Chapter Fourteen

At the End of the Small Hours...¹

In summary....

In the beginning I set out to do a relatively simple piece of empirical research. It was 1985. I wanted to interview some women to find out their reasons for sending their children to Te Kohanga Reo. On the way to refining this idea into a piece of research acceptable to my teachers and based on 'scientific' rules of method, I started to think, about the process, about my intentions, about the consequences and about the women I was interviewing. Here I was, a Maori woman carrying out research on other Maori women. That struck me as more than curious, it was rather seriously problematic, I thought. Whose shoes was I slipping into? What lens was I looking through? How was I being trained to look at my own communities? Why did all the literature on contemporary Maori make us out to be the problem? What were my intentions? The reactions of my own Kohanga Reo community also made me think. The women were delighted that I should carry out some research, that I was interested in them and that I was interested in their personal stories. This was in the context at the time of general distrust in the national Te Kohanga Reo movement of research and heightened activism in Maori politics in relation to schooling. A resounding 'NO!' from the Te Kohanga Reo whanau was what I expected and indeed it would have clarified some issues very quickly. The whanau had a very solid track record when it came to saying 'no', so it was

¹ This is taken from the first line of a poem by Aime Cesaire and refers to the time just before dawn. The poem tells a very harrowing critique of colonialism before ending on a statement of hope and confirmation of humanism. In Maori the term for this time is Te Aia Hapara. I have used Cesaire's line as a seminar title and have also used the Maori term for the title of a short story. In Maori terms, the time just before the beginning of light is significant as is the transition of people from the worlds of darkness, Te Po, into the world of light, Te Ao Marama. Cesaire's poem is to be found in Cesaire, A., 1969. Return to my Native Land. Harmondsworth, Penguin Books.
quite reasonable to expect such a response. There was no resounding, 'NO!', not even a whimper. There was enthusiasm and a very pragmatic, 'right, what do you want us to do?' This response was surprising in an intellectual way, it was not what the literature or political discourses would have lead me to expect. However, it was also not surprising at a lived community level, this group of people were familiar to me and operated from a set of cultural principles formed through the development of a Kohanga Reo. What I took from this response was not the 'carte blanche' permission to proceed, but a sense that there were some unexplored spaces here, some gaps and distances; the distances between university study and the community, the distances between academic knowledge and 'lived realities', the distances between national Maori politics and local whanau politics, the distances between schooling and Maori initiatives such as Te Kohanga Reo. The only connection between these sites seemed to be me. I was the one who walked between each site, who felt compelled to do so. It is from this personal, historical context that the different sites visited in this thesis first emerged. At the time, they did not jump out at me or strike me as unusual. I thought that this was just my life and that the spaces which separated one activity from the other were either physical distances to be negotiated each and every day, or two distinct cultural spaces, Maori and Pakeha, which I moved in and out of during the course of a day. They were not, in other words, conceptual spaces or other sorts of spaces. Nor were these spaces and distances layered or pulling in different directions. The Maori spaces were, in my mind, clearly Maori, the Pakeha spaces, clearly Pakeha, with no real meeting places between the two worlds. Physically, I seemed to be driving backwards and forwards across the city, against the traffic, for most of a day. Or so it seemed.

