist a widespread conviction that only quantitative data was ultimately valid or of high quality. Thus the knowledge resulting from these data and methodologies must be superior. Other knowledges which were constructed differently were considered 'soft' signalling their putative imprecision and lack of dependability. By the late 1980's, though counterpressures against superiority of the scientific method gained momentum (p. 106). These pressures came from within and outside of scientific fields (Bernstein, 1988; Guba, 1990; Hesse, 1980; Reason & Rowan, 1981). So, following Lyotard's (1984) critique of the privileging of scientific knowledge, I would ask: why should any research or knowledge be privileged
over others when they are all based on paradigms and standpoints? It is often said that the proof of the validity of knowledge is the power of that knowledge to predict, but some knowledges are not constructed to only predict and control but rather to understand. In the latter case, in so understanding, the people will be able to work in harmony with their environments. For example in the Pacific, by understanding the signs of the weather patterns, the people have constructed knowledge on the best times to plant certain crops.

The third way then is to use both hard and soft research methodologies to inform the method that is used. The soft methodology would inform the research process about the local and human peculiarities of the context and the hard methodology would provide quantitative data. Both methodologies are needed to inform any research project. But within these ‘new times’, the researcher must also be responsive for the use to which his findings could be put. Therefore legal constraints may need to be drawn up to restrict the use of the findings to avoid mis/dis-representation. The writings of the research report should present the findings and conclusions as applicable to a particular context under defined conditions in a particular period. Rather than presenting a panoptic perspective, the writing should (possibly through the use of different fonts or some other means) present multiple perspectives of insider/outsider; researched/researcher and, the summary and/or conclusions could be written as a hybrid of these multiple perspectives. Thus although the first person speech is used, it should not be the dominant one.
4.1.7 My standpoint and paradigm

This study is a philosophical inquiry, a series of epistemic positions and games that unfolded over time. The methodology of this thesis, then, is a documentation of standpoint, of a series of decisions that constitute this particular personal and intellectual project.

First, then, I present notions of standpoint and paradigm, trace how they are constructed, and how they change and are themselves changed. I do this through the work of the geographer Edward Soja’s (1996:1) Thirdspace, a project that encourages us to reconsider spatiality in the same ways that we have thought about historicality and sociality. Soja’s point is that we need to think differently about the ‘meanings and significance of space’ and its related concepts. For my project, this involves making the links between the text, contexts and contents of research through what Soja (1996) calls:

...conceptualisations of spatiality: that the assertion of an alternative envisioning of spatiality (as illustrated in the heterotopologies of Foucault, the triademics and thirdings of Lefebvre, the marginality and radical openness of bell hooks, the hybridities of Homi Bhabha) directly challenges (and is intended to challengingly deconstruct) all conventional modes of spatial thinking. They are not just other ‘spaces’ to be added on to the geographical imagination; they are also ‘other than’ the established ways of thinking spatially. They are meant to detonate, to deconstruct, not to be comfortably poured back into old containers. (emphasis in original, p. 163)
Soja argues for alternative ways of seeing and filling space that go beyond our conventional assumptions – assumptions that, as we saw in Chapter 3, dominate such fields as distance education. Such assumptions include the belief that space consists principally of material, sterile and static locations or containers with relatively uncomplex and unproblematic relationships to research culture and the researched sociality. The alternative ways of seeing and filling the spaces also involve, according to Soja, the need to move beyond preoccupations with time (e.g., history) and mind (e.g., consciousness) that have dominated Western philosophy. Within this study, they suggest a critical analysis of the very learning theories that were discussed in Chapter 3 that hang like straight jackets around distance education methodologies and practices.

I here want to appropriate this conceptualisation of spatiality to inform an unpacking of research. I am attempting to do something different, not to fit into old straight jacket labels of standpoint and paradigm, but to provide for what Soja calls ‘other than’ the established ways of ‘doing’ and thereby ‘knowing’. At the same time (space?), my writing strategy here is to shift quite deliberately into and out of spaces created by writers such as Soja (1996), Bhabha (1990), hooks (1984) and Derrida (1981). I return to the importance of writing at various points in this thesis.

Regardless of whether the research is but one construction among other constructions, it invariably is used to provide agency for particular hegemonic
action. Research produces theories and these theories themselves are ideological. So the knowledges that are informed by these theories founded on research are mere constructions, maybe only a little better than fiction or, as Baudrillard (1983) might suggest, mirrors which reflect images of other mirrors. Thus Guba (1994) defines paradigms as ‘the basic belief system of worldview that guides the investigator, not only in choices of method but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways’ (p.105). ‘The belief systems are basic in the sense that they must be acceptable simply on faith ... there is no way to establish their ultimate truthfulness’ (p.107). How, I ask myself, is this different from the leap of faith of a Christian or Moslem? The answer, guided by my rules presented in 4.1.8, has to be a resounding; ‘It is no different’.

For me, standpoint is the inquirer’s personal take of a theoretical frame that is used to manipulate signs. It is also affected by the circumstances that I find myself in any moment of my daily life. I use the notion of essence deliberately as I posit standpoints which are grounded by palimpsest experience, both psychological and material, both ‘internal’ and ‘external’ spaces (Foucault, 1986). I acknowledge the arguments of the anti-essentialists and critics of the creation of new indigenous elites as the outcome of the National Liberation Movements of the 60s and 70s, and also the points raised by Spivak (1983a) when she asked, ‘Can the Subaltern Speak?’

I consider myself an anti-essentialist, but, like Spivak, I subscribe to the notion of ‘strategic essentialism’. Yet I want to go further, to contingently describe the
essence of the researcher as changing with the acceptance of other paradigms. The newer paradigms will be written over the old ones, appearing to replace them, but never quite succeeding. Thus the 'being' of the researcher is constructed through discourses and re-written many times, therefore there are different essences below the one that is visible. They are there below the surface only to reappear at strategic moments, moments when the subject's individual or societal survival is being threatened. These essences though are not about pure aprior forms but about previous aprior forms, traces of the previous inscriptions that have been 'overwritten', palimpsest essences. Essences of the researchers are clearly written and in a process of being re-written during the course of research.

So personal standpoint is a matter of adherence to particular ways of interpreting phenomenon as distinct from looking through different lenses. Within this thesis I look through the postcolonial and other lenses, but my standpoint within these lenses is personal to me. I have my own spectacles of the postcolonial type. What I am saying is that the inquirer actively affects and is affected by the research project through the personal standpoint used, on a continual basis, causing the continual deconstruction/reconstruction of the inquiry. Standpoint here concerns fusing the everyday and the theoretical perspectives to the research, attempting at all points of the research to accommodate the gaps between the lived experiences and theories.
Further, in different spaces and different times and different power positions different standpoints are dominant. Personal standpoint represents a worldview that defines, for the reader and writer, the character of the world, that individual’s place in it, and the range of possible relationships that these players could have to that world and its parts. I can almost hear a reader saying that if it’s everything then it’s nothing. But I beg to differ—I say to that reader it is something different from what you are used to, something for which you don’t have a language or a word, but as soon as you coin a word for it, it will be captured, it will be known.

Giroux’s (1983, 1988) discussion of ‘language of critique’ and ‘language of possibility’ captures the essence of what I am trying to say. Further, Ashcroft (1989a) writes,

> Language cannot ... be said to perform its function by reflecting to the world in a purely contingent way, and thus meanings cannot remain exclusively accessible to those ‘native’ speakers.... The central feature of the ways in which words mean things in spoken and written discourse is the situation of the word. The ranges of ‘nuances’ and ‘connotation’ which are sometimes held to be the key to the incommunicability of cultural experiences are simply functions of that situation. (p. 300)

Thus besides, the changes in positions from the researcher to researched and back again, another issue is that of the language in which the research is conducted and reported. As seen from the quote above, language cannot exist
outside of a context, for the context provides the words of a language with meanings. But what of the situation of research in which the researched is being analysed through a language in which their ways are silenced. If they had to answer questions in an interview, the language skills (of both the researcher and researched) could be inadequate thus the research results themselves would be invalidated. Consequently, it is important to be sensitive to the language in action during a research project.

The scenario involving paradigms is different. As the writers of a research account, researchers take the floor, set parameters and use referential language that demarcates the boundaries of a study (Clandinin & Connelly, 1994). Paradigms are a set of criteria that define what's important and determine how we do things. In their paper, *Competing Paradigms of Qualitative Inquiry*, Guba & Lincoln, (1994) discuss epistemological, ontological and methodological boundaries of positivism, post-positivism, critical theory and constructivism. Guba and Lincoln's argue that: 'Paradigm issues are crucial; no inquirer, we maintain, ought to go about the business of inquiry without being clear about just what paradigm informs and guides his or her approach' (p. 116). So paradigms set up the disciplinary boundaries for the inquiry, they set the guidelines and the limits for doing the inquiry. Yet Kuhn (1962) did not accept that particular shifts in paradigms, even if they yield practical improvements with respect to the problems in question, necessarily result in frameworks that are superior or more truthful. The conceptual framework of this
normal science paradigm contains and produces only scientific theories which utilise commensurable theoretical terms (Kuhn, 1974: 138-139).

As a way out of misrepresentation and disrepresentation and research that was founded on constructions, I turned to and extracted key ideas from postcolonialism to create a version of postcolonial methodology that I call i-tukuni. I have constructed the i-tukuni after the thinking of selected postcolonial and subaltern studies scholars' discourses on knowledge constructions and 'writing back'. Chow's (1997) postcolonial methodology was seminal in the formation of my i-tukuni. She spoke of the need: to critique disciplinarity yet to conform to the apparent rigours of research; to reflexively deconstruct the distinction between the subject and the object; to problematise the panoptic standpoint of the researcher and the homogenising of the researched; to develop an appropriate writing style which reflected the notion of 'using the masters tools' to 'write back', and to provide currency for the experience of the colonised. Superior research technique it is not, it is just one of many, one of difference.

4.1.8 Researcher and researched

I started this thesis documentation by situating myself outside of mainstream academic inquiry. I did this because I needed to detach myself from it so I could critique it. There are two problems with this. First, I am homogenising mainstream inquiry, although I know there are many different types of it and I am also subjugating it. Second, I do this to reverse the roles of the knower and the known: previously I was labelled the known, but in this frame, I become the knower. As the knower, I occupy a position that I loathe, because it reminds me
of the all-knowing surveillance of the colonisers. But more importantly I go further and advocate modes of ‘negotiation’, and ‘critique’, both positions to unsettle the dominance of the researcher and researched. In other words, I situate myself as the knower and critique known positions, then I situate myself as the known and from there critique the knower positions. These shifts however, are not ends in themselves, they more importantly enable the researcher to be sensitive to the different sets of paradigms emphasised by the researcher and those that are being researching.

My strategy here is informed by Spivak’s deconstruction in postcolonial theory (Moore-Gilbert, 1997 : 83 - 91) and Freire’s (1992 : 28, 75 - 118) ‘great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed: to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well’. A strong guiding principle in my research project is to fight to destroy false charity bestowed on Pacific peoples (charity which constrains the fearful and the subdued member of a society to extend their trembling hands in dependency) and to replace it with a belief in themselves and their interdependence rather than dependence on their former colonisers (for example Great Britain, Germany and France) and other outside powers (for example Japan and China). So that their hands are not extended in dependence, but are extended as ‘human hands which work and, working, transform the world’ (p. 29). The idea being that the paradigm has moved from one in which the Pacific Islanders are always in a position of dependence to one in which they are proactive and involved in constructing their world rather than
just being passive and allowing themselves to be changed without resistance or input.

Within DE academic research, I am on the margins. I am not an influential player, therefore I cannot influence the rules of the game or the aims of the game. It is now clear to me that in this discourse one has to be 'in' to affect change. By rules I refer to the legitimated standpoints and paradigms, and the aims of DE as reproducing the status quo of the Foucauldian 'trialectic of power, knowledge, and space' especially within education and educational research (Apple, 1979; Bernstein, 1988; Soja, 1996). Here, I am using an infrequently used notion of Foucault. As an aside, I make the point that every Foucauldian scholar acknowledges the power/knowledge link; but Gregory (1994 : 63) and Soja (1996 : 145 - 163) provide evidence that, for Foucault himself, space is fundamental in any exercise of power. I appropriate this notion and apply it to my deconstruction of research. The power/knowledge link within research should be apparent from the foregoing discussions. I introduced spatiality into the deconstruction process that I am engaging with in education and educational research because of the significance of the context and its attributes—spatiality—especially when considering the transferring of educational practices and the imposing of education norms between countries with very different spatialities.

I want to return to discuss ways of getting into the game of inquiry and of becoming a player, and then turn to the delicate balancing of hiding/revealing
traces of previous inscriptions that have been ‘overwritten’. A possible
developmental leap, then, for a new player would be a searching for his/her
‘truths’ within the research game, truths of the erasures or of new writings, or of
truths of flows between them, or other truths. Truths, like knowledges, are
linked to issues of survival, both personal and societal. But we know that truths
and knowledges are constructed through internal and external inquiry which
themselves depend on the constructions of standpoints and paradigms, just as
there are no true languages of or about nature, just partial ones.

I realise that I have slipped into relativism. Notwithstanding, in the next section I
go further and slip into scepticism. The transition between relativism and
scepticism brings to the fore questions of truth and the role of the researcher.
For me truth itself is different, contingent and relative, in space, time and
sociality. Even science changes its theories as new evidence, which
contradicts the old theories, is uncovered (Kuhn, 1962: 153).

Thus the role of the researcher is to seek out truth in his/her own space, time
and sociality. The problem with relativism is it concludes with every position
being legitimate as each position is supported by its own paradigms and
standpoints which are in turn anchored in the local. Thus chaos would probably
eventuate when there are disputes between opposing positions, which have
resulted from border crossings. In other words, the borders separating different
paradigms and standpoints and positions. However, with the formation of a
new paradigm which draws from existing ones, these borders need to be
crossed and the results could be confusion, as there are no guidelines to suggest which position has more influence on the new paradigm. An interesting example is the writing of this thesis. At many points during this project, I have drawn from different paradigms to create new ones and therefore had to grapple with the differences between paradigms. For example, on some occasions I privilege the insider perspective and on other occasions the outsider one, and in still others both positions simultaneously. But I chose to be in this game, and to play to the rules that I have set up, therefore, I must abide by the rules of the space that I have created. These rules are presented in 4.1.6.

Another possible developmental leap, once within the research game, is the appropriation of the role that Soja calls 'Postmodern Skeptic (sic)': in other words, 'an intense and incessant interrogation of power-laden discourses in the service of neither restoration, reformation, nor revolution, but rather of revolt' (hooks & West, 1991:142-143)). The term revolt does not suit my ends. This is not my preferred option, for mine is one of constant everyday testing of the boundaries and borders of mainstream inquiry, a little at a time, gradually introducing alternative strategies which are themselves self critical, looking for more/further alternatives. For example in this thesis, I present strategies for the improvement of the learners' life styles rather than looking for growth of alternatives for their own sake.

As an outsider researcher I try to look at the world more holistically, rather than constructing particular research designs which modify certain variables so that
the effects can be observed. What I mean here is that I am trying to describe a research methodology that is fundamentally concerned with the context of the researched, context of the researcher and the relationships between them. For example in this study the researched are all those persons and processes that are involved in the DE process of USP. However, my method dictates that I not only study the key players and processes but also the various relationships between them, at least from the perspectives of researcher and researched. I subscribe to the holistic notion emphasised in the 'butterfly effect' of the chaos theory. all things are interwoven—where out there is the truth? Rather than constraining me, the last question allows for the construction of many truths and knowledges constituted in relationship to each other.

Within this context, analysis will not be possible in the scientific sense (for prediction and control) but this is an argument for 'non-control', for acceptance. I refer to the differences for which knowledge is sought by the primitive and progressive societies. The latter seeks knowledge so that it can control its environment and reap maximum benefits from it but the former seeks knowledge so that it can accept and live in harmony with its environment. Too often the researched position themselves in progressive societies and positions the researched in primitive societies. The implications of these power positionings are obvious.

As a researcher, I have struggled to write my research texts in and through my multiple and 'shifting identifications amid a field of interpenetrating communities

These communities and power relations have constrained my writing, by defining theoretical frames and genres that are acceptable in thesis writing. Notwithstanding, I have throughout this thesis tested the borders of these paradigms and genres. For example, I have changed tense and writing styles, telling and re-telling, flowing from insider to outsider, from forward to backward in an attempt to capture within my writing signature the message that I am trying to convey to my reader (Geertz, 1988). I identify with Narayan's (1993) argument:

for an enactment of hybridity in our texts; that is, writing that depicts authors as minimally bicultural in terms of belonging to the world of engaged scholarship and the world of everyday life... I invoke these threads of a culturally tangled identity to demonstrate that a person may have many strands of identification available, strands that may be tugged into the open or stuffed out of sight. (Pp. 672 - 673)

At various points within this chapter I make two of the same points as Narayan. The first is the conflict that occurs in trying to use text as the fusion point of lived everyday experiences and scholarship. For me both types of experiences are important, and when they conflict, as they often do when I attempt to put them in the same paper, a gap in textuality is required. An alternative position or to use Narayan's term, an 'enactment of hybridity in our text' is required.
The second aspect of the struggle is that of knowing when to silence and voice different parts of my multiple self in the text that I write. I initially tended to move from one to another within the same sentence but found that this was ambiguous, especially to the academic. To the everyday reader from my country, this type of speech/writing tends to be understood more than to a reader who is schooled in the strict rules of grammar.

So the conflict is once again resolved by an appeal to the notion of hybridity—a writing that is outside yet within the genre, one that is forever contesting the rules of the genre. Thus the writing depicts a position of flux and a network of flows. It should be clear that my ethnicity, to use an acceptable term (I personally would have preferred to use the phrase, my biological makeup—this term however invokes too many problematics not the least of which is biological determinism—including the nature/nurture debate), has allowed me to experience all the concepts that I introduced at the beginning of this section.

The notion of the 'singlemindedness' of the authors of the scientific research accounts is linked to the type of language used therein, and lack of any attempt to cross cultural boundaries. The 'singlemindedness' that I refer to is the religious adherence to the notion of universality, the quest for generalisable rules. The point here is that the author's 'received view' is distorted by his/her usage of language and ability to adapt it to different cultural contexts, and his/her strong commitment to a particular paradigm and the exclusion of others. I have come to appreciate that there is no such thing as a detached piece of
writing. The writing styles and language used themselves, preempt the authors agendas and the ground rules within which they work. The authors bring to their writing, their own working experiences, beliefs and value systems, but they disguise these by writing in the third person (Clandinin & Connelly, 1994; Denzin, 1994; Geertz, 1988; Reason, 1994; Richardson, 1994). Lyotard (1984) refers to this strategy by the phrase, 'self validating theoretical frameworks'. Therefore I have found the Foucauldian notion of power in discourse and Lyotard's 'incredulity towards meta-narratives' (p. xxiv) refreshing.

### 4.2 THE STUDY

This PhD began as a study of the cost effectiveness of distance education as practised at The University of the South Pacific (USP). The focus of study has changed a number of times. It is now a philosophical inquiry into distance education as practised by the USP with the intent of developing a conceptual framework for distance education at the USP.

A lot of agony was associated with the research and writing of this thesis. Clandinin and Connelly (1994) describe my experience when they affirm:

> This struggle for research voice is captured by the analogy of living on a knife edge as one struggles to express one's own voice in the midst of an inquiry designed to capture the participants' experience and represent their voices, all the while attempting to create a
research text that will speak to, and reflect upon the audience's voices. (p. 423)

I have written more about this struggle to find my speaking voice in the section where I discuss subaltern speech. At this juncture suffice to say that I am attempting to use writing as more than 'just a mopping up activity at the end of the research project. Writing is a way of 'knowing'—a method of discovery and analysis' (Richardson, 1994:516). Therefore, I request that my readers take cognisance of this strategy, as I have attempted to appropriate various writing styles.

The content of the thesis is distance education, as offered by the University of the South Pacific, and scenes of rapid changes in the paradigms of education, and methods of delivery and support of distance education. All of the foregone is further complicated by the positioning of this thesis within 'new times' (Hall, 1996b). This study is an attempt at deconstructing these processes and reconstructing them to address more efficiently the needs of students who are being serviced by the USP's DE program. The paradigm of qualitative inquiry that I am committed to in this thesis is similar to 'critical theory' as described by Guba and Lincoln (1994). They define critical theory as,

> a blanket term denoting a set of several alternative paradigms, including additionally (but not limited to) neo-Marxism, feminism, materialism, and participatory inquiry. Indeed critical theory may itself be usefully divided into three substrands: post-structuralism, postmodernism and a blending of these two. (p. 109)
Their notion of critical theory is different from the more common usage as
defined by the Frankfurt School which aims to
reassess the relationship between theory and practice in the light of
criticisms of positivist and interpretive approaches to social sciences
which have emerged in the last century. (Carr & Kemmis, 1990 : 131)

In other words, just as positivism sought to liberate the social sciences from
philosophy by insisting on methodological unity with the hard sciences, critical
theory sought to liberate the social sciences from the natural sciences by
preserving the concerns of classical practical philosophy with cultural issues,
qualities and values inherent in human life (p. 133). According to Guba and
Lincoln (1994), critical theory is committed to the
critique and transformation of the social, political, cultural, economic,
ethnic, and gender structures that constrain and exploit humankind,
by engagement in confrontation, even conflict. (p.113)

My method however, is more concerned with social justice issues and it is more
closely aligned with critical pedagogy. My own view is that the engagement
needs to be through negotiation and acceptance of different positions rather
than one that is confrontational and conflict ridden. My work is informed by
Freire’s (1992) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and Spivak’s (1987 : 241) preferred
strategy of ‘negotiation and critique’ and I am more inclined to critical pedagogy
than critical thinking (Burbules, 1997a). For critical pedagogy not only calls one
to critically reflect and interpret the world but to also be willing and able to
change that world, whereas critical thinking, according to Burbules, does not necessarily conclude with action to change the world.

4.2.1 The development of the study
My Chinese and Fijian ancestries have presented me with understanding and experiences of the notions of 'both and' (Wilden, 1972) 'cultural hybridity' and 'mimicry' (Bhabha, 1994) 'magical realism' (Slemon, 1988) 'thirding' (Bhabha, 1990; hooks, 1984; Soja, 1996), and 'flows' (Appadurai, 1996) long before I knew these terms or understood their meanings. The concepts described by these terms are things that I have experienced.

Within my own life, I lived within the realm of spiritualism as practised by my i-Taukei families. I acknowledge that the power of ancestral spirits (good and evil) have powers, yet I don’t believe these powers can affect me personally. Both acknowledgement of the power of ancestral spirits and belief in the supremacy of my God exist together. This example covers the notion of 'both and'. Many people would say that these two ideas are mutually exclusive, yet I am comfortable with both of them together.

In the constitution in my country, I am classified as an 'other', neither an i-Taukei nor an Indian. Yet in my grandmother’s village I am considered a vasu,27 one with the i-Taukei and I could legally claim i-Taukei status through her people. I am both i-Taukei and not an i-Taukei. My own identity is
palimpsest, the i-Taukei and Chinese essences are a series of erasures and overwritings which have constructed my current identity. Though phenotypically I resemble an i-Taukei, attitudinally, philosophically, psychologically I am a cultural hybrid. My position here is informed by Bhabha's (1994) notion of cultural hybridity.

Canevacci (1993 : 3) refers to this notion as cultural syncretism—a montage and collage of different and differing multi-ethnicities and identities. I have found that I occupy a political position that is neither i-Taukei nor Indian, rather an in-between position that is neither a marginal nor a central position, a thirdspace. The political system in Fiji defines and classifies three ethnic groups, i-Taukei, Indians and Others (which includes all ethnic groups that are neither i-Taukei nor an Indo-Fijian).

This Other space was an 'empty uncolonised space' that was constructed for those like me to fill. It was a place for all the nothings to fill, a space for the remainders of the society to be put into so that they could be 'known'. It became a place, through the 'process of textuality', discourse, from which many others have mapped out a position of dominance. I liken this to the gaps that hooks (1984) talks about and also to the reconstitution of 'maps' created of 'terra nullius'—'the uncolonised spaces' (Carter, 1987). For example in Fiji, many hybrids (some of which are from so called pure ethnic groups, including other Pacific Islanders, Chinese, Europeans (white skinned people)) have found

32 This is an i-Taukei term that explains my social relationship within the village. Strictly speaking it means that my mother comes from that village. But in my case, my grandmother is my link to the village
themselves in these gaps (between the two major ethnic groups). These people have made themselves comfortable in these gaps and have reconstituted themselves in these spaces and thereby have become a force that is recognised in the country. However, rather than viewing the hybrids through these lenses, I prefer to conceptualise them as equitable alternative positions in society, not as dominant space holders. They have an equal position and responsibility in the country. Thus, for me, the hybrid is not an 'in-between' position or an 'undecideable' one, it is a state of 'flows' constantly shifting rather than being static, it is dynamic and material. It is 'both and' and, more, it is simultaneously different and similar, it can mimic many different positions because of its genealogical makeup, its phenotype, genotype and original conception. The discourse of the hybrid became reality.

I would now like to turn to the chronological events of my work experience and development of this thesis and lay out how they have affected my method formation.

4.2.2 Chronological events of this thesis
Since coming to UQ, I discovered that many of the 'truths' that I had been taught in formal education were mere meta-narratives: 'those guiding principles and mythologies which once seemed to control, delimit and interpret all the diverse forms of discursive activity in the world' (Connor, 1989:9). Knowledge gained through science and the scientific method itself was questioned (Kuhn, 1962, 1974). Mathematics was not as pure and exact as it was made out to be and I am a vasu because my father is also one.
Bishop, 1990). The legal and medical systems were biased towards the contemporary hegemony (Foucault, 1961, 1970, 1977, 1986). These concerns culminated in the now famous phrase 'incredulity towards meta-narratives' (Lyotard, 1984: xxiv). For someone from the sciences, this was a major shift in my way of seeing.

My reading of Foucault's 'knowledge/power' relations, which I appropriate as a strategy to problematise meta-narratives, is that he makes the point that those in positions of knowledge have power. When these people lose those positions they lose the powers that the positions bestowed on them. Thus what they deemed to be true when they were in power may be changed when different persons assume those positions. Therefore, there is no absolute truth or knowledge, just a set of assumptions that a group of people has decided to accept as true because these truths were deemed so, by those in the positions to do so. Lyotard (1984) takes this point on positions further and makes the additional point, 'No one, not even the least privileged among us, is entirely powerless over the message [knowledge] that traverse and position him at the post of sender, addressee, or referent' (p. 15). Therefore all members of the community have some input in the formation of that community's knowledge.

