

CHAPTER THREE

MĀORI/WOMAN/ACADEMIC

*My dream of becoming an academic has sustained me through the first decade of my chosen career. It has the power to re-energise and re-commit me as a **Māori** feminist academic, because it is not my dream in an individualistic sense, but part of a dream and vision handed to us by our **tipuna**. This dream, more than anything else, keeps me working as an academic, against the odds.¹*

Introduction

As a **Māori** woman researcher/academic I am approaching this research from a position whereby to be **Māori** is a valid way of being. **Te reo Māori me ōna tikanga** are viewed as appropriate and legitimate ways of understanding the world, and therefore are asserted as valid and critical elements in the articulation of how the research topic is engaged. This thesis, which is primarily one of theoretical development and textual analysis. **Kaupapa Māori** Research is influential primarily in how I choose to frame my questions and in the theoretical frameworks that I choose to engage as tools of analysis. The framing of questions is a part of the selection process that researchers undertake in determining their research parameters. If I were to name a research question that has influenced the shape of this thesis it would go something like this; What are the key elements of a theoretical framework that would enable us to engage an analysis of the construction of representation of **Māori** women? Framing the question in such a way allows for an assumption that there has been a construction of representations and that it has occurred because of the influence of specific elements. It also assumes a validity in the role of **Māori** women in developing and articulating our own preferred forms of analysis. The assumptions that underpin how we frame our research questions are important as the framing of questions actively influences the ways in which research is approached.²

The University of Auckland is a particular context within which **Māori** writing takes place. At a recent **Māori** student graduation a number of **Māori** students receiving degrees commented on their joys and struggles to complete within a **Pākehā** institution. This is something that is the experience of many **Māori** students who enter tertiary education. The university is itself a site of struggle. The University of Auckland is not exempt from that. Universities are also spaces where radical thinking

¹ Irwin, Kathie 1992(a) 'Becoming an Academic: Contradictions and Dilemmas of a **Māori** Feminist' in Middleton, S. and Jones, A. (eds) *Women and Education in Aotearoa*:2, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington:52

² A key example of this came to light publicly after the police shooting of a young **Māori** man, Stephen Wallace in **Waitara**. Research regarding police attitudes to **Māori** had been commissioned by **Te Puni Kōkiri**, the Ministry of **Māori** Development, however the research was never made public, instead a second research was commissioned where the 'questions were reframed'. Given that the first report found that there was significant racism in the Police Department we can only wonder why there was a need for a new research with 'reframed' questions.

can be engaged and developed.³ This too has been the experience of **Māori**. There are many examples of both the struggle and the radical possibilities. From the development of **Ngā Moteatea**⁴ by **Apirana Ngata** to provide 'evidence' of **Māori** literature⁵ to the involvement of **Māori** students in the organisations such as **Ngā Tamatoa** in the 1970s.⁶ Cherryl **Waerea-i-te rangi** Smith⁷ refers to the university as a colonial institution. She notes that upon entering the university **Māori** students become aware that the university is not exempt from racism and colonial imperialism. Cherryl also reminds us that we can not down-play the role of universities, she writes;

I do not want to play down the fact that the universities have produced some of our most strident activists and a number of dissenting voices. In fact the universities are often the place where **Maori** students can first begin to learn **Maori** language and history. Also, there do exist within the universities (too few) radical educators who are concerned with creating strategies of resistance, liberation struggles and strategies for 'decolonising minds'.⁸

The contradictions and conflicts that are present as a **Māori** woman academic in working within the university have become increasingly apparent to me. In researching this thesis I have needed to work through issues of voice for myself as a **Māori** woman academic who is writing within an institution that has often been antagonistic to our concerns. This includes discussion of the positioning of **Māori** women within academia, the multiple roles that we as **Māori** academics carry and the expectations that we face within the academy. I am of the opinion that **Māori** academics have an obligation to be active across many areas; our disciplinary area, our university, our local communities, our **whānau**, **hapū** and **iwi**, and in the national **Māori**, and international, Indigenous, movements. The majority of **Māori** academics are located in the context of universities that operate within dominant **Pākehā** cultural structures and practices and therefore it is necessary to provide further discussion on issues surrounding the roles and obligations of **Māori** academics.

Māori/Academic

As **Māori**, we have a history of investigation. It is an ancient history of exploration, of navigation, not solely in the physical domain, but in ways that reach throughout the many dimensions of **Te Ao Māori**.⁹ These are all forms of research, they are all ways within which our people have developed knowledge and have located ourselves in the wider world. The searching for the source of the first

³ Smith, C.W. 1994 *Kimihia Te Maramatanga: Colonisation and Iwi Development*, Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland

⁴ **Ngā Moteatea** is a publication of **Māori** compositions that was developed by **Apirana Ngata**.

⁵ **Ngata**, A. 1959 *Ngā Moteatea Part I*, The Polynesian Society and A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington

⁶ **Ngā Tamatoa** was a **Māori** activist group of the 1970-80's who brought about major changes in particular in terms of advocating for **te reo Māori** and fundamental Treaty rights.

⁷ Smith, C.W., 1994 op.cit.

⁸ *ibid*:14

⁹ **Ao** refers to the world and therefore **Te Ao Māori** refers to the **Māori** world.

slither of light that emanated from between the armpits of **Ranginui**¹⁰ and **Papatūānuku**, the journey of **Tanenuiārangi** to gather **ngā kete o te wānanga, te kete tuauri, te kete tuatea, te kete aronui**¹¹ are but two examples of how ancient **Māori** research is. The point is that research is not 'new' for **Māori** people. Neither is the idea that as **Māori** we can take control of our own research processes and outcomes. What is new is the context within which many of us currently locate our research and ourselves. For myself this is in a **Pākehā** university, an institution that has its foundations deeply in Western philosophical traditions. The complexities of what this means for **Māori** require discussion.

As a **Māori** woman academic/researcher it is important that I note explicitly that intellectual and scholarly thinking is not something that came with our colonisers. As a people we have a rich tradition of research and knowledge. Education systems are a part of **Te Ao Māori** and processes of **ako**¹² existed in all aspects of our daily living. More formalised processes ensured the maintenance of all forms of knowledge, with **Whare Wānanga**¹³ being one example of highly formalised and ritualised forms of pedagogy¹⁴. The denial of this has been, and continues to be, a fundamental flaw in the existing education system. The active suppression of **Māori** knowledge in colonial legislation and through ideological warfare meant that much **Māori** knowledge has been either lost or alternatively was forced 'underground'.¹⁵ This suppression was instrumental in the development of the colonial education system that sought to take the place of **Māori** systems of knowledge transmission.¹⁶

The marginalisation of **Māori** knowledge and **Māori** pedagogy has meant that our learning and teaching processes have been denied to generations of **Māori** people. This has without doubt been the situation in the University system, both in academic teaching and research. Researching within institutional frameworks, such as those of the PhD thesis, means having to deal in a daily way with critical issues related to **Māori** research, being a **Māori** researcher, being a **Māori** academic, a **Māori** woman academic. These positions within the University are not uncomplicated, nor are they safe from contradiction. What is critical, I believe is that research related to **Māori** Education by **Māori** researchers must necessarily lead to some form of transformation.

¹⁰ **Ranginui** is referred to by many as the Sky Parent.

¹¹ **Ngā kete o te wānanga** refers to three baskets of knowledge that **Tāne** brought to earth from **Iomatuakore**, **Io** the parentless one, the Creator to provide knowledge for people. This is discussed further in Chapter Four.

¹² **Ako** is learning and teaching, and can be considered to be a term referring to **Māori** pedagogy

¹³ **Whare Wānanga** are higher schools of learning.

¹⁴ For discussion of **Māori** pedagogies refer to **Pere, Rangimarie** Rose 1994 **Ako: Concepts and Learning in the Māori Tradition**, Monograph, **Te Kōhanga Reo** Trust, Wellington

¹⁵ The Native Schools Acts of 1847 and 1867 are both indications of the legislative denial of **Māori** knowledge and the beginnings of the active political marginalisation of **te reo Māori me ōna tikanga**. Refer Chapter Eight.

¹⁶ In the Native Schooling system there was a clear intention that **te reo Māori** be removed as a medium of instruction and that in order to receive support for a Native School that there be a commitment made to English as the medium of instruction with **te reo Māori** being used purely as a means of facilitating the learning of English.

As I have noted previously involvement in University education is a site of struggle for **Māori**. The fact that this thesis sits within this domain raises concerns. Struggle within the university occurs on multiple levels; culture; language; structures; staffing; access; retention of staff and students; resources. These struggles are not new but derive from a history of colonial imperialism. The University of Auckland is like other **Pākehā** dominated institutions, founded upon a history of colonial oppression. We are often denied real knowledge about such a history. Andrea Morrison informs us that the 'official' history of The University of Auckland written by Keith Sinclair for the 1983 centenary only gives scant discussion of **Māori** involvement with the university. She finds that from the outset the university was a place for **Pākehā** settlers not for **Māori**.¹⁷ The University of Auckland Calendar tells us nothing about the involvement of colonial imperialism in the establishment of the university, rather the history given in the Calendar bemoans its financial situation.¹⁸ It does not inform us of the Auckland University College Reserves Act of 1885 where confiscated land from the **Waikato** area and in **Whakatane**¹⁹ was utilised to fund the development of The University of Auckland²⁰. Linda **Tuhiwai** Smith notes that in concrete ways The University of Auckland has benefited directly from the losses suffered by one of her **iwi**, **Ngāti Awa**. The apparent insignificance of these events to **Pākehā** historians is evident in the documentation. As Linda notes

The first paragraph of the history of Auckland University written by a prominent New Zealand historian Sir Keith Sinclair, for example, immediately connects the history of Auckland's university to the establishment of other universities in the 'English-speaking countries'. The official history acknowledges that land was indeed vested in the university but focuses more on the inability of the rent to provide a decent income for the new university because the land was 'poor and heavily forested'. There was scant official knowledge, even in hindsight that these lands belonged to **Māori** people.²¹

The University of Auckland was not the only university founded from colonial imperialism. Both Otago and Canterbury universities were developed as part of attempts to increase settlements in those areas²². Legislation was also passed, by the colonial settler government, for the confiscation of lands for the benefit of other universities. J.C. Beaglehole includes in the appendices to the publication 'Victoria University College: An Essay Towards a History',²³ a memorandum on the **Opaku** Reserve from Herbert Ostler the chair of the College in 1914. The memorandum outlines issues regarding the

¹⁷ Morrison, Andrea 1999 *Space for Māori in Tertiary Institutions: Exploring Two Sites at The University of Auckland*, Unpublished Master of Education thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland:22

¹⁸ It is noted in the Calendar "...educational reserves were such poor land that they brought in very little" The University of Auckland Calendar 2000, Auckland :3

¹⁹ **Whakatane** is an area in the mid-eastern part of the North Island. It is the lands of **Ngāti Awa** of the **Mataatua waka** (canoe). The name **Whakatane** itself refers to a feat of one of the **tūpuna wāhine** of **Mataatua**, **Muriwai**, who saved the **Mataatua waka** when it began to drift out to sea. To draw strength to herself she called "**kia whakatane ahau i ahau**" thereby calling on the strength equivalent to that of a man.