In this thesis, however, I have argued that those spaces and distances are somewhat more complex. The spaces not only intersect but are multi-layered, the distances between them vary, they are unfixed. Moving between sites is not necessarily progress or movement forward. I have also argued that the existence of such spaces and their arrangement is meaningful, that trying to understand what occurs within and between spaces is worthwhile and can lead to ways of understanding the complex dimensions of struggle for Maori. I have attempted to bring together conceptually, to recentre, those aspects of being Maori which have been fragmented. Fragmentation has been reproduced across a wide range of sites and is both a legacy and an informing principle of imperialism and colonialism. To suggest that
fragmentation is coded into imperialism is to question, as others have done, the universalising discourses which had their origins in Europe’s Enlightenment. The fragmentation of indigenous and colonised peoples’ culture, history, language and ways of knowing is not a by-product of imperialism; nor is fragmentation, in its de-centred form, our chosen way as indigenous peoples, of resisting. Fragmentation is part of any system of cultural imperialism but more especially it is the nineteenth and twentieth century system of cultural imperialism by the west which has been under scrutiny in this thesis. I have explored conceptually the distances between imperialism, as a meta-system generated from its centre in the west, and a series of local sites through which imperialism has been simultaneously elaborated and contested. This process has given rise to different localised expressions of imperialism and different localised resistances, and continues to do so. I have defined this process in terms of a tension between the imperial and the local. Nineteenth century imperialism was elaborated with and without overt coercive power because it was more than a system of rule from the centre. It is informed by an underlying system of code which is elaborated and expressed through language, education, literature, intellectual thought, science and other aspects of social life. In section two this system or ‘structure’ was described metaphorically as a cultural archive, from which multiple discourses could be drawn, and into which new knowledges were, and continue to be appropriated and deposited.

At the same time I have discussed the conditions under which Maori people have resisted. I have tried to show that the possibilities for resistance exist every day in our work and the way we think and imagine, in every little site in which we engage, in our relationships with each other, in the taken for granted ways in which our world has been constructed as having one ‘H’istory and one landscape, and in the ways in which we may negotiate the world. In chapter three it was argued that an important part of our struggle has been about reclaiming our humanity, not just in terms of ‘human rights’, but by reclaiming our capacity to imagine and create ourselves in the world. Although it has not been claimed that the imagination is inherently emancipatory, I have argued that it creates a language of possibility through which people can search for, create, and claim back emancipatory spaces. I have suggested that Te Kohanga Reo has been an important development which has helped to frame and make possible further resistances in areas such as educational research, our social relations, and within schooling. I have also written about the issues which concern Maori and have
identified within our own cultural politics several sites of struggle, including issues of gender, concepts of childhood, and notions of leadership. I have carefully situated those aspects of our politics referred to as 'messy' in a context which reflects the realities of cultural and political struggle. I do not apologise for Maori politics being messy, struggle is messy. I have never heard of a clean struggle. In chapters nine and ten, gender was discussed as one site in which Maori cultural politics intersected with and formed in relation to, other dominant relations of power. More importantly, however, I have explored the different ways in which Maori resistances to continuing imperialism have been formed in recent times around the notion of Kaupapa Maori. Implicit in Kaupapa Maori is a way of recoding as well as resisting dominant, Pakeha discourses. Kaupapa Maori recentres being Maori and reformulates what that means in different sites of struggle. In section two, Kaupapa Maori as a way of organising research and as a methodological approach to research, was discussed. Some of the informing principles of Kaupapa Maori in relation to research were also set down. These may well change as Maori people become more involved theoretically and empirically in research. In chapter thirteen Kaupapa Maori was discussed in relation to the schooling 'type' of Kura Kaupapa Maori, the curriculum issues which have arisen from this alternative conception of schooling, and the different coding implicit in Kaupapa Maori.

In chapter two, a series of problems in relation to writing, history and theory were explored. There were particular reasons for positioning this chapter immediately following the introduction, bringing together in one chapter three such important concepts. Cornel West names four strategies used by 'people of color' interested in the politics of difference; (i) a preoccupation with the mainstream and its legitimating power, (ii) a move towards insularity, (iii) a Go-it-Alone option, and (iv) a commitment to stay attuned with the best of what the mainstream has to offer - its paradigms, viewpoints and methods - while maintaining a grounding in affirming and enabling subcultures of criticism.\(^2\) It is the fourth option which West refers to as the role of a 'critical organic catalyst', and it is this option which names, at one level, (without accepting the label), what I have attempted to do with this thesis. As West says, 'Openness to others - including the mainstream - does not entail wholesale co-