Those who make knowledge tend to prioritise that knowledge which will sustain their privileged positions. Postmodernist writings, therefore, conclude that there is no neutral standpoint, since all standpoints are laden by particular theories and ideologies that subjugate other knowledge so that the holders of the
positions of power may keep them. Here, I borrow the notion of subjugated knowledges from Foucault (1980:82) 'knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naive knowledges located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required levels of cognition or scienticity'. Deleuze and Guattari make a similar point but describe them as 'minor knowledges ... [which] ... embody forms of thought and culture which have been violently deterritorialised by major or dominant knowledges' (1986 cited in Gandhi, 1998:43). Both terms capture the notion that the knowledge databases of the colonised people are occluded and silenced. However, it could be proposed that these subjugated knowledges while generally silenced, have influenced and could be more influential if their proponents wanted and, also knew how to accomplish the incorporation of their standpoints into their coloniser's knowledge base. As Freire (1992) pointed out, it is only the power of the oppressed that can free both the oppressed and oppressors, the power of the oppressors he maintained could not accomplish that.

My work in this thesis is part of these subjugated knowledges in the academic arena. I have positioned my work in this category of subjugated knowledges because it is through them that this work gains some legitimation. I realised that resistances28 to the meta-narratives could be applied to my concerns about dominant distance education’s methodology, content and language as practised at USP (Lawson & Tiffin, 1994:10). These resistance projects could be

28 Here, I am referring to but not restricted to resistances through: giving space to ‘subjugated’ knowledges (Foucault, 1980), using ‘the power that resides in discourse and textuality’ (Lawson & Tiffin, 1994:10) ‘appropriations’ of various cultural domains especially that of language and textuality; and
appropriated, deconstructed and finally reconstructed and recontextualised from the standpoints and environments of the subaltern academic, myself. This then would be the theoretical project of this thesis.

Thus this epistemological paradigm shift from dominant distance education theory which is Occi-centric, to postcolonial theory which is Ori-centric. Therefore, in selecting the documents for study, I have actively sought to give space to non-European sources—Indian, African, Pacific, Chinese and Japanese.

At first sight this appears a heterogeneous group of countries, but I have selected these countries because of their position in the global scheme of distance education theory. Within that rubric they are more homogeneous than would otherwise seem. For me, they are like my position of Other in my own country. At many distance education conferences I have observed persons from Occidental countries (specially European countries, America and Australia) seeking out persons from non-European countries with the view of ‘helping’ them with their DE difficulties. Freire (1992 : 29) would have called this ‘false generosity’ or ‘false charity’. The research from these non-European countries has, for years, also been considered inferior, since the issues that they researched were pragmatic: concerned with operational matters rather than philosophical ones as are those being considered in countries that dominate the theories of DE. For example see works done in these once dominated cultural syncretism. All these resistances come under the umbrella phrase, ‘using the master’s tools to resist the master’.

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I used the internet, as much as possible, especially discussion groups, to gather information, since their contributors come from a variety of countries with little or no centralised control and from persons within coloniser spaces whose voices are in the minority. The theoretical project of this thesis may allow a space for voices of silenced distance educators. As soon as I wrote the last sentence, I asked myself, 'Silenced by whom? From whom?' The answer, I think is 'both and': they are silenced by those in the dominant positions, either because the hegemonic views marginalise the others thereby not allowing them space and by simply not providing space for them on their academic podium or it is by the others not wanting to be part of that space (like me for many years) and/or not being allowed into that space by the gatekeepers. They are silenced from sharing their views with the hegemony and also with others like themselves.

So I create alternative narratives by following the tradition of Ahmad JanMohammed and David Lloyd's (1990) 'minority discourses' rather than constructing universal models or paradigms. I have opted for little stories—the minority discourses that have power in, and give agency to, the local. The decision to move away from traditional and post-positivist fieldwork occurred after careful consideration of the possible outcomes of my original methodology.
of action research. There are five major reasons for this change of strategy. They are:

- my paradigmatic shift towards postcolonial theory and criticism;
- my hegemonic position as Head of Distance Education at the USP;
- my bewilderment with the 'mindless collection of data' on DE in the Pacific;
- my insistence on equating my experiences in DE with dominant DE theories and;
- my resolve to write about my experiences as a distance education practitioner at various levels since 1985 at USP.

Firstly, my objectivist and post-positivist notions of scientific methodology were constantly challenged during the early years of my studies. This is one of the hardest shifts that I had to make in this study and because science is still considered infallible by many powerful persons in my country. It was not until I looked at the issues through postcolonial lenses that I began to understand and have empathy towards the arguments against scientific method. My intention, though, is not to discard scientific method outright, but rather to reconstitute aspects of it. The link between 'reality' and methodology was constructed to account for, or explain, that 'reality'. Therefore all research accounts would just be particular or, at worst, incomplete narratives of the phenomenon under study. In this way, the discourse form and the substantive content of the research are closely inter-related.

I cannot move onto the next issue until I have clearly explained how I came to rely more on narrative than scientific methodology (though scientific
methodology itself is narrative, but it is a very special type). I had previously been involved in many discussions and arguments about the problems with the scientific method. Unfortunately, all those with whom I spoke had very limited experience with science. They usually spoke out of experiential and theoretical ignorance and also from a detached perspective as though the scientific method was something that was turned on and off at will. I had experienced the scientific method and it worked most of the time, but in operating within it I had to become detached from my research. My experiences and my palimpsest essence were of no consequence. So for me both strategies (the narratives of the humanities and the scientific methods) were ‘out’ there, things that I did something with. Therefore, when I started out on my PhD studies I picked the method that I was more familiar with, the classical scientific method.

Then I read postcolonial theory and criticism. They provided me with the theoretical ‘experience’ that I had not been able to connect with in the non-scientific disciplines. I had experiences and thoughts similar to many prominent postcolonial writers but I had not previously been able to articulate them or link them to theory. There are many such experiences and thoughts, but I present examples from only three authors. Firstly, Lamming’s (1995) *The Occasion for Speaking* where he describes the Trinidadian’s consternation when he saw white folks doing ‘that kind of work too’ referring to white labourers. But more importantly he asks: ‘How can Britain without its empire still maintain its cultural authority in post-colonial societies and how Eurocentric assumptions of race, nationality and literature return time and again to haunt the production of post-
colonial writing' (Ashcroft et al., 1995:7). Secondly, JanMohammed's (1985) *The Economy of the Manichean Allegory* recognises how the binarisms of colonial discourse operate especially in situating one side of it in the dominant position. He moves on to promote an active reading which makes texts available for 're-writing and subversion'. Thirdly, Homi Bhabha's (1995) *Signs Taken for Wonders* deconstructs the fetish of the book and then moves on to describe how the coloniser controls the imagination and aspiration of the colonised and the formation of the hybrid.

However, I occluded these experiences and thoughts of mine from my academic work, as being insignificant. That was the me who had been colonised. To that me they were just the experiences of the little half-caste kid; they were not important—they were to be set aside like my peoples' ‘little’ histories were in the formal education that I received. Notwithstanding, I saw in postcolonialism, some key theoretical concepts that could be used to legitimate those experiences of mine and thereby allow them into the academic arena. In postcolonial concepts of Orientalism, hybridity, subaltern speech and heterogeneity, which I discuss in this Chapter, I found the anchors that I needed, theoretical handles on which to anchor my shift to the non-scientific disciplines, the humanities.

Postcolonial theory and criticism draws heavily from feminist, postmodernist and the poststructuralist theory. These links with postcolonialism have enabled me to deal with key issues such as:
• the perspective of the researcher,
• the singlemindedness of authors of research,
• the translatability of concepts across cultural and language borders,
• the silences of ethnic voices, and
• the constraints of working within frames.

Clifford (1988, 1992) empowered me to use my many eyes to view an inquiry. I used the insider and outsider perspectives. Yet, these were the ways I saw things outside of formal education. Theoreticians (Freire, 1992; Giroux, 1983; Gregory, 1994; Lyotard, 1984; Soja, 1996; Wilden, 1972) from other fields provided additional energy that cured the blindness that I had developed, the blindness caused by the scientific panoptic gaze. The blindness was replaced by the notions of heteroglossia and heterotopia. Heteroglossia was the term used by Bakhtin (1994) to illustrate that texts are constructed by one material pen but the ideas that are expounded originate from many different sources. For example the authors, poets or songwriters’ words are not ‘purely’ their own. Their ideas and hence words have been influenced by what they read; their lived experiences and conversations; and pronouncements of others. Heterotopia were ‘... those singular spaces to be found in some given social spaces whose functions are different or even the opposite of others’ Soja (1996: 149) citing an interview that Rabinow had with Foucault (1984: 20). Soja (1996) explains this notion of Foucault’s thus:

A new perspective is not only beginning to recompose the spatial or geographical imagination, it is entering disruptively,
if still located on the margins, into ways we think about historicality and sociality, demanding an equivalent empowering voice, no more but no less. (p. 16)

After reading the works of Clifford (1988), Soja (1996), Foucault (1986) and Chow (1997), I began to view inquiry from different perspectives and through different disciplinary eyes. I should also acknowledge the influence on my work of the postcolonial works of Bart Moore-Gilbert (1997), Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffith and Helen Tiffin (1995), Padmini Mongia (1996) and Leela Gandhi (1998). I linked these literary works with those of other theoreticians mentioned earlier to create work that generated change rather than just describing it. They created spaces for alternatives to, rather than in place of, the dominant scientific discourses. Foucault (1972) postulated that it was discourse and not science that constructed/explained the world. For me, Foucault reduced the superior knowledge brokering power of the sciences as he effectively demonstrated that science was no more and no less than other narratives.

Lyotard's (1984) challenge of the meta-narratives, of which science was one, allowed me, a person from a post-colonial island nation, to use his and other theoreticians' authority to legitimate my shift from the scientific paradigm to my construction of i-tukuni. For i-tukuni is a form of narrative and Lyotard wrote:

It is fair to say that there is one point on which all investigations agree, regardless of which scenario they propose to dramatise and understand the distance separating the customary state of knowledge from its state in the scientific age: the preeminence of the
narrative form in the formulation of traditional knowledge. Some study this form for its own sake; others see it as a diachronic costume of the structural operators that, according to them, properly constitute the knowledge in question; still others bring to it an ‘economic’ interpretation in the Freudian sense of the term. All that is important here is the fact that its form is narrative. Narration is the quintessential form of customary knowledge, in more ways than one. 

(emphasis is mine, p. 19)

Turning to the translatability of concepts from one language to another I take refuge in the ‘metonymic gap’, again something that I had experienced but for which in my world, there was not a label. The metonymic gap is that ‘cultural gap formed when appropriations of a colonial language insert unglossed words, phrases or passages from a first language, or concepts, allusions or references that may be unknown to the reader’ (Ashcroft et al., 1998:137). For the author this expanded language is synecdochical, but for the reader it is confusing and incorrect. There are ways of knowing and doing of my society that are different from what has come to be called western rationalism and therefore they have no agency with that discourse, they are not there. When I try to explain some of these notions to a rationalist, that person will listen intently for a while then draw parallels with similar concepts within their paradigms and assimilate and write about our way under their own labels. But their labels only represent part of our concept. Therefore in writing through my i-tukuni, I attempt to do what Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffins (1998) say so clearly: ‘In effect the writer is saying, “I am using your language so that you will understand my world, but you will also'}
know by the differences in the way I use it that you cannot share my experience” (p. 137).

The silences of ethnic voices (more specifically of Fijian voices) in academia and also lack and censoring of ideas, conceptions, belief of things Fijian was of concern. To write with the scientific genre, I had to detach myself from my historicity, sociality and spatiality, but I could not do that. I had found theoretical handles for alternative ways of seeing and doing, as described in the section above but what I needed now were theories to enable me to include my own everyday experiences into my writing. Feminism's foregrounding of everyday experiences gave me the theoretical handle to construct my *i-tukuni* that accepted everyday experiences as legitimate.

The parameters and tools that have been legitimised for the type of inquiry that I propose are limited in scope and quantity. The scientific method consisted of established paradigms (positivism and post-positivism), an epistemology and a methodology. An inquiry done outside of these was unacceptable to the scientific community. ‘Western rationalism’ informs and is informed by these paradigms, the epistemology and methodology. I needed to deconstruct these projects, as they did not allow my way of seeing and doing any agency. A simplistic example is that I could not use witchcraft as a reason for certain actions, yet in my everyday life it could be the cause of various ills in society. In attempting to deconstruct the scientific method, I have created further issues for myself. The first is the classic criticism of postmodernism: if ‘everything goes’
then what is used for an anchor and/or criteria for appropriateness of solution?
The second is that I have created my own meta-narratives yet I have sought legitimacy for my method by challenging the notion of meta-narratives themselves.

To resolve both problems I invoke Spivak's strategic essentialism to create certain meta-narratives for a particular strategic moment. They are not universal, but strategically essential at a particular historical, spatial and social moment. When any one of these constituents of the trialectics change there may be a need to change a meta-narrative to fit the new trialectic. I make the point that the meta-narratives that I have constructed are local to my being; they are only universal and generalisable to my space. This is similar to the third spaces of hooks (1984) who finds spaces in the gaps between meta-narrative, moves into these spaces, feels comfortable there and 'writes back' from there. Her project does not imply that 'everything goes' at the local level. Rather she proposes legitimacy for the gaps. I have set up my parameters and tools within strategic essentialism for a particular trialectic. It is within this that I have constructed the i-tukuni. It was very important for me personally to include, within my time/space conceptualisation, my sociality into the theorisation, as it is part of me and I am part of it and, I want this thesis to have some material meaning.

After that lengthy first reason for my change in strategy away from the scientific method, I now turn to the second one. I am the Head of DE and Deputy
Director of University Extension at USP. This position carries associate professor status and has a space on all the major committees of the USP because of the importance of DE at USP. This constructed me, in the eyes of the communities, as an expert of DE in the Pacific. My institutional position at USP gives me power within DE, thereby constructing me as a coloniser who takes DE from his country, Fiji, to other countries in the USP consortium. The perception is that from a position of power, I could impose my conception of DE on the staff within University Extension (UE) at USP and by implication/association on the people who enrol for the distance courses, thereby colonising them. But this top down imposition of mine cannot change the peoples’ subservience to their former ways of viewing DE. Here I am appropriating Fanon (1965):

The colonial bourgeoisie had in fact deeply implanted in the minds of the colonised intellectual [and I add other peoples] that the essential qualities remain eternal, ... essential qualities of the West, of course. The native intellectual [and I add other persons] accepted the cogency of these ideas and deep down in his brain you could always find a vigilant sentinel ready to defend the Greco-Latin pedestal. (Pp. 37 - 38)

The colonialisation process had a long time to set its ideology in place, and it required more than top down management policy and guidelines to implement change. My directives could coerce people to change but that made me like the colonisers. I had to find another way.
Having been in the situation of the ‘poor’ and ‘oppressed’, and possessing the Christian conviction of God’s love for the ‘poor and oppressed’ and His gift of free will, I took the position that the ‘poor’ should be provided with the conditions to choose their own destiny. In a sense my job was to lead them to ‘doors’ and they had to decide which door they wanted to enter. They had to be shown doors, and implications of choosing a particular one. The door they choose may not be the destiny that I would agree with, but it is one that I would respect and would defend. It took me sometime to comprehend that I informed my strategy a radical with Christianity. This was a problem for the genre within which I was writing, besides the fact that Christianity itself is considered a meta-narrative. However, I carved out my space to use it through third space, a space that allowed for Wilden’s ‘both and’ and Soja’s ‘and more’ in a material and conceptual level. There is also the problem of showing them the implications of choosing a particular door. As discussed earlier, there are no neutral positions; thus the implications provided would be biased. I have not been able to satisfactorily resolve this problem except to suggest a discussion about the implications between the key players.

So my stance attempts to avoid being that of an imperial or civilising coloniser, using force or hegemony, but one who has colonised the space of formal education, and needs the people’s input so that their formal education can be recontextualised after negotiations with various stakeholders involved in distance education. I had to develop the narrative from my past experiences, current knowledges, attitudes, expectations and negotiations with the people.
This was the beginnings of my ‘i-tukuni’. These negotiations occurred before the study period; they form part of my imaginings. They were not negotiations in the western sense, they occurred by the subaltern ‘talking’ to me in their way and me trying to interpret what they were saying—over a long period. So negotiations are long drawn out processes, which occur over numerous visits to the sites, to sit with the people and to try to ‘hear’ what they are saying. It was experiential.

The people are the senior management and also the subaltern. The latter group has been silenced for so long that I could not ask them direct questions. I needed to sit with them to gain their respect and to understand their way. In this regard, words like ‘talk’ and ‘hear’. Another way that this is done is through a hierarchical interview system. This method was used in the study, South Pacific Women in Distance Education (Bolabola & Wah, 1995). The study was conducted at two levels, regional and national. As that report notes, I was appointed Principal Researcher ‘on account of [my] position as Head of Distance Education…’ (p. 14). Other persons who were closer to the ground, which ‘knew’ the people and were part of the community, were appointed as the interviewers. They were trained by the principal researchers who also wrote the questionnaires. The interviews were also informal and conducted in an informal environment. The last three paragraphs should have shown the importance of considering the positions, context of the researcher and his relationship with the context and therefore support the shift towards narration.
The third reason for the move towards narrative was the substantial amount of data that had been generated about distance education in the Pacific over the last two and a half decades. Much of this data was in the form of preliminary research, others in the collection of baseline data, some as reports, others as consultancies, essays and monographs. Unfortunately there has not been the corresponding levels and varieties of analyses of these data. So rather than add to this accumulation of data, I deconstructed the current model of DE being used at USP and then, with the deconstruction of selected data of the types listed above I reconstructed a conceptual model for DE for USP. These deconstructions were conceived through postcolonial lenses. The reconstructions thus are little stories anchored in my experience and the sources collected and the theoretical frames being used in this thesis. These little stories describe various facets of the DE system.

The fourth reason for the move towards narrative rather than the traditional scientific methodology was related to the emphasis on the experiential and on subjectivity. I have written in a section above, how I grappled with the problems of positivism and post-positivism, about the importance that I place on including my experiences into my studies and declaring these experiences upfront. I have also spoken of these experiences from the perspectives of an ethnic other in my own country, as an academic other in the global arena of distance education and as a DE power within the Pacific Islands.

25 (i.e. across the PICs and not ‘regional’ as used in Australia to mean rural outback)
I have experienced phenomena of/from a dimension that the western rationalist calls the spiritual world. Within that rationalism these last mentioned experiences of mine are currently unexplainable but, with new tools and new knowledges, one day that rationalism will be able to explain them. Yet, I, who have experienced these phenomenon, can validate them through our local knowledges, through mysticism and magical realism—'family stories'—'i-tukuni', even though that strategy was not valid since our knowledges were considered invalid within rationalism.

But these strategies have worked for my people for generations, yet some outside researchers (historians and anthropologists) and knowledge makers (colonial educators) replace our narratives with theirs. The narratives contained the Pacific peoples as objects rather than subjects. Within my i-tukuni I want to reclaim that subjectivity not for itself, but so that one can move forward from there. Rather than pastiche, I need the palimpsest essence that I spoke of earlier on which to build the pastiche. It is that essence that allows me to select the parts that make up my pastiche and bind these parts together.

The fifth reason for the move towards narrative rather than the traditional scientific methodology was related to the homogenisation of our societies within narratives written by foreigner/outsiders. I come from a community that has been written about from various perspectives, and I have criticised many of these perspectives which appear to homogenise us (Wah, 1997d). The scientific writings about the Pacific Islands have grouped these islands together.
The researchers drew the borders for their research, they did not consider the researched. As a Pacific Islander, I know that the characteristics that have been used to group us are mere constructions, thus my own constructions within this thesis describe my world, my way.

4.3 POSTCOLONIALISM AND DECONSTRUCTION

In the preceding sections I have used a number of terms that have very specific meanings within this thesis. In order to provide a theoretical frame for the reader I want to present my views on postcolonialism and deconstruction as strategies that I have used to construct my methodology. However, these terms have been both strongly defended and critiqued by both their proponents and antagonists. Thus in presenting the concepts I am influenced by Chow's (1997) point that too much energy can be expended in the contestations for subjectivities of these ideological positions and that while these contestations are proceeding the project of the terms become stagnant. Thus I will present my preferred interpretations of these terms, then move on to explain how I use them rather than taking too much space justifying them.

4.3.1 Introduction to postcolonialism

Postcolonialism is a contested notion. There are many criticisms of it from within and outside of the field. These criticisms are on-going. There is first, the controversy over the distinction or otherwise between, postcolonial theory and criticism on one hand and the practices of a period of time on the other. The proponents of postcolonialism as theory and criticism see it as a strategy for

Second, another group of theorists object to the term postcolonial as they feel that colonialism does not end with political independence, but continues under other disguises: economic policies of aid donors, global trends in technology and information processing. This group of theorists also make an issue of the fact that the four theorists listed above have popularised their work in western education institutions and that their works are only valid there (Ahmad, 1992; Aidoo, 1991; Parry, 1987).

The third area of controversy is ontological. The debates are concerned with the issues of being. For example, should Australia, Ireland, Canada and the United States of America which have previously been called settler countries be considered postcolonial? Or when did Fiji become postcolonial, after political independence from Great Britain or with the arrival of the first whiteperson to those islands?

The final controversy concerns the Marxist inflections of postcolonial criticism. Should they or shouldn't they be included in postcolonial studies (Mongia, 1996: 1 - 3; Moore-Gilbert, 1997: 1 - 3)? Clearly, these debates are important in themselves and there are many others\textsuperscript{30}, but I need to proceed beyond them as

\textsuperscript{30} Critiques of postcolonial theory and criticism are: that it is dominated by theorists from the Other countries who have been given space in the west; that it is too political that the language used by the dominant theorists is too obscure, obfuscation; that it tries to be everything therefore it is nothing; it is used to contain Third world writers.
I used postcolonialism beyond its theoretical rubric, I used it as a strategy for resistance of oppression, both covert and overt and for action for change.

The notion of postcolonialism that I subscribe to is one of method and strategy, a tool for analysis and action rather than a period in history or an academic field. It is a mix of theory and criticism, a hybrid. In using it thus, the notions of Orientalism (Said, 1978), hybridity (Bhabha, 1994), subaltern speech (Spivak, 1988a), heterogeneity (Ashcroft et al., 1993; Bhabha, 1988) and minority discourses (JanMohamed & Lloyd, 1990) are employed as ways of 'knowing' and 'doing' to re-claim equity with these colonisers. I will return to these terms later in this section. My preferred notion of postcoloniality acknowledges a colonial past, but rather than just returning to that past, by throwing out all things colonial and reviving an unrecognised civilisation and being a prisoner of that history, it attempts to 'initiate the cycle of freedom' (Fanon, 1952: 231 cited in Ashcroft et al. 1995: 44). The colonial past set in history the binary opposition of the coloniser/colonised with the coloniser in the position of dominance. Thus everything that the colonial education depicted, for the colonised, was from the perspective of that binary opposition. The resistances of postcolonialism problematised such binary oppositions. It forms strategies of resistance to colonialism and its legacy. Colonialism was defended,

... under the mantle of two invisible foundations of imperial authority—knowledge and power. The most formidable ally of economic and political control had long been the business of knowing other peoples because this 'knowing' underpinned
imperial dominance and became the mode by which they were increasingly persuaded to know themselves; that is as subordinate to Europe. (Aschrott et al. 1995: 1)

This first wave of postcolonial theory dispelled the notion that the colonial is subordinate to the coloniser and advocated confrontation with their coloniser. It also privileged other forms of knowing and subjugated the coloniser's knowledge (Achebe, 1995; Bhabha, 1995; Fanon, 1965; Said, 1978; Spivak, 1987). The second wave wanted to negotiate with their own and with their other across the binary oppositions to change the rules of relationships between the coloniser and colonised. Rather than repeating the cycle of domination of one group over another, the second wave of postcolonialism acknowledged the difference between the oppressor and the oppressed and sought avenues for collaboration rather than domination or confrontation (Bhabha, 1990, 1994, 1996; Chow, 1997; Spivak, 1990);

By analysis from different perspectives, through different lenses, and through the 'appropriation' of selected ideas embedded in meta-narratives, rather than excluding meta-narratives outright, each group will look within their fold for strategies for collaboration rather than just taking issue with their Others' strategies of domination, confrontation and, ultimately, control. Thus postcolonialism is more than just a period in time. It is thus

... the totality of practices, in all their rich diversity, which characterise the societies of the post-colonial world from
the moment of colonialisation to the present day. (Ashcroft et al., 1995: xv)

This is the definition of postcolonialism that I prefer, as it infers that colonialism starts with the coming of the colonisers and continues after political independence to the present day.

4.3.2 Postcolonial intellectuals in the world
The concept of a postcolonial intellectual is a recent phenomena. In this thesis, I refer to these people as a group with the following characteristics:

- They have experienced both sides of the binary opposition. They have been the dominator and the dominated, especially in terms of the education that they have received. Thus they would be familiar with their customs, traditions, values and belief systems; and those of their colonisers.

- They understand the trajectory of binary oppositions of dominator and dominated, and feel an affinity to working with their people to bring them to conscientisation, the conscientisation which will provide the people with the tools to decide if they want to remain in their positions or to develop effective strategies of resistance.

- Their major weapon is to celebrate difference and rather than to use it as the excuse for conflict and domination to use it as a means to negotiate cross borders that have been erected arbitrarily.

Clearly, postcolonial intellectuals have an important role to play in the conscientisation of their societies. The postcolonial intellectual would be the opposite of the neo-colonial, in that their project is to conscientise the people,
rather than to keep them in ignorance so that status of the society can remain unchanged.

Thus, for the first time, we (the postcolonial intellectuals) have become an integral part of the world in which we are studying. We discover and occupy spaces outside the spaces that have been allocated to us on someone else's grid, we become freed from 'cultural containment' (Bhabha, 1990). We have created our positions of power and knowledge. We accept that we have no protection against colonialism, but must engage in Freirian-like projects with our peoples, working together in newfound consciousness to create skills for living within these new times and, with that worldview. Because of the potential of this project for reclaiming space for the colonised, it is a likely target for 'ghettorisation' (Chow, 1997) or 'contamination' (Derrida, 1974). The postcolonial intellectuals must also guard against their own domination of their country-people and, also guard against assuming that they can speak for their people. They also need to materially construct direct and indirect venues for the dissemination of their work to the masses, taking particular care to reflect the masses' thoughts.