²⁰ Mead, L.T.R., 1996 op.cit.

²¹ *ibid*:98

²² Morrison, A., 1999 op.cit.

²³ Beaglehole, J.C. 1949 *Victoria University College: An Essay Towards a History*, New Zealand University Press, Wellington

Opaku Reserve and **Waitotara** lands in South **Taranaki**. The **Opaku** Reserve was essentially 10,000 acres of confiscated lands that is located near the town of **Patea**. Ostler notes that the land was confiscated from ‘rebel Natives’ and was through section 6 of the University Endowment Act 1868 set aside as a reserve for the endowment of a colonial university.²⁴ At that time however there was no university established in **Aotearoa** and the funds were placed into a Colonial University Fund. The first university was established in 1870 in Otago and it was deemed in Section 30 on the New Zealand University Act 1874 that lands in the Province of Otago reserved under the University Endowment Act 1868 would be granted to the University of Otago.

It was not until 1878 that the recommendation was made for the establishment of Colleges in Auckland and Wellington and, as Ostler documents, it was suggested that those lands held in the North Island Reserves be put toward endowments for those colleges. By this time the **Waitotara** Reserve of 4,000 acres had been included in the schedule of lands via the New Zealand University Reserves Act 1875.²⁵ The Auckland University College Act 1882 established the University of Auckland, and the Auckland University College Reserves Act 1885 saw lands stolen from three **iwi** in the upper North Island, **Ngāti Awa**, **Tainui** and **Ngā Puhi**, vested in the Council of the Auckland University College.²⁶ The Victoria College Act 1897 brought the establishment of what is now known as Victoria University in Wellington, which Ostler notes was to provide higher education for Wellington, **Taranaki**, Hawke’s Bay, Nelson and Marlborough. Section 38 of that Act set the **Waitotara** Reserve aside as an endowment however the **Opaku** Reserve was not included, instead the **Opaku** Reserve was in 1905 diverted to the **Taranaki** Scholarships Trust to provide scholarships for **Taranaki** scholars to any of the universities in the country.²⁷

Given the colonial beginnings of the university system and the dominance of monocultural ways of operating it is not surprising that being a **Māori** academic can bring us into conflict within our institutions as a direct consequence of the differing cultural values and expectations. In terms of cultural space Andrea Morrison notes that **Māori** ‘space’ is a notion that has multiple applications.²⁸ It refers to physical, cultural, spiritual, spatial and temporal concepts. In the university context it also relates to constructions of theory and disciplinarity. Creating ‘space’ then for **Māori** within the university must happen on all these levels. As Andrea has argued the unequal power relations that exist in the university context for **Māori** means that this is not an easy task.

²⁴ Ostler, Herbert cited in Beaglehole, J.C, *ibid*:291

²⁵ *ibid*.

²⁶ Auckland University College Reserves [1885:1], New Zealand Statutes 1885, Government Printer, Wellington: 411

²⁷ Beaglehole, J.C. *op.cit*, also see *Taranaki Scholarships Trust*, 1958 Avery Press Ltd, New Plymouth

²⁸ Morrison, A., 1999 *op.cit*

In a symposium by members of the Research Unit for **Māori** Education²⁹ a range of papers were delivered regarding the need to create space for **Māori** within educational institutions, in particular within the university setting. Linda argues that the struggle for **Māori** academics is that of creating both the space and the conditions for **Māori** knowledge to be engaged.³⁰ The notion of space is a very broad one in **Māori** terms, when engaging an idea of creating space we are not solely talking of spatial and temporal notions but are encompassing physical, intellectual, social, cultural and spiritual ways of being. That puts a considerable challenge in front of **Māori** academics within university structures. Linda **Tuhiwai** Smith argues that in fact the structural struggles are critical to creating space,

Although at a social level it is important to make students feel comfortable by claiming a culturally appropriate space to work in and by developing support mechanisms for **Maori** students this does not begin to address the underlying structural issues which are concerned with what students are required to learn, how they learn and how this learning will serve them in their own practice. It is in their control over what counts as knowledge that the power of traditional intellectuals is paramount.³¹

The control over knowledge, what constitutes valid knowledge and how knowledge is selected has been outlined in some depth by Michael Young.³² This work has been related directly to **Māori** Education by Graham **Hingangaroa** Smith who draws upon key questions posited by Young in regard to knowledge and the ways in which unequal power relationships between colonised and coloniser leads to the suppression of Indigenous knowledge. Graham asserts that questioning the basis of what counts as knowledge, how knowledge is produced and whose interests are served by that, exposes the myth that knowledge is neutral and therefore reveals that power underpins the ways in which education is constructed.³³

The imposition of **Pākehā** knowledge and ways of being has been our experience since colonisation. It is evident that within university settings this is manifested in many ways. As an academic there is an expectation that teaching and research will be couched within the various theoretical frameworks of ones discipline. This becomes problematic when those same theoretical frameworks have historically served to provide a platform for the oppression of Indigenous Peoples. The history of State education systems within colonised countries highlights that schooling was utilised as a mechanism for the denial of indigenous languages and culture. The struggle over affirmation of **Māori** knowledge and

²⁹ The Research Unit is now known as the International Research Institute for **Māori** and Indigenous Education and is located at The University of Auckland.

³⁰ Smith, Linda **Tuhiwai** 1992(c) '**Ko Tāku Ko Tā Te Māori**: The Dilemma of a **Māori** Academic' in Smith, G.H. & **Hohepa**, M.K. (eds) 1993 *Creating Space in Institutional Settings for Māori*, Monograph No. 15, Research Unit for **Māori** Education, University of Auckland, Auckland

³¹ *ibid*:10

³² Young, M.F.D. (ed) 1971 *Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education*, Collier McMillan, London

³³ Smith, G.H. 1992 '**Tane-Nui-A-Rangi's** Legacy:Propping up the Sky **Kaupapa Maori** as Resistance and Intervention in Smith, G.H. & **Hohepa**, M.K. (eds) 1993 *Creating Space in Institutional Settings for Maori*, Monograph No. 15, Research Unit for **Māori** Education, University of Auckland, Auckland

Māori contributions to the University is ongoing. Leah **Whiu**³⁴ documents developments in the Law School at **Waikato** University, highlighting that a lack of vision from the Foundation Dean, Margaret Wilson, led to the 'bicultural objective' being viewed as a process of merely adding some **Māori** content to existing programmes. Such processes do not bring about change for **Māori** in the University. Interviews taken with participants in the **Waikato** University Law School programme raised issues of racism, marginalisation of **te reo Māori** and limited **Māori** presence in the curriculum content, particularly in the final year. Leah summarises her research findings as follows;

In summary, the Law School is failing to provide an educational environment and experience in which; **Maori** students feel safe; **Maori** students and staff are free from racism generated by **Pakeha** (or **tauiwi**)³⁵ students and staff; the use of **te reo Maori** is promoted and actively supported by staff; **Maori** issues, values, aspirations, traditions and **whakaaro** can be freely discussed without opposition from **Pakeha** (or **tauiwi**) students and staff; **Maori** content and a **Maori** presence pervades all courses and all levels of the Law School.³⁶

There is no doubt in my mind that the University is a site within which colonial discourses are simultaneously debated and perpetuated, the writing of this thesis within the University is then both necessary and contradictory. Native Hawaiian academic Haunani Kay Trask asserts that formal education in Hawai'i has been constructed in a context of colonialism.³⁷ In a powerful critique Haunani highlights the role of universities in maintaining colonial objectives and racist structures through the legitimisation of the colonising cultures. She states

The University of Hawai'i stands atop the educational pyramid of public schools as the flagship campus for the State. With over 40,000 full and part-time students, it is a living symbol of colonization. In many ways, the University is an educational equivalent to the American military command center in Hawai'i. Both serve as guardians of white dominance, both support the State economy, and both provide a training ground for future technocrats.³⁸

After a five year battle with racism at the University of Hawai'i Haunani gives important reflection, and in particular warns of the ability for such institutions to wear down Indigenous Peoples resistance to colonial structures, through "*petty bureaucratic procedures and the force of inertia*".³⁹ Haunani gives a vivid reminder that in any struggle for space we need to be aware of the institutional practices that work against our interests. **Māori** academics have experienced similar situations in Universities and Colleges of Education in this country.⁴⁰

³⁴ **Whiu**, Leah 1999 *Bicultural Legal Education A Tool of Liberation of Merely Educating the Oppressor*, unpublished paper, **Waikato** University, Hamilton

³⁵ **Tauwi** refers to those non-**Māori**, who have come and settled in these lands.

³⁶ **Whiu**, Leah op.cit.:35

³⁷ Trask, Haunani Kay 1993 *From A Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*, Common Courage Press, Monroe, Maine

³⁸ *ibid*:202

³⁹ *ibid*:224

Māori academics struggle within the universities of this country. In the economic climate of the late 1980s and the 1990s **Māori** initiatives struggled with new right driven and market controlled State policies. A number of **Māori** Studies Departments in universities and Technical Institutes were downsized or re-positioned into other faculties. At the University of **Waikato**, **Māori** staff were involved in High Court Action. At The University of Auckland **Māori** developments in the Faculty of Arts have been slow, **Māori** staff numbers have reduced based fundamentally on economic constructs. In the area of **Maori** Education staff replacement has also been limited, in what is potentially a major growth area. This is within a context where the key research initiatives in the Faculty are **Māori**.⁴¹ bell hooks also indicates that in the wake of progressive initiatives being undermined or threatened with elimination struggle is a critical response.⁴² She writes:

To create a culturally diverse academy we must commit ourselves fully. Learning from other movements for social change, from civil rights and feminist liberation efforts, we must accept the protracted nature of our struggle and be willing to remain both patient and vigilant. To commit ourselves to the work of transforming the academy so that it will be a place where cultural diversity informs every aspect of our learning, we must embrace struggle and sacrifice. We cannot be easily discouraged. We cannot despair when there is conflict. Our solidarity must be affirmed by shared belief in a spirit of intellectual openness that celebrates diversity, welcomes dissent, and rejoices in collective dedication to truth.⁴³

Many **Māori** staff and students in the academy are cognisant of the need to struggle and to be committed to a long-term vision as is expressed by bell hooks. The university is a site worth struggling over in that it provides opportunities for **Māori** to research in more depth both colonial discourses and **te reo Māori me ōna tikanga**. The struggle is one that is necessary as we as **Māori** academics seek to create spaces that are healthy for future **Māori** staff and students. There are many **Māori** academics that have preceded us who have striven for similar outcomes and who in doing so have been successful in creating many changes in university settings. Many too have been instrumental in working for the development of **Te Kōhanga Reo**, **Kura Kaupapa Māori**, **Māori** Immersion education, **Whare Kura** and **Whare Wānanga**, which are institutions that have been formed through **Māori** needs and aspirations.⁴⁴ These changes and developments indicate the resistance of **Māori** within **Māori** Education.