optation, and group autonomy is not group insularity’. In positioning the critique of history, theory, and writing early, I did want to define, in some sense, the parameters within which I wished to approach the thesis, to give expression to the difficulties of being bounded by rules and my own perception of the rules, and to make some space to say the things I wanted to say. This chapter was not a rejection of ALL writing, history and theory or, more accurately, ALL PAKEHA writing, history and theory, but an attempt to think about and write history and theory differently, to position Maori concerns (which includes feelings, attitudes and experiences) about writing, theory and history in the centre of the approach, not on its margins. History presented special difficulties because, in a sense, there is a considerable 'amount' of history in this thesis, but it is not a history thesis or a thesis in the history of education. It is perhaps a reinflection of historical understandings, a rereading of history and a critical analysis of history in relation to Maori. Chapter eight brings together some primary or original research of historical material, but the focus of the chapter was not the history of Te Teko school, rather the examples from the history of one school which drew out the details pertinent to the analysis of how childhood as a category was also colonised and reconstituted.

Writing back, in my view, assumes an alternative or oppositional centre from which one is writing and a centre to which one is writing back. Locating and then defining the centres, whatever the field of study, is not always quite so simple. One of the difficulties is that at one level there is no single unitary physical centre. The idea of the centre, like the idea of the west, has become a system of representations elaborated across many layers of social life and through many different discourses. This does not mean, however, that nothing is real, nor that the categories of Maori or women, for example, are not useful or meaningful. Categories are politically and discursively constituted and contested. It has been strategically important for indigenous people to claim what these categories can mean for us. In African and Black politics the idea of blackness was embraced and celebrated. Cesaïre took hold of the negative ideas of negritude, for example, and transformed these ideas into a celebration of black humanity, black culture and black creativity. For Maori this has taken several forms, one

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3 Ibid., p.33.
4 Cesaïre, p.20.
of which was discussed in section four as a bringing together of our collective identity under the notion of *Maoritanga* or *taha Maori*, and one has been our celebration of our *whakapapa*, *whanau* and *iwi* identities. This has occurred simultaneously alongside the moves to appropriate and control such identities through the sorts of processes described in section four as recontextualisation, co-option, and marginalisation. It has also been strategically important to employ the categories, such as *Maori*, in specific sites of contestation, to struggle over what these categories mean and to shift their meanings continuously. What it is important to remember, however, is that the label does not reflect the sum total of our identities. The category *Maori* defines us in a specific historical relationship with imperialism but it does not define who we are or what we are in relation to ourselves, our land, our beliefs. Nor does it define those intersections within which we cross different categories, or are constituted simultaneously by several competing categories which have different his/herstories, such as *Maori*, academic, woman.

The idea that we, as indigenous people, move in and out of different positions is not something which has been handed down to us by post-structural or post-modern theories. Moving in and out of different worlds can be viewed, for *Maori* anyway, as an extension of our pre-colonial world-views and as a consequence of our continued resistance to assimilation. That we still believe and act as if we believe, that we are *Maori*, even while we eat at MacDonalds and wear American sports gear, is a sign of resistance. That we continue to nurture, socialise, educate our children in our own language and within our own value system is a more obvious sign of resistance, one imbued with a politics of struggle. That we may choose to take those signs seriously, to try and make sense of them theoretically, and articulate them through writing to ourselves and others is also a sign of resistance. 'Writing back' and 'writing for', as discussed in chapter two, is about framing and structuring ways in which this task can be achieved.

Theory, as I have outlined in chapters one, two and four, has been regarded with suspicion and hostility by *Maori* in the same way as research has been held at a distance. There are sound reasons for such an attitude in that theories, or ideologies dressed up as theories, have

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been racist, oppressive, mystifying, and not useful to Maori. "Useful" theories from Maori viewpoints bring benefits back to Maori, make sense of our lives and are not used against us. This may appear to be a very simplistic view of theory but it is a view which I have to live with, quite literally. It is voiced, however, by Maori students in institutions such as universities, the bastions of theory production. At the simple level of making sense I have tried to measure my writing and this thesis against the scrutiny of such views. I have tried to make the process of thinking about theory and engaging with theories both reflexive, explicit and public. "Does this make sense to you?" I have asked of people (students, family, colleagues and others) or, "Well, what do you think I'm trying to say?", "Does it sound okay?".