I would now like to turn to a discussion of the four postcolonial key concepts that I mentioned at the beginning of this section. In doing this I will provide a brief description of the terms and an introduction of how they are used in the construction of my i-tunji.
4.3.3 Orientalism

Said's (1978) *Orientalism* is considered one of the seminal works of postcolonial theory. In it he notes that 'The Orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences' (p. 87). This quote captures the point that the Orient is a real place with real people and real cultures which are 'obviously greater than anything that could be said about them in the West' (p. 89). However, some Europeans picked out certain aspects of the place and painted the Orient in those shades only, thus Said's use of the phrase 'almost a European invention'. The place is real, but the selective conceptualisation of that place is a good example of how those in the dominant position make the knowledges and then use the technologies of writing to claim authenticity. Unfortunately, too often those who are written about come to believe the written word; they, then, become written objects. However, that written word just presents one snapshot of the place, obliterates other snapshots and, the differences that occur over time, space and sociality. Clearly, Orientalism is about the relationship between the Orient and Occident, a relationship of power, of domination, and of varying degrees of complex hegemony (pp. 89 - 91).

'The Orient ... is also the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the sources of its civilisations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other' (p. 87). In spite of the above, Orientals are put on a lower rung of the ladder of civilisation, yet, if the above is true (and I have no reason to doubt it) their civilisations provided a significant portion of the foundation for European civilisation. But the
Europeans are the dominant creators of written knowledge. So it is their constructs of knowledge that are privileged in new times.

Said makes the pronouncement that there are several meanings of Orientalism all of them interdependent:

- Orientalism is the teaching, writing or researching about the Orient through any discipline (p. 88).
- 'Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident' ' (p. 88).
- 'Orientalism can be discussed and analysed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient ... a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient' (p. 88). Said goes on to use Foucault's notion of discourse to explain how 'European culture was able to manage—and even produce—the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively, during the post-Enlightenment period' (pp. 88-89).
- '... the Orient is an idea that has a history and a tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and for the West' (p. 89).
- 'Orientalism is ... a considerable dimension of modern political-intellectual culture, and as such has less to do with the Orient than it does with 'our' world' (p. 91).
I think of Orientalism as the strategy for 'knowing about' and thereby manipulating, people of difference. However, this 'knowing' is flawed as it was constructed of contents (selected facts of the 'Orient') of ill-fitting bricks, layered on structures of straw (analytical tools that did not fit the contexts of research) and, therefore were doomed to collapse at the first storm (critical analysis). In spite of this, the 'fate' of the Orient lives on - there are 'Chinatowns' in most western cities of the world offering 'a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences'. In these sites, Orientals provide the West with a mirror in which the Occidentals can see themselves and their other, as they have constructed them.

But the Orientals within these spaces continue to live their lives, in their ways, not necessarily in the ways that they have been described. Seen this way, Orientalism may be considered a process of describing one's other only through the describers perspective, so that the describer is positioned into a position of power, thereby justifying the describers' exploitation of the other that they have constructed.

4.3.4 Hybridity
From my early schooling and later university science studies, I learned that the hybrid was formed from two different types of beings, but since that formation was forbidden by the laws of nature, the resultant product was either sterile (like the mule formed from the union of a mare and a male ass) or something to be frowned upon (like the mulatto formed from the union of a white person and a Negro) or both. Racists prefer to use the derogatory term 'mongrel' rather than
the more powerful term, hybrid. The notion of the hybrid appears in other languages: the Latin Americans speak of hybrids as neologicistic culture, or creolite, of mesitzaje, and of anthropophagy (Mongia, 1996: 330); Fijians use the word kailoma. Clearly, I felt that I was an ethnic hybrid since my parents were not 'pure' Chinese or i-Taukei. But I know I am not sterile and I am not frowned upon.

Then I read Homi Bhabha's (1994) appropriation of the hybrid and his ingenious catachresis of the image of the hybrid into postcolonial writings as counter 'discourses', Teridman's (1985) term that characterises the theory and practice of symbolic resistance. Counter discourses are constructed to subvert canonical texts that tend to operate as naturalised controls. The counter discourses expose the contingency and permeability of these canons. In effecting this shift in meanings, Bhabha (1994) took a derogatory term, and gave it a position—'in-between', 'third space of enunciation' (p. 37)—that accorded holders of that position power. This then is an excellent example of the use of the master's tools to dismantle the master's discourses.

Bhabha wrote about the interdependence of the polemics of binary oppositions and, the mutual construction of their subjectivities. He contends that rather than complete domination by the coloniser and complete submission by the colonised, there was some interaction and influence of the other across the dualism. Thus his notions of ambivalence and mimicry are enactments of hybridity which provided tools for border crossings by both sides of the divides:

Footnote: The literal translation of this word is a person from the middle, i.e. a person with mixed blood.
coloniser/colonised, oppressor/oppressed, teacher/student. These tools gained agency in these times of shifting borders, removing of borders, increased travelling, increased migration and, increased diasporic populations.

Ambivalence suggests that complicity and resistance exist in a fluctuating relation within the colonial subject. Ambivalence also characterises the way in that colonial discourse relates to the colonised subject, for it may be both exploitative and nurturing, or represent itself as nurturing, at the same time. (Ashcroft et al., 1998: 12 - 13)

For me, Bhabha's (1994) notion of ambivalence disrupts clear cut and simple power relationships, dominator/dominated and, makes space for power sharing—`ambi-valent or `two-powered' ' rather than one group being in power (Ashcroft et al., 1998:13). For me, ambivalence, is also a way of analysing a perspective for co-existence of opposites rather than confrontation and conflict which would lead to the overthrowing of the dominant by the dominated. It is an academic project.

Mimicry on the other hand is a material project of the dominated people. It is their tool for resistance, within their conceptual space and place. The dominator orientalises the dominated, so the dominated are forced to imitate their masters' perception of themselves. The foregoing meant that the dominated must act and live and form similar attitudes and values to their masters, otherwise they are victimised and castigated for their difference. They mimic their masters. However, this mimicry is never simple and clear cut rather, it is ambivalent,
flowing from mimicry to mockery and back again as the trialectics change. Thus a moment of mimicry may be a genuine attempt to imitate their masters, while in others, it is a representation of the dominated persons' contempt for the dominators' ways, attitudes and value systems.

From the brief excursion into hybridity via ambivalence and mimicry, I present possibilities and danger. One of the strands of hybridity is cultural hybridity. This is the notion that creates spaces in-between national discrete cultures making them a thing of the past. Thus cultural hybridity enables exchanges along cultural borders as it dismantles culture as a series of fixed and determined diverse objects and recreates culture as process, as a way of coming to be known. Therefore a third space for interaction between different ethnic groups can be found.

A danger of hybridity is that it is "remarkably free of gender, class, identifiable political location" (Ahmad 1995: 13) cited in Mongia, 1996: 7). Thus the hybrid appears to dispense with a sense of place, of belonging, of some stable commitment to one's class or gender or nation, indeed it problematises the given grounds of opposition and opens up a space of 'translation': a place of hybridity. However, drawing from everyday experiences and discussions of globalisation shows a more complex picture. Rather than dispensing with the local, it has become apparent that globalisation and even regionalisation have reconstituted the local and, forged fervent patriotic moods and affirmations. A clear example of this is the collapse of Suharto's regime in Indonesia and the
conflict in Kosovo. In all this, Ahmad (1996) realises that hybridity 'calls forth a politics of 'contingency', while contingency is defined "as the defining term of counter-hegemonic strategies"' (p. 287). In summary, hybridity allows negotiation of the multiplicity of identities and subject positions that result from displacements, immigrations and exiles without policing the borders of identity along essentialist and originary lines.

At the conceptual level: hybridity is the meeting on concepts, notions, ideologies, it is eclectic—in that in the space that it exists in 'new times'—it is an attempt to be 'all things to all (wo)men'. The notion of hybridity, opens up the spaces for legitimate negotiation and criticism, self-reflexivity and reconstitution.

At the pragmatic level: it re-constitutes functionality of existential functionalities. In this time of economic rationalism, it represents the economising of resources, to be able to do more with less. The functionality is multiple, flexible and versatile. There have been various criticisms of this conceptualisation which suggest that it is too encompassing and therefore useless (Ahmad, 1992; Parry, 1987; 1994; Phillips, 1999), but those who are in these positions know and experience the complexities of these spaces, and the oppression that they have endured for being there. The cause of hybridity is of little consequence, it could be ethnic hybridity, educational hybridity, cultural hybridity, sexual hybridity, functional hybridity, workplace hybridity and so on. Being in a position of hybridity that most people find themselves in at various moments in their lives.
they can either be subdued by the presence of that place or be empowered by it. Bhabha, I feel, prefers the latter.

4.3.5 Subaltern Speech
Before discussing the notion of subaltern speech, it is imperative that I provide a context for its analysis. With the increase in awareness of the ideology of social justice, notions of fair play, equity, access, equality and individual rights came to the fore. It appeared that there was a 'ruling class' counter posed against the others, the subalterns. But there are other social classes in society, each of which can be refined into sub-divisions. In this part of this discussion, I just talk about the two opposing classes, then introduce the others in a later part of this section. The ruling class set the parameters for policies and practices that the societies followed. Over time these policies and practices appeared 'natural' and the people reacted to them as though they were. However, in most cases the subalterns were over-exploited to such an extent that, to survive, they had to rebel, firstly, for the necessities of life, then for other rights that they considered their entitlements. But the subalterns were a group only because of their exploitation at the hands of the hegemonic class. In reality there were many different subaltern groups. They needed to form into organised groups so that their resistances to the policies and practices of their society would be more coherent.

So over many epochs, various ideologies and emancipatory strategies, including Marxism, Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed, feminism, postcolonialism, attempted to re-claim spaces for various kinds of subalterns.
Some of these strategies were ‘bottom up’ and others ‘top down.’ The problem though with all of them was the speech of the subaltern. For example within this thesis about DE, the researcher would ask many questions. Are each of the groups of key players clearly defined? For example if the students were presented as a subaltern group is this group homogeneous? Who were subalterns within the different operations in the DE process? Who defined them as subalterns? Why were they so defined? How are the common aspirations of the subaltern group made known? What kind of voice do they have, in terms of power relations and language and authenticity? How do ‘new times’ affect subaltern concerns? Culminating with: ‘can the subaltern speak?’ Can they hear what their other is saying? Can they get their dominators to hear what they are saying?

These questions provide channels for dialogue between the dominated minorities and the ‘ordinary’ groups in the community, and the hegemonic groups. Thus the assumption is that there is inequality in the society and that some sections are in control and tend to dictate the policies and practices of that society to the disadvantaged or the underrepresented groups.

In Spivak’s (1988a) *Can the Subaltern speak?* She makes the profound statement that the ‘subaltern cannot speak.’ She arrived at this conclusion via the adaptation and application of hybridity to the subaltern thereby concluding that the subalterns have changed and are speaking with tainted speech rather
than the authentic subaltern voice. That is, according to Spivak, as soon as the subaltern claims to get voice then that people are no longer subalterns.

Spivak firstly problematises the borders around the subaltern, by making the point that the subaltern has been constructed, studied, analysed, then taxonomised. Their creator attempted to keep the subaltern a prisoner in the space in which he was created through 'ideology, scientific production and institutionalised law'—he was left 'no play' (Clifford, 1990 in Fardon, 1991 pp. 11 -12). His knowledge was deemed 'subjugated' and deemed to be based on non scientific methodologies and, hence 'disqualified as inadequate and located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition and scientificity' (Foucault, 1980:82). She also questions the notion of 'true correspondence to own being' (Spivak, 1988a:27). Spivak concludes her embryonic paper by suggesting that the subaltern 'has no history and cannot speak' (p. 28). Spivak refers to the subaltern as the 'silent, silenced center... marked out by the epistemic violence of the imperialist project' (p. 25). The 'people or subaltern—itself is defined as a difference from the elite' (p. 27). Yet the subaltern is not against the elite but with them in the circuit of development. However, as Spivak postulates Bhaduri's subaltern position and her suicide set in motion a narrative over which she has 'no control' and leads to her conclusion that the subaltern cannot speak.

To even speak of themselves, the subaltern needed 'permission to narrate' (Said cited in Ashcroft, Griffins and Tiffins, 1995:25). They were 'irretrievable
heterogeneous' groups, which continue mutating into new forms of hybrids. The notion of the hybrid itself has mutated into a concept that provides an alternative to dialectics, rather than setting up oppositions. Hybridisation is the result of recombinations, mutations and translations and reproductions—it can result from one, two or more 'origins.' These origins themselves were also hybrids.

Colonised indigenous peoples were told about their own histories by outsider intellectuals. However, as they became conscientised they realised that they contributed to their countries' well-being and they deserved part of the production profits. They began to make their positions visible by changes in the way they saw themselves in their contexts—re-writing and re-telling their histories—and questioning the functionality and appropriateness of colonial institutions in their independent nations.

Lamming (1995) adds another dimension to this discussion:

We are made to feel a sense of exile by our inadequacy and our irrelevance of function in a society whose past we cannot alter, and whose future is always beyond us (p. 12). ... [A] fact which can only have meaning by a calculated cutting down to size of all' [subalterns and] 'the natives who read also believe ... that ... their whole introduction to ... culture, all of it, in the form of words, came from the outside. (p. 14)
Continuing, Lamming laments that: 'A foreign or absent Mother culture has always cradled his judgement' (p. 15). And when this culture is taken away 'a state of complacency' in subaltern awareness is firmly in place and hegemony continues with little resistance (p. 15).

Like Bhabha’s conceptualisation of the hybrid, Spivak’s conception of subaltern speech also has its critics (Parry, 1987). Parry is very critical of the supreme power assigned to colonial discourse by Bhabha and Spivak, and the resulting relative weakness of what liberation movements lodged against that.

Parry is critical of the concept of a subaltern woman as a ‘homogeneous and coherent category’ (p. 37) and argues, with reference to several of Spivak’s texts, that Spivak’s case for the disarticulation of the subaltern by colonial discourse itself performs silencing gestures: Parry accuses her of ‘deliberated deafness to the native voice where it is to be heard’ (p. 40). She says that the subaltern has already spoken and continues to speak, often in ways different from those considered appropriate by the dominant groups (Parry, 1987).

The notion of the subaltern is one of class and gender, but most often of the low socio-economic nature. It can also be considered a space, one in which ‘complacency’ has set in. The place of squatters, ghettos, low cost housing estate areas, rural communities, country towns and villages—where life goes on without too much conflict. The persons from these places were exploited for as long as they can remember. They provide required labour and other resources
for the cities/metropolis. Yet they are made to feel that they are nuisances within them and that the metropolis would be better places without them. Within the metropolis they don't have legitimacy for representation, others represent them.

Notwithstanding, I believe that the application of spatial concepts championed by Foucault, Lefebvre and Soja (1998), Harvey (1990), Gregory (1994), and others provide an alternative perspective to the issues of the subaltern. While some subalterns may live in predominantly 'rich' areas, most of them have been 'regulated' to live in 'poor' subaltern spaces. Persons in the same subaltern spaces have problems, which may be different to those in other subaltern areas. Within these frames, it is also possible to trace the developments of families and individuals as they move from one place to another.

As situations become life threatening in these spaces, the subalterns start to agitate against the control, gaze and surveillance of their dominators (Foucault, 1976). Yet these resistances are disorganised, or even worse they are allowed to prove that the dominators are not dictators but that they need to be in these positions (and are the only group capable) to improve the place of the subaltern and the other. Those within the subaltern need to devise ways for organising themselves if their resistances are to be effective.

There are other ways of speaking, there are other languages to use, or there is the possibility of creating new genres within existing languages. Other ways of
speaking include: using dances, silences—active listeners³², ‘writing back’ (JanMohamed, 1985), using the notion of the metonymic gap (Ashcroft, 1989b), catachresis and reconstellation (Spivak, 1988b) and, reflexification (Zabus, 1991). Subaltern speech enables the creation of a representative voice for people in subaltern spaces. This speech will allow the subaltern to agree then to present their views as the oppressed of society to claim equality, access and equity with other groups to the different spaces that are created in the society. The speech is also an attempt to present the subaltern group as a hybrid, defined within shifting borders, thereby ‘translating’ its characteristics, akin to Lefebvre’s thirdspace, so that it can be ‘comfortable’ and, if it isn’t to attempt to make it so by resisting oppressive policies and practices (Bhabha, 1990; Guha, 1982; hooks, 1984; Soja, 1996).

While I understand the points put forward by Spivak and the counter arguments by Parry, I cannot help but be reminded of Chow’s warning of the ghettorisation of postcolonialism especially in relation to finding speaking positions. Here are two great analysts locked in unfruitful production in relation to the plight of the colonised. My propensity would be for both sides of the argument to make their points regarding subaltern speech and move on to the concern of dialoguing with their Other and taking forward the case of oppression, with the oppressed rather than for them. Clearly there is diversity within any subaltern group and many different ways of speaking. For example there is a growing realisation amongst western academics that the primitive societies speak in different ways:

³² Often postcolonials are considered to have missed the point in seminars. The term ‘active listeners’ contests that notion. The postcolonials are really listening and actively deconstructing the discussion.
‘voting with their feet’—moving out of areas that they are uncomfortable in; different dress codes of the youth and traditions, types or colours of clothing indicating whether a person is married, widowed or wanting to get married; there is the so-called non-verbal communication; there are the alternative texts.

In summary, within the frame of the coloniser and colonised and the need for negotiation, there must be communication between these groups. Notions of subaltern speech theorise that within such a frame the subaltern cannot speak. However, if in the frame, definitions of subaltern and communications styles are modified then the subaltern will find space to ‘speak’. Clearly, their styles of hearing and speaking are different from those of the dominant group. Thus for negotiation to be successful, both groups need to meet in a third space redefines frames modifies definitions and reconstitutes communications so that neither group is at an advantage. This is easier said than done but is the scenario that needs to be worked towards. This then leads me to discuss the notion of heterogeneity.

4.3.6 Heterogeneity
Heterogeneity captures important notions of difference, diversity, alterity and otherness especially as they are used in contemporary postcolonial discourse. Within any analysis, when groups of data are being analysed, the assumption is that the different groups are homogenous, the members of each group are similar. The notion of heterogeneity, however, suggests that there are subgroups within groups, and sub-subgroups within the subgroups. In other
words, the groups are all constructs that the researchers have invented or have come to accept. This is an acceptable methodology for research, however, researchers should always be mindful of the possibilities of border crossings when analysing such results. Before I get too distracted, I would like to return to my discussion of heterogeneity.

Heterogeneity can firstly be thought of in terms of 'fixed' or 'natural' differences that gave rise to successively smaller groups. This is the strand of heterogeneity that concluded with the highly critiqued and discredited notion of essentialism. The other strand of heterogeneity was founded on the notion of 'fluid' and 'constructed' differences that concluded with the championing of 'anti-essentialism'. These two positions are informed by Bhabha's (1988) formulations of 'cultural diversity' and 'cultural difference'. The former being constructed around 'a series of fixed and diverse objects', and the latter on 'the process of how these objects come to be known and so come into being' (Ashcroft et al. 1998:60). The questions that immediately arise include: How are these differences known? What caused these differences? Who decided the borders for these differences? Why were the borders put where they were? Who benefits from having the borders where they are?

The notion of difference that I use is anchored in the work of Burbules (1997b). It is clear that there are many types of difference, which, with the passing of time have become instituted as 'natural' rather than constructed. I chose to inform my discussion with Burbules' work because he directly related his
notions of difference to educational implications and suggested strategies that are close to my own thoughts on these matters. Burbules' four strands of difference are defined by the prepositions: 'between', 'beyond', 'within', and 'against'. The distinctions amongst the different categories of difference produced by Burbules (which he emphasises 'is not meant to be developed into a strict taxonomy or exhaustive list of kinds') illustrate that they are arbitrary, fragile and dynamic rather than natural, fixed and permanent. Within a particular period of time, these differences are taken as given or natural, but across time periods due to changes in power relationships and/or dictates of economic rationalism, they may be shifted, translated, overturned, removed or more constructed, where there was only one.

There are many other texts on difference but the only other one that I want to mention is Derrida's (1973) 'diffrance'. The verbs that have been used to illustrate the two meanings of this word are 'differ' and 'defer'. Thus rather than grounding truth in a single ultimate point, an ultimate origin, Derrida introduces truth which is also grounded in the future. It achieves, within difference, the shift to include changes that may happen in the future, thereby invoking notions of the temporal nature of things—'to defer', without changing the earlier notions of difference—'to differ'.

Clearly, understanding the origins, and the different notions of difference are fundamental for the formation of second wave resistant strategies used in postcolonial theory and criticism. These strategies dispense with the notions of
essentialism and relativism by moving to notions of contingency in space, time and sociality.

Within this thesis, the notion of heterogeneity enabled me to deconstruct the fixed groups of student, teachers, administrators and community leaders and to find within each group other subgroups which are useful for improving the DE project. For example, rather than teaching all students as one homogeneous group, the DE institution can categorise students into smaller subgroups and therefore implement strategies that improve student support services. Heterogeneity also shows that there are persons who belong to different groups simultaneously. Thus rather than continuing with binary, us-them divisions which exist in many organisations, especially within DE ones, heterogeneity provides a strategy for shifting borders between groups which opens up spaces for negotiation and therefore movement towards equality, fairer distribution of power and social justice.

I would now like to turn to the other major strategy that I have used in this thesis, deconstruction.

4.3.7 Deconstruction
If postcolonialism is contested in terms of its definition, form and function, then deconstruction is an even more difficult one to discuss. For, even by discussing it, one uses terms that are themselves open to deconstruction. Derrida (1984) did not like the term nor the notion that it had a particular mode of action. He also resisted the notion that there is a concept of deconstruction. Derrida found
the French word *destruction* too negative and one-sided. To him it suggested antagonistic demolition or eradication. His use of *deconstruction* designated a double movement: both disordering, and disarrangement, and also re-arrangement. This then gives some insight into attributes of deconstruction. One of its major principles is the delimiting of ontology, for deconstruction resists moves towards simple elements or origins. Derrida looked for ways of destabilising boundaries between simple elements and origins, putting the categories themselves into question. Deconstruction insists on movements across and between the metaphysical opposites, inside/outside. It clears pathways for its movements but it does not know entirely where these pathways lead. In this sense, it cannot be a project.

Spivak's (1988b) application of deconstruction to the postcolonial issues can be divided into two strands. First, 'negative science' where her emphasis is on revealing the assumptions, strategies and rhetoric through which given narrative are grounded and mediated. She is also interested in ways that the 'rhetoric or styles of texts ... interpret and contradict their logical or thematic propositions' yet she disclaims any intention 'to suggest a formula for correct cognitive moves' (1987:202).

Spivak appears to use three different strategies to effect this strand of deconstruction within postcolonialism. When reading a text she calls attention to 'minor characters, subplots or seemingly marginal motifs in order to bring out' assumptions, strategies and rhetoric of the conceptual frames used therein.
(Moore-Gilbert, 1997:84). The other two strategies are 'reconstellation' and 'catachresis'. Moore-Gilbert explains reconstellation as 'the manoeuvre by which a whole text is taken 'out of its proper context and put ... within alien arguments' (p. 84). The example that Moore-Gilbert gives is how the use of "subaltern material" of Mahasweta Devi's story "Stanayadini" is used in A Literary Representation of the Subaltern (Spivak, 1988b) to test the variety of "elite" Western theoretical discourses, thereby revealing their limitations and 'absences' (Moore-Gilbert, 1997:84). Catachresis on the other hand is 'a more local, tactical manoeuvre, which involves wrenching particular images, ideas or rhetorical strategies out of their place within a particular narrative and using them to open up new arenas of meaning (often in direct contrast to their conventionally understood meanings and functions)' (p. 84). However, when one uses these strategies one has to work within the rules of a particular genre. The new meanings and functions are only those that are allowed to the dominated. One cannot play outside these rules.

Spivak sees her second strand of deconstruction as an 'affirmative' mode. This strand provides 'the potential to generate greater awareness of—and possibly help in the liberation (of 'coming out of voice') of—excluded or marginalised social constituencies' (p. 85). She focuses on 'the way that the dominant social fractions operate hegemonically' (p. 85) by following 'the itinerary of the silencing' of absent subjects. Spivak also uses deconstruction 'to subvert the systems of binaries on which dominant discourses characteristically rely to legitimize (sic) their power' (p. 85). This is what I have referred to as the project
of first wave of postcolonialism, the reversal of the dominance of the coloniser as knower. The colonised becomes the knower. Fortunately, Spivak moves beyond that trajectory, as her project is not concerned with displacing the coloniser with the colonised, it is about setting up a space for these groups to 'negotiate' and 'critique' each other from within and across the binary oppositions, with the view of finding alternative solutions, perspectives.

4.4 THE METHOD

At a conference in 1997 on global education, two leading Australian distance educators who were sympathetic to their Other recognised the importance of local sites of research.

The commitment to recognising the impact of material conditions and embodiment on the lived experiences of various individuals at these local sites which underpins the research project rejects both the colonial/neo-colonial tendency to explain all parts of the world in eurocentric terms as well as the dominant phallocentric insistence on defining all experience against a masculine norm. (Evans & Rowan, 1997:2)

It appeared to me that their paper at this conference is a direct result of the further thinking that Terry Evans and Leonie Rowan became engaged in after their work editing, with Leo Bartlett, the book *Shifting Borders: Globalisation, Localisation and Open and Distance Education* (1997) to which I was a
contributor (pp. 69 - 82). This is the paper (Wah, 1997) where I referred to what I called 'secondary', contradictory issues in DE.

The quotation at the beginning of this section sanctioned for me the development of a methodology that could address the competing demands of the traditional rigour of research, the multiplicity of sites of postcolonialism, postmodernism and feminisms, the resistances to the constraints of eurocentric frameworks and the accommodation of lived experiences and the provision of agency for the researched.