⁴⁰ I have personally witnessed attacks on two **Māori** women academics by students who disagreed with their approach to **Māori** issues. The result being one having to take leave for a period of time to remove herself from an antagonistic environment and one having to leave the institution.

⁴¹ The three research facilities in the Faculty that are gaining significant contracts are: The International Research Institute for **Māori** and Indigenous Education, The Wolff Fisher Centre and The James **Henare** Research Centre. All three have been developed by **Māori**.

⁴² hooks, bell 1994 *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*, Routledge, New York

⁴³ *ibid*:33

⁴⁴ **Te Kōhanga Reo** refers to the pre-school **Māori** language nests; **Kura Kaupapa Māori** are **Māori** language immersion schools; **Māori** Immersion education in this context relates to **Māori** language immersion programmes but in particular Immersion classrooms in conventional schools; **Whare Kura** are **Māori** language Secondary schools; **Whare Wānanga** in a contemporary context refer to **Māori** Tertiary Institutions

The difficulties experienced by **Māori** academics are not solely to do with theory or structural issues. They may also be located in the lecturer/student relationship. Time and time again **Māori** lecturers in the academy are challenged by **Pākehā** students for teaching **Māori** content. I have come to consider this a process of talking with the 'dominant Other'. The relationship between **Māori** and **Pākehā** in the university can be fraught with danger for **Māori** staff and students. **Māori** are often considered to be available for any **Pākehā** staff or students who want to know about anything **Māori**. At times I have felt that **Māori** are not considered to have any personal or professional boundaries when it comes to the needs of **Pākehā** staff or students. I recently read the experiences of African-American academic Gwendolyn Parker who described her time as a law student at New York University.⁴⁵ She describes an incident in the library after an article appeared in the law school newspaper comparing LSAT scores of black students to white students. Studying in the library a white male student interrupted her, the description of the event is worth detailing as it is recognisable to me as a **Māori** woman academic.

... all I remember is that he was suddenly at my table, speaking to me as if he were resuming a conversation that had been interrupted. "A lot of us are kind of mad" he said. I looked up when I heard his voice, mainly to see to whom he might have been speaking. I was surprised that he appeared to be talking to me. "What?" I asked. His face had a serious expression, and he was rubbing his hands on the table nervously. "you know, the article in the paper a few days ago. A lot of us are pretty upset." "Us?" I asked. "We white students." "White students?" I asked. I was still confused. I briefly wondered if he was part of some organization or was taking a survey of which I was unaware. I felt as if my attention had lapsed in the middle of a movie. Surely there was an explanation for why this stranger was talking to me.⁴⁶

What is especially familiar with this account is the assumption that minority group individuals should speak for the entire group and that dominant group members have the right to invade our space and demand attention. Gwendolyn later notes that the white student had

... sneaked up on my hard-sought solitude like some sort of racial grenade and neatly riven the world in two.⁴⁷

There are times when there have been highly publicised issues related to **Māori** and I have seen **Pākehā** people treat any available **Māori** as either an authority on the issue or as a sounding board, often with little or no invitation from the **Māori** person involved. This can become even more likely if you are known to be a **Māori** academic, and it can happen in the least expected situations both professional and social. Gwendolyn Parkers' experience is very familiar. bell hooks refers to this as being placed in the role of 'Native Informant'⁴⁸. She recalls particular incidents with students that echo the experience of Gwendolyn Parker. bell hooks writes that often when there is a sole student of

⁴⁵ Parker, Gwendolyn M. 1997 *Trespassing: My Sojourn in the Halls of Privilege*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston

⁴⁶ *ibid*:142

⁴⁷ *ibid*:142

⁴⁸ hooks, bell 1994 *op.cit.*

colour in a class she or he is placed in the position of the Native Informant to be objectified by white students.

The objectification of **Māori** staff and students in the academy requires discussion. Much has been written in regard to working with **Māori** students, more often than not those writings have been done by non-**Māori**. Many of those writings are based within deficit ideas that locate **Māori** as deficient or culturally deprived. It is some relief that there are a growing number of **Māori** academics willing to challenge such accounts. There is however very little discussion regarding **Māori** academics or teachers working with **Pākehā** students and yet in the university setting this is an inevitable reality. I have found in my own experiences that working with **Pākehā** students, and some **Pākehā** colleagues, is not a straightforward activity. This is particularly the case when issues related to things **Māori** are raised. Working with the dominant Other is an important discussion to have for **Māori** academics as the **Māori** – **Pākehā** power relationships that exist within the academy can impact directly on how we as **Māori** academics function and survive.

Talking With The Dominant Other

I have had many experiences of explaining myself to the dominant others. My children are being educated in a conventional **Pākehā** school in the inner city area of Auckland. They are in a **rūmaki reo**⁴⁹ classroom. They speak **Māori** all day in the classroom. When they leave their room and enter the life of the wider school they are surrounded by English speakers. I consider our children to be brave. They take on board the **kaupapa** to **kōrero Māori** in the midst of a dominant language environment. As a group we have chosen to remain with our 'local' school and to work to bring about change. When our **tamariki** began school we met with one of the **Māori** women teachers who was running a bilingual unit. We discussed the possibilities for our **tamariki**. One year later the **rūmaki whānau**⁵⁰ began. It was an initiative that was grown from **whānau** in the school.

More recently a **Pākehā** parent, in a community forum, stated that she didn't know what happened in Room 13, the **rūmaki reo** class, and that perhaps we could explain and even allow her to sit in and 'see' what we did. Our children were to provide her with knowledge, they were expected to be objects for her observation. It was expected that she had a right to go and watch the **Māori** children, so she could learn from them. It seems that even our children are supposed to educate, often ignorant, **Pākehā** people. It was assumed that the dominant group had a right to access **Māori** knowledge for their own individual need to know. There was no indication that there would be any reciprocal

⁴⁹ **Rūmaki reo** refers to an immersion **Māori** language context

⁵⁰ **Rūmaki whānau** refers to **whānau** involved with **Māori** Language Immersion classrooms in conventional schools.

relationship, our children had nothing to gain from the interaction nor did any of the **Māori whānau**. It was for self-knowledge, to make her feel better about what was happening in the school. Of course the request was rapidly refused and it was made clear that the **rūmaki whānau** had no idea what was happening in her child's class and perhaps we should all go and observe him. The absurdity of the request was immediately evident to us, it was however seen as a valid request by the **Pākehā** woman involved.

A similar example is given by Dr Alison Jones in her article 'The Limits of Cross-cultural Dialogue: Pedagogy, Desire and Absolution in the Classroom'. Alison collected journal entries from a Stage Three course 'Feminist Perspectives in Education/**Mātauranga Wāhine**'.⁵¹ The journal entries reflected on the separation of the class, by ethnicity, into two streams. Many of the **Pākehā** women students reflected negatively on the separation, and maintained a sense of having 'missed out' on something. This was in stark contrast to the **Māori** and Pacific Islands women who saw the separate groupings as a means of having space to operate within their own cultural frameworks and who as a consequence felt validated and affirmed in their own identity.

As a lecturer on that paper I remember vividly the first sessions. The course was organised so that the **Māori** and Pacific Islands women would first engage with literature related to their definitions of the roles of women and the positioning of women within our respective societies. The **Pākehā** women began their course with the work of western feminists and in particular postmodern and poststructural analyses. The philosophy underpinning the course structure was that in recognition of the fact that the group 'women' is not homogenous, there was a need to instigate a pedagogical structure that would provide more effectively for the cultural diversity within the group, in particular to develop a structure that would place **Māori** and Pacific women's knowledges in the centre. in a position where they were not only acknowledged but were actively validated. This was a radical move in a paper that in the past has been predominantly **Pākehā**. It was also a recognition of the growing numbers of **Māori** and Pacific Nation's women who wanted to take the paper.

These developments grew from the strength of the two women lecturers on the course, Dr Alison Jones and **Kuni** Jenkins. Together they had, over time, developed a course that included the voices of **Māori** women, as **tāngata whenua**,⁵² and then extended to Pacific Nation's women with the support of Lita Foliaki and Lonise Tanielu. Adding the term '**Mātauranga Wāhine**' to the name of the course was also a significant move. For **Māori** the naming of a course with **te reo Māori** brings particular assumptions, the key being that there will be **Māori** involvement and **Māori** content. Likewise for Pacific women it indicated at least some cultural content beyond the dominant group would be

⁵¹ **Mātauranga Wāhine** refers to **Māori** women's knowledge and ways of knowing.

provided in the course. Finally, the decision to separate into ethnic groups was made as a means of instigating separate space to more readily enable the **Māori** and Pacific women to be able to express themselves without having to be concerned with the ‘feelings’ of **Pākehā** women in the group.⁵³

My own teaching has highlighted for me the ability of **Pākehā** students to silence many **Māori** (and Pacific) students. This happens in a number of ways. Dominating time is one way in which dominant group students silence **Māori**. This is most evident in tutorial groups or more interactive lectures. Often by virtue of numbers **Māori** students can be deprived space to speak. However, it is not only a matter of numbers. I have worked with groups that have had majority **Māori** students and still **Pākehā** students have sought a disproportionate amount of speaking time. I have come to a point in my teaching that I have more fully recognised the difficulties for many tutors in trying to negotiate this situation. Another way in which **Māori** students are denied space is the constant pressure on **Māori** lecturers and tutors to engage issues at the level of understanding held by **Pākehā** students. The reality of colonisation is that few of the dominant group have any indepth understanding of the politics surrounding the struggle for Indigenous languages, culture and knowledge. The consequence of this is that in lecturing undergraduate papers with ‘**Māori** content’ there is often the expectation that we, as **Māori**, will provide quite basis understandings of the issues for **Māori**. What this means for **Māori** students is that their existing knowledge base is effectively made invisible.