To counter the negative attitudes towards theory, I have also attempted to do much more than 'make sense'. There are emancipatory spaces even within theory and within the activity of producing theories. As bell hooks has written 'Our living depends on our ability to conceptualize alternatives, often impoverished. Theorizing about this experience aesthetically, critically is an agenda for radical cultural practice. For me this space of radical openness is a margin - a profound edge. Locating oneself there is difficult yet necessary. It is not a 'safe' place. One is always at risk'. Theory has certain predictive and strategic qualities. One of the 'put-downs' I have heard about people who enjoy reading theoretical books and thinking about what others have written is that academics do not know how to 'walk their talk', that is, they do not know how to ground their ideas in the realities confronting Maori people. This is a very mechanical, non-reflexive view of what theory may be, both walking and talking are very physical activities at one level. It is possible, for example, for people to be walking and talking but going round and round in a meaningless circle. What has made Kaupapa Maori somewhat different as an approach is that it has been formulated in a much more enriched context than the one of 'walking and talking'. It has emerged from within a very specific politics of struggle. Walking and talking were the easy parts; thinking,

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6 Stuart Hall has referred to both the importance of theory for the field of cultural studies and the difficulties of such a concern. He refers to his own journey in this area as 'wrestling with the angels'. I am not attracted to that metaphor at all but I do not as yet have an alternative. Hall, S., 1992. 'Cultural Studies and its Theoretical Legacies', in Cultural Studies, ed. G. Nelson, P.A. Treichler, L. Grossberg, New York, Routledge, pp.277-283.

classifying, planning, connecting, selecting, predicting, incorporating, appropriating, shifting, testing, evaluating, extending, and then rethinking, replanning, reselecting and repeating the cycle as a continuous engagement with the issues, creates the conditions which makes theorising possible. What makes theory 'legitimate' in terms of western scholarship is writing about it. What has made theorising more likely for Maori (not necessarily more likeable), however, is that recent 'critical' social theories and contemporary cultural politics of the west have created space for alternative voices to be heard and have sought answers to the problems of post-industrial societies from others. These spaces have intersected with Maori resistances and with where Maori people were positioned, culturally, politically and educationally, during the 1980s when Te Kohanga Reo began.

The danger always is that spaces can get closed off, the discourses of the dominant group shift and move and intersect with other events. A long time ago a kaumatua made a comment which I will paraphrase; the Pakeha brought us christianity and taught us to pray to heaven and while we looked up to heaven they stole our land. The danger of theory when it becomes disconnected from its groundedness is that the ground can be stolen or taken away. Connectedness to communities and to our value systems gives indigenous peoples and other minorities a focus and an urgency to the art of making sense.

The concept of code has been one of the threads which has been woven in and out of the different sections and chapters of the thesis, taking on different forms through the identification of significant informing principles. Code, the concept of an embedded, underlying structure, has been conceptualised as working both horizontally across all the sites visited, and vertically, from the imperial scene to the local, the local to the imperial. In each direction, coding is the mechanism through which the messages of dominance are transmitted, delivered, acquired and enacted. In the very first scene of the thesis an example of the message system was given in relation to the Oklahoma City bomb blast. The message relayed, in this case through the medium of global television, was not a unidimensional discourse which was giving neutral information. Within the discourse of dominance are multi-layered discourses which we have learned implicitly to read and understand. We learn to read history in certain ways, to accept authoritative accounts delivered in authoritative ways, to read race into the stories. Our horror and emotions are structured responses to what we have been told.
Throughout the thesis I have attempted to show how these learnings are acquired and how they become embedded in the way we live. It is not just the 'mind' in an intellectual sense which has been colonised. The mind itself is a western construct. What has been colonised and encoded through imperialism are the categories by which we constitute our worlds, including our intellectual, spiritual, emotional, imaginative worlds, and by which we ourselves have been constituted. I have argued that these categories have been embedded in our social relations, in the landscape, language, concepts of space and time, in classrooms, in texts, in museums, in every which way we turn. I have attempted to examine how such categories did become so deeply embedded, coercively through disciplinary practices at school for example, tacitly through the way language, English language, renamed the landscape, redefined the history and represented us as uncivilised and not fully human. The ways in which official knowledge is taught and legitimated and the ways in which disciplines of knowledge are implicated in each other, and in the imperial project, have been discussed in each of the sections of the thesis.