Within any research, I have suggested that there are four major considerations, the researched and the context, and also the researcher and the researcher in context. I have discussed my historical position as a researcher and speak more to this and my place in the context later in this chapter. Chapters 1 and 2 provided the context and contents of the research. Chapter 4 discusses the postcolonial theoretical framework for the thesis that is informed by four key concepts: hybridity, subaltern speech, orientalism and heterogeneity. My 'postcolonial methodology' incorporates the following notions (Chow, 1997):

- the need to critique the disciplinarity and ostensible rigour of research;
- the need to reflexively deconstruct the distinction between subject and object, i.e. the dynamics of changing power relations between the academic and her or his object of study;
- the need to problematise the panoptic standpoint of the researcher and the homogenising of the researched;
- the need to 'appropriate western liberalism' and the 'master's tools' which is akin to the Freirean approach—where the known become their own masters; while
- providing currency for experience; and
- the need to develop an appropriate collective writing style.

Chow began her discussion of methodology by sounding the warning that the postcolonialists must not delude themselves into thinking that they may make their own rules for research without a reference to the rigours thereof. She made the point that there was no 'free for all', there is only limited play within the research. She also made the point that postcolonialism needed to challenge the notion of disciplinary knowledge, as these categories excluded the knowledge of the European Other whose knowledges were not categorised as knowledge but as myth.

Chow's second point is one that I have discussed at various points within this Chapter. Chow asserts that at certain stages in the inquiry the researcher is the knower, yet at others the known, similarly for the researched. The researchers bring to the research their academic experience whereas the researched brings their contextual and lived experiences. Though both groups of persons are essential to the research, it should be clear from the preceding statement that at some points in the research the researcher is the knower and at others the researched are also that, and vice versa. However, I would add that it is the researchers who are 'greater' knowers, as the work is being recorded within
their domain of knowledge and outside that of researched. Thus, although there is a dynamism between the researcher and the researched, the researchers are dominant, they must recognise this and be on guard against dominating the researched from their positions of power. I have previously spoken of the problematising of the panoptic view.

Chow's third point concerns appropriation of the 'master's tools'. These tools were constructed for use within western liberalism. This is liberalism that emphasises individual rights and freedoms. These democracies hold these rights as fundamental and universal and seek to have them applied unilaterally to all countries, without considering the text, content and context of different countries. Postcolonialism must be sensitive to the local contexts when applying these imposed concepts as they may not be transferable to some countries. For example in Pacific Island cultures the rights of the society and, in many cases, chiefs are more important than individual rights, although the imposition of western laws are slowing eroding these ways. The questions that arise are who decides which rights are to be emphasised and how to appropriate them. In this thesis, as the author and teltel of the i-tukuni, I decide both issues.

Chow's fourth point is to 'provide currency for experience'. The experiences of a postcolonial like me, outside of the academic DE arena yet in power in DE in his own location, are excluded from dominant theories of DE. It appears to me the reason for this is that I needed to find ways of interpreting and writing my
experiences into academia (Clandinin & Connelly, 1994). Only after I could
write in an academically acceptable form would I have agency within the DE
dominant discourses. Those discourses which influence the over-arching
infrastructures of the USP, the institution I work for. I disagree with some of the
underlining theories produced from these discourses (for example the necessity
of face-to-face tutorials within DE) and even though I am in charge of DE at
USP, I have some difficulty to affect change because my experiences are not
part of DE academia. Therefore, I need to find a way of allowing my
experiences to be heard, through the metonymic gap between my experiences
and the dominant theories. When this is done then my own experiences which
are presented as little stories, i-tukuni, can have legitimacy in dominant DE
discourse and therefore maybe used to influence policy and practice within DE
at USP. I will discuss this further in Chapter 5. Here, I want to make the point
that there are many groups that influence the structure and infrastructure of DE
at USP. These include the senior administrators of the University, academic
and administrative staff of UE, the National Extension Centre Directors,
community leaders, non government organisations, teaching departments and
their staff, aid donors who provide funds for capital for major items like the
telecommunications systems. Each of these groups have their own agendas
and UE staff need to provide the theory and the practices to develop good
praxis for their students. The absence of students in this list is deafening.

The last of Chow’s perspectives is ‘developing an appropriate collective writing
style’ for postcolonialists. As I have stated in the previous section this is linked
with being able to translate experiences of the postcolonial into language that is accepted by those dominant in the academic field. Three key features of postcolonialists writings are: writing in the first person; using metaphors and making more use of the metonymic gap. The first feature is self explanatory, so I will just briefly discuss the other two. The ‘essence of the metaphor is the experiencing and understanding of one thing in terms of another’ (Richardson, 1994: 519). The postcolonialists need to use metaphors as many of their experiences are outside that of their dominators. Therefore they pick concepts of their dominators and use these to explain their position. The other way of affecting translatability is the use of the metonymic gap. In this case the postcolonialists use words, concepts or illustrations from their own language and try to explain these to their readers who are not familiar with those ideas. One of the results of using this latter strategy is that the postcolonialists are saying to their colonisers: ‘I am using your language so that you will understand my world, but you will also know by the differences in the way I use it that you cannot share my experience’ (Ashcroft, et al). 1998: 137).

A major difficulty is adapting the postcolonial writing presented above to the PhD genre. The drafts that I wrote for this thesis had to be re-written a number of times so that it could be understood without too many explanations of what I was doing and how I was using particular concepts and words. I understand that this is required for every PhD thesis, but somehow I felt that by choosing to write as a postcolonial I had to explain shifts in the text that I would not have needed to do if I were writing a conventional thesis. I have struggled with the
shift from third to first person, from indirect to metaphorical style, from single to multiple perspectives. However, over time, I began to feel comfortable within the space that I had claimed. I have deconstructed the notions of writing and reconstituted a writing style that was suitable for me and my project (Duke & Beck, 1999). In presenting my thesis, I had to firstly write myself into my thesis. As I was trained as a scientist and previously wrote objectively, I had to learn how to write as a postcolonial as I found that empowering and in consonance with my purposes for writing my thesis (Richardson, 1994). My thesis is being written from a marginalised perspective and risks being ghettoised or, worse, being judged through mainstream lenses and discredited because it represents work that is outside the experience of the examiner(s). I agree with Hodge's (1995) observations about these types of PhDs which he says fall problematically into the category of

'New Humanities', for one or more reasons which are always fundamental to their reason for existence, yet cause difficulties in the light of many current rules and practices governing doctorates. That is, the more 'excellent' such theses appear to me to be, the more they risk rejection in terms of the criteria that have previously been applied. (p. 35)

These types of theses are usually considered 'over ambitious', lacking 'unity' and 'objectivity', and being too 'creative', 'they are difficult to assign to a single disciplinary pigeon hole, they are excessively concerned with their own conditions of production, and they are strenuously, complexly written (or, sometimes refuse to be merely written, but reach out for some other modes of
presentation)' (p. 35). This last point is particularly true for those researchers who find writing expression limiting and also for those who use writing as a method of inquiry.

The form of the method and research has resulted in the creation of a 'protean doctoral narrative' (Kapitzke, 1997). I had more than ten years experience with DE practice, but had produced little academic writing since my focus was to get 'education' to the students rather than becoming a distance education academic because of articles that I may have written in academic journals.

I did not agree with the application of a number of the dominant discourses to the Pacific and so tried to put into place a number of strategies that resisted them. These strategies that I disagreed with aimed to reduce the distance between the teacher and learner, rather than an attempt to start afresh and develop a pedagogy explicitly for distance education and not one that was designed to simulate face to face teaching within distance education. Many of the strategies for instructional design clearly and organisational infrastructure explicitly, illustrate this. For example the 'hidden tutor,' interactive multimedia and provision of study centres.

Because I felt that I was outside of these strategies and was voiceless, I did not take up a voice within those discussions. Then I started attending international conferences, and the validity of my problematic ideas and the conviction to put them across surfaced. I started to write about my feelings and concerns about
distance education. Then I started to read postcolonial writings—a totally different genre from the scientific literature that I had been used to. I had great difficulty in following the discussions in the texts (because of the very difficult genre and the insistent use of obscure and difficult words and metaphors and concepts of poststructuralism). Thus I had the problem of working these two genres (dominant DE theory and postcolonialism), with which I was not familiar, into a coherent whole. There were gaps in my knowledge of DE theory and postcolonial theory, criticism and writing style. In order to be able to write this thesis I have had to claim a space for myself (bell hooks), one that I have begun to feel comfortable in, and from which I feel I can write/react to the contestations that I have discovered in distance education theory.

In all this I am conscious that I can easily become ‘ghettorised’ (Chow, 1997). I also had great difficulty in forming a writing style that I was expressive in. I started with the ‘confessional narrative’ (Van Maanen, 1988) and decided that the only comfortable way of writing my narrative was to write myself into the thesis—to tell my story. I agreed with Geertz (1988). I did not believe that writing a thesis had to be in the third person—attempting to detach myself from my text, since some of my work was in the frame of phenomenology and hermeneutics, essentially interpretive in nature, so authenticity was gained by situating myself within the narrative. As researchers, we need to struggle to ‘speak our research texts in our multiple voices’ (Clandinin and Connelly, 1994: 424).
4.5 **I-TUKUNI**

I read, I deconstruct, I reconstruct, I recontextualise and I synthesise the 'field texts'—the extensive literature collected on DE in the South Pacific—and the result is, the *i-tukuni*—the stories that lead in many directions (not just linearly) and are held in 'inquiry context as the work proceeds' (Clandinin and Connelly, 1994: 417). The stories don't need conclusions, they are what they are—the people can either 'pass judgements on them and walk on' or lie awake at night wondering 'What was that? Why did it happen? What is the meaning and the cause of it?' (Narayan, 1993: 679 - 680). So the *i-tukuni* is also the representation of the relationships amongst the researcher, researched and audience (Amo, 1993).

But these *i-tukuni* have no owners, and therefore can be applied within different contexts in different ways. So the power is not just with the texts but also with the user of the texts. They enable the local to realise the power of their position in the diffusion of power or network of power flows that Foucault wrote about. Persons from various locales may appropriate the *i-tukuni* for their own research and power, re-telling the stories thereby causing its own growth and change and, possibly, improvements in the community.

The original *i-tukuni* were the little stories that were told by family elders to the children. They came to be told either because the children wanted to hear stories or sometimes stories of old needed to be told. Many of these stories were repeated many times, being re-told outside the family circle yet within the
village community, then eventually to other villages. The *i-tukuni* would then became *i-talanoa*, discourses that construct the 'social identities' and 'subject positions,' and help 'to construct social relationships between people' thus contributing 'to the systems of knowledge and belief' (Faircoulgh, 1992:64).

Another developed trajectory of *i-tukuni* is the 'veiwali'. The *i-Taukei* uses veiwali as a form of social discourse. It is very effective in getting conversations flowing or getting messages of a sensitive nature across without offending the receiver of the message. This is particularly important when the discussion is between or amongst persons of different levels within the social hierarchy. The lower level person may make known to the persons in the higher levels what they want to within being disrespectful. The point of the veiwali could then become part of the *i-tukuni* and in later part of the accumulated knowledge of the people.

Sometimes the *i-tukuni* is related to the children in an interactive fashion punctuated by questions from the children and an elaboration from the storyteller. On other occasions, it is told as a 'vatavata i Ra Lago', a series of questions which children respond to thereby unpacking a submerged theme. For example, the storyteller asks a question like: I live in the land and the sea, I am the colour green. Who am I? For effect the storyteller uses different voices, songs, gestures and even dances. Through the *i-tukuni* the elders gain legitimacy and respect, and the children begin to understand the different roles

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Veiwali is the *i-Taukei* form of clowning, joking. It can be used to pass a sensitive message to another person. If such a message is given in another format it could be taken as an insult but within veiwali it is accepted.
in society. Thus i-tukuni is the starting place for new practices. Some of them acquire legitimacy and become i-talanoa\textsuperscript{34} and others are silenced.

Figure 4.1. From i-tukuni to new knowledges

Within my little story, the decision towards abstraction rather than traditional fieldwork occurred after careful consideration of the possible outcomes of my original methodology of action research. I discuss reasons for choosing this strategy in the remainder of this chapter. The i-tukuni then, consists of internal, existential and experiential components. The first concern being that the participants learn 'self identity'. Once this is established, concern is shifted to societal relationships thence to more global ones. These i-tukuni are constructed around familiar items which trigger our memories and allow us to construct parallels and minority discourses. These stories are continually revised as consultations, discussions and reflections take place within and between the researcher and the researched and more analysis: deconstruction.

\textsuperscript{34} Talanoa is the stage when the i-tukuni becomes formalised as knowledge.
and reconstruction are negotiated. Therefore over time the i-tukuni became parochial knowledge. Through this approach there are strong experiential, emotional, ethical and functional linkages between the researcher, researched and the context. Similar to ‘family stories’ (Clandinin and Connelly, 1994: 420 - 423). Over time i-tukuni become ‘little fragments that have no beginning and no end’, they existed (O'brien, 1991).

One of the first issues that I had to address when writing my i-tukuni was to decide upon my data. What was the data that was used? How was this data selected? What were the selection criteria for them? Why were these data selected and not others? The second set of issues related to the processing of the data. How was the data sorted/coded? Where were they collected from? How was the data analysed? But data are results of scientific experiments, known facts or matters of direct observation. To use this term means that I have returned to the paradigm of positivism and/or post-positivism. But i-tukuni is not that, therefore I cannot use the term data. Thus I use the phrase ‘resources for construction’ of the i-tukuni. Thus in the questions above, I would like to substitute this phrase for the word data.

The final set of issues relates to the recording of the i-tukuni. The resources for construction were:

- Documents from various sources that were accumulated over the years (1993-1998);
- My literature reviews of content, methodology and context;
• My own memory and philosophising; and
• Writings of and about the Pacific.

Documents from various sources that were accumulated over the years (1993-1998): These were the years over which the study took place. First 1993-1994/95 as part-time studies at the USP, under Professors David Jenkins and Tupeni Baba. During these years I went on an UNESCO sponsored one month seminar of distance education which consisted of visiting selected Universities, TAFEs and other distance education providers and during which I started writing about my experiences as a distance educator of the South Pacific. I presented two papers, one at the University of Southern Queensland and another at the University of South Australia (Wah, 1993, 1994). Apart from these visits, I was privy to many specialist documents on DE from the Pacific and globally. The documents collected included: reports, memos, monographs, and books, research findings, newspaper clippings, conference papers and interviews. In the earlier years, the documents were mainly focussed on the issue of cost-effectiveness and therefore there was a slant towards financial issues. However, by 1995, I was beginning to think more about cost-effectiveness in terms of what DE was doing to the people. I became more concerned with the sociological issues of DE. Examples of this type of resources for construction included annual and occasional reports on USP DE that have not been adequately analysed: Dunbar, 1991; Renwick, King and Shale, 1991; Thomas, 1992; Wah - Summer School Report (1995); University Grants Committee reports (1993-1998); Regional Centres Conferences (1993-
University Extension Annual Reports (1991-1998); Regional Future Directions For the University of the South Pacific, December 12-15, 1983; The Planning Conference (1997). There were also a number of satellite communications reports of, and for, the USP's DE program.

My literature reviews of content, methodology and context: This category of data clearly illustrates that 'work and text have the characters of an event'. The Chapters 1 - 4 provided me with data from various sources that were used differently. Chapters 1 - 3 present the current picture of DE in the Pacific Island Nation States and the dominant theories and praxis of DE globally. Chapter 4 presents the methodology being used and how it was constructed. Chapter 5 uses information from Chapters 1 - 4 to construct i-tukuni using the key concepts and methods presented in Chapter 4 and resources for construction presented in Chapters 1 - 3. Chapter 1 illustrated the historical, spatial and sociological context of DE in the Pacific. A lot of the data in this section came from my memory and personal notes, my everyday experiences as a distance educator at USP. A selected list of important data was: Wah and Bolabola (1995); Chief and Hela (1992); Mugler and Landbeck (1993); Yamanaka (1994); Kato (1992a); and Blunt (1995).

My own memory and philosophising: Here my work is firstly, informed by Bhabha's (1994) comments on Fanon's Black Skin, White Masks, when he declares that memory is the necessary bridge between colonialism and the issues of cultural identity. Remembering, he notes, 'is never a quiet act of
introspection or retrospection. It is a painful re-membering, a putting together of the dismembered past to make sense of the 'trauma of the present' (p. 63). For me, then, at this juncture memory of the functions of USP operations and policy are vivid. I know them extensively, as I had worked my way up from the position of an Associate Lecturer, to Lecturer, Director of the Fiji Extension Centre, thence as Deputy Director of University Extension and Head of Distance Education. I know how the various systems operate and also the policies of DE of USP.

Writings of and about the Pacific which do not directly relate to DE include: Epeli Hau'ofa' (1993), Teasedale & Teasdale (1992), Crocombe and Meleisia (1988), and the reader for Tupeni Baba's course *Education in Small Island States*. I had chosen these writings because for me they were the voices of the people trying to find their place/space in globalisation.

Many of these texts were created for other purposes, but as I deemed them relevant, they were included in the resources for construction. Within another paradigm of qualitative inquiry, this strategy would be considered biased, non-random. However, within critical theory (the paradigm that I use in this thesis) knowledge is not confined to that which is replicable, as within positivism and, to a lessen extent, post-positivism. Rather it 'grows and changes through a dialectical process of historical revision that continuously erodes ignorance and misapprehensions and enlarges more informed insights' (Guba & Lincoln, 1994:114).
Therefore, as implied above, although the field texts in this thesis appear to be biasely included, because of the predominant worldview, the selected paradigm for this thesis uses this method. The texts accumulated are a representation of either 'reality' or the research project itself.

Finally, the analysis and interpretation of the resources for construction were considered across the relationships, across and within standpoint issues (field of research experience, texts told and written about the field experience, the research account) and, in so doing, seeking out patterns, narrative threads, tensions and themes which have a bearing on the trajectory of this project. I have expended considerable energy in trying not to write metonymically as I don't want to get my inner essence colonised at this juncture, yet I want to tell the DE story from my perspective. Fortunately or unfortunately, the more I tell, the more those stories will be interpreted in the dominant narratives.

Thus my dilemma. Do I tell my i-tukuni for the outsider to know me? But like the Hawai'ian said, that is all I have. My question is, is this all I have? If it is shouldn't I share it with others out of a sense of social justice? As this thesis is concerned with social justice, I tell my DE i-tukuni in the next chapter.
CHAPTER FIVE

USP's DISTANCE EDUCATION: PASSAGES FOR RE-LEARNING

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the first four chapters of this thesis, I have provided three literature reviews. However, these are not just literature surveys: they are the resources for the philosophical inquiry of this thesis. Chapter 1 describes the context of this study—DE in the South Pacific. Chapter 2 presented the DE methods and practices in the South Pacific. Chapter 3 identified the dominant discourses of distance education. Chapter 4 presented the methodology and theories that provide the theoretical underpinnings used in this thesis to re-theorise distance education.

This Chapter constructs a theoretical frame for DE of the USP. If the frame presented is considered for use for DE institutions of similar postcolonial Island Nation States, it must be applied with particular attention to the differences between the context, cultures and relationships between them.

This Chapter is a philosophical inquiry of DE. The strategy that I used was informed by postcolonial theory and criticism, thirdspaces, Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1992) and Giroux's work on 'borderlands and border crossings'.
which first appeared in *Resisting Difference: Cultural Studies and the Discourse of Critical Pedagogy* (1992). In other words, my paradigm is 'a practice of freedom' through a belief in the intelligence of human beings in their inherent ability to think independently and to have empathy with other human beings, and thereby be spurred into action for the freedom of the oppressed.

The context of this inquiry is the USP and its community of key players: staff and associates; its consortium of member countries and their peoples; donors to the USP and the relationships between them, including but not limited to the power relationships. Clearly, this context must recognise: places are heterogeneous; peoples and groups of people are heterogeneous; and relationships are also heterogeneous. The process of conceptualisation must take these heterogeneities into consideration and it also needs to provide communications and physical links between them if DE is to be successful as a practice of freedom.

Communications mean that the peoples must be able to talk to each other. This has been achieved by the use of English as the language of dialogue between the people from different contexts and its use as the language of instruction in the USP's DE. The difference that this thesis presents though is that of the subaltern positions and the difficulties of subaltern speech as discussed in Chapter 4. Different ways of hearing and speaking are suggested in this conceptualisation. Within DE this means that particular attention must be given...
to the trap of falling into technological determinism when trying to resolve the problems of communication.

Physical links mean that the people should not only be able to speak to each other but should be able to contact each other in a face to face setting. This physical contact is necessary for gaining experience in the context of the people that one is communicating with. In other words the physical link provides the experience of being in the context of the other and therefore being in a better position to understand situations from their other's perspective, especially during negotiations with and accepting criticisms from them.

The DE institution needs to decide on the theoretical frame that will drive its operations and then devise systems to implement that frame. From my literature review, there does not seem to be a concerted effort to articulate the theoretical frame on which USP’s DE practices are built. This Chapter will suggest a possible frame through i-tukuni.

In this thesis, I used postcolonialism as a pedagogy of DE. But my project moves beyond Freire’s towards a position where the postcolonial intellectual (pi) is both an enabler and a disciplinary expert. This means that the pi provides the skills for critical thinking and critical pedagogy. However, the pi does not present ones disciplinary position as the superior one but as one of many others.
He presents the view that his disciplinary position is no more superior or inferior to other disciplines.

As a postcolonial intellectual, my perspective is local and theorised and energised by my conscienticisation and mission to conscientise my fellow countrymen. My theorisation is informed by the hybridisation of the theories that I use. I have re-narrativised the DE of USP to develop another story using Chapters 1-3 as resources for construction and an appropriation of Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed and Postcolonial theories as tools for my reconceptualisation. This re-narrativisation, which I have called i-tukuni, is the local recovery from scientific discourse, leading to the control of that discourse within the local. It is important to note that I have not dismantled the scientific discourse or any other discourse, what I have done is inserted the i-tukuni as one of the discourses, a discourse that re-works the world through prescriptive and normative claims.

5.1.1 The layout

This chapter is informed by the postcolonial key concepts that I discussed in Chapter 4. I use the terms sparingly but they are clearly beneath the method that is employed in formulating this re-learning for and of the USP’s DE. The thrust of Freire’s work and that of Giroux are also mine and so in 5.1.2 I discuss this link. But it is clear that I am moving beyond them and I discuss that shift in 5.1.3. I then move on to explain
the link with postcolonialism. Since the *i-tukuni* was only developed in Chapter 4 and it must be a new concept to my readers, I present a different dimension of it in section 5.1.5 and try to paint a conceptual picture of it. Unfortunately, this is an *i-Taukei* concept and therefore it is not easily described in English. Before starting on the conceptualisation itself, I have presented a strategy borne out of a hybridisation of the work of Freire, Giroux and the postcolonial key concepts that I have called 'post-economic rationalism' that I discuss in 5.1.6. This notion is important as it explains where I start from within this conceptualisation. During the early years of my studies, a number of persons have made the point that I needed to explain why I used DE rather than education in this thesis, thus I answer these critics in 5.2 and 5.3. Then in 5.4 I use all the ideas that I have discussed thus far in this thesis to generate a relearning of the subsystems of USP's DE system.

Strategies for improving the DE systems of USP are referred to as border crossing as they attempt to dismantle the borders between various key groups in that DE system. These strategies form the conclusion of this Chapter.

### 5.1.2 The link between Giroux and Freire

How, one may ask, does Giroux’s work link with Freire’s? Well in 1983 Giroux wrote *Theory and Resistance in Education: A Pedagogy for the Oppressed* with the foreword written by Freire. Freire uses the word conscienticise to represent the state of awareness that spurs the knower into action for their own liberation.
and also to work in solidarity with other oppressed people as they reach out for help from the dependence of their oppressors. Giroux, on the other hand, talks about 'public sphere' and 'civic courage' (1983: 116). For public sphere, Giroux borrows from Knodler-Bunte,

... public sphere can be understood as organizing human experience, and not merely as this or that historically institutionalized (sic) manifestation—as a historically developing form of mediation between the cultural organisation of human qualities and senses on the one hand and developing capitalist production on the other .... In this context the public sphere can best be understood as a necessary form of mediation, as the center of a production process in the course of which the varied and fragmented experiences of social contradictions and social interests can be combined into a theoretically mediated consciousness and life-style directed towards transforming praxis. (p. 117)

Giroux thinks of public sphere as 'pointing to the need for an active public engagement in the struggle to define and create counter-public spheres embodied in institutions and representing values and practices that promote ... civic courage' (p. 116). Civic courage, Giroux says is that 'form of behaviour in which one thinks and acts as if one lived in a real democracy. It is a form of bravery aimed at exploding reifications, myths, and prejudices' (p. 116). Comparing this work of Giroux to Freire's has been both an informative and educational experience. It appears to me that Freire posits the oppressed as
not knowing that they are such until they are conscientised. Giroux, on the other hand, seems to be more proactive. Like Freire, he does not impose his ‘words’ on the oppressed and he also asserts that the oppressed don’t know that they are oppressed. But he differs from Freire in that he asserts they know this when they have ‘passed’ through the public sphere and come out displaying the characteristics of civic courage. On closer analysis, civic courage can be appropriated to include those who don’t know what it is like to have ‘lived in a real democracy’. The ‘real democracy’ could translate into the governance that the postcolonial intellectual would want for his country. That is, a government that the oppressed construct after their conscientisation and their passage through the public sphere. I consider myself a postcolonial intellectual and I concur with the project of both Freire and Giroux. Within this thesis, I hope that the DE strategies that I am suggesting will provide the education that will conscientise the Pacific Island DE student to become aware of their position in relation to their formal education, both DE and face-to-face. It is my hope that the Pacific Island DE student would move into the ‘public sphere’ and eventually become a postcolonial intellectual and in turn conscientise other Pls to become postcolonial intellectuals.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, a strong guiding principle in my research project is the aim to fight ‘to destroy the causes which nourish false charity’ and to replace them with strategies which emphasise less hand extensions in supplication ‘so that more and more they become human hands which work and, working, transform the world’ (Freire, 1992). This quote makes two
important points for my project. The first, implies that the oppressed/suppressed groups in the society consider themselves deficient and they can only get out of the rut that they find themselves in by depending on the handouts of their 'masters'. Through successive generations, these groups of people develop/emphasise mentalities of dependency and, worse, gratitude towards their masters because of the charity that their masters exhibit towards them. Unfortunately, as Freire notes, much of this charity is 'false charity', that is, it must be continued, to maintain the status quo—the attitude of dependency and gratitude of the oppressed/suppressed. The cycle of oppression, exploitation, handouts, dependency and gratitude, therefore, is difficult to break.