A key element in the denial of **Māori** space is the positioning of cultural capital. All groups have cultural capital, but as Bourdieu identifies it is the dominant group's cultural capital that is given validity and provides the basis for a whole range of structures and systems.⁵⁴ The assumption exists that **Māori** will, even when focusing on **Māori** issues, derive our theory and analysis fundamentally from the premise of **Pākehā** cultural capital, that what we locate as the centre of analysis will be readable and immediately understandable by the dominant group. When this is not the case it is **Māori** who are called in to question. It is our understandings that are seen out of place within the university. The existing theoretical and cultural hierarchy remains a taken-for-granted, an unquestioned basis from which all courses are expected to emanate. For the team that I work alongside in **Māori** Education this is not the case. We work to centre **Kaupapa Māori**. This means developing pedagogies that are conducive to our worldview. There are obvious limitations and constraints that exist in a university. Limitations of time and space. Limitations in terms of the resources that are made available to **Māori**. Limitations in terms of cultural understandings. These

⁵² **Tāngata whenua** refers to People of the Land, or Indigenous Peoples.

⁵³ For discussion of an attempt at forming alliances where similar issues are raised, refer to Albrecht, L. & Brewer, R.M. (eds) *Bridges of Power: Women's Multicultural Alliances*, New Society Publishers in cooperation with the National Womens Studies Association, Philadelphia

⁵⁴ Bourdieu, P. & Passeron, J., 1977 *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, Sage, California

limitations can constrain the implementation of radical pedagogies. Alongside the dominance of **Pākehā** culture and structures the struggle to bring about change is exactly that, a struggle.

The expectation that **Māori** academics will speak 'to' the dominant group is highlighted in the following journal entries of two of the **Pākehā** students:

The introduction to lecture one was in **Maori**, which even though it was obviously appropriate, was disappointing as I could not understand it. While some may say that this is as it should be with the resurgence of the **Maori** language, I was brought up to believe that speaking a language your guests or audience could not understand was rude, and as I do not know of any **Maori** who do not speak English, this seems unnecessary.

The structure of this course takes me aback in two ways. The large **Maori**/ Pacific Islands content of the course, and the high level of representation from these groups on the course. Secondly, the splitting of the students into two groups – **Pakeha** and **Maori**/Pacific Islands. I had more anticipated a course which focused on western feminism, although I did not have the language to describe it as such then. I guess that I, in typical western feminist style, had thought of women as a relatively homogenous group. Yes, I knew that there were differences in the way different groups of women were oppressed, but I guess I had assumed that, within the university, our studies would focus on white women's feminist issues.⁵⁵

These reflections give us some insights into how **Pākehā** women perceive not only themselves in relation to **Māori** but also the position of white feminism. It is expected that **Māori** people 'should' accommodate English as the dominant language. Where the first writer begins with a hesitant recognition of the resurgence of **Māori** language she still maintains a fundamental belief that it should not be spoken in a public space. The taken-for-granted belief that English must be the language of the public domain is held quite strongly, to the point that **Māori** are positioned as 'rude' for not adhering to the dominance of the English language. The monocultural dominance in this country is in no way viewed as an issue. The issue is that **Māori** 'dare' to speak the indigenous language of this land. The second reflection is one that highlights a possibility for critical reflection when dominant beliefs are challenged in quite fundamental ways. For this student the structure of the course raised questions as to notions of difference and brought her to recognition of the assumptions underpinning her own expectations.

Journal entries in regard to the physical separation of the **Pākehā** students from the **Māori** and Pacific Islands students highlight significant differences in response. For many of the **Māori** and Pacific women this was the first time in their academic careers that an entire course was taught in a way that validated who they are. For the **Pākehā** women students the feedback indicates that there is a sense of loss for the oppressors if oppressed groups seek their own space. The separation for the **Māori** and Pacific women is quite clearly celebrated as an opportunity for further growth and for self-affirmation.

⁵⁵ Journal comments in Jones, Alison 1999 'The Limits of Cross-cultural dialogue: Pedagogy, Desire and Absolution in the Classroom', in *Educational Theory*, 49 (3), Summer, pp. 299-315.

This is the first time I have had a [course], which has been streamed, with **Maori** and Pacific Islanders in one and non-**Maori** in the other. I can not begin to describe just how much more I enjoyed coming to classes...

I felt validated or even vindicated. Being in a class of **Maori** and Pacific Island students, I stopped feeling like I was the other. Instead I felt as though I had moved towards the centre and stepped into the centre where white people normally reside. It felt good.

In the lecture room I witnessed an interesting sense of power-shift once it was suggested that **Maori** and Pacific Islanders would form their own group. Once the dominant **Pakeha** group had lost their 'marker', things **Pakeha** seems to suddenly lose their advantage. As **Maori** knowledge was being affirmed as being important, a comment from one of the students next to me was "It's alright for the **Maori** students. They have all the information." Suddenly there was a reversal as to what counts as knowledge and who was having it.⁵⁶

The separation is conceived of by the **Pākehā** women as a lost opportunity.

I would have thought it would be interesting for all the students to be able to share their unique cultural perspectives with each other. I know I would have found that valuable. I am sometimes quite ignorant and intolerant of other viewpoints, so a wider input would have been educational.

It does not seem right. Could we not learn from each other? Wouldn't it be valuable to share our differences in experience? ... It is different reading about it in books, or having it taught by teachers. It is better to hear it straight from the women who are having the experience. It is easier to relate to.

When will I ever get to learn how **Maori** and Pacific Islanders perceive the world (since we are supposed to be so different) when we are continually separated?⁵⁷

The journal entries provide a number of insights. Firstly, that **Māori** and Pacific Nations peoples in **Aotearoa** rarely experience having their own space within the classrooms of the University of Auckland and when they do in a context where they are recognised in themselves and in terms of the knowledge they bring there is a sense of affirmation. That sense of affirmation is one that centres their experiences and understandings. For many of the **Pākehā** students however there is a sense of loss, that their 'Native informant' has been removed. Another point that is raised is that notion that **Māori** and Pacific students are there to 'educate' **Pākehā** students, to provide knowledge to the dominant other. Both **Māori** staff and **Māori** students are positioned as the 'Native informant', and are expected to deliver to **Pākehā** staff and **Pākehā** students. Often for **Māori** staff the outcome of presenting radical **Māori** centred lectures is that we receive what are considered 'poor' evaluations from students. Evaluations of **Māori** Education contributions to courses can yield such general comments such as 'this lecture was racist'. Facing these kinds of responses from **Pākehā** students is a common experience for many **Māori** academics.

⁵⁶ibid.

⁵⁷ibid.

Reminding the dominant other that we are not there as their informants or challenging their underlying assumptions about who we are as Indigenous Peoples can draw fervent and often vicious responses. Haunani Trask relates her experiences at the University of Hawaii after responding to a letter in a student newspaper. Challenging the assumptions of the letter she was also challenging the basis of the acts of the American government and the invasion of Hawai'i. Haunani reflects on the response to her letter as follows;

So, when an uppity Native woman educates one of their own about his white history and his obligations to Natives, their fears and angers spill over into crazy accusations that, if examined, reflect back on their own sick history of violence.⁵⁸

Being an Indigenous person that speaks out against racism and dominant ideologies can mean being on the edge of violence, both symbolic and physical. A number of **Māori** academics and activists have had threats made in a similar way to that expressed by Haunani. Linda **Tuhiwai** Smith notes that a prominent **Māori** academic had his personal phone number broadcast over public radio and listeners encouraged to ring him directly.⁵⁹ This is not to say that other academics do not face challenges from their students in terms of their paper content, or from the 'general public' in regard to how they position themselves but the point is that as **Māori** academics we are constantly having to defend our presence in the university on multiple levels and while expected to carry multiple roles.

Multiple Roles

As a **Māori** academic there has always been a degree to which I have involved myself in the educating of the dominant group. It has been a role that I have chosen to involve myself in, not because of any sense of individual freedom of choice but because of the obligation that I have toward bringing about change for **Māori** people. Paulo Freire tells us in 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed'⁶⁰ that it is the oppressed who in turn humanise the oppressor. The denial of **Māori** knowledge is directly linked to the denial of our humanity. Freire discusses this as a process of dehumanisation. Dehumanisation is characteristic of the colonial experiences of many Indigenous Peoples. As a means of justifying our fundamental rights as Indigenous Peoples our colonisers have denied our humanity and even worse have attempted to strip our humanness from us through denial, fragmentation, alienation and

⁵⁸ Trask, Haunani Kay 1993 op.cit.:232-233

⁵⁹ Smith, L.T. 1992(c) op.cit.

⁶⁰ Freire P. 1972 *'Pedagogy of the Oppressed'*, Penguin Books, New York. I need to note here that the publication *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* has been critiqued in light of the sexist language use employed. This is an important critique and needs to be articulated in light of the fact that I chose to use a significant amount of work by Paulo Freire. In the context of the time that this publication was written I can locate the language use as a part of the wider sexist societal relations. Just as **Māori** people have been rendered invisible in much of the documentation of that time so too were women made invisible in many radical publications of the time. This is not to excuse such omissions, however I agree with the position taken by bell hooks (op.cit.) in regard to Freire's work that to critique the sexism should not be the same as dismissing the work entirely. Paulo Freire has offered

representation. For Freire anyone who denies another the right to self-affirmation is creating a situation of oppression and is denying the other their humanness. It is not, Freire states, the oppressed that are the initiators of violence, but the oppressors.⁶¹ For **Māori** people the denial of cultural knowledge, of **te reo Māori**, of **whakapapa** and identity, is the denial of self-affirmation. It is the denial of our right to be fully human.

Linda **Tuhiwai** Smith asserts that the dehumanising of Indigenous Peoples is a process of justifying imperialism. Through colonisation Indigenous Peoples were presented as less than human, as the definition of what constituted humanity was controlled by the colonisers.⁶² Returning to the work of Paulo Freire, there is an assertion that the reclamation of our humanness can only be undertaken by oppressed groups themselves. The oppressors he argues are not capable of finding the strength to work toward liberation, but it is the oppressed who in their knowing of the state of dehumanisation will rise to struggle against it. Any belief that the oppressor can 'give' to the oppressed their humanity or their freedom from oppression is fundamentally flawed. Inherent in such a belief is a false generosity. In order to ensure against liberation the oppressors seek to maintain a false generosity. False generosity is itself dependent on a continuing state of oppression.⁶³

False generosity is informed by the oppressors constructions of what constitutes appropriate change. False generosity derives itself from a paternalistic colonial ideology that states that the coloniser knows what is good for the colonised. It is a part of the paternal belief that Indigenous Peoples are 'childlike' and required the parent from the colonial 'mother' country to tell them what they need. False generosity is not new to **Māori**. Nor is it something that has gone away. False generosity thrives within the colonial, **Pākehā** structures that have taken root here in **Aotearoa**.⁶⁴ As **Māori** academics we must be aware of the need to ensure the development of real generosity within the university that encompasses **Māori** staff and students in ways that are affirming.