I have avoided suggesting that the ways in which Maori have been colonised has simply been a one way, downwards process, but have argued instead that sites of struggle are situated in different sorts of intersections and subject to movements in different directions. While it is possible to examine the impact of colonialism simply on the category of people named as 'Maori', I have tried to show that not all Maori were colonised in exactly the same way. I have argued, for example, that Maori women, and other indigenous women are positioned under western eyes very differently from Maori men. Analysing the experiences under colonialism of particular groups of Maori; the iwi of Ngati Awa, the parents in Te Kohanga Reo, Maori children as a group, enriches and informs our understandings, firstly of imperialism, and secondly of resistances to imperialism. There are many different sites of struggle, all of which are multi-layered, many of which intersect with each other, whilst other sites are struggled over between different alliances and groupings. Issues of race, gender, class intersect with and inform each other, and are in turn intersected by imperialism, by history and by local conditions.

The wonder of it all is that Maori have continued to resist and to hold on to alternative ways of knowing and engaging in the world. Our landscape still exists in our language. It has been
visually represented in this thesis through the privileging of Maori terms. This representation has shown Maori language to be a minority language, a sub-text, but one which does name and define a different world view. Many of our values and concepts still exist and have been reformulated and re-ordered so that they still have meaning for us. Our desires, aspirations and dreams to reclaim tino rangatiratanga also exist, have been nurtured, contested and applied across several sites. Kaupapa Maori has been one discourse through which Maori resistance has been structured, but I have suggested that there are always new possibilities to create and define new discourses which fit with the context of the times. I have shown in numerous examples the different levels in which Maori have resisted, reorganised, recentered.

This thesis has also been about writing; writing back, writing for, and the writing I have not mentioned, ’writing down“, that is, writing down these ideas, writing them down on a page, committing them to writing and to the permanence of writing. The difficulty has not been in producing words but in selecting and arranging words to address different audiences, to convey the sense of movement that is built into the analyses presented here, and to convey a sense of impermanence alongside a sense of permanence, a sense of reality alongside a sense of reflection. In reflecting on the process of writing I set out to write differently, but in shaping, editing, positioning, referencing and producing the thesis it has assumed the form of a thesis. Or so it seems.
Glossary of Maori Terms.

The following glossary gives simple definitions and meanings for Maori terms and phrases used in the text. In most cases meanings have been indicated already either in the text or in footnotes, some have been discussed in full. For further reference see Ryan, P.M. 1995. The Reed Dictionary of Modern Maori, Auckland, Reed with Television New Zealand.