The second point that I draw from the Freire's quote in the previous paragraph, is that the people must work at breaking out of these cycles on their own initiative 'and from those who are truly [not] in solidary with them' (p. 29). They must put their hands up for the task to transform their worlds and thereby the world. Implicit in this project is the notion that 'the oppressed must not, in seeking to regain their humanity (which is a way to create it), become in turn oppressors, but rather restorers of the humanity of both' (p. 26). However, the oppressed are inexplicably linked to their oppressors, that is, the only humanity that they know is the world made up of the oppressed and the oppressors. Thus my project problematised the oppressed's dependence on his oppressor. Freire appears to be making a case for a different perspective on binary oppositions. The *i-tukuni* starts by attempting to break the cycle of dependence

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35 which have caused the 'fearful and the subdued... to extend their trembling hands
thereby allowing the Pls to be in the space to criticise and negotiate their circumstances and seek to become interdependent rather than dependent.

‘Libertarian action must recognise this dependence as a weak point and must attempt through reflection and action to transform it into independence’ (Emphasis are mine. p. 53). Freire continues, ‘Propaganda, management, manipulation—all arms of domination—cannot be instruments of their rehumanization (sic). The only effective instrument is a humanizing (sic) pedagogy in which the revolutionary leadership establishes a permanent relationship of dialogue with the oppressed’ (p. 55). This dialogue, as I mentioned in Chapter 4, must be based on mutual respect for the humanisation of the Pacific Islander. In Chapter 1, the Pls were presented as living in hierarchical societies in which only certain people were traditionally empowered to speak and make decisions. However, with the rapid changes in their societies and their increasing complexities, especially as the result of the new educated elite, there is growing confusion as to who can speak. Within this confusion, the DE strategies being suggested attempt to provide the student with the choice of studying with and within their societies and not being separated from them. Thus the DE students are provided the space to form alliances between the individualisation of DE studies and the communitiness of their traditional societies.

Thus my project for the humanising of the Pacific Islanders through DE, must look to strategies of dialogue. For the dialogue to be effective it must take place
along various spaces and places, amongst the various key players themselves (various sectional staff of the USP, students, members of the communities, sponsors and relevant government ministries) and also with written texts. This is another task of this Chapter. It sets out the dialogue, in documentation format, between the key players themselves, and across the borders between them and the written texts.

This humanisation project involves, but is not limited to, a struggle for the release from oppression. It is a struggle for freedom (this list attempts to provide a feel for the struggle for freedom that I subscribe to):

- freedom to know things of the world, of themselves, through their own standpoints and paradigms, rather than through those of others, without depriving other people of their own knowledge;
- freedom from hunger without depriving other people of food;
- freedom to create without oppressing other people's freedom to create;
- freedom to wonder without restricting other people's wonderment;
- freedom to venture without restraining other people's adventures; and
- freedom to do as they please without oppressing other people.

But how do they get this freedom? The Pacific Island Nations are in the middle of a vast Ocean. They have been constructed as places with almost no natural resources yet they will always require support from outside their countries if they are to harness the seemingly scare natural resources that they have. Their people appear to be their only resource. They need to educate themselves so
that they can be useful commodities in the economic world that has enveloped them. But it was the education of our colonisers that created us as small Island Nations with scarce natural resources and negative self-esteem. They constructed us as their Other, then attempted to educate us to be like them. Therein lies the difference. The education that I advocate is an education for freedom that I tried to express in the preceding paragraph. One that Freire would call a 'practice of freedom' (p. 62), not an education that silences our knowledges, values and ways, and emphasises the knowledges, values and ways of our benefactors.

But our education system was developed more than a hundred years ago and it is an important part of our communities. It was meant to subjugate but as the recent coups have suggested it has had mixed success. However, DE, is very recent. The oldest DE institution in the Pacific islands is just over forty years old. For most of the Pacific, however, DE is less than twenty years old. Furthermore, DE in the Pacific is currently undergoing substantial change. Therefore, it is possible that the changes being implemented could emphasise the freedom that I referred to. Is this wishful thinking? Is this too far off the mark? I ask that the reader reserves judgement till the end of the i-tukuni of USP’s DE. The i-tukuni reflects on DE theories and practices used in the Pacific, reconceptualises USP’s DE and discusses issues related to the possible implementation of the new conceptualisation.
The foregoing was influenced by Freire's writings (1992, 1993, 1994). In his writings, Freire argues for the liberation of the 'oppressed', in my work I use the term subaltern. Freire (1992) spoke of the education system that was available to the subalterns as a 'tool of submission' (p. 12) which serves the interests of the status quo while suppressing the awareness of the masses of their wretched realities, but he also champions an education that highlights notions of freedom.

From a postcolonial perspective, I make the same claim that education is both the tool of the captor and captive. When used by the captor on his captive, education produces a 'culture of silence'. The resultant 'culture of silence' breeds the 'absence of doubt' (p. 21) which colonises the minds of the subaltern. In other words the subaltern became blinded to the chains of their oppression and therefore unconscious of the possibilities and strategies of transformation and liberation from their state of suppression. A good example of this is the lack of jobs for the educated persons in the Pacific, yet the education system does not address these issues, and also people continue to want an education that will provide for jobs that are not being generated. Another example is shown by the attributes that the character of Anare displays in the dialogue in Chapter 1. In the second case, that is, when education is used by the captives 'on' themselves, education can be liberating.

To free themselves from their oppressors and oppression, Freire's methodology advocated a process of reflection then action. The reflection constructs an
awareness of the inter-relatedness of the social, political and economic positioning the various sections of a society, for example that of the ruling, middle and workers classes. Upon construction of a ‘real’ understanding of inter ‘flows’ between the various positions, the subaltern must act. Without the action, Freire maintains, the liberation cannot be achieved. In other words Freire’s liberation methodology necessitates the ‘blending of theory with practice’ and ‘practice with theory’, the practice of praxis which is the synthesis of ‘reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it’ (p. 33). This is the type of thesis that I wanted to write, a thesis that moved beyond the domains of theory into the arena of practice. And in doing so, centred (emphasised) the contexts and deconstructed the established ways for the liberation of the subaltern.

5.1.3 Moving beyond Freire

Within the postcolonial frame of coloniser/colonised it is clear to me that the oppressed must be conscienticised. But the ‘subaltern cannot speak’, how then can they think? It appears that they cannot initiate creative thought, for there is, within Freire’s methodology, the need for non-deficient persons to conscienticise the oppressed, to help them see the chains which have bound them to their oppressors. This conceptualisation immediately puts these ‘seeing people’ into a hierarchical order above the subaltern—as their saviours. I make this point in spite of the lengths that Freire goes to position the oppressors as powerless in the liberation process.
My point here is that 'someone' has to be the catalyst for change and that someone belongs to the oppressor class, but working in solidarity with the oppressed. I say 'has to be' because the type of change that is being advocated goes against the societies' structures and therefore cannot start, let alone proceed, without an initiator. Since all the oppressed are 'blinded' and 'unconscious', only an oppressor can start the process of liberation. The trick though is that the oppressed as catalyst can only be that, he/she cannot lead or be seen to lead the project for change. In my conceptualisation, I have put the postcolonial intellectual in that contingent position of power. The PI knows the rules of the games being played out, he/she knows the genre, the key players and learned the tools to develop strategies in 'solidarity with' the oppressed, not for them.

Projects attempting to implement Freire's methodology have failed because the unadulterated former ways of the oppressed are only visible through the eyes of their oppressors. There is no authentic native way in this historical moment as they have all been corrupted by the inter-relatedness of the oppressed and oppressor. Thus, when the spaces of the native are freed, the ways of the native as seen by the benevolent is inscribed into those spaces. The example of incorporating practice of freedom projects amongst some Aboriginal people in Australia was difficult because the authentic native knower was absent or more often not heard in the forums of these projects. Thus in those projects, the knower was defaulted to the academic who knew about the people's ways from books written by the whiteperson. These ways of the whiteperson are usually
used in an education of freedom for the oppressed. Thus the education that was to be a practice of freedom becomes yet another way of blinding the oppressed.

The preceding reflective exercise helped me to dismantle binary constructions based on power differentials (coloniser/colonised, oppressor/oppressed, dominator/dominated) and in their place construct categories based on difference without any hint of a hierarchical order. That is, the different categories are constructed because of the need to differentiate in order to understand rather than from a need to differentiate in order to exploit.

More importantly, this dismantling of the binary oppositions built around power relations meant that there was no need to displace the oppressor, but for each new constructed category to work towards their own improvement in their own way. Their action would be dictated by their current contexts and their critical dialogues with other subgroups on their side of the binary opposition. Thus there is no need to return to, or seek out an authentic past, but to work from the present and to affect change from that point onwards. The hybrid nature of each category thus can be celebrated and built upon. The essence of each category then is one that is fixed and yet changed over periods of time. A corollary of the theorisation is the dissolution of the dispute with Freire’s failure to incorporate and interrogate race and gender relations within the theme of oppression. I don’t mean by my conceptualisation that the original material oppressed positions have disappeared, rather that they be reconstituted so that
the process of liberation is one of dialogue and negotiation rather than one of displacing the powerful. The dialogue and the negotiation must be done in the spirit of humility, love and respect for the others with whom one is negotiating (pp. 75-118).

5.1.4 The link with postcolonialism

I would like to now discuss the way I use the term postcolonialism. Before I do that I need to remind my readers of the notions of Fordism and Post-Fordism that I discussed in Chapter 3, as they are important concepts in the way that I use postcolonialism. I do not use postcolonialism in the same way that Peters (1983; 1989) used the industrialisation process. Peters (1983; 1989) likened DE methodology to the industrialisation process—DE had division of labour—so did industrialisation, specialisation, he also spoke of the brain washing danger. The debate in the literature on Peter's theory has moved on from the original Fordist notion to post-Fordism (Campion, 1996; Jarvis, 1995; Rumble, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 1996)

There were the natives and savages. Then came the whitepersons who made them into civilised beings, the colonials who thought that they could become like their masters if they excelled in his ways. The conscienticised, now, know that they can never be whitepersons. Those that have not been conscienticised however, are confused: what, who, are they? The contention is that colonialism through various agencies including education constructed identities for them. These were the outputs of the colonial education, the created dependent
The strategy is for the tools of postcolonialism to be applied to distance education to construct, with the approval of the people, multi-centred hybrids – persons who can feel comfortable with their identities – rational, spiritual beings.

Figure 5.1. The relationship between colonialism, postcolonialism, education and distance education.

The constructed parallel metaphorical relationship between conventional education and distance education on one hand and colonialisation and postcolonialism on the other, as shown in Figure 5.1, is used to re-constitute a strategy for Pacific peoples. This metaphorical relationship is built on the following two sets of assumptions.
The first set of assumptions concerns the formation of the colonials. The process, I have called Education/Colonialism. The pre-contact inhabitants ("authentic people") of the islands were colonised by the education, religion, language, and economic systems of their white male migrants/travellers. As a result they became colonials and evolved into "colonial academics", hybrids, mimic men and/or subalterns. The hybrids were the category which bore some characteristics of original pre-contact inhabitants and some characteristics of the white coloniser—the so-called 'whitemen with black hearts'. The mimics were the constructed colonials who reconstituted themselves on the grids of their euro-centric colonisers. They mimicked the white male ideology. They strove towards English identity in that they tried to speak, act and behave like their masters. Persons whose identities were carved out by the imposition of a more aggressive dominant culture. They were positioned on an international grid as the oppressed. With this assumption, I fall into the trap of constructing categories and homogenising people into the groups without considering those who don't fit neatly into any of them and those who fit into more than one group.

However, the most problematic assumption, because of its oversimplification of the social reality, is the one that describes these colonials as persons who experience and exhibit symptoms of identity crises. This assumption slips into 'othering', and sets up power relations between and amongst the intellectuals and the subalterns, rather than celebrating the differences between them.
The second set of assumptions discusses the trajectory of the formation of new identities. In the metaphor, this process is referred to as Distance Education/Postcolonialism. This process provides the colonials with strategies for construction of identities— which position them on an international grid in their own terms and equal to the masters rather than on a 'known' basis (Bhabha, 1990; hooks, 1994). The constructed identities are 'multi-centred hybrids', being incommensurable with the dominant discourse, because they acknowledge the people's everyday experiences with a cosmology that has been variously designated as magical realism, mysticism and primitive and yet they acknowledge the influence of colonialism on their essences.

Throughout this thesis, I keep returning to the notion of postcolonialism that acknowledges a colonial past, but rather than returning to the past—the period before colonialism, by throwing out all things colonial and reviving an unrecognised civilisation, 'being a prisoner of history', this strategy is an attempt to 'initiate the cycle of freedom' (Fanon, quoted in Ashcroft, Griffin and Tiffin, 1995:44; Rizvi, 1997; Chow, 1997). Within this frame the link between DE and postcolonialism in the metaphor should become clear to the reader.

Consider the following narrative. Distance Education (DE) was introduced in the Pacific to cater for those individuals who could not, for different reasons, access conventional education. Colonialisation, through education, was one of
the major forces of domination that helped maintain the neo-colonial hegemony that came to power after decolonisation. Thus I posit postcolonialism and through the above metaphor, distance education as a major strategy for resistance against oppression of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

I posit distance education as an avenue for the Pacific Islanders to resist the imposed identities and other forms of suppression that were made and are still being made on their subjectivities by various levels of agencies. These agencies must be contested, deconstructed and finally reconstructed and recontextualised from the standpoints and environments of the subaltern knower—the postcolonial intellectuals, in order to form the thirdspace. Thus the necessity for the paradigm shift from dominant distance education theory (which is Occi-centric) to postcolonial DE theory (which is Ori-centric).

So I begin in 5.1 to explain the bringing together of the first four chapters. I present various ways that the notions of Chapter 4 can be used to form the conceptual frame for DE for the Pacific. I do this by constructing i-tukuni from these four chapters. I do so not as a synthesis of them but as another way of looking at them—using 'deconstruction and' and four key postcolonial concepts: heterogeneity, hybridity, Orientalism and subaltern speech. I do not use these terms explicitly, but incorporate their concepts into my i-tukuni.
5.1.5 i-tukuni

In this thesis, I have proposed little stories—i-tukuni is a notion that is both singular and plural. It is made up of little stories that can stand on their own or form parts of other little stories rather than conceptualising them as a meta-narrative. This is not meta-narrativising, rather it is the construction of little stories from my perspective that I want to tell the key players, themselves postcolonial intellectuals.

Each of the shapes in the diagram below (Figure 5.2) represents an i-tukuni, each intersection represents an i-tukuni, and the totality of all the shapes represent i-tukuni. Here, I am trying to represent the notion of commonality by drawing a Venn diagram, which consists of various shapes each representing an i-tukuni. Each i-tukuni is a slightly different story about DE. An important point to note in the diagram is that all shapes, all the little stories, intersect at a common space—indicating a commonality in the various perceptions of DE. This commonality is that DE is that process of education in which the teacher and the students tend not to be in the same place for most of the period of instruction.

The differences are:

- the variety in the types of teachers: course lecturers, local tutors, Centre lecturers and peers;
• the variety in the types of communications technologies used: teleconferencing, video conferencing, computer connections, audiographics; and,
• the variety in design of the DE system used in the institution: centralised or decentralised system; and the shifts in time, space and sociality.

These different perspectives of DE are, probably, the major cause of the conflicts of DE at USP. Thus this thesis is an attempt to provide a vehicle for the effective criticisms and then negotiation of those criticisms.

The little stories can be conceptualised as the whole and also the individual sectors of intersecting diagrams as shown below:

5.1.5.1 The singular yet plural notions of the i-tukuni

![Diagram](image_url)

**Figure 5.2: The commonality**

The diagram above is a good representation of the type of perspective that I want to portray for DE. DE is a different process for its different key players.
Each group of players sees DE differently, each group sees it from their own standpoint and their own singular i-tukuni. Together these i-tukuni make up other i-tukuni and the plural i-tukuni of DE which cannot be viewed by any one group. Thus within this conceptualisation it is clear that for the DE process to function efficiently, all the groups from the different i-tukuni must negotiate their positions and responses as their status changes over time, space and sociality, within the DE system.

An implication of these negotiations is that the stakeholders within DE have a say in the process that directly affects their part of the operation. The point here is that the workers in any section should not be treated as subalterns, or be 'cheated in the sale of their labour' (Freire, 1992 : 35), or feel that 'they are good for nothing, know nothing and are incapable of learning anything' (p. 49). Within this system being constructed, every group has to evolve the tools and power to negotiate. This will include the articulation and/or establishing of a voice which is aware of the importance of their role in the plural i-tukuni. Thus, in this theorisation, each group has a voice that is heard in the plural i-tukuni, and each group is 'conscious' of their current oppression and vigilant about possible future oppression.

Following from Freire's condition of mutual respect during negotiations, a second implication of these negotiations is that power relations between the various key players should be equal. What I mean here is that the categorisation of the various groups within the process should not be along a
hierarchical order. My first thoughts were that the only group that should be
above the others is the students. For that is the group that the DE system and
all other groups within it exist for. But if that were the case then the students as
a group could oppress the other groups within the system. The groups within
the system provide the balance required for the survival of the plural i-tukuni.
For without that balance, a group will assume the role of oppressor and the
system will eventually fail. Therefore the categorisation across groups within
the plural i-tukuni is horizontal rather than vertical.

The singular notion of i-tukuni is the nodal point for cultural identity and
solidarity of those within the particular location. Those in that area know what
the others of their group experience. This knowledge then binds those people
together and keeps others out. The plural notion of the i-tukuni allows for
multiple identities and more travelling across the sites of the singular i-tukuni.
But to take on those multiple identities, the proponents of the singular i-tukuni
(local) must be aware of the plural i-tukuni (global). Linking this
conceptualisation to Freire's pedagogy, we can draw parallels to the
oppressed's interest only in things local and their lack of interest in the things
outside of their local even though those things affect their lifestyles.

As far as the oppressed are concerned they cannot cause change either within
their singular plural i-tukuni or those outside of them. The i-tukuni is an
example of a different way of conceptualisation of spatiality that I spoke of in
Chapter Three. The i-tukuni have created space for the local and in so doing
have also provide space for the global. Each (the local and global) is part of the other and there are gaps between singular i-tukuni. Within the spaces, the actors perform their singular i-tukuni and also for their plural i-tukuni. In other words, they keep their minds focused on the local task, not merely as a cog in the wheels of DE or as the dominated in the DE system, but as an equal and important part of it and, at the same time, not losing consciousness of the big picture.

A number of critics of my seminal work of the preceding discussions made the point that the discussions could just as well have been related to education rather than DE. They felt that the deconstruction and subsequent reconstruction should have been performed on education per se rather than DE. At that time, I felt that their critiques were justified, as I had not clearly presented my theoretical frames and my personal standpoint that underpinned the discussions. Therefore I present the reasons for using DE rather than education.

5.1.6 Post-economic rationalism

The people are important, they are not just cogs in the wheel to perform because they are paid to make the process work. Their various inputs (work and suggestions for improvements) are important and their contribution and loyalty to the total DE project are appreciated by management and the students.

36 Critics made these comments verbally when I presented two papers and made a poster presentation. The papers were: seminar presentation titled 'Distance Education at USP' presented to a group of masters students at USP in May, 1996; and conference presentation at UQ, 1997. The poster presentation was for the QIER conference in 1996.
Thus suggestions for improvement from them will be appreciated and discussed with staff and implemented if the subaltern can justify their claims. If, after implementation, the new systems fail, then the old systems could be reverted to with minimum loss. Obviously, the supervisors and senior management need to give due consideration to subaltern input and not be able to dismiss them out of hand without justifying their decision to do so. The aim then is to allow the supervisor to be part of the team rather than the coloniser of it. This is especially true within the context of the South Pacific Islands, as the culture there is to listen to one's supervisors, elders and teachers and do or learn what they say without question. There is also very little expectation on the part of the dominant to expect input from the dominated. The emphasis then is shifted away from an economic rationalist one to a humanist 'post economic rationalist' one. I use the term 'post' here to mean beyond. Therefore, the rudiments of economic rationalism are still in place but the emphasis 'within and across' the sectional teams have moved on to incorporate the workers. The workers are to be conscientised about their importance in the process, they know that their actions are part of the plural i-tukuni, they know that they can change the system if they can construct a better way for themselves and their students.

Negotiated goals of each of the institutional groups within the confines of the system will set up the borders of responsibility for each group. If a group does not fulfil their own goals then they need to reflect on their actions and then take the remedial action on their own, but that action should be formulated after discussions with others. As a postcolonial, I would say that the perspectives of
the workers who cannot speak for themselves (those of minority groups: lowly paid workers, those of minority ethnic groups, those that are not in positions of power) need to be developed with those workers themselves as different (non-traditional) lines of communications are setup. Only with these constructions can a (re) humanised DE project be implemented and maintained. My assertion here is informed by the notion of subaltern speech and the need to get the staff who are familiar with work at the basic level to have input in the design of the process. An example of this at USP would be the shift from the junior staff being colonised, to them being de-colonised. There the junior staff do not have initiative to change their work practices as they see fit. They tend to continue doing tasks inefficiently, if that is the way that they have been told to do the work by their supervisors. The situation appears to be one in which staff in senior positions indicate that they know their staff and therefore know how to treat them. However, my contention is that the junior staff also know their bosses and can also make the same declaration. The point being that, like the colonisation process, both the coloniser and the colonised are contaminated, both the senior and junior management are affected by their work association. Thus this should be recognised by the formal processes of improving workplace practices.

Thus rather than the senior staff dictating and monitoring how things are done in the workplace, they are more concerned with the outputs of those places. Where the quality of these outputs are not judged solely on economically rationalist criteria, but also on the fulfilment of the aims of catering for the four
categories of students mentioned in the student subsystem section. Training for
the development of staff and students' attitudes towards their tasks within the
DE process must be given priority and conducted as an on-going process.

The *i-tukuni* of the institutional groups then is one of being aware of the inter-
relatedness of each of the groups and their collective importance to the process
of DE. Each of the groups would record their own and other groups' heterogeneity and resists the urge to orientalise other groups. Their
heterogeneity would relate to borders that could affect the smooth functioning of
the *i-tukuni* for which those groups are concerned. From the differences that
become apparent in these heterogeneous groups, different approaches will be
constructed. At USP, there is a clear hierarchical power relation within the DE
system. If these relationships are used at the first hint of failure to meet
deadlines, then the cooperative spirit that is being developed will be crushed.
As an operational strategy then, each institutional group could 'tell' their *i-tukuni*
to the others to affect reflection by other groups to illuminate the systems.

5.2 WHY DE RATHER THAN EDUCATION?

My first response to my critics is that although I am interested in education and I
concede their point, my primary interest is in DE in tertiary education. Because
I believe in the potential of DE to educate the masses of the peoples that USP
serves, and that is the area that I am currently working in, thus I prefer to use
that term rather than education per se. But it is more than just the term as the
conceptual changes being suggested can be implemented with more ease within DE than traditional face-to-face education.

The second, but more important reason, for using the term DE rather than education is that education has been around for a long time and has many definitions, perspectives but, more importantly, stigma amongst postcolonial intellectuals. Freire (1992) makes the point that 'banking' education can turn the students 'into "containers", into "receptacles" to be "filled" by the teacher' (p. 58) thereby making the students more and more dependent on the teachers for their knowledge and more so for their 'thinking'. That type of education is imprisoning rather than freeing. On the other hand, DE has only had an impact in the last 30 years and is still undergoing a lot of change. Thus amidst the rhetoric and debate about DE terminology, the DE theorist could approach more fundamental questions: What is it? Who is it done to, done by? Why? How is it done? What are its aims? Who decides on the fundamental questions and answers? Here, I am proposing an alternate vision of tertiary DE studies, one that moves away from the colonisation of university culture by the 'interrelated cultures of business, industry and advertising' (Baldwin, 1994 : 125) towards one that provides for the development of the individual in the discipline, level and rate that is negotiated between them and the institution.

I prefer to think of the DE teacher being both an enabler and a discipline expert—the students are not left to their own devices on all tasks—they are guided towards certain objectives and left to explore others for themselves. DE
is used both as a metaphor for 'writing back' against the 'brain washing' of colonialist education, especially the colonisation of the mind that Ngui refers to, (see section 4.2) and as a possible action project for enlightenment of the possessed and oppressed peoples of post-colonial countries. The former is the conceptual reconstitution/reframing of education and the latter is the implementation of that project.

The third reason for using the term DE rather than education is that in recent years there has been a blurring of the boundaries between on-campus face-to-face education and distance education. Education is becoming more and more a multiple mode process. It is being reconstituted with the major calls for reform coming from organisations like UNESCO and special reports commissioned by governments. Many of these calls for reconstitution for education look to DE for the impetus for change. Because of this potential of DE to implement change I choose to use that term rather than education.

5.3 THE NEW VOCABULARY FOR DE

When discussing DE in post-colonial countries a new vocabulary should be used for a number of reasons that I outline here. This new vocabulary needs to resituate and reframe the basic units or building blocks of DE theory for post-colonial Pacific Island Countries (PICs). The conventional basic building blocks of DE were modelled after face-to-face teaching in mainstream Eurocentric
historicality, sociality and spatiality. These blocks were, at best, transferred to Third World countries with minimum regard for differences in historicality, sociality and spatiality. It is as though the PI cannot work with the itinerant expert to write their own i-tukuni, and that they 'must be represented' by the 'itinerant gaze' (Gandhi, 1998: 86). The new vocabulary should allow the PI to represent themselves, to tell their own i-tukuni, both the singular and the plural ones, expounding the minority and the counter-hegemonic discourses. For example the i-Kiribati word, Te Kie, meaning mat has been used as the name of a journal for distance and continuing education at the USP. This term was chosen because mat weaving and mats themselves connote interaction and interweaving between peoples of the Pacific, similar to the way the threads of pandanus leaves are plaited when the mats are being made.