The struggle over cultural space has become increasingly obvious to me in terms of staffing for **Māori** programmes within the university. It is apparent that the multiple roles carried by **Māori** academics within our Department are accorded little if any recognition by the wider institution. There is little institutional acknowledgement that most **Māori** staff consider their work with **Māori** communities as

much to the struggle for transformation in this country and as a result of that was invited here by radical organisations in the 1980s to provide insights into working for change.

⁶¹ *ibid.*

⁶² Mead, L.T.R., 1996 *op.cit.*: 83

⁶³ Freire, P. *op.cit.*:21

⁶⁴ The current Treaty Settlement processes in this country epitomise 'false generosity'. At a **hui** that rejected the Treaty Settlement framework it was asked why **Māori** have our land stolen and then the thief determines how much is returned, when and to whom, and **Māori** are supposed to be grateful. The Treaty settlement framework

an essential part of their overall academic role. Indeed many **Māori** academics begin their own academic pathways through a role that Italian theorist Antonio Gramsci described as an 'organic intellectual'.⁶⁵ Gramsci identified two forms of intellectual, each of which has particular functions in relation to the State and communities. Māori-Chinese academic Jenny Bol Jun Lee notes that the social function of the organic intellectual is to transmit ideas within civil society, performing both ideological and organisational functions in ways that provide for change. She writes:

The 'organic' intellectuals are essential to the success of a revolutionary programme, they are those people who are located in the participatory process of the group which they belong to and are the product of 'lived experience'. It is this group who will provide 'organic' leadership in which the oppressed and disempowered can raise themselves to a 'philosophical' as opposed to 'common sense' view of the world.⁶⁶

In further advancing the relationship of the concept of the organic intellectual to **Māori**, Graham **Hingangaroa** Smith attests that **Māori** intellectuals working in the struggle for change, that are driven by and for **Māori** interests, can rightly lay claim to the position of the organic intellectual.⁶⁷ What this means is that **Māori** academics carry multiple roles and, furthermore, are expected by our communities to carry those. As a mother with children in **Te Kōhanga Reo** I was viewed as having particular skills as an academic. That manifested in particular forms of expectations from the **whānau**. Involvement in these areas has been an important way to input into the life of our **Kōhanga Reo** and to support the **kaiako**⁶⁸ who nurture our **tamariki** in **te reo Māori me ōna tikanga**.

These are not roles that **Māori** academics necessarily put themselves forward for, but they are often 'given' to us from the **whānau** groups involved. To say yes is a part of being an organic intellectual, is a part of being a **Māori** academic. One implication of this is the difficulty of maintaining other academic expectations such as publications. Publications are critical for consideration for promotion in the academy. Community involvement is not deemed so, however for **Māori** academics that is often the foundation for both our teaching and research. The non-recognition of this in promotions processes seriously works against **Māori** academics. Equally, I am constantly amazed at the ability of some **Pākehā** male academics to complete publication after publication, and therefore access internal promotion pathways with relative ease, but who make little if any contribution to transformative action outside the academy.

that is currently the negotiating platform between the Labour Government and **iwi** remains virtually unchanged from that proposed by the right wing National Government.

⁶⁵ Lee, Jenny Bol Jun 1996 *He Hainaman toku mama. He Māori toku papa. Ko wai ahau? Maori-Chinese Tell Their Stories: An Exploration Of Identity*, Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland.

⁶⁶ *ibid*:19

⁶⁷ Smith, G.H. 1997 *op.cit.*

⁶⁸ **Kaiako** refers to those that teach, in this case in the context of the **kōhanga**.

Linda **Tuhiwai** Smith has given valuable insights into the roles and obligations of **Māori** academics. In her doctoral research Linda reflected on the politics of being a **Māori** woman academic in a University setting. She argues that for **Māori** women there are,

competing and intersecting tensions which are struggled over simultaneously in our academic work.⁶⁹

When discussing the role of **Māori** academics it is critical that these tensions be highlighted as it is often through, and because of, these tensions that **Māori** academics are positioned in particular ways within our institutions. Linda highlights the multiple struggles within the academy;

We are engaged in making space through struggles over power, over what counts as knowledge and intellectual pursuit, over what is taught and how it is taught, over what is researched, why it is researched and how it is researched and how research results are disseminated. We also struggle to make space for our students, space for them to be different, space to make choices and space to develop their own ideas and academic work. We struggle to make a future, to build an educational base for our own **whanau**, **hapu** and **iwi** in order that they may participate more fully in **Maori** development. We struggle to make jobs, academic jobs which can elaborate our own cultural knowledge and social systems. We struggle to make theory, theory which connects our work to our aspirations and which can contribute to the wider world in which we too are citizens.⁷⁰

Similar struggles have been expressed by Pat **Hohepa** in a paper on the role of the **Māori** academic.⁷¹ After many years of working within academia Pat was able to share strong insights about the multiple roles of the **Māori** academic and the difficulties and possibilities. Pat identifies four key roles of **Māori** academics as follows; to be mainstream academics and academic administrators; to support and mentor students and other **Māori** staff; to be “*a beacon and a servant*” to their **Māori** worlds; to act as interpreter between **Māori** and **Pākehā**. He argues that each of these roles is important for **Māori** academics. To focus solely on the requirements of mainstream academia may mean success in the university setting but can mean failure as a **Māori**. Similarly to ignore the requirements of the academy can mean success as a **Māori** and failure as an academic. This is noted by Pat in the following way;

For any **Maori** staff member to do just one and not both is to fail either as an academic or fail as a **Maori**. I know we have to publish or perish as well as teach to survive. To exclude the rest of the world merely to ponder then write academic articles and books that will be read by no more than 10 others outside the circle of friends and colleagues seems a waste of talent to me. For any **Maori** academic staff to be confined to a university work in totality fails as a **Maori**. For any **Maori** on the other hand, to be a piper and commandant without the necessary teaching and creative publications fails as an academic. These tasks are intertwined because we are **Maori** academics.⁷²

⁶⁹ Mead, L.T.R. 1996 op.cit.:94

⁷⁰ Smith, Linda **Tuhiwai** 1992 (b) ‘**Ko Tāku Ko Tā Te Māori**: The Dilemma of a **Māori** Academic’ in Smith, G.H. & **Hohepa**, M.K. (eds) 1993 *Creating Space in Institutional Settings for Māori*, Monograph No. 15, Research Unit for **Māori** Education, University of Auckland, Auckland:17

⁷¹ **Hohepa**, Pat 1999 *Māori Education and Cultural Spreadsheet for the next millenium*, Unpublished paper presented at **Waipapa Marae**, University of Auckland, Auckland

⁷² *ibid.*:3

These are the tensions that Linda alludes to, the tensions of being a **Māori** academic in a **Pākehā** institution. They are also part of those dilemmas that **Māori** women academics such as Linda, Kathie Irwin,⁷³ and **Ngahuia Te Awekotuku**⁷⁴ have articulated.

Māori/Woman/Academic

In her article 'Becoming an Academic: Contradictions and Dilemma of a **Māori** feminist', Kathie Irwin voices the many roles and obligations that are a part of the life of a **Māori** feminist academic⁷⁵. In her position she was expected to develop a new programme in **Māori** Education whilst teaching on a range of other interdisciplinary courses, undertake research and provide liaison with **Māori** Studies. As a **Māori** feminist academic Kathie was also aware of the obligations to provide for **Māori** women and encourage their participation, whilst also encouraging the continuance of **Māori** students from undergraduate into graduate degrees. What she highlights is that there is little space available to **Māori** academics to, as Pat **Hohepa** has already argued, sit back and write articles for an elite few as is the case with many of our colleagues in the academy. In fact to do so often means not only failure as a **Māori** but can also mean less than supportive response from **Māori**.⁷⁶

Kathie Irwin talks of the difficulties that are often experienced by **Māori** women in the academy. Her reflections on entering into academia give some insights into the power of dominant discourses in convincing **Māori** women that we don't have a place in institutions such as universities. The description of her first day is important to this discussion;

I still have vivid memories of the first day that I went to sign up, to collect the key of my office and to start my new career. I can see myself walking down the corridor, in a bright skirt (florals set on a black background, elasticised waist and frill at the hem), a matching peach-coloured tank top, my sunglasses perched stylishly (sigh, that's what I thought then) on top of my head. My high-heeled, suede, multi-coloured, wooden-soled shoes slipped on the carpet and were bloody difficult to walk in. I was twenty-four years old, fit, lean, tanned, married, heterosexual and shit scared. If I didn't look or speak like a 'normal' academic, that was no loss, because I didn't feel like one either.⁷⁷

Unlike Kathie I have little recollection of my first days as a lecturer at the University of Auckland. Perhaps that is a reflection of the fact that from returning to the university as a student in 1989 I have never actually left. Equally my employment in other tertiary institutions has been directly linked to the university. Having said that, I still consider Kathie's description of her first days as being

⁷³ Irwin, Kathie 1992(a) 'Becoming an Academic: Contradictions and Dilemmas of a **Māori** Feminist' in Middleton, S. and Jones, A. (eds) *Women and Education in Aotearoa*:2, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington

⁷⁴ **Te Awekotuku**, N. 1992 op.cit.

⁷⁵ *ibid*

⁷⁶ In discussing the potential to have developed more mainstream programmes Kathie states that to do so would have meant being labelled "*a sellout, a colonised Māori, a house nigger, a potato (brown on the outside, white on the inside) by other Māori.*" *ibid*:62

reflective of many of my own experiences more generally both as a lecturer and as a PhD student. There are days that I half expect someone to tap me on the shoulder and say 'you're an impostor, you shouldn't be here', it is not a pleasant feeling. It is a feeling that is a part of the colonial legacy of doubt and insecurity that many of us feel within **Pākehā** institutions. By 'we' I am referring more directly to **Māori** women as I'm not sure that **Māori** male academics have this sense, but I have heard similar comments from many **Māori** women, some of which have been documented.⁷⁸

The feeling of being an impostor or not a 'real' academic is not an imagined one but originates from both discourses about what and who is a 'real' academic and by real lived experiences. I have on numerous occasions been questioned about my academic status or assumed to have been general staff not academic staff.⁷⁹ These kinds of experiences are not uncommon, nor are they outcomes of 'just a mistake' but there are the kinds of actions that are a part of internalised personal racism that supports wider institutional and structural racism. Institutional racism in the university operates at many levels and has multiple effects on **Māori** students and staff in the university, from an assumption about where we are located within the structures to the denial of **Māori** students the validation of their own worldview, from the monocultural nature of many courses to the ongoing mispronunciation of **Māori** names. These show the range of racist experiences that confront **Māori** people in the university in a daily way. In recent processes in the School of Education **Māori** staff are struggling for the survival of established positions. **Māori** Education are expected to argue for staffing positions that were struggled for over the past ten years, whilst the university continues to benefit from the reputation that has been built up by **Māori** staff.