ahi kaa  the burning fires, a sign of occupation.
aho      threads, weft,
ahua pai  pleasant manner
ahua riri unpleasant manner
ako      to learn, to teach
akonga Maori  Maori ways of learning and teaching
aroha    love
awa      river
awhina   help, assist
ha       breath
hakihaki scabs, sores
hangi    earth oven
hapu     pregnant, sub-tribe
haka     fierce challenging performance
hauora  healthy
hariru   greet one another, shaking hands
hei      amulet
Hine-ahu-one first woman
Hine Titama dawn maid, daughter of Tane
hinengaro mind, heart, intellect, conscience
hongi    greetings, press noses
hui      gatherings
iwi      tribe, bones
ka whawahai tonu matou  struggle without end
kakahu  cloak
kahuia ariki  group of families with chiefly status
kai  eat, food
kaikaranga  woman who calls out the first part of welcome
kainga  home, village
kaitiaki  guardian
kaiwaiata  someone who sings
kanohi kitea  the seen face
karakia  incantations of a spiritual nature
karanga  call out, ritual call of welcome
kaumatua  elder
kaupapa  plan, programme, philosophy
kawa  protocols
kawanatanga  government
kete  basket
kia tupato  be careful
kina  sea egg
Kingitanga  Maori King Movement
kohanga  gift, reciprocity
koka  mother, aunt
korero  talk, discuss
Kotahitanga  Unity Movement
kuia  old woman
kumara  sweet potato
kutu  head lice
mahaki  calm, humble
mana  status, integrity, charisma
mana motuhake  autonomy, independence
manaaki  hospitality, entertain, care for
manuhiri  visitors
maoritanga  maori culture
marae atea  open area of marae where formal rituals take place
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition / Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maramatanga</td>
<td>understanding</td>
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<tr>
<td>matamua</td>
<td>first born</td>
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<tr>
<td>matauranga</td>
<td>knowledge, education</td>
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<tr>
<td>matua</td>
<td>parent, father</td>
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<tr>
<td>Matua Whangai</td>
<td>programme of support for children in difficulties</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maui Tikitiki a Taranga</td>
<td>Maui the topknot of Taranga, a mythical/ancestral figure known across the Pacific</td>
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<tr>
<td>mauri</td>
<td>life force, life essence</td>
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<tr>
<td>mihimihi</td>
<td>greeting speeches</td>
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<tr>
<td>mohiotanga</td>
<td>knowing, knowledgable</td>
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<tr>
<td>moko</td>
<td>tattoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mokopuna</td>
<td>grandchild</td>
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<tr>
<td>niu</td>
<td>pole, important in Hauhau rituals</td>
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<tr>
<td>oriori</td>
<td>chant for young child</td>
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<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>stockaded village, clump of bushes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakiwaitara</td>
<td>stories, light stories such as fairy stories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papakainga</td>
<td>home village</td>
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<td>Papatuanuku</td>
<td>Earth parent</td>
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<tr>
<td>parapara</td>
<td>native tree</td>
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<tr>
<td>pataka</td>
<td>storehouse</td>
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<tr>
<td>patu</td>
<td>hit, weapon</td>
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<tr>
<td>poi</td>
<td>performance with a ball on a string</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pononga</td>
<td>slave</td>
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<tr>
<td>potiki</td>
<td>youngest, last born</td>
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<tr>
<td>powhiri</td>
<td>welcome, opening ceremony</td>
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<td>puhiri</td>
<td>eligible girl of status, virgin</td>
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<td>pupuri</td>
<td>hold</td>
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<tr>
<td>rakau</td>
<td>tree, stick, tool</td>
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<tr>
<td>rangatira</td>
<td>chief</td>
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<tr>
<td>rangatiratanga</td>
<td>chieftainship, chiefly authority</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ranginui</td>
<td>Sky parent</td>
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<tr>
<td>raranga</td>
<td>weaving</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
reo language, voice
rohe region, territory
runanga council
taha side
tama boy, son
tamahine girl, daughter
Tane-nui-a-rangi Tane the ancestor who created humans, and brought knowledge back for human beings.
tangata person, man
tangata whenua people of the land
tangata hara people who have sinned	
tangi weep, mourn, rituals of mourning
taonga gift, treasure
taonga tuku iho treasures handed down
tapu restricted, sacred
tauira student
tauiwai stranger
tauparapara opening ritual speeches for a whaikorero
taurekareka slave
te ata hapara just before dawn
te ao hou the new world
Te Ao Marama the world of light
Te Ao Maori the Maori world
Te Ao Pakeha the Pakeha world
Te Atarangi refers to a programme for teaching Maori to adults and second language learners
Te aho ariki the chiefly lineage
Te Kauwae Raro the lower jaw, refers to forms of knowledge
Te Kauwae Runga the upper jaw, more esoteric knowledge
teina younger sibling
tiaki look after
tikanga lores, customs,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tiki</td>
<td>adornment</td>
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<tr>
<td>tino</td>
<td>very, gives emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tipuna, tupuna</td>
<td>ancestor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tipuna whaea</td>
<td>grandmother</td>
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<tr>
<td>titiro</td>
<td>look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tohora</td>
<td>whale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tohu</td>
<td>sign</td>
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<tr>
<td>tohunga</td>
<td>mediator of the spiritual world</td>
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<tr>
<td>tohunga ta moko</td>
<td>expert in the art of tattoo</td>
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<tr>
<td>tohunga whakairo