In general the USP DE students deferred to the first of the pairs of styles listed: observational vs didactic, rote/memorisation vs comprehension/application, surface vs deep, experiential vs from the book and passive/active. These learning differences were evident in the research findings of Mugler and Landbeck (1993)—which found that the learning behaviours of distance students of USP were mainly surface and Chief and Hola's (1992)—which shows that a number of the assumptions on which instructional design are based do not apply to the study behaviours of the USP's DE students. Assumptions such as: students were interested in the pedagogy of the course, its building blocks and its aims; they read the course sequentially and did all the self-assessment exercises. In reality they worked from the assignments. Thus
this is where the emphasis in the course design should be directed. The use of the term learner, as discussed on page 37 in the 'Introduction to the Thesis', rather than student, is a good example of the need for a change in the vocabulary. By this shift in the focus to what the learners do rather than that they belong to a lower rung in the hierarchy is highlighted. The words of the new vocabulary are not for naming in order to know and thus control, rather they are for describing the functions of the players so that grounds of acceptance of difference can be mapped out for the mutual benefit of all the players irrespective of the team that they play on.

However, I would like to return to the point about different learning styles and study behaviours. It is clear from the previous discussion that from an academic perspective it would appear that the DE students from USP had inferior learning strategies and study behaviours. The research findings interpreted the students as passive beings, not creative and/or critical thinkers nor possessing of inquiring minds. The findings also indicated that the students wanted to be spoon-fed. The negative interpretations of the findings presenting the students as deficient were constructed from the perspective of 'outsider' researchers. The work by Chief and Hola presents a different construct of the students, a construction by insiders who could identify with the students. In Chapter 3 I discussed the issues of insider/outsider perspectives and do not intend to repeat them here, but I make the point that in this instance the insiders' perspectives could be more useful as they suggest strategies for providing support, based on their experiential knowledge, of the type that the
students need rather than the kind that the institution (academia) feel they need. The deep/surface learning binary is clearly not productive, a hybrid learning strategy would be more useful, thus I call for a more appropriate lexicon for learning strategies and study behaviours for postcolonial settings.

A second reason for the call for new vocabulary are the differences in the public infrastructure of these countries and differences in the institutional differences. The DE systems depend on efficient and reliable postal and telecommunication systems, which were often not available in post-colonial countries. There were also differences in the infrastructure of tertiary educational institutions in post-colonial countries. The theory in Chapter 2 shows that DE will not function satisfactorily without these pre-requisites. Yet the imported DE system is put in place. The local experts are reliant on their outsider experts and assume that these experts know what they are doing. The local experts need to be conscientised about their expertise in the local context and dialogical practices, and their knowledge of the dominant DE systems. And having reflected on the differences in these environments and practices they can propose new vocabulary to affect transformation.

The final reason for the need of a new vocabulary is related to the difference of the isolation of the DE students. Not only is the DE student in post-colonial PICs isolated geographically, but they are isolated in and by language. They are isolated from the print culture that DE depends on, they are isolated by the type of regime that DE studies demands which conflicts with their customary
obligations to their families and communities. They are isolated from peers and others who have experience with the kind of study that they are undertaking. The ‘profile’ of the DE students based on the notion of heterogeneity needs to be formulated so that strategies can be put into place to support the students better. Currently, the USP system attempts to cater for the DE students who are studying under a coconut tree without electricity. This is an outmoded construct, it is too restrictive. Therefore new constructs incorporating the students own stories are required which will result in the deconstruction of the old ways of thinking and provide for new ways that can aid transformative practices.

I have written of some of the reasons for the new vocabulary but I have not explained what I mean by this. I now turn to answer that concern. What do I mean when I say ‘new vocabulary’? I am not referring to new terminology, though that could be useful, but rather to new mindsets of the key players within DE. Unfortunately, in the past, new terminology has tended to mean changes in the infrastructure, but not in the way the key players constructed their roles within subunits of DE. Examples of this can be seen in the shifts from DE to Distance Learning, from DE to Open Learning, from DE to flexi-mode, from DE to interactive mode and so on. All of these shifts still depend on the basic premise that DE needs to emulate face-to-face teaching if it is to be successful.

What I am suggesting in this thesis is that DE should not necessarily emulate face-to-face teaching. A new awareness of DE operations devoid of the
dependence on face-to-face teaching, a conscienticisation by DE personnel to transform their practices is sought. For it is only with the conscienticisation through reflection by the DE personnel that liberating and transformative change can begin. It needs to find its own building blocks, some of which could be informed by face-to-face teaching, but it should not be dependent on them.

In the Pacific Island Nations, these new building blocks, as with Freire's 'pedagogy of the oppressed', have to be first constructed through reflection of the relationships in those contexts. Following the constructions of these i-tukuni, by the key players within DE through critique and negotiation of conventional DE wisdom and current praxis, strategies appropriate for the types of countries that USP is serving can be designed through other i-tukuni. The theorisation that I have presented consists of more than one strategy and that these strategies are based on four premises. They are subjectivity, the different contexts factors - spatiality, sociality and historicality - the teaching/learning factor and costs factor.

In summary, DE must be conscienticised by its practitioners in each part of the system, to transform the ways of seeing and doing DE. The practitioners themselves are involved in the 'practice of praxis', and thereby improve the system for themselves and other members of the DE family. The practitioners (including the students) assume the role of the knowers and negotiate, with other players, for the successful operation of the DE process. My position here is supported by Giroux's (1992) call for 'a new language of educational and
cultural criticism that provides the basis for understanding how different social formations are structured in dominance within specific pedagogical and cultural practices ... to provide the opportunity for educators.... to rethink and transform how ... teachers, and students define themselves as political subjects capable of exhibiting critical sensibilities, civic courage, and forms of solidarity rooted in a strong commitment to freedom and democracy' (pp. 200 - 201).

As mentioned in Chapter 3, ‘border pedagogy’ and ‘border crossings’ of various types are an important component in dismantling binary oppositions like oppressor/oppressed. Giroux makes the point that: ‘A person’s subject position can and does determine their stand on such contentious issues as canonisation and marginalization (sic)’ (Kurtas, 1999 : 5). In (re)constructing the new vocabulary for DE, I use Giroux’s ‘border pedagogy’ as a tool to respond to the issues of heterogeneity of the various stakeholder groups and the various methodologies used by these groups.

5.4 THE PROPOSED DE SUBSYSTEMS FOR USP

The subsystems will still be the same as the two suggested in Chapter 3 (see 3.3.1). Within USP’s DE system the student subsystem is administered through the Extension Centre. However, various parts of this subsystem exist in different locations: in the teaching departments, within University Extension (UE) or within the community in the form of part time local tutors. The responsibility of maintaining this system and coordinating its operations lies with
Therefore the UE staff must liaise with and cooperate and collaborate with different DE players within the University. Often times this is a juggling act and UE staff has to resort to influencing other sections to contribute to the DE operations of the University. The course subsystem at USP consists of the distance education unit (DEU), the teaching departments and the UEHQ administrative staff. Together, these sections prepare the course for offering via the DE mode. Clearly, at USP, there is a lot of overlap between these two subsystems.

The intention of my *i-tukuni* is for the DE process to become intrinsically more human, for each of the group of players in the process to feel that they are responsible and have power to implement change in that process. Therefore the influence of Peter’s ‘industrialisation of education’, Wedemeyer’s ‘autonomy and independence of the students’, Holmberg’s ‘two way communication’ and the ‘Post-Fordism’ model of DE are apparent in the proposed theoretical frame, though their influence takes second place to the aim of matching the education being provided to the needs of the people as negotiated by them, in their context. In all this, human relations are as important as economic rationalist ones as they are based on the premise that the human and the economic issues directly influence each other.

### 5.4.1 Theoretical frame for USP’s DE

The economies of scale which resulted in the lower costs of the provision of DE, because of the mass production of course materials, was the driving force for the implementation of DE in developing countries like the Pacific Islands.
Nations. However, in new times, the clients of DE need more courses (variety of offerings) and more flexibility in delivery and pedagogy. There are many other DE providers moving into the Pacific market and the USP’s DE product must therefore compete with these other providers and at the same time provide a product that the subaltern group of people of the Pacific helped formulate. I use the term subaltern to describe the present and potential students and staff who are not included in the decision making within the DE systems of USP. From this point on I will use the term subaltern to refer to this group.

Returning to the issue of costs, there are cases where the distance education costs have equalled or even exceeded the costs of conventional education (Pillai & Naidu, 1991; Rumble, 1983). At USP, the costs of the DE student is increasing and are subsidised thus the move to increase the tuition fees (The University of the South Pacific, 1998). In the light of these issues it is clear that USP’s DE must be revitalised to cater for the threat from within and outside.

A tenet of this thesis is that the review that is being planned for USP’s DE be made along the lines discussed in this thesis so that the DE process fulfils its aim of providing mass tertiary education of the people of the Pacific, wherever they are (Chandra, 1999), rather than the review being a rationalistic exercise based on scientific methods. While it is envisaged that the proposed review could be both of these, the suggestion being made here is that the former approach would be more beneficial to the USP. As that type of review will allow
for more reflectivity on the part of the key players within DE rather than just be an exercise of measuring outcomes. The strategies for review, in my view, should be through postcolonial lenses and using both soft and hard research methods as discussed in Chapter 4. Such a review would begin with the foundation, the theoretical frame on which the DE program was constructed. It then critiques the fit between that frame and the experiences of the providers and receivers of the DE and finally negotiates and re-formulates the theories and the practices as appropriate.

As a postcolonial student, I suggest that the theory that grounds the practice of DE at USP be such that it imposes on the DE students an interdependency. The theory must be grounded on the premise that the education that is provided values the students, their local contexts and the relationships therein and also the relationships of the local with the global. To fulfill this premise, USP's DE must change to become more local and then more global, in that order of priority not in time. The USP's DE project must cater for the heterogeneous demands of the Pacific societies as well as the demands for a globally acceptable education with neither taking priority.

As I have shown in Chapters 1 and 2, Pacific societies are heterogeneous within and across national borders. Therefore different strategies are needed for each of the different groups of students. For these different strategies to be successful they must be formulated from inputs: from the USP as the institution providing the DE services and, from the students who will be using the services.
The notions of subaltern speech are used to affect these discussions and negotiation to ensure that the strategies are acceptable to both groups. These strategies must be formally provided for in the central offerings and also at the local level. The present USP DE program assumes that there is one homogeneous group of students and there is one strategy for all those students. This is the current policy. The local Centres put into place ad hoc practices to cater for their different students. However, I am advocating that policy be put into place to formalise these ad hoc practices. These practices then will be based on a hybrid of the theories that were presented in Chapter 3, since none of them were suitable as I explained in that chapter.

5.4.2 The organisation structure
The organisation structure as presented by Kaye (1981) is the one that I will also employ with some modification. The industrialisation of the DE process in terms of division of labour (functions) will continue to provide the basis of the systems, but rather than de-skilling, the players within the system will need to be multi-skilled, to cater for the overlapping of their functions. The multi-skilling will enable the key players to cross into other functional areas. The USP started this process five years ago. There have been a number of DE staff who have been seconded to full time teaching positions for a semester at a time. There have also been staff who have moved from the DE section to teaching departments. Unfortunately, there has not been the corresponding movement of staff in the other direction. Movement in both directions is required for the physical link that I alluded to earlier. In 5.5 and 5.6 I have suggested
operational strategies for the flow, the physical link, between DE and on-campus teaching. Thus the difference is the shift to a hybrid organisational structure one, that is formed by the modification of Kaye’s model. Within the model that I am proposing, the modification should be informed by the input from staff from various sections and levels of the organisation.

The postcolonial strategies, as mentioned in Chapter 4, seek to dismantle the binary opposition. At USP, a binary opposition that occurs in the DE process is of the ‘us-them’ attitude between various sections. For example when there is a problem between the Centres and the UEHQ, the Centres blame the UEHQ and the UEHQ blames the Centres: from each perspective, it is always the other that caused the problem. An example of the type of problem that occurs every semester is one of the late arrival of course materials. If the materials were off the production line in time for dispatch, the UEHQ will allege that the Centres have not provided them with sufficient details and, as a result, the course materials stock and/or requests for such materials were not received by the Centres, and/or the Centres did not inform the UEHQ about the late arrival of the materials until well into the semester. The Centres will allege that they carried out all the necessary steps, but that UEHQ was not responsive to the needs at the Centre level. Documentation of these communications is difficult to maintain as they are conducted by phone or via satellite. Rather than casting blame, which has not been successful in the past, my strategy seeks to provide speaking positions for each section so that rather than an ‘us-them’ binary, the shift is towards an ‘our’ or a ‘we-we’ relationship.
In other words, those in various sections of operational activities, those in various sections of logistical activities and those in various sections of regulatorial activities, negotiate with the other sections for erasures of the ‘us-them’ binary oppositions, in so far as they cause conflict but do not remove the differences themselves. For the ‘us-them’ binary oppositions between the DE sections are constructed from ‘difference within’ and ‘difference beyond’. Both of these types of difference can be diffused by negotiation and criticism as suggested by Spivak and discussed in Chapter 4. Thus in the example of the late arrival of the course materials, both sections, especially staff at the operational level will be required to sort out the problems and keep their own documentation (dates, times and person spoken to, and contents) of the communications. These communications need not be elaborate and should be easy to verify to a certain extent from phone and satellite records.

5.4.3 The student subsystem
From the postcolonial perspective, this subsystem must cater for the heterogeneous student groups that constitute the USP DE student population. From data presented in the findings of Bolabola and Wah (1995), Chief and Hola (1992), Landbeck and Mugler (1993), and Yamanaka (1994) it is clear that there are many different groupings. Added to the groups mentioned in these findings that I have discussed in other parts of this thesis, I add the differences due to the students’ autonomy, dependence or independence, and their attitudes to DE.
The current USP system depends on the central part of the USP's DE system, UEHQ, to provide the profile of the USP's DE students. Unfortunately, at that level the profile is obtained from statistics. The perspective of the staff at UEHQ is not experiential but, more importantly, it lacks local knowledge and sensitivity. Thus the model that is being proposed is that the National Extension Centres for each country decides on the categories of the students based on the differences of access, autonomy, dependence, attitudes to DE or any other differences that the Centres identify as being significant barriers to their students' success. These categories need to be documented and justified qualitatively and quantitatively by the Centres with input from their students. Information to support these categories could be obtained during enrolment and/or at other times as appropriate for different Centres. Strategies for servicing the different groups also need to be designed at the Centre level. These strategies must also be supported by input from the students. Data collected by other researchers and from UE annual reports continue to indicate the need for more tutorial support but, when these are provided, the attendance at them is low. Centres therefore need to critically research reasons for such low attendance as these tutorial are not cost effective. Discussions on the categories of students and the effectiveness of the strategies provided must be an on-going activity of the USP's DE program. It is hoped that by defaulting these concerns to the Centres, the subalterns (students and staff) may be able to devise systems that are suitable for them, how and when they are needed, rather than for strategies to be provided for the next intake of students.
Within the provision being suggested, the UEHQ must also provide leadership for needed research skills for DE issues, appropriate and required DE training for DE staff in particular and USP staff in general to provide for the multi-skilling that this proposed DE strategy needs. The UEHQ would, therefore, be acting as a postcolonial intellectual force in so far as it provides choices for subalterns to become partners rather than dominating them. It is hoped that the subaltern would be conscienticised to the importance of their input into the process.

Also the UEHQ must provide leadership, based on research findings, to support strategies for better servicing of four general categories of their students. These four categories are being suggested because of the stories that have been told about DE in the USP in Chapters 1 and 2 and, also, because of the appropriateness of parts of the theories that were presented in Chapter 3. The categories that are suggested are students who are not autonomous, students who are dependent learners, students who do not have access to the facilities of the National Extension Centres and, students who are new students or students who are having problems coping with the DE mode of learning. Other students are considered independent and autonomous learners and, therefore, would also benefit from the strategies being proposed to be successful under the present system. The categories that could be looked at and strategies to cater for them could be applied via instructional design techniques. Clearly, those strategies are formed from the hybridisation of "autonomy and independence" and "interaction and communication" theories. The preschool individual orientation activities are obtained from the former to cater for the non-
autonomous and dependent learners. Follow-up work would need to be carried out with these students to ensure that they have been de-colonised from dependence on teachers. The follow-up communications strategies are informed by 'interaction and communication' theory. This theory also informs the instructional design strategies and 'real' communication to support new students and those who are having trouble with the DE mode.

The implementation of these strategies as informed by postcolonial theory must acknowledge the possible traps of othering and use the positive strategies of subaltern speech and heterogeneity. In other words, these strategies must be negotiated by all the groups involved in the process and devised with their input and acceptance. They must be provided after consultations with the Centre staff and from other statistical data that can be obtained from the centralised students' records system. Details of such activities and their results must be open to scrutiny by any person interested in them. At USP, this will mean seeking out and listening to the voices of each of the groups of subalterns (staff and students) and planning with them, and taking the required action for change. The Centres Advisory Committees also needs to be involved so as to get input from a cross section of the community.

The thrust of the student subsystem is to ensure that once the students receive the learning package, two levels of support are provided for the students. The globalised support for the four identified categories of students, and a more localised support based on the particular in-country needs of the students.
Thus all USP DE students should have access to support of a generalised nature as provided within the learning package for the four broad ranges of student type; and the students in any country should be provided with additional support as has been negotiated between the local Centre and the students. The question that immediately comes to mind is who pays for these changes?

Elsewhere (see 5.1.6, 5.4.4 and 5.4.5) in this Chapter, I have given specific examples of cost saving measures, but here I want to look at the conceptual response to the question. The response from postcolonial theory is that the strategies will need to be worked out within the financial constraints. There is a need for negotiation and therefore establishment of priorities based on these inputs, rather than solely on the decisions by senior management that certain policies and practices be used by the institution. This approach is needed in the light of the increasing competition from other DE providers. The students, governments and communities as the clients, must be made to feel that the USP’s DE program is providing for their needs as defined by them within the financial constraints and, in consultation with the USP. According to Guy (1994) ‘Participants readily note technical weaknesses in distance education, such as quality of print and the availability of materials, but are uncritical of issues relating to the nature of text and the knowledge that is represented in text’ (p. 135).

This factor is about the premise that education is more about observation rather than books, experience rather than being taught by other persons. But this is
not what we have been doing, we have been basically saying that DE cannot occur without teachers, but this very notion does not accept the heterogeneous nature of the student population. This student system must attempt to cater for the differences in the student populations across the PICs. Similarly, the course subsystem must attempt to cater for the different student populations across the Pacific. Thus I now turn to discuss how the course subsystem will do this.

5.4.4 The course subsystem
At USP, the course subsystem consists of all the structures, functions and staff that are responsible for the course offerings: structure, contents, delivery and support, assessments, certification, fees, tutorials and enrolment quotas. The sections that are concerned with these activities at USP are:

- the distance education unit (DEU), which plans, designs and produces and, sets enrolment quotas for courses;
- the UEHQ administrative section, which organises assessment, results, certification, centralised support for students and the payments for tutorials; and
- the despatch section that coordinates stocks of course materials, delivery of course materials to the Centres and the processing of assignments and examinations between the students, through the Centres, and the lecturers on-campus.

The current system of USP’s DE assumes that the students are conversant with these aspects of the DE process. It overlooks the fact that the students’ previous learning may not have included DE and that the majority of DE
students have not been informed of these functions as they have not, and most will probably never, come on-campus. The suggestion of this model is that the students are given an overview of the system so that they are aware of the differences of this system to the face-to-face education. This awareness will enable the students to be better informed about the system and thereby contribute to its improvement as is expected under the system being proposed. The idea being that the students are not intimidated by these systems and thereby placed in a position of being subjugated by them. They must be made to feel part of the system. Also in knowing the system they become conscientiscised.

This system is informed by Peters' 'industrialisation of education', in so far as division of functionality is concerned. As presented elsewhere in this thesis, the USP's DE production system is not an assembly line one, but rather it is an assembly loop. The materials being produced need to loop to previous work-areas because of the need for modification. Within the current system at USP, sometimes the looping occurs four or five times because of errors, changes in content, method and so on. Clearly, this is a waste of scarce resources, indicating that the strategies presented in 5.1.6 are necessary for the success of this project.

5.4.4.1 Structure and content
Currently, there is generally only one structure and content for all the USP's DE students who are enrolled in particular courses. The structure and content may differ from across courses and/or between offerings of the same course. However, the law faculty (previously law unit) at Vanuatu has devised a different
structure and content for their course. Their structure enabled a small complement of staff to offer and service a large number of courses.

The strategy used is twofold. Firstly, the same course materials are offered at different levels. The difference is that students attempt different assignments. For example, the materials are for degree and diploma level students and the assignment for each level is clearly marked in the course materials. Thus each set of course materials has two sets of assignment questions. The second strategy is that students from different countries answer questions that relate to their particular country and one other. For example, students from the Solomon Islands will answer questions about an aspect of law as it pertains to their country and they must choose to answer the same question for law in another country. Clearly, these strategies will require more planning, but they provide the local perspective and also economies of scale that are needed. There are, of course, other permutations that are possible within this frame. There could be different content for students on different islands. For example, accounting courses for small atolls would be more relevant if the principles centred on small businesses rather than multi-national corporations; science experiments could use fauna and flora of the locale of the students as points of study. There are a number of examples in the current offerings at USP that are not only irrelevant but have similar attributes to colonial education. For example, students from Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, Niue, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu who live on coral atolls are asked:
1. to study rivers in a geography course, when many of them have no experience of or will ever see one; and
2. to dissect toads in a biology course, but toads are not available on these atolls and therefore they need to be flown in.

The scenario becomes more problematic if questions about such content are found in assessment items.

A postcolonial perspective suggests that the design teachers of these courses saw the materials from their own perspectives only. They had not made the physical link with their students or their environments, or maybe they felt that the students in the mentioned countries needed to learn such content and skills. If the latter were the case, then the course designers need to ask themselves about the relevancy of such content and skills to 'new times'. The students should also be encouraged to question the relevance of the course content and structure either as an evaluation exercise or as part of an assessment. While this suggestion may be new to USP, I have taught in a course that uses them successfully at the University of Queensland.

Thus the course design process must take into account the context of each of the PICs, as a matter of policy, when presenting content and formulating assessment items. And where possible multiple sets of content should be provided so that the students can see themselves and their environments in the course materials. There needs to be more cross-linking across disciplines to breakdown the artificial barriers at least in the production of the course.
materials. Elsewhere in this thesis, I have discussed the issue of the silencing of the students' spaces and places in their study texts and the subsequent possible negative impacts.

The above does not mean that certain content should not be studied because they are not directly relevant, rather the point is that they are not in themselves 'real' to the students. However, the study of the local to then include the global by drawing parallels is an old basic strategy of teaching needs to be re-incorporated into the contents. The students' prior knowledges need to be exploited to the fullest. This means that the content experts must be familiar with the environment of the region, and incorporate these into their lessons. Without this knowledge, the course materials will appear irrelevant and thereby encourage rote learning (Landbeck & Mugler, 1993). When alternatives are not found, then the local tutor needs to identify local examples for incorporation into future versions of the course. This requirement will mean that there is more communication between the local tutors and the lecturers on the main campuses. This communication channel must be strengthened and the staff and the teitei\textsuperscript{27} made part of the development/revision course teams.

A possible gain from this strategy is the economies of scale that are achieved due to the larger numbers of students purchasing materials. For example, if the break-even point of enrolment is 50, then each student's fees after that is a bonus. If there were two courses with 45 enrolments each, then there would be

\textsuperscript{27}\textit{Teitei} is the Fijian word for family gardens. Gardens which provide food for the family. Initially, I used the term coalface here, but then realised that I was talking about the Pacific. The working place that the Pacific Islanders can identify with, even though many of us don't work the family gardens anymore.
losses in both courses. But if the courses were incorporated into one then savings would accrue from the fees of the 40 students over the breakeven point. This is a good example of post-economic rationalism that I referred to earlier. The human factor is emphasised but the budgets for the production must also be kept in check.

5.4.5 Packaging

Currently, the packaging of the course materials is based on instructional design features and not on economic rationalist concerns. In fact a fair amount of time and money is spent on the production of cover designs to match the course item. Within the current trends of lower budgets, it would appear appropriate for this aspect of the course design to be forfeited for some of the other concerns discussed earlier. The categories of the students for each PIC need to be considered so that appropriate packaging could be designed with them in mind. The size of the learning package, its robustness (especially if it will be re-used), the size of the print and type of paper used, since studying is usually done at night and the paper maybe too shiny and the print too small, must be considered. The staff at the teitei and the students need to inform this process. There might even be need for different kinds of packages for different categories of students. For example the remote students may need stronger binding and waterproof packaging since their learning packages need to be transported via unusual means, as described in Chapter 2.

Thus from this point on in my discussion I will substitute the word gardener for players since players don't play in gardens.
5.4.6 The difference

Initially, from the outside, the changes will not be visible to the casual observer but, on closer examination, it should become evident that there are fewer of the human conflicts that arise from the constraints of working to very tight deadlines and budgets. The humans involved in the systems are the subjects, the driving forces comprising it rather than being just the objects of the process which are themselves coerced into doing their tasks. Rather than their detailed procedures and practices being given from above, the staff at the teitei themselves construct them after negotiations amongst themselves and with other subunits within the system. In postcolonial terms, the project has moved on from one of mere 'resistance' to one of affecting change for the oppressed.

A major change concerns the power/authority vested in the Head of Distance Education (HDE) position. The other staff must be delegated the responsibility of 'naming' their world, that is the leaders cannot say their word alone; they must say it with their staff. The leaders cannot fall into the temptation of imposing their decisions on their staff, for if they do so they are not organising their staff but oppressing them (Freire, 1992: 179).

So, is there a need for such a position as HDE, if some of its power/authority is delegated to other staff? Without hesitating, I would say yes. Not just because it is my current position, but for a number of reasons. Firstly, because it is the mediatory position between policy makers and practitioners. Too often, especially at committee meetings at USP, I have found myself the only person who could see both the policymakers' and the practitioners' perspectives in discussions concerning DE issues. The HDE position is one of border
crossings; the incumbent gets his 'hands dirty' with the practice of DE, and also works on committees with policy makers.