The struggle over staffing positions brings to the fore the dominant idea that we each operate on a level playing field and that our needs should be assessed with equal weighting. This is such a ridiculous idea. **Māori** people have struggled to gain the slightest space within the university and

⁷⁷ *ibid*:58-59

⁷⁸ Irwin, K. 1992(a) *op.cit.*; Smith, L.T. 1992 'The Dilemma of a **Māori** Academic', in G.H. Smith and M.K. Hohepa (ed.), *Creating Space in Institutional Settings for Māori*, Monograph No. 15, Research Unit for **Māori** Education, Auckland University: Auckland; Te Awēkotuku, N., 1991 *op.cit.*

⁷⁹ The most recent occurred with my re-enrolment process for my PhD. Having received my enrolment forms late I decided to go in person to Registry to complete the process. I spoke with a **Pākehā** woman and was informed I needed two forms filled in, regarding my employment status, to complete enrolment. On receiving the forms I was told to bring them back to her on completion. This appeared relatively straightforward until I asked for some details related to time frames for doctoral research. There was an obvious back tracking and I was informed that as a PhD student I didn't actually need to return the forms to Registry but instead to the PhD office. Apparently she hadn't 'realised' I was doing a PhD, nor had she bothered to ask. Leaving the office I felt the frustration that is my response to institutional assumptions about who I am, assumptions that are rarely reflected upon by those who hold them. Returning to my office I moved to filling in the forms, only to find that what I had been given were forms for General staff, not for academic staff. I immediately rang Registry and asked why there had been an assumption that I was General staff, and why if there were different processes for different staff, had she not asked me what my position in the university was.

when we finally achieve something that shows possibility we are told that we are not guaranteed the positions and that others may put up a 'better' case. Well, what actually is a better case over the case of Indigenous peoples who have continued to be denied access to education and in particular tertiary education, whose people are researched on and written about by the colonisers, who experience disproportionate levels of underachievement, whose language has been on the brink of extinction and whose land has been illegally confiscated? Even if we ignored all this, many of the **Māori** positions have been argued for under the umbrella of **Māori** Education, and therefore the creation of such positions have been struggled for by **Māori** staff.

These scenarios are also not uncommon. Having read Kathie's article I realised early in my academic career that the insecurities that I felt were not mine alone. There is something about knowing that your experiences are not an isolated case, which doesn't necessarily change anything except that I was able to place events in their context, a context of struggle and tensions. Those struggles are about being **Māori** and being woman in an institution that tends to privilege knowledge from those who are white and male. For **Māori** academics, within the academy there is an inherent struggle that is reflective of wider societal non-affirmation of **Māori** epistemologies. For **Māori** women this is further intensified by the gender relations that exist within universities.

Ngahuia Te Awekotuku notes that her first appointment was to an unpaid position in The Centre for **Māori** Studies and Research at **Waikato**. She writes of her difficulties in securing employment in the academy as a **Māori** lesbian woman. Not only were there barriers to her as a **Māori** woman but also as a lesbian, in her terms '*not just an uppity Māori but a queer*'.⁸⁰ As a **Māori** lesbian in the university I struggle with the positioning of issues of sexuality in my work. The invisibility of issues of gender and sexuality brings with it a major struggle that must be engaged alongside the assertion of being **Māori**. I have always appreciated **Ngahuia**'s courage to bring all of these issues to the fore in her writing. It is something that I aspire to be able to do more effectively. Very few **Māori** academics engage analyses that incorporate issues related to sexuality. Just as few **Māori** men are brave enough to challenge their own gendered assumptions, there are few **Māori** academics willing to discuss sexuality. This can be viewed in the wider context of colonialism as it exists within both our communities and within the institutions where we are employed.

The tensions explored in this chapter do not exist solely within the academy, they also exist within **Māori** communities and the ways in which many **Māori** view academia. A further factor that needs to be considered is that of the role of the State in locating **Māori** academics. Agencies of the State

⁸⁰ **Te Awekotuku, Ngahuia** 'Kia Mau, Kia Manawanui – We Will Never Go Away: Experiences of a **Māori** Lesbian Feminist' in Du Plessis, R. (et.al) 1992 *Feminist Voices: Women's Studies Texts for Aotearoa/New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland

engage regularly in processes of ‘consultation’ with **Māori** communities, and in doing so **Māori** academics are invariably involved within these processes, either in our role as researchers or, as defined by the University, in a role of ‘critics of society’. While working as both insider and outsider within these settings **Māori** academics need, for survival, to develop clear positions and arguments. For **Māori** academics there are multiple roles and obligations that come with being **Māori** and having access to Western institutions of ‘higher learning’. As a **Māori** academic I am cognisant of the potential for cooption into the system and recognise that often **Māori** academics are selected for positions based on our **Pākehā** credentials. What this means, in my view, is a need for a constant consciousness about our roles, obligations and accountabilities to our people. As I have discussed earlier the multiple roles can require constant negotiation. This negotiation is a part of our colonial experience since the imposition of **Pākehā** institutions that have denied the validity of **Māori** ways of being. Such denial is instrumental in the colonising process and is based on an intention of alienation and fragmentation.

It is necessary to also state that being in the university also affords **Māori** academics pathways and opportunities. As an institution that is committed to ideas, thinking, philosophies about the world, research, writing, theorising there is a wealth of opportunities available to **Māori** academics. As a lecturer and researcher I have had real freedom to engage those areas that are important to me and to **Māori** Education. This is where the ‘ivory tower’ terms derives, from the ability of academics to sit ‘high above’ and theorise, detached from the people. This is a very real construct and one that as a **Māori** woman academic I am constantly wary of. It is also something that we are often reminded of by our own communities. But much also needs to change within the academy in order for **Māori** staff and students to feel validated in who we are and in our cultural knowledge. There remains a belief in a hierarchy of knowledge where **Māori** knowledge is placed very low on the list and that remains a constant struggle for **Māori** in the university. The denial of **Māori** knowledge is an outcome of colonialism where **Māori** as a whole have, through colonisation, experienced incredible fragmentation. We feel the consequences of that in our daily lives.

The notion of fragmentation is important to this thesis. Linda **Tuhiwai** Smith links fragmentation to what she refers to as the “*principles of disordering*” that is encoded in both colonialism and imperialism.⁸¹ Fragmentation is in this sense a key feature in the alienation of Indigenous peoples and the disordering of all aspects of our being. Linda writes that fragmentation is a systematic process that occurs under colonialism operating through multiple sites. Fragmentation culminates in processes of re-presentation, disordering, disruption, renaming and reclassification of Indigenous systems and

⁸¹Mead, L.T.R. 1996 op.cit.:64

worlds.⁸² The fragmentation of **Māori** worldviews, and hence relationships, has had dire consequences for **Māori** women. Those consequences take many forms and their expression influences the physical, emotional, spiritual and intellectual realms. The economic focus of social policy that has been actively imposed in **Aotearoa** for the past 16 years has continued this fragmentation. **Māori** knowledge has been fragmented, redefined and reordered through processes of commodification and the establishment of credentialing frameworks that define **Māori** knowledge through units and standards that determine what is considered of value.⁸³ The fragmentation of **Māori** knowledge has meant the disruption of our theorising. **Māori** explanations, understandings and theories have been disturbed through the imposition of other theoretical frameworks justified by the idea that the colonisers knowledge is superior to that of the colonised. Western theories have taken precedence within the Universities that now stand on **Māori** land. The prioritising of Western theories over Indigenous theories has been disturbing on many levels and that too is a reason why I have chosen to explore in this thesis the constructions of **Kaupapa Māori** and **Mana Wahine** theories. It is a form of writing back to the importation of Western theories that have on the whole worked against the interests of **Māori** people.

Theoretical Disturbances

A range of theoretical frameworks have been consistently used against the interests of **Māori** people. These are not new theoretical developments but are founded upon early colonial constructions. In Education, theories of biological and environmental deficiencies have been used as dominant frameworks when discussing **Māori** children.⁸⁴ These theories are inherent to theories of assimilation promulgated in the 19th Century. This is outlined by Patricia **Maringi** Johnson, who describes three distinct views of assimilation in **Aotearoa**, these being;

The assimilation of **Maori** and **Pakeha** to form one race;
 The assimilation of **Maori** in terms of formal equality under the law;
 The civilising of **Maori** into **Pakeha** cultural and social norms⁸⁵

⁸² *ibid*

⁸³ The New Zealand Qualifications Authority is a Government Agency that determines frameworks of knowledge and levels of accreditation. This is a highly problematic area for **Māori** in that increasingly **mātauranga Māori** is being defined in relation to **Pākehā** notions of standards and in line with the commodification of knowledge. For critique of this process refer to: Naden, M.N.K. 1998 *Kei Whea Te Kokako e Ko? : The New Right and Maori education: A Critical Analysis of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority Framework*, Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland
 Also for wider discussion of issues of commodification refer, Smith, G.H. 1993 'The Commodification of Knowledge and Culture' in *Overview*, no. 49, November, Corso, New Zealand pp 149-153; and Smith, G.H. 1994 'Māori Culture For Sale' in *Polemic*, Vol. 4 no. 3, University of Sydney Law Society, Friar Press, Sydney pp 33-40

⁸⁴ For a general critique of these theoretical impositions and the impact on **Māori** refer to **Pihama**, L. 1993 *Tungia te Ururua, Kia Tupu Whakaritorito Te Tupu o te Harakeke: A Critical Analysis of Parents as First Teachers*, RUME Masters Theses Series Number 3, Auckland University, Auckland

⁸⁵ Johnston, P.M., 1998 *He Aro Rereke: Education Policy and Māori Underachievement: Mechanisms of Power and Difference*, Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland

Having identified these three existing views from the literature, Patricia argues that the dominant form of assimilation in regard to **Māori** – **Pākehā** relations is that of the intention to assimilate **Māori** into **Pākehā** culture, language and social norms. This assimilatory view is based on a fundamental assumption of the superiority of the dominant group, in this case the coloniser. Such assumptions are intrinsic to racial stratifications that are outlined in Chapter Six. In terms of **Aotearoa** the overall objective was to both civilise and christianise **Māori** in order to ensure an outcome where **Māori** would reject the cultural, political and social norms upon which **Māori** society was based. Assimilation then depended not on the removal of biological race differences but on the removal of cultural, political and social differences of the oppressed group and replacement with those of the dominant group. In other terms **Māori** were to cease being **Māori** socially, politically and culturally.⁸⁶ Furthermore, she argues that the ‘ultimate goal’ of assimilation was the demise of **te reo Māori me ōna tikanga** as a means of bringing **Māori** under the control of the colonial forces. This is outlined in more depth by Patricia;

The ultimate goal of assimilation was to facilitate the demise of **Maori** language, culture and world-views; to bring **Maori** under the direct control of **Pakeha**; to assimilation **Maori** into a distinctly **Pakeha** controlled and defined society, governed by **Pakeha** cultural, political and social norms.⁸⁷

Jenny Lee brings an added dimension in her discussion of **Māori**-Chinese relationships. The notion that assimilation focused on making **Māori** more like **Pākehā** is reinforced by the discourses surrounding **Māori**-Chinese relations where **Māori**, women in particular, were actively ‘warned’ away from such relationships, in a similar approach taken in regard to Chinese-**Pākehā** relations.⁸⁸ Assimilation, then can not be viewed separately from wider notions of control and power but must be seen in the context of colonisation which is itself an act of imposition of one peoples on another. Judith Simon also highlights the differing intentions of the assimilation agenda.⁸⁹ Judith names two clear intent as (i) the ‘protective impulse’ and (ii) the ‘civilising impulse’. For the missionaries these two impulses were often conflicting, as she notes was regularly the case in terms of humanitarian perspectives. However, she argues that for the Government and the settlers there was less of a tension and the focus was primarily of the ‘civilising impulse’. In terms of schooling both the ‘protective’ and the ‘civilising’ impulse were evident when the system was under missionary control however the ‘protective impulse’ was less evident once control shifted to the Settler Government.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ *ibid.*

⁸⁷ *ibid*:90

⁸⁸ Lee, J.B., 1996 *op.cit.*

⁸⁹ Simon, J., 1990 *op.cit.*:138

⁹⁰ *ibid.*

The theories and process of assimilation were entrenched through legislation. From the very beginning of the colonial Government there was a thrust towards ensuring the assimilation of **Māori** people. In the 1844 Native Trust Ordinance it was stated:

Her Majesty's Government has recognised the duty of endeavouring by all practicable means to avert the like disasters from the native people of these islands [New Zealand], which object may be best obtained by assimilating as speedily as possible the habits and usages of the Native to those of the European population.⁹¹

Couched in what appears to be humanitarian intent the Native Trust Ordinance is illustrative of the objectives of the colonial settler Government. To ensure the assimilation of our **tūpuna** as quickly as possible. What was required, as outlined in the Ordinance, was the replacement of **te reo Māori me ōna tikanga**, or what is described as the 'habits and usages of the Natives' with the customs and language of the **Pākehā** colonists. This needed to operate at multiple levels in multiple sites if the assimilation agenda was to be successful. This agenda was further articulated in the colonial settler parliament and practiced in both the mission and native school systems. The relevance of this discussion is that theories of assimilation acted as ideological tools for the disruption of **Māori** society and undermining fundamental values, beliefs and practices. Assimilation is then a theoretical disturbance. It also provided the foundation for other theoretical disturbances. Western Psychological theories focused on the individual have consistently placed **Māori** children as requiring change.⁹² Deficit theories have defined our **whānau** as deprived and key to the 'failure' of **Māori** children.⁹³

However, we should not delude ourselves that it is only the more conservative theoretical constructions that require challenge. There are also more radical theories that posit notions that have the potential to further disturb and disrupt **Māori** epistemologies. Within **Aotearoa**, there is appearing increased academic legitimization of 'post' paradigms which lay claim to "opening the debate" to issues of difference and otherness which **Māori** women **Māori** people have struggled to have heard over the past 150 years. This is the idea that post-colonialism provides a space from where the oppressed may speak. This is asserted by Gunew and Yeatman in the introduction to their collection of feminist writings titled 'Feminism and The Politics of Difference'. They state that post-colonialism may be

⁹¹ Native Trust Ordinance 1844 *The Ordinances of the Legislative Council of New Zealand*, Session III, no. IX, New Zealand

⁹² Hohepa, Margie 1999 '*Hei Tautoko i Te Reo*': *Māori Language Regeneration and Whānau Bookreading Practices*, Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland; Stewart, Tereki R. 1995 *Ka Pu Te Ruha, Ka Hao Te Rangatahi* : *Contributions To 'Indigenous Psychology' In Aotearoa/New Zealand* Unpublished Master of Science thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland

⁹³ I have discussed the development and imposition of Deficit theories in some depth in Pihama, L., 1993 op.cit. It is noted that theoretical explanations of environment and cultural deficiencies have been prominent in this country in discussing **Māori** education since the 1960's, and it is my view that the underpinning assumptions that are held by deficit theorists remain highly influential.

loosely defined as a body of theories which offers a place to speak for those who have been excluded from Western metaphysics.⁹⁴

This is further explored by Ashcroft with the emphasis on post-colonialism as manifesting opposition to colonialism through the counter discursive.⁹⁵ Where I don't disagree that the counter discursive and the creation of space for voice is crucial for **Māori**, particularly given that our struggle for the survival and retention of **Te Reo Māori me ona tikanga** is in itself a process of creating space and reclaiming voice. What I do dispute is the position of the colonisers to define this, on our behalf. The post-colonial potential is identified by these authors as the creation of spaces for the colonised to speak, however, there is little recognition of the possibility that the colonised themselves may create their own spaces which are defined within their own terms, or that we may have our own terminology and language through which to name these actions. The problematics of such claims is expressed clearly by bell hooks, who challenges the failure within the academy to recognise the presence of African-American writers in relation to postmodernism, and calls into question the 'intellectual seriousness' of a framework that espouses recognition of difference, and the need to legitimate difference and otherness in the academy, whilst ignoring black cultural critique.⁹⁶ I take a similar position in terms of **Kaupapa Māori** theory. In short, these 'post' theoretical frameworks have the potential to be 'new talk but an old story'.⁹⁷ What I have found is that increasingly after hearing seminars or papers based upon 'post' paradigms I have been left feeling the disturbingly colonial implications of these theoretical frameworks.

It is argued by some academics that the prefixing of the term 'post' to the term 'colonial' is, on the whole, used as a framework for moving outside of colonial models.⁹⁸ Within this paradigm it is argued that in moving beyond colonialism the intention is to provide space for voices of the colonised, the marginalised, the westernised 'Other'. Bill Ashcroft articulates this argument with some vigour.

How many times must we insist that Post-colonialism does not mean "after colonialism" that it means from the moment of colonization. Indeed how often must we insist that Post-colonialism exists.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ Gunew, A. & Yeatman, A (eds) 1993 *Feminism and the Politics of Difference*, Allen & Unwin, New South Wales : xii

⁹⁵ Ashcroft, B. 1994 'Excess: Post-colonialism and the Verandahs of Meaning' in Tiffin, C. & Lawson, A (eds) *De-Scripting Empire: Post-colonialism and Textuality*, Routledge, London

⁹⁶ hooks, b. 1990 'Postmodern Blackness' in *Yearning: Race, Gender And Cultural Politics*, South End Press: Boston

⁹⁷ This comes from a discussion I was having with **Mereana Taki** in regard to new ways in which colonisers are attempting to ensure their positions of superiority.

⁹⁸ Spoonley, P. 1995 'The Challenges of Post-colonialism' in Bell, A & McClennan, G. (eds) *Sites : A Journal for South Pacific Cultural Studies*, Autumn, Massey University, Palmerston North; Ashcroft, B. 1994 op.cit.; Tiffin, C. & Lawson, A (eds) *De-Scripting Empire: Post-colonialism and Textuality*, Routledge, London

⁹⁹ Ashcroft, Bill 1994 op.cit.:34

Post-colonial theory is a growing form of analysis in areas that are significant to **Māori** people. Where much of the material derives from outside of **Aotearoa** there are a number of key writers who draw upon these frameworks in their analysis of relationships within **Aotearoa**. Extensive critique of these theories is required, but this is yet to appear. However, **Māori** academics are engaging with the theories and providing strong **Kaupapa Māori** analysis.¹⁰⁰ In exploring these theories I see myself as contributing to the process described by Linda **Tuhiwai** Smith as 'writing back'. Writing back to and against colonial impositions.¹⁰¹ My involvement in theorising/talking/writing back' is related to a desire to create space for **Māori** within the dialogue and in doing so talk back to the theoretical impositions that are occurring in the 'post' arenas.

Recent writings by Paul Spoonley highlight the ways in which post-colonial theorising is being utilised within the academy, in particular by **Pākehā** academics.¹⁰² Spoonley argues a number of points related to post-colonialism and its usefulness in theorising issues in this country. He acknowledges the inadequacy of post-colonialism in its assumption "that colonial relations and institutions" have been removed, however he explains his use of the term post-colonialism as follows;

to mark a critical engagement with colonialism, not claim that colonialism has been overturned...post-colonialism is used here to signal a project by those who want to critique and replace the institutions and practices of colonialism.¹⁰³

Spoonley notes that the inadequacy of the term is highlighted by the implication that colonial relations and institutions have been replaced, which is not the case.¹⁰⁴ His continued use of the term then becomes even more problematic. A reason for this is posited by Sheilagh Walker in her thesis '**Kia Tau Te Rangimarie**'.¹⁰⁵ Sheilagh argues that post-colonialism is a **Pākehā**-centred theoretical framework, which is more about **Pākehā** definitions of themselves than about struggling against the colonisers oppression of the colonised. I would agree with Sheilagh and further contend that the use of the notion of 'postcolonial' in this country is disturbing in its denial of the voices of **Māori**. The question must be posed as to how we can possibly refer to **Aotearoa** as 'post-colonial' when every aspect of our lives is touched and imposed upon by the colonisers? Whose interests are served by such a proposition? The interests served are those of the colonisers and of those **Pākehā** academics who draw upon these frameworks to validate their own position in the academy, and more widely in this

¹⁰⁰ Hoskins, T. K.C. 2000 *Kia Whai Kiko Te kōrero, Constituting Discourses: Exchanges at the Edge*, Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland; **Pihama**, L., 1997 *Ko Taranaki Te Maunga: Challenging Post-Colonial Disturbances And Post-Modern Fragmentation*, A Paper presented at **Toioho Ki Apiti: Māori Art Conference**, Massey University, Palmerston North

¹⁰¹ Mead, L.T.R., 1996 op.cit.