Secondly, I have come to be more of a realist. Like Guevara, I have learned to 'mistrust' (Freire, 1992: 169). One of the assumptions that the theory of the itukuni model of DE is built on is that people want to be responsible for their actions within the workplace. The reality as illustrated by my personal experience is that many personnel don't want to be. They prefer instead to be told what to do, without them thinking too much about the implications and consequences of their actions. There is a lot of pride in the work that is done but not in the accountability of doing it. For example, assignments are marked, but often in the lecturers' own time frame rather than as prescribed in the course; the course materials are designed and developed, but over a period longer than the workloads allow. Thus the HDE position is that leadership position that must dedicate itself to an untiring effort for the unity of the oppressed—and unity of the leaders with the oppressed—in order to achieve liberation (pp. 172-173). Here, I interpret oppressed to be both staff (especially teitei staff) and students, thus my use of the term subaltern. The unity, in the former context, is amongst staff and amongst students and, between staff and students. The leaders are the policy makers who need to be united in their focus on the DE process, which is inherently plagued with operational problems as discussed in Chapter 3. Thus the role of the HDE must shift from being one of formulating policy and handing it down, to being one of the gardeners, like the other gardeners in the teitei. Power of the HDE is learned through the
process of incorporating the dialogic theory into the operations of DE. This conceptualisation of power may appear to be different from the Foucauldian notion that power resides in the position, but it is not. I posit that this perspective supports Foucault's notion because it makes the point that power is everywhere and that through the dialogic process holders of various positions can learn of the power of their position (both their personal position and their institutional one).

Finally, but by no means less importantly, the HDE position, being relieved of some of its other responsibilities, can be more proactive in an essential part of the 'practice of praxis'. The point that I am making here is that USP's DE has been informed by theories of DE from Occidental countries and by its own practices. Its research activities have been mainly limited to baseline type researches and to evaluative rather than to theory building research. Rather than providing a long list of such research, I direct the reader to Va'ā's (1996) *Distance Education at the University of the South Pacific* which is an annotated bibliography of literature on all aspects of DE at USP to 1996. Some critical research has occurred recently, but much more needs to be done. In support of the 'practice of praxis', the HDE function can be more heavily biased towards research with DE. Research that can inform the practices in-house, but also contribute to the DE knowledge base of the world. This is a crucial area that USP can become involved in and the HDE position is suitably placed to produce the research with staff and students across borders.
5.5 BORDER CROSSINGS WITHIN THE INSTITUTION

The borders within an institution such as USP that impact of the DE process are many. Firstly, I present 'differences' due to the ethnicity of staff, differences due to the stakeholder group that the staff belong to (UEHQ staff, teaching staff, media centre, book centre, USP policy makers, USP administrative staff, computing staff, Extension Centre staff, local tutors and advisory committee members), differences in attitudes to DE - ranging from positive to negative, and differences in seniority within the DE hierarchy.

Secondly, there are differences in the way that sections within the USP respond to DE students. Some sections give the DE students priority and others respond to them when there is nothing else to do or the response cannot be left any longer. At this point I would like to remind the readers of Burbules' (1997) grammar of difference viz., 'difference between', 'difference beyond', 'difference within' and difference against' and the questions that the grammar raises: How are these difference known? What caused these differences? Who decided the borders for these differences? Why were the borders put where they are? Who benefits from having the borders where they are?

To the postcolonial, the borders are neither distinct nor 'natural', they are neither fixed nor permanent, but are blurred, gradual and contingent, they are arbitrary, fragile and dynamic. There have been cases in which it has been shown that those on one side of the border could be more like those across the
border than others on the same side of the borders as themselves, clearly illustrating that the borders were created for particular power plays. A material example of this are the borders that have been put in place to divide races. The very 'science' (genetics) that put the border there in the first place was used to show that there was more genetic variation intra-race than inter-race (Nakata, 1998).

Also, when different standpoints or paradigms are invoked the existing borders collapse. For example, the border between instructional designers and content specialist (lecturers) within a course development team. From the standpoint of traditional functions within a university and also from the paradigms of managerialism, that border has agency. But from the perspective that I want to appeal to, which is focussed on the overall aims of teaching by distance, those borders have created many problems and threaten the attainment of the aims of the DE project. Under this latter perspective, those borders listed earlier have passed their 'used by date' and need to be reconstituted to contribute to the realisation of the aims. Thus within the course team the distinction between instructional designers and content specialists is dismantled and one collaborative group, rather than two competing/conflicting groups, brought into existence. In 5.6, I have discussed operational strategies that can be implemented at USP to aid this process.

Secondly, the borders were constructed and therefore can be deconstructed and reconstructed. The results of these problematisations of borders are
multiple identity sites, multiple speaking positions and multiple perspectives of
and by both the individuals and the communities themselves. In other words,
the borders reconstitute identities, speaking positions and the perspectives of
the gardener as a result of the gardeners' realisation of the borders' arbitrariness, through the adaptation of the notion of the orientation and
heterogeneity that was occurring in the system. Thus hybridisation occurs and
contingently cements these multiples, amidst displays of mimicrisation, which
temporarily manifests itself in behaviours of those involved. What I mean here
is that the hybridisation is formation of a perspective 'different from' those
already present which tend to refer to their other across the border, that is, I am
making a shift from binary oppositional perspectives to a third perspective. The
formation of the third perspective is 'believed' in and lasts till its 'used by date'.
The mimicrisation however occurs to deceive. The 'mimic men' exhibit the
characteristics of the new borders, but don't believe in them, and will disrupt
them when they get a chance. Fortunately, or unfortunately, it is difficult to
distinguish between the hybrid and the mimic, but the project aims at producing
hybrids, 'true believers'.

In Burbules’ frame, the postcolonial involves problematising the borders by
deconstructing 'difference from' and in their places reconstructing 'differences
within'. Within my strategy of border crossing, I am attempting to affect the shift
from 'different beyond' to 'difference against'. The former shift results in
multiple positions even on the same side of the border. The latter shift affects a
move from a position of ignorance, because of lack of knowledge about the
other, to one challenging the dominant discourses of the borders and their usefulness. Thus the us-them binary opposition would be dismantled and a third position, the hybrid would take its place.

I attempt to accomplish these shifts in the following sections on 'border crossings'. Therefore the formations of hybrids and mimics are important in my conceptualisation; both are important, neither more than the other. The hybrid and the mimic enable change; the mimic however provides the catalyst for further change. I say this because within my conceptualisation the mimics are acting, they are not genuinely supportive of the system within which they work. The reasons for their lack of faith and support for that system needs to be investigated and if possible catered for. My conceptualisation posits that there will always be hybrids and mimics in the systems. Thus those colonised by vigilance to the overall aims of DE, the postcolonial leaders, are responsible for the harnessing of the productivity of the hybrid and the mimic in relation to the project of DE, and the resistance of the mimic to the modifications and/or improvements of the DE project.

I parallel the notion of the overall aims to that of nationalistic movements. Before nations were formed, there existed many smaller congregations of people: villages, tribes, chiefdoms and so on, each with their own worldviews (Bogitini, 1998a). Ideally, when the nations were formed these congregations combined under 'overall aims' that were negotiated in an atmosphere of respect for each other. The dynamics of the groups and the nation itself changes over
time, but so long as the aims that brought the groups together in the first place are relevant, the nation will survive. I apply this reasoning to the resultant groups, each group has its \( i\-t\ukuni \), and altogether these \( i\-t\ukuni \) form the plural \( i\-t\ukuni \), that of the nation, the larger negotiated working group. But nationalism embodies the 'good' and 'bad' tendencies, both 'normalising and rebellious'. The former 'embodying the idea of universal progress and modernity, characteristic of the European Enlightenment, ... [and the latter incorporating] ... conditions for an internal conflict of its own foundational modernity' (Gandhi, 1998 : 107). Thus this strategy is part of the overall one of this thesis that emphasises notions of 'both and' rather than either or. Furthermore, it has the capacity 'to heal the historical wounds inflicted by the "Manichean" structure of colonial culture which confines the colonised to a liminal, barely human existence' (p. 111). The long standing disputes amongst subunits within DE have a chance of being resolved and moving on to the urgent task of re-humanisation, of gaining the wholeness of the PI through overthrowing the hierarchy of coloniser/colonised and refusing the subjugation inherent in the coloniser's labelling of their Other.

Thus the questions that I ask myself as I dismantle the borders within the DE subsystems and sections at USP are: Why were they put up? Have they served their 'used by date'? If they are dismantled what can be put up in their places? Whose interests will be prioritised when the new borders are constructed? I hope the third space will also allow collaboration towards
achieving the DE aims. I now turn to apply these strategies to the borders between different groups within the USP.

A major problem of the DE program of the USP is the fractionalism between the various institutional stakeholders of DE. Chapter One provided an illustration of the staff and their functions as involved in DE activities at USP. The Freirean dialogue, a key strategy within my theorisation, talks of the need for genuine respect from and for all the groups involved in a dialogue. Borrowing from Giroux's (1992) border pedagogy, I posit that border crossing by the staff will produce 'multiple references and codes that position them within various structures of meaning and practice' (p. 210). From these different reference sites and codes staff should be in a better position to negotiate with each other in the spirit that Freire champions, since each group will have first hand experience of their others' position. Notwithstanding, the notions of insider/outsider must not be forgotten by either group during the course of the negotiations, that is the groups' respect of the different perspectives even though they have experienced the others' environment. Problems that would have arisen out of orientalising and homogenising of their Other should not arise as more and more staff travel across the borderlands into 'foreign territory' and get first hand experience of the foreigners' problems. The important point is that communication across the borders must be at a human level rather than just the administrative and professional (for example as between the instructional designer or content specialist) and/or processional one (as one in the industrial model of DE, as one cog in the huge system of DE at USP). The humans then become either hybrids or mimics. I posit that the DE system
needs both groups, one for stability and the other to keep the 'vigilant sentinel' of the aims focussed on the principle that things are contingent and never complete. They are in a state of flux and so the mimics alert those in positions of power to those resistances and possible inefficiencies thereby influencing them to reflect and take action as appropriate.

What I have been saying in the last paragraph is that within an institution, we could conceptualise the various sections as different countries. The borders between these countries then need to be broken down resulting in the formation of more travellers, diasporic groups and hybrids. Therefore, the interaction between the various sections would not only be those across established institutional communication channels. The communication processes relating to DE then would proceed along the formal and informal channels that are constructed. In my years at USP, I have found that the informal systems tend to produce quality results, quality in terms of speed, amount and professionalism. Often when there were delays, resulting from another section strictly working to the rules in place, I have been able to get things done through informal channels. Making the staff the subject rather than the objects of their sections can strengthen these personal, humanised channels. Unfortunately, as soon as this is done, it can be said that the channels have become pseudo-formal or pseudo-informal. It will just be a matter of time before these channels become fully formalised and new borders are established. Thus different strategies will need to take down these borders, if they obstruct the aims of DE.
Rather than thinking in terms of the binary, formal/informal, I prefer to invoke a thirding—the blurring of the sectional borders and the foregrounding of the institutional aims, which create a different type of border. Considering the situation from a different perspective, of there being an increasing emphasis on the persons involved in the process, this would result in the expected and desired economic returns of the system. If these are not received then the gardeners (note the substitution for the word player) need to be informed and different procedures negotiated, devised and implemented. The HDE position should monitor these activities.

5.6 BORDER CROSSING AMONGST STUDENTS

A major concern is the isolation of the DE students within their DE learning and in their own societies in post-colonial countries. Here, I am referring to the societal differences of the DE learners from the different PICs. In the PICs DE learners form a new breed of learners. DE has only really begun to have an impact on tertiary education in the Pacific in the last twenty years. These learners study content and levels of academia that were not previously available in their locale. So the society has come to reluctantly accept that mode of education. In spite of this, the learners were not only isolated from their peers and their teachers, but also from the experience of the immediate community, through a lack within the community's understanding of DE and also because the students had to choose between their community activities and DE studies and when they chose the latter, they were isolated from their communities. The
frustrations of study are difficult enough but when the study is undertaken in an environment that is hostile to it, then the barriers to the study become more significant.

There are many different categorisations of students within the USP DE program (Bolabola & Wah, 1995; Chief & Hola, 1992; Landbeck & Mugler, 1993; Matthewson, 1991; Wah, 1997c). The student categorisations have been based on age, year of study, gender, access to support facilities, the way they studied, the way they reacted to their study materials, their dropout status etc. The categorisation emphasised was different for each locale at USP. For example the Fiji Centre categorised students by the islands and the side of the islands on which the student resides. That centre provides different services to their different student categories (Wah, 1998).

Informed by the notion of heterogeneity, the USP DE system cannot treat the student body as a homogeneous whole. Thus, in order to fulfill their roles of support for their students, the Centre staff of each Centre, are compelled to reflect on their experiences and the voices of their students and then act on these reflections by constructing their own student categorisations. A categorisation that I drew up based on my experience at the Fiji Centre was:

- Students from the major urban centres in the major islands of the Nation.
- Students from outside the major centres, but situated on the major islands and with access to roads and telecommunications systems.
- Part-Time on-campus students.
• Full-Time on-campus students.
• Students from outer islands and other isolated students.

But the action of border crossing must go further. Strategies to support these students from the different categories, yet within the constraints of their operation, must be devised with the students. These would be their *i-tukuni* of their DE process. I use *i-tukuni* because of its plural and singular conceptions, and also because of its contingent nature. There would be a big picture of the whole of USP's DE program and a small one of the students of a particular National Extension Centre. The intersection, the commonality (see figure 5.2) between these pictures is what the operational staff need to be focussed on if they are to be responsive to the needs of the different heterogeneous groups in their country.

In other words, the stories are told from both the students' and the institution's perspectives, but how can this be when these tend to be contradictory? And the students have more than one voice? And some of these voices speak a "language" different to that of the institution? The issues of surveillance are also important, both the surveillance of the institution by the students and the students by the institution. There are strands of the surveillance that are panoptic and others that are synoptic. Further, I make the obvious point that the institution's gaze would be panoptic and the students' one synoptic. However, rather than appearing to set up binary oppositions, I make the point

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38 Here, I use panoptic to refer to surveillance that involves a few gazing at many, and synoptic is the converse of that gaze.
that there are many ways of conceptualising this point. For instance, many staff
could have a meeting about one student and keep him under surveillance, or
groups of students could keep a particular staff under surveillance. The result
of these gazes is the remaking of the gardeners of the gaze. At the USP some
staff construct the DE students as lazy, wanting everything to be laid out on a
plate and to even be spoon-fed, and be more likely to plagiarise and copy
assignments and cheat on examinations. More often than not however, this
construction is based on the staff's attempts to equate the DE student with the
on-campus students. On a number of occasions I have had to introduce
teaching staff to a major difference between these two sets of students, by
pointing out that DE students often memorise large portions of text and
regurgitate them at examinations; whereas the on-campus students have had
the benefit of discussions and so they are often able to answer the examination
questions in their own words. Both sets of students, however, construct the
institution as an educational coloniser because of the way educational
institutions are and, the students accept their position as the colonised and
assume that they are not in the position, and therefore don't have any agency to
affect change. This is the classic oppression that Freire returns to time and
again in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

According to Foucault (1977), the phenomenon of 'self surveillance' is part of
the governance/education of a locale; 'self surveillance' is part of the hidden
curriculum. People are 'encouraged' to work towards 'natural' standards of
behaviour and value systems. However, within DE at USP, this phenomenon
has till now not become apparent. Why? My assumption is that USP clearly understands the power of its gaze in constructing its DE students, but the students have yet to realise their powers in this regard. Thus the need has not arisen for the emergence of self-surveillance on the part of the institution. As an aside, I should make the point that self-surveillance does occur in the student’s everyday lives—the communities in the islands are small and everyone knows everyone else’s secrets. But there is evidence that the communities hold over the people through this project is slowly disintegrating. The galala farmer that I introduced in Chapter 3 was an early example of this. Today it is not uncommon for various members of a vanua to take their chief to court (Bogitini, 1998b). In the not too distant past, in my childhood, the chiefs were deemed to be semi-gods, who were panoptic. With ‘enlightenment’ or conscienticisation, some people are questioning the ‘naturalised’ constructions of society, and challenging them. Unfortunately, resistance to the oppression of the DE system has not begun in the Pacific.

With hindsight, and my own discovery of the ‘invasive nature’ of some of my actions as Director of the Fiji Centre and more recently as Head of Distance Education, I began to realise that my position as an individual and as a DE educator, needed to ‘divest’ the myths on which these actions were based. I had pushed hard for an economically rational approach to DE and also for accountability of staff to their immediate management personnel. I also worked hard on developing camaraderie amongst staff as a solid proud unit, but one that did not feel that its staff was accountable to any but itself and its objectives.
This last notion was informed by the Total Quality Circles strategies of teamwork. Unfortunately, this project led to a 'retreating from reality' (Freire, 1992 : 155) or, as the postcolonial would prefer, being colonised so as not to know for oneself except through the eyes of the master (Lamming, 1995:12 & 14).

Therefore, I (as 'master') had to allow voice for the staff and the learners in their various guises and allow myself the chance of hearing those voices. I also needed to enable my others (staff and learners) to hear my voice. Thus my story shifts from one in which there is a pyramid type management system in-house and also with the clients, the learners (strange that the clients who pay are also part of the hierarchical structure but at the bottom of the ladder), to one in which there is a more horizontal management structure. But how does such a system keep the gardeners honest? New managerialism describes a system of 'performativity' (as a result of the collapse of a monolith knowledge base - 'every' perspective is valid) based on national indicators that are clearly strongly influenced by 'global indicators'. It appears that shifts towards performativity will prescribe more choice for the gardeners. They can choose, from a range, the areas that they want to be assessed on.

But the whole assessment system itself is flawed. Performativity is based on the ideology that the elites expound as their 'steering from a distance'. So, in effect, it is the same as the previous systems in that the views of the elite are the ones that are privileged. The difference here is that the system tries to
appear fair by allowing choice when in fact the choices are stacked against the subaltern.

I would posit that many students are not aware that the system under which they study and pay for is repressive. However, some are, and this trend should be encouraged by the institution, so that they can improve their commitment to the DE process.

From experience, I recall reading tutors’ reports and visiting with students who, when asked how the Centres can support them better, mainly answered, we need more tutorials. However, when the tutorials are provided at great cost to the USP, they are poorly attended. As discussed in Chapter One, the USP provides peer, local, visiting, satellite and HF transceiver tutorial support, but they all tend to be poorly supported. The reasons for the poor attendance ranges from they are held at unsuitable times or locations, to ‘I prefer to study on my own’. Closer examination of tutors’ reports shows that the majority of tutorials are conducted as lectures, that is, there is dissemination of materials that are already covered in the learning package. So what did the students who wanted more tutorials really mean? Were they so dependent on teachers that they felt they could only learn in the presence of teachers? Was the readability level of the materials too high thus they needed the face to face contact from someone to explain the materials verbally to them? What about those who did not attend; were they independent learners? I believe answers to these
questions need to be found with the teitei staff and the students. Thus the preference for the incorporation of dialogic theory into the USP’s DE process.

The call for a strategy for border crossings amongst the students was to reduce their isolation. However, most of the points discussed in 5.6 supporting the notion of border crossing apply to the plight of the DE student also. They are distant from their lecturers, tutors and future, fellow and past students. Within this section, I focussed only on the borders between students. There are obviously ‘good’ and ‘bad’ and, a range of ‘in-between’ students. Thus these border crossings will run the risk of reproducing some of the hegemonic ideology that the colonial and neocolonial education privileged. But the benefits of the crossing would appear to outweigh these risks. As the crossings would allow for increased communications with people: who can empathise with the isolation of the DE students; and those who can discuss the content being studied, at an academic level; and with those who may be students in the future. But most students are interested in the same things, passing the course. Very few DE students of USP study for a course just for the knowledge that they will gain from it (Bolabola & Wah, 1995). They are looking for short cuts, because of their time constraints (Chief & Hola, 1992). But thus far DE institutions, including USP, have not addressed this problem in-house or with the students. I addressed this issue in 5.4.3.

Obviously, the Local Centres would need to coordinate these sharings. It is important that the local Centres are responsible for their own areas as their staff
know the spatial and social relationships and can keep the appropriate records. Students themselves could keep journals of their studies and interaction with other students. These journals could be used as sources of information for further changes, and also to understand how students study (Journal entries were a technique that Richard Guy used successfully to glean an understanding of the DE students at University of Papua New Guinea. See Guy, 1994). I remember when planning for the 1994 Regional Centre Directors Conference, senior staff at USP's UEHQ were at the verge of cancelling the conference. The major reason was that over the last ten years, at these conferences and their predecessors, Centre Directors' Meetings, the same problems were presented. Resolutions were formulated to remedy the problems. But the same problems have kept arising at all the meetings that I have attended since 1988. Essentially, the problems are formulated on us-them binaries. For example, visiting tutors complain that the Centres do not prepare for their visits, the Centre staff complain that the visiting tutors expect to be treated like senior executive staff, Centre staff blame UEHQ for late arrivals of course materials, UEHQ in turn blames this onto the content specialist who doesn't keep their production deadlines or to the Centres themselves for not providing adequate details. More funds were poured into the DE system but the problems remained. With hindsight, I can now see that the oppressed voices were not being heard at these meetings. The students' voices were missing.
5.7 BORDER CROSSING BETWEEN INSTITUTIONAL STAKEHOLDERS AND STUDENTS

Chapter One spoke about the single DE system that was in place for all of USP’s DE students. While this should still continue as the major strategy (many of the students of USP are autonomous learners), a strategy for more flexibility and humanity needs to be built into the program. A contract should be signed between the students and the institution stating the requirements of each other. This contract could form part of enrolment forms and should contain information on how the Centre can, not may, contact the student. The contact medium needs to be both in person and via technology (telephone, e-mail, high frequency transceivers and/or snail mail address). This information needs to be available on the centre databases. The contractual agreement that was part of the enrolment form should be optional, as some students prefer to be left alone as they have opted to be DE students so that they may work independently. Staff from the Centres need to visit the students who are having difficulties at their places of work and/or study. These visits need to be organised by mutual agreement. The aim of this strategy is to ensure that the students realise that the staff at the local centres will follow up on apparent student failures during the semester when there is a chance of salvaging the students from complete failure. These different strategies are suggested to acknowledge the heterogeneous nature of the student population.
5.8 BORDER CROSSING OPERATIONAL STRATEGIES

In this section, I attempt to move beyond the text to describe possible executable strategies for institutional border crossings. This will result in what I have called physical links being established. This section reads like a consultancy report as I had great difficulty in trying to write it as part of a theory coming into being. I was torn between leaving this section out of the thesis, then realised why I wanted it in. From the start, this thesis was about reconceptualisation of DE and about the move to suggest strategies to operationalise that conceptualisation. Thus, at the risk of writing outside of this genre, by appearing to present a 'wish list', I presented this section as the extension of the i-tukuni, which is to provide practical suggestions for the implementation of the concept.

Conceptually, the notion of border crossings is easy to advocate, but often difficult to affect. Part of the reason for this difficulty within the USP's DE system is that different sections and different positions within sections have different powers. When staff move out of their positions of power they tend to feel vulnerable. For example when senior staff from the teaching departments become part of a course development team, and therefore have to work, as equal or lesser partners, with staff from DEU who are junior to them. (Sometimes junior staff from DEU led a course development.) Thus they prefer to stay in familiar power relationships. Clearly, if informal channels were formed through personal contacts and across these relationships, there would be fewer
static power relationships. The power relationships would then not be based solely on positions, but also on flows between positions (Appadurai, 1996).

A possible strategy would be to facilitate more staff secondments across sections of the DE systems. These secondments may be for a week, a month or even a semester. They need to take place more than once for each staff member. This is because of the different workflows within the DE unit over time and the different types of work in the different sections of DE. In other words, these secondments will lead to ‘cultural action’; personal relationships are built up across the borders. The cultural action, however, according to Freire (1992) could be ‘cultural invasion’ or ‘cultural synthesis’ (pp. 150 - 186). Cultural invasion leads to ‘cultural inauthenticity of those invaded; they begin to respond to the values, the standards, and the goals of the invaders ... the invaders desire to know how those they have invaded apprehend reality—but only so they can dominate the latter more effectively’ (pp. 150 – 151).

In cultural invasion, the actors draw the thematic content of their action from their own values and ideology; their starting point is their own world, from which they enter the world of those they invade. In cultural synthesis, the actors who come from “another world” to the world of the people do so not as invaders. They do not come to teach or to transmit or to give anything, but rather to learn, with the people, about the people’s world. (p. 181)
In heeding Freire's warnings about cultural invasion, senior staff in each section must become aware of the importance of guarding against it, yet encouraging and nurturing 'cultural synthesis' in its stead. With cultural synthesis, 'it is possible to resolve the contradictions between the worldview of the leaders and that of the people, to the enrichment of both. Cultural synthesis does not deny the differences between the two views: ... [however] [I]t does deny the invasion of one by the other, but affirms the undeniable support each gives to the other' (p. 183). In the final paragraph of Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Freire goes even further,

Nor can the people—as long as they are crushed and oppressed, internalizing (sic) the image of the oppressor—construct by themselves the theory of their liberating action. Only in the encounter of the people with the revolutionary leaders—in their communion, in their praxis—can this theory be built. (p. 186)

Within the context of institutional border crossing, the cultural synthesis means the simultaneous reflection and action across the borders, amongst the leaders, amongst subalterns and between leaders and subalterns. But, and this is a very big but, for the processes to be successful, they must be transparent and the leaders ‘must avoid organizing (sic) themselves apart from the people’ (p. 183).
If the secondments are to produce the desired results, the secondees must be given real tasks to do, so that they experience the constraints at the teitei of their Other's workplace.

A second strategy would be to designate staff with multi-identities and formalise these identities through the emoluments system. The salaries of a number of staff at USP are already being paid for across sectional borders. For example, within the USP's funding model, a lecturer's department is paid for the time that is spent preparing, revising, and teaching DE courses. However, there is a very strong sense of belonging to the teaching department and very little to DE even though a large portion of the work relates to DE. There are many reasons for alignment with the teaching departments, which will become clearer with the sharing of each other's i-tukuni. Clearly, training based on constructivism is required, since most of the personnel's prior training was by transmission, and the i-tukuni must be told from the 'real' perspective of the personnel rather than it be told from the perspective that the personnel feels the senior staff expects.

If the staff are involved in the construction of their multi-identities, then the construction would be classified as cultural synthesis and acceptable within the 'freedom' within the organisational structures, organisational 'tasks to fulfil', and organisational 'accounts to render' (p. 178). In this frame, the leaders 'are also prevented from saying their own word, [rather, they] initiate the experience of learning how to name the world' (p. 179). Thus the relocations suggested provide the context for allowing subaltern speech, for enabling coalitions across
the borders, for the recognition of different perspectives including the construction of hybrid ones and the celebration of diversity in focus. Extra training must be provided for all gardeners and ‘owners’ (senior staff) to affect this change.