¹⁰² Spoonley, P., 1995 op.cit.

¹⁰³ ibid:49

¹⁰⁴ ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Walker, S, 1996 '**Kia Tau Te Rangimarie: Kaupapa Māori Theory as a Resistance against the construction of Māori as the 'Other'**', Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland

country. For example, Spoonley locates post-colonialism alongside Indigenous Alternatives.¹⁰⁶ These 'Indigenous Alternatives' are positioned in opposition to what is listed as colonial, perpetuating the exact binary oppositions that the theory is supposed to critique. The description of Indigenous methods or language as alternatives must be challenged in that it locates **Māori** as the 'Other' to the defined norm. At the 'Alternative to APEC' forum held in Auckland in 1999 I made the following comment in regard to the term 'alternative'.

The word alternative is one that has always been problematic for me and yet it is used often in the articulation of radical causes. This is primary because much of what is created by **Māori** is located within dominant thought and systems as 'alternative'. **Māori** education, **Māori** health, **Māori** law, **Māori** healing are all referred to 'alternative systems' as being the 'Other' system to the dominant structure that exist. This is dangerous for **Māori**, in that it constructs us as the 'alternative' and not as the Indigenous. I want to say that to be Indigenous is not to be 'alternative'.¹⁰⁷

The idea of 'Indigenous Alternatives' serves to locate indigenous peoples on the fringe, and as such **Māori** are located as appendages to 'the post-colonial'. In listing 'Post-Colonial/Indigenous Alternatives' the majority of the terms exemplified are in fact **Māori**. Whilst the only term in **te reo Māori** that appears in the 'Colonial/Racial Labels' is the term '**Māori**'.¹⁰⁸ At what point do **Pākehā** academics get to determine that the term **Māori** is a colonial one? Quite a crucial question alongside a theory that calls for 'marginalised' groups to determine their own identities. This is not to deny that the use of the term '**Māori**' can be tentative at times, however as a collective group of **Iwi** nations it is crucial that we maintain positions that allow us to maintain a collective struggle as **Māori**. What is particularly problematic about this assertion is its ability to reduce our position as **Māori**, as **Tāngata Whenua**, to being the same as the 'post-colonial' **Pākehā**. The table itself locates **Māori**, **Pākehā** and **Tagata Pasifika** all as 'postcolonial' and in itself subsumes our position in this land in a kind of multicultural 'post-colonial' pluralism.

The publication 'The Empire Strikes Back' provides indepth discussion of the notion of post-colonial theory and writing. The authors state that definition given to the term covers

... all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day.¹⁰⁹

There exists a fundamental assumption with **Pākehā**, white Australian, white American and white Canadian post-colonialists that the construction of post-colonialism is all encompassing. This

¹⁰⁶ Spoonley, P. 1995 op.cit.

¹⁰⁷ **Pihama**, Leonie 1999 'To Be Indigenous is not to be Alternative' Reflections at the Alternative to APEC forum, Unpublished Paper, **Tāmaki Makaurau** (Auckland) September 1999:1

¹⁰⁸ The full lists given by Spoonley as examples are: (i)Colonial/Racial Labels: **Māori** ; Caucasian/European; New Zealand; Pacific Islanders; (ii)Post-Colonial/Indigenous Alternatives: **Iwi/Hapū/Whānau**; **Tāngata Whenua**; **Pākehā** ; **Aotearoa**; **Tagata Pasifika**

¹⁰⁹ Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., Tiffin H., *The Empire Strikes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*, Routledge, London: 2

definition and others like it are supposedly inclusive of Indigenous Peoples experiences. The authors note that European theories are presented as 'universal' and are inadequate in engaging post-colonial experiences. They argue that 'Indigenous' theories have needed to develop to accommodate the differences in the colonies. Again the term 'Indigenous' is used with some ambiguity, inferring post-colonial theory as part of the development of Indigenous theories. This is more evident in terms of how the authors define post-colonial literature, arguing that in New Zealand it includes **Pākehā** and **Māori** writings. **Māori** therefore are considered a part of post-colonial developments. The positioning of Indigenous Peoples is also indicated in their discussion of notions of 'dominated' and 'dominating' where it is argued that there are particular relations that exist not only between colonised and coloniser but also between dominated and dominating societies. An example given is as follows;

In Australia, for instance, Aboriginal writing provides an excellent example of a dominated literature, while that of white Australia has characteristics of a dominating one in relation to it. Yet white Australian literature is dominated in turn by a relationship with Britain and English literature.¹¹⁰

What strikes me in the literature is the tendency for the post-colonial drive in colonised countries, such as Australia, **Aotearoa**, Hawai'i, Canada and America, to be focused on the second aspect of this example, that is the position of white colonisers on our land in relation to either their colonial 'mother countries' or to white colonisers in other lands.

In the main, few **Māori** people use the term 'post-colonial' to describe or locate their work rather **Māori** works tend to be labelled as 'post-colonial' by **Pākehā**. This then raises issues about who defines **Māori** writing, **Māori** Art, **Māori** filmmaking etc. as for **Māori** to be positioned as 'post-colonial writers' is to remove the notion of '**Māori** writers'. As **Māori** we need to ask whether this is actually what we want to happen. This is not to romanticise any idea that there is 'a' definition of **Māori** Art or **Māori** Writing or **Māori** Music, but is to challenge the idea that the term 'post-colonial' can or should supplant the term '**Māori**'. As such we need to look at the ways in which our writings, thoughts, languages are being coopted by **Pākehā**/non-indigenous writers as a means of affirming their own positions.

Numerous writers have sought to justify the use of the term 'post-colonial', however those justifications are unconvincing for many Indigenous Peoples who live day to day experiencing colonial oppression. The transferral of the concept from countries (e.g.India) that can clearly claim post-colonial realities to countries such as **Aotearoa**, where we remain in the midst of colonial control, is not only unacceptable for many Indigenous Peoples of those countries but is equally unbelievable. The use of the term post-colonial to describe the present social context within this country is clearly

¹¹⁰ *ibid*:32

problematic. So too is its use in naming, describing or positioning **Māori** expressions of resistance. Where the aims of post-colonial theories are focused on challenging colonial discourses, as a theoretical framework it continues to perpetuate those exact forms of oppression that it argues against. It is these forms of recent theoretical disturbances that indicate the urgency of **Kaupapa Māori** theory. While this thesis is not written to 'answer' the growth in post-colonial, post-modern and post-structural theories it does by its argument for **Kaupapa Māori** and **Mana Wāhine** theories provide an act of 'theorising back' to those Western theories that serve the interests of their theoretical masters. As Audre Lorde so powerfully wrote

the masters tools will never dismantle the masters house.¹¹¹

Summary

The focus of this chapter has been to discuss the multiple roles that are a part of being a **Māori** woman academic and the imposition of Western theory. It is important to this thesis that there is recognition given to the fact that our **tūpuna** have always been active philosophers, researchers, theorists, explorers and that these notions as conceptualised in the academy are not owned by academics. The university is but one context within which these activities take place. For **Māori** there are multiple sites where engagement with philosophies and theories take place, the **marae**, at **hui**,¹¹² at thousands of work sites and in our homes. My experiences are that some of the most deeply challenging theoretical discussions I have been fortunate to participate in have happened in peoples lounges or lying in the evening in a **whare nui**¹¹³ as people talk through the issues of the day. We have in our own **whare**¹¹⁴ around the country our own libraries of accumulated knowledge, much of which will never be heard in a university setting.

The history of the development of university education in this country is also a history of loss of land and denial of **mātauranga Māori**. In this chapter I have highlighted the relationship between wider colonising acts, such as land confiscations and the development of the University of Auckland and Victoria University. These two institutions clearly benefited from the colonisers drive for land. That benefit continues in that the accumulation of lands, buildings and resources have fundamentally grown off the back of **Māori** land, and more particularly for the University of Auckland off the benefits derived from the lands of **Ngā Puhi**, **Tainui** and **Ngāti Awa**. In terms of **Taranaki** land loss the benefit has accrued to particular scholars and therefore to their families through the instigation of scholarship systems from the confiscations of the **Opaku** Block.

¹¹¹ Lorde, Audre 1984 *Sister Outsider*, The Crossing Press, Freedom, CA 95019

¹¹² **hui** refers to gatherings

¹¹³ **whare nui** refers to large gathering houses, many of which are carved although as a consequence of colonisation some are not adorned by carvings

¹¹⁴ **whare** here refers to house/home

Alongside the land issues sits the active marginalisation of **Māori** knowledge. It is argued in this thesis that **Māori** academics have particular obligations that derive from being **Māori** and having access to the academy. Those obligations and roles are multiple and are closely connected to the need for transforming oppressive relations. It is also noted that **Māori** academics are often at the forefront of dealing with dominant groups and that there is a danger of being constructed as the 'native informant'. **Māori** academics it is argued need to be constantly aware of our roles and the potential for cooption by the State. To maintain a position of organic intellectual is to be always accountable to and work with our own communities. For **Māori** women academics there appears to be a constant reflection on these roles. Writings related to the complexities of **Māori** women's experiences in the academy point to having to deal with gendered notions alongside being **Māori**.

The academy is a site where theories are developed and promulgated. Those theories more often than not impact directly upon **Māori** people. Any theoretical development that gains prominence in this country will at some point impact on **Māori** people. Theories of assimilation are clear examples of conservative, colonial approaches to Indigenous Peoples that were designed to meet the interests of colonising nations. Assimilatory notions underpin dominant educational theories, such as deficit theory, have had huge negative influence on **Māori** educational achievement. Deficit theory continues to provide educational explanations for the 'underachievement' of **Māori** children in conventional state schooling and greatly influences policy developments. What this chapter also illustrates is that theoretical disturbances come not only from conservative factions but can also emerge from liberal and radical domains. Current academic obsessions with 'post' theories are also having an impact on how notions of identity and being Indigenous are constructed in this country. Whether these theories are of the right or the left there is the potential for their universalising tendencies to continue colonial disruptions for **Māori** people. These processes are what I have termed theoretical disturbances. The theories noted here are examples, there are many more that could be engaged in some depth.¹¹⁵ **Māori** academics have a role in engaging and challenging such constructions. We also have a role in the affirmation and validation of being **Māori**, and that includes creating and maintaining space in the academy for **Māori** people and for **te reo Māori me ōna tikanga**. As a **Māori** woman academic that includes engaging and supporting the struggle for cultural and theoretical spaces that ensure the validation of **Māori** women's voices and **Māori** women's theories. It is my hope that this thesis will contribute to that wider project.

¹¹⁵ A discussion of race, gender and class theories is provided in Chapter Six.