The third strategy that I propose is something that I refer to as ‘ethnicity synthesis’. This is obviously not about sectional border crossings but ethnic ones. Cultural synthesis depends on the discipline of working with, in an environment of mutual respect. But the USP has a multi-ethnic staff and borders have appeared across them, borders related to racist prejudices without first hand interaction, experiences or knowledge with persons from other ethnicity. Without having an experience of looking through the eyes of one’s ethnic other. Thus, for cultural synthesis to occur within USP’s DE, ethnic synthesis must be affected to progress simultaneously with it to evaporate the feeling of: Regional vs Expatriate, Fijian vs Regional, Fijian vs Indo-Fijian, Indo-Fijian vs Indian, Fijian vs Tongan, Samoan vs Tongan, Melanesian vs Polynesian, Micronesian exclusion, through deconstruction. A practical way to initiate ethnic synthesis is for all staff members of the USP community to learn a language of one the Pacific Islands that is not their own. The proposal involves the presentation of basic words and cultural perspectives by staff members from different cultural groups and staff sharing their language and culture with their fellow workers. An outcome of this strategy could be that greetings are given in the recipient’s language, but more importantly, it should lead to better
understanding of different ethnicities working at USP. Also the multi-ethnic aspects of DE are foreground rather than the sterile one of the official language.

5.8.1 Pre-requisites for successful operationisation

According to Freire’s (1992) dialogic theory, ‘society cannot be reconstructed in a mechanistic fashion; the culture which is culturally reconstructed through revolution is the fundamental instrument of this reconstruction’ (p. 157). Here, I interpret Freire as saying that the reconstruct occurs from within, that is, through the people and the movement that caused the changes. But the DE system is already in place at USP. The staff there have been ‘determined from above’ (Althusser, 1956 cited in Freire, 1992: 156), in a manner which enforces ‘authoritarianism and licence’ rather than ‘authority and freedom’.

Further, I agree with Freire’s (1994) point that, ‘conscientisation cannot rest content with the technical or scientific training intended specialist’ (p. 157). Over and above basic training, conscientisation must incorporate techniques for empowerment in the ‘practice of freedom’, in the naming of their world. This training entails the analysis of the contemporary work practices through deconstruction and leads the participants to either ‘divest themselves of their myths, or reaffirm them. Divesting themselves of and renouncing their myths represents, at the moment, an act of self-violence’ (p. 155). Those who reaffirm the myths are not suitable partners for this process, they either leave or change. To those who remain, ‘a clear invitation’ is extended to participate in the
reconstruction of the workplace and the processes there. Freire calls this 'cultural revolution' (p. 157). This is what is used with the work culture of USP.

In other words, only staff with adequate certification and more importantly those who emphasise human concerns over the process, in a disciplined manner, should be recruited. Unfortunately, some 'unsuitable' staff will slip through the recruitment net. This is the case at USP. Applying Freire's training to these staff would require that they understand the big picture of USP's DE and, secondly, that they understood their particular tasks as an important 'instrument for the transformation' being undertaken (p. 159). If the training is to allow conscientisation of all staff, then all staff must be present at these training sessions, as all staff, junior, intermediate and senior, have something to learn. Similarly, all training, as far as is possible, needs to be done in-house.

Spaces and places for movement, office space to get away from one type of work to do another is a material condition that could easily be overlooked, especially by those in authority. For example, at USP, the perception of the junior staff is that the senior staff dictate policies and the junior staff are to implement them, with little input. Thus, often the implementation is done half-heartedly and the system fails. If this strategy, secondment, is to be successful, and it has fulfilled the first condition of being acceptable to the people/gardeners, then the gardeners cannot be just treated as objects within the process itself. Space appropriate for a human must be allocated and not space for an object (p. 178). What do I mean?
Using the historical shift from space to place that I described in Chapter 4, a conception that is appropriated to mean that a space in an office is not designated ('named') a place for the staff on secondment then that staff and others of the surrounding workplaces will perceive management's 'show' of change rather than its actualisation of change. What I am referring to here is the formulation of changes by senior management and the devolution of their implementation to 'floor managers and supervisors' who are not themselves in agreement with or fully understand the reasons and not the necessarily the wisdom of such change. The local managers then interpret the devolution from their own standpoints and may not 'name' a place for the secondees. The secondees is not productive, the other staff realise that they don't need to be cooperative to the secondees and the changes fail to produce the desired result.

What I am alluding to is the notion that if there is a disjunctive ambivalent relationship between the philosophical augmentation for change and the recognition by staff on the locale of the usefulness of the proposed changes (and the required material conditions for such changes), then it is inevitable that all the gardeners whose workplaces are being changed will become confused. Therefore the process will exhibit both intended and unintended outcomes of the changes.
Clearly, appropriate space (material and mental) will allow the secondee to 'hear' what is being 'said' and what is not being said. It will also allow the secondee space for reflexivity, formulations of their own articulations, and eventual articulations of their perspectives, which would be hybridised by the interactions with their former 'colonisers'. This articulation would previously have been considered a voice from the margins and discounted. But with concrete 'facts' and everyday experience of their others' place, and presented in the form of negotiation rather than confrontation, their other can only respond in the same spirit, to the issues at hand rather than to histories (which are coloured by perspectives of the historians). To respond in the old ways within the proposed systems, would only condemn themselves by the rules within which they themselves criticised their other.

I want to return to the notion of the provision of an appropriate space and place for the secondee. From that place, the Others will also learn to 'hear' the perspectives of their secondee. Thus rather than dismissing the perspectives of their Other as marginal, they too will learn to 'hear', reflect on and then react to the articulations of their secondee in the same spirit of 'negotiation and acceptance of difference'. In this what is said about the Other will be modified because the Other is present, as a 'surveyor'. Clearly, thought processes and therefore behaviour of both the former colonised and coloniser (as to who the coloniser and colonised were, are immaterial in this discussion as the position

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*Hear in this context means more than to just physically hearing. I include the notion of comprehending. The secondee in fact becomes 'literate' in the space and place that he/she finds himself/herself.*
changes with the different locations of the secondment) are affected by appropriate space/place being provided.

In other words, the space becomes the place for the interaction and it is acutely sensitive to social relationships. What I have been saying is best described by an appropriation of Lefebvre (1976) who wrote, 'Space and political organisation of space expresses social relationships but also reacts back on them' (p. 25). Space, filled with an object-person, rather than a subject-person, is an empty isolated abstraction, it is not real—it is just for 'show'. But if the space is occupied by/with a subject-person, then that space becomes the place for negotiation and acceptance of difference. In this latter configuration, what occurs in the place could be ghettorised by 'what Althusser calls the "activation of the old elements"' (Cited in Freire, 1992 : 158), or will contribute to the project of more gardeners being conscientised.

In summary, the importance of ensuring that the philosophical augmentation (not necessarily progress) of the DE system is matched by a 'general development of society, hence also to the material foundation' (Marx, 1973 : 110). When this matching occurs the result of the interactions would be the search, by the gardeners in the Teito, for a thirdspace for the symbiotic relationship between the intersecting sections for the sustenance of the process for which they exist, rather than for the overthrow of one by the other.
I would now like to turn to arguably the most important pre-requisite of the
dialogic theory, speech, more importantly, subaltern speech. But not just
subaltern speech, as discussed in Chapter 3, but subaltern 'adherence' to the
revolution. Guevara (Cited in Freire, 1992 : 166) wrote, 'The peasant
mobilisation does not exist. They are neither rapid nor efficient; they can be
neutralised .... Complete lack of corporation of the peasants'. Later in the same
chapter, Freire refers to Guevara as a realist for exhorting 'the revolutionary to
be always mistrustful ... until a zone is completely liberated' (p. 169). The
distinction between a realist and an oppressor, on first glance, appears
problematic. I would like to share my thoughts on this issue.

I have tried to implement collaborative efforts for the improvement of the DE
project and I drove the collaborative project from my position as Head of
Distance Education (HDE). In 1992, I organised meeting with various subunits
within University Extension’s Headquarters (UEHQ) and brainstormed about the
operations of DE at USP. With the help of hindsight, it was clear that from the
start of that project, each group was a strikingly heterogeneous group, and
antagonistic. Being naïve and, not having read Freire (1992) nor Foucault
(1980), I assumed that because I had the power I could 'force' each subunit to
construct what I have now come to call their i-tukuni. Dialogic theory was
proved correct and I failed, the staff preferred to work to rules that were 'handed
down from on high'. Foucault's notion of 'localised power' also proved correct.
More staff did not want to be responsible for the system, just to work within it
and be able to complain about its inadequacies that were attributed to those
who did not know what happened at the teitei. In Freire's (1992) terms, they 'mistrusted' me (p. 169). Some thought, as HDE, that was one of the jobs that I was paid to do. Others felt that they would do the work and, as HDE, I would get the credit. Others were still colonised by their work practices in which they were treated as objects rather than as people.

Informed by Freire and postcolonial criticism I have come to realise that I had located the enemy and that enemy was me. I had not been a realist like Guevara, I trusted explicitly, but like Guevara I had compassion for the oppressed, for the students (and the junior staff), that did not have a voice within a system that was constructed to support them. But my plans to help them were fruitless, as I was not able to engage via a dialogic project with those who could work with me to ease the problem. I appeared to be treating the staff like objects, rather than people. Thus my conviction to implement the dialogic process within the USP's DE system.

A careful gaze on the various voices that are heard, or other voices that are silenced, or other voices that are not even heard within the DE system of USP, must be maintained with the view to improving the existent crossings and encouraging the silenced ones. The reasons for the silences and acknowledgment for other ways of speaking must been investigated by the teams on the ground. The students and the staff at the teitei must become the subjects rather than remain the objects of these investigations. Here, I am calling for more action research by staff with students.
5.8.2 How could the USP's DE program facilitate this border crossing?

One way would be by re-structuring fee structure in relation to the compulsory purchasing of course materials. The course materials could be recycled. Therefore the students who enrolled for the courses in the previous offering could sell their materials to the next cohort of students in their locale. There would be some contact between the students and possibly some sharing of information. Another way could be to get the previous enrollees to be 'peer' learning contacts. Allowing such students some discounts on their next enrolments could encourage this project. The maintenance of successful cooperation could lead to other problems because the benefits would out weigh the risks. In areas where students are isolated from previous enrollees, other strategies, like 'true' peer tutorials could be organised. Various Nation Extension Centres (NECs) have implemented peer tutoring.

But the above strategies are what Freire (1992) would call 'mechanistic changes' (p. 157). The changes that the dialogic theory and subaltern speech would prescribe relates to the removal of the 'cultures of silence' of the students. In Giroux's (1983) terms strategies for the construction of 'civic courage' with the students and for 'establishing ideological and material conditions that would enable men and women from oppressed classes to claim their own voices' within a 'new public sphere' (p. 116). The Centre staff needs to be proactive in creating these two platforms with the students. Operationally speaking, dialogue must be built up and maintained with the categories of students that the staff constructed.
5.9 COMMUNICATION

The UPS's DE program depends on communication for its very success and survival. In the USP setting there are many reasons for communication breakdown. The major ones include:

- the language and cultural dissimilarity of the parties trying to communicate—looking at an idea or concept from a different perspective;
- being on the defensive;
- lack of training in communications techniques—being able to articulate one's view clearly and to be able to use the communications technology proficiently;
- the medium of technology being used. (Wah, 1997b: 55)

5.9.1 Real communication

Border crossing communications should follow a regiment of written and oral (via technology and/or face-to-face) contact. The first written contact, after the enrolment forms, needs to be a welcome letter from the institution through the local students' Centre, possibly even in the local language welcoming the students to the USP's DE program and making the point that the Centre is there to serve them. The letter needs to be updated often. It needs to be written in a human and caring way rather than an officious, professional and economically rationalist super-efficient style. It needs to be and make a show of coming from a human being who is approachable and available at the local Centre. It does
not need to be signed by the Centre Director, it can be signed by another Centre staff (obviously it will need to be approved by the Centre Director). It will clearly set out the important dates and information for the course(s) that the student has enrolled for. The letter must be specific to the student's enrolled course(s) and locale.

The second communication should be after the due date of the first assignment. It should have information about the receipt or otherwise of that student's assignment. If the assignment has not been received the student should be encouraged to contact the Centre about their difficulties. The third communication should be about the student's examination dates and venues. The final communication should relate to the examination results.

Needless to say the communications that I have been referring to in this section were outside the communications that occurred between tutors and students at the local tutorials, or those other communications that occur on assignment scripts. The significance of communication is brought to the forefront in these lines:

> Often, educators and politicians speak and are not understood because their language is not attuned to the concrete situation of the people they address. Accordingly their talk is just alienated and alienating rhetoric. (Freire, 1992: 77)

Clearly then, communication should be modelled by the use of creative devices and to incorporate real-life examples and also the creative use of these devices.
5.9.2 *Simulated communication*

Communication between the students and their texts, simulated communication, is just as important as the communication between the students have with other people (Juler, 1990 in Chief, 1995: 2). Lal (1989 in Chief: 1) attributed the higher achievement of certain Fiji Centre DE students to their more frequent interaction with their learning package. He found that the more successful students interacted by making more summaries, personal notes and keeping to their personally designed study timetables.

Simulated communications can only occur if there is media or technology mediating the process. USP uses audiotapes as an integral part of many of its DE courses, but it is interesting to note that many students do not have access to this basic technology. Thus more research needs to be directed at this problem of technology use within DE at USP. How useful is low technology media like audiotapes and audioconference, and e-mail as compared to video conferencing and videotapes that are being used and will be used more and more as the new telecommunications arm of USPNet comes on line by the end of 1999. The strategies to research the usefulness of the different types of technologies for the four different types of students needed to be specifically investigated. No such research has been done to date.

Thus it is clear from the last two sections that rather than keeping their DE studies separate from their everyday lives, the DE student needs to integrate
their studies with them. For example topics being studied should be drawn from their environment rather than from another country as shown by the example of the study of rivers in coral atolls. The availability of technologies being used must also be investigated. As preliminary studies show, there is a lack of audiocassette recorders. Fiji and Solomon Islands students’ statistics show only 68% and 48% have access to this technology whereas Tonga and Cook Islands have 81% and 98% respectively (Bolabola & Wah, 1995).

5.10 EVALUATION

Who is being evaluated and who does the evaluating? What is the evaluation for? Here I am referring to the systems that are in place to fix problems, to anticipate problems and counter them, policies for getting constant dialogue between all the key gardeners in DE. The course evaluation forms the major form of such feedback from students. The Centre staff and visiting tutors have direct contact with students but seldom document the students’ feedback on the support systems or course materials. This latter form of feedback is ad hoc and not taken seriously. In fact the course evaluation forms are also not taken seriously. It is time that these various forms of feedback are collated more systematically in order to provide a space for the once silent voices.

The subalterns know that their voices are not heard in the feedback process thus they do not provide the feedback. As mentioned above, the system must provide more space for the subaltern to speak and be heard, and for the
institution to learn to hear what is being said otherwise the other DE providers to
the Pacific will take more and more of the DE market there. Many of the
subalterns feel that the evaluation system is a mode of control and a system of
surveillance. The senior staff also tend to use systems evaluation strategies for
such purposes, thus the lack of positive outcomes from them. Again training is
needed for more border crossing, through negotiation and discussions for these
to begin to become effective.

5.11 CONCLUSION

The changes being suggested in this Chapter need to be implemented with the
consent of the key players from various levels within the hierarchical structures
of USP's organisation. Clearly, this means that the person(s) who is (are)
implementing them is (are) aware of the many possible difficulties and barriers
that need to be overcome and crossed. However, rather than viewing these
hurdles as barriers, the implementor(s), who must be a post colonial intellectual,
must negotiate with staff, students and the community of the spaces that each
of these groups want to see themselves in the future. If a group cannot paint
such a picture then within the framework being suggested the implementor
needs to provide the context for this visualisation to take place.

Having painted the future picture, certainly a very difficult task, the
implementor(s) then need to continue negotiations with the key players but this
time to agree with the strategies and timeframes for the operationalisation of the
future picture. Clearly, the future picture could change as the operationalisation
process is being implemented. Therefore, the strategies put into place to affect
the required operationalisation must allow for such changes.

A key feature then is that the organisation must be willing to move towards the
future picture, after having got all its key players to agree to it. The organisation
must have the implementor with the negotiation skills at the helm of the
operationalisation to allow and to facilitate real communication. This real communication will lead to openness and provide the necessary condition for the required operationalisation.
When I'm born, I'm black  
When I'm young, I'm black  
When I'm sunburnt, I'm black  
When I'm sick, I'm black  
When I'm old, I'm black  
When I die, I'm black  

When they're born they're pink  
When they're young they're white  
When they're sunburnt they're red  
When they're sick they're yellow  
When they're cold they're blue  
When they're die they're purple  

And they have the hide to call me coloured. (Anonymous)

6.1 INTRODUCTION

I started this thesis with reference to the borders that were erected via colour and throughout this thesis a major strategy that I have been using is one of dismantling the binaries that were created so that the knower (and often the creator of the borders) has power of the known. In this thesis, I have, throughout its duration, slowly assumed the position of knower. Now I know that I am not coloured as they are. Now I know that the way of the dominated has legitimacy and has a role to play in the globalisation process—now I know.
But this is not enough. I remember being with a group of friends who were
drinking coffee and smoking. One of the women in the group picked up a
cigarette pack and asked one of males to read the health warning. He did so
and then she said, 'You know this so why do you not do something about it?
Why don't you quit smoking?' His reply was, 'I have the knowledge but not the
wisdom to carry out the required action'.

Freire's notion of the pedagogy of the oppressed, and the strategy for
resistance that I have gained through postcolonial theory and criticism in the
process of writing this thesis, will not let me get away with an answer like that.
These influences invite action from the conscientised. Thus I am called, by
my affiliations to these methods, to act on my newly found knowledge, to work
with people, with fellow academics, with..., for the acceptance of difference, and
for symbiotic living. I reached this point in my personal development as a result
of going through the first five Chapters of my thesis a number of times. Only
then did I appreciate the changes that I had undergone, changes that
empowered me to act in these new ways.

To be able to explain what was in the Chapters, I need to give an overview of
the structure of this thesis. Needless to say the order, structure, number of
Chapters and the contents of the Chapters changed a number of times during
the course of this study. I will not dwell on these changes, but on the final set of
Chapters. The structure of the thesis is different from the traditional thesis
based around the themes of the thesis question(s), literature review,
methodology, findings, interpretation and implications, and summary and conclusions. In this thesis I have attempted to bring the centre to the margins so that the structure of the world is viewed differently. I did this in a small way by putting the Chapter on DE in the Pacific first rather than second. Thus the emphasis is on the local then the movement is outwards to the global, rather than the original order of Chapters in which the global was first then the local second. Thus, in this thesis, the small picture became the big picture, though the big picture did not become the small picture, a speaking position was created by this shift. The notion was more like drawing on a wordprocessor, whereby one can bring different parts of a diagram to the fore and thus cast the others to the background and vice versa. The foregrounding and backgrounding movements are contingent on the issues that are important when the snapshot of the situation is being analysed. For instance, when discussing issues relating to training of DE practitioners, the global picture is brought to the fore, but when discussing student support, the local picture is brought to the fore and the National Centres’ perspectives are prioritised. I think I have made the point about making space for the local but not at the expense of the global, so I will now turn to present summaries of each of the Chapters.

In the first Chapter, I presented the place of the Pacific that I know, alongside the place of the Pacific that is known by outsiders. I provided a personalised narrative of the educational issues within the region in which the thesis was set. The complexities that the practitioners of DE in the Pacific find themselves saddled with, over the inherent difficulties of the DE mode.
One of the first things that I did in this Chapter was to explain the different writing positions that I used in this Chapter and in the thesis generally. Then I described the space/place that I believe the Pacific Islands to be. In this section, I deconstructed the notions of the Pacific that is prevalent in the historical and geographical textbooks, those in tourist brochures, and those presented in the mass media, especially in TV and magazine advertisements and documentaries about the Pacific. What I presented was a personalised narrative of both the space and place that I live in. I try to emphasise the complexities and diversities amongst the PICs, trying hard not to homogenise the peoples and lands of the Pacific under the banners of PIs and PICs respectively.

One of the writing techniques that I used in this Chapter was that of a fictional drama in which the characters represent various stages in my personal development of being decolonised from the state of feeling inferior to the white man and being conscientised to a state of equality with him. This Chapter shows that in my early years I felt that the PI was inferior to the white man and his ways, and this feeling filtered its way into the construction of DE within Pacific educational institutions. The Pacific DE systems were brought in from ‘outside’, but in addition to the desired effects of educating the people, unintended effects were evident on the institutions that introduced them and on the communities in which they were introduced.
Chapter 2 described the Pacific and I presented a list of DE providers both within and to the PICs. Some of the DE institutions are situated within the PICs themselves, but there are also others that operate from outside the islands. As part of this discussion, I selected some providers and discussed particular attributes that I felt were different from those of other DE institutions of the Pacific.

The final section was dedicated to the issues related to DE of the USP. I had to present DE of USP separate from the other countries because this was the DE program that this thesis is focussed on. The survey of the other DE providers there was to provide a comparison and also a contrast to USP’s DE.

In Chapter 3, I presented a hybrid literature survey of the dominant discourses of DE. The major theories and phases of DE were presented and analysed. These theories presented different perspectives of the DE process. A theory championed by Wedemeyer presented the DE students as autonomous and independent. A second theory, whose major proponent was Holmberg, presented the students as dependent and in need of support and guidance from the teachers via two-way communications. This theory was referred to as that of interaction and communication. The third theory Peters advocated was the industrialisation of education. This theory likened the total process of DE to the production process in industrialisation. A fourth theory, referred to as the post-Fordist, theory moved beyond the mass production of Peters’ industrialisation
model and advocated a need for more variety and flexibility in the types of course, pedagogies, delivery strategies and so on.

While Chapter 3 discussed the dominant theories of DE it attempted to draw parallels between them and the DE practices at USP. These discussions occurred after the presentation of each theory. It was shown that on their own none of the theories were applicable to USP's DE.

Also in this Chapter was a presentation of the stages of development of the various types of DE programs. Once again this discussion was linked to the practices at USP. It was shown that USP's DE practice did not fit into any one of these phases neatly.

Chapter 4 presented the methodology called i-tukuni that was used to construct the narrative of the USP's practice. As mentioned the i-tukuni was an i-Taukei way of creating knowledge. These i-tukuni started from very small beginnings and eventually became talanoa, the knowledge of the people. It is hoped that this methodology will start from this small beginning of telling the story of DE in the Pacific, which would with time and with modification become the talanoa of DE in the Pacific.

Chapter 4 problematises the very notion of research and presents it as a tool by which the researchers become the knowers through the findings of research and thereby often dominate and exploit their other. However, it does not toss
out the notion of doing research so long as the researchers analyse the possible uses of the results of their research and take steps to ensure that these will not be used to mis- or dis-represent so as to dominate and exploit the subaltern. The Chapter then went on to present my standpoint as one which was contingent and fluid, one which preferred to deconstruct the dominant paradigms and present alternative perspectives. This shift was informed by various different theoretical positions of third spaces.

Chapter 4 finally presented the four postcolonial concepts that enabled me to write this thesis: orientalism, hybridity, subaltern speech and heterogeneity. Although I do not present difference as a key concept of postcolonialism, it is clearly one, since the four concepts used are themselves borne out of difference. The strategy of this thesis celebrates difference by giving it space to be itself, without any connotations and articulations of power to one or the other difference. It is within this premise that the i-tukuni finds form. It is different, it does not pretend to be scientific, but it tries to bring the everyday knowledge building schemes closer to the knowledge building schemes of formal education. It does this by being a story about the things that happened, yet it presents the story through the multiple perspectives of one author. I have used the i-tukuni in an attempt to dismantle the myth that only scientific objective research is useful. The i-tukuni disrupts the power relations that research tends to provide for the researcher by being self critical through the use of multiple perspectives rather than presenting a panoptic view of the researched.
Chapter 5 presents the little stories of the DE process at USP as seen from my multiple positions and in so doing reconceptualises DE into an ideal that would incorporate the Pls ways into the administrative systems and learning. It presents a perspective of DE that seeks to allow the subalterns to take active parts in the formulation of their life trajectories.

6.2 CONTRIBUTIONS TO DE

The i-tukuni of DE of the USP reminds the policy makers and practitioners of the fundamental issues of DE for the PICs:

- It is about providing education to the Pacific peoples where ever they are;
- It asks the question about the type of education that is being provided and the relevance of that education to the life of the people at the conclusion of the education. It asks whose ideologies are being imposed on whom and why? And most importantly, it seeks to provide spaces for the subaltern to become conscienticised, to reflect and then to affect change in their environment as they so desire;
- It seeks dialogic interaction in the USP's DE process;
- It seeks to shift the focus of DE strategies away from emulations of the face-to-face ones and moves towards alternative perspectives of DE.

This thesis attempts to put the human touch back into the DE process, not through emulating face-to-face teaching/learning strategies but by providing spaces for the subalterns of this process to take an active part in its functions and evolution.
6.3 CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOCIOLOGICAL METHODOLOGY

The contributions of i-tukuni to sociological methodology include:

• Adding to the literature of situating oneself in the research as a matter of strategy so that one may present one's multiple views of the situation;

• taking the 'seriousness' out of research to allow the story-tellers into that space;

• reinforcing the Freirean strategy of reflectivity and action;

• providing space for different writing styles.

By situating oneself in the research then one declares one's position and so needs to justify the process that one is using, and defend the possible uses that the research will be put to. Therefore that self must carefully report on the research findings, based on its own standpoint and theoretical positions rather than those of someone else. The methodology forces one to become involved and to take sides in the debate as an active participant. It will not allow the research to view the researched from arms length. It forces the researcher to be influenced by the research process.

Many of the societies of the Pacific shy away from the seriousness of research, tending to assume that it is the domain of the studious, wise and the bookworm. Pacific Islanders prefer to consider themselves carefree people who are practical and fun loving. When one sits around the bowl of kava and listens to the debates one cannot help but be amazed at the logic, wit and creative
thinking that the people engage themselves in. The point of the *i-tukuni* is that it is the way that the PIs make their knowledge, it is their way and I have attempted to legitimatise that way. If they, as subaltern, can get involved then they too can begin to tell their stories.

The *i-tukuni* spurs the researcher into thinking about the various aspects of his work, the actual research project, in an interdisciplinary and self-reflexive manner, which forces him into action. The *i-tukuni* allows the researcher to write in ways that suit the researched and the researcher.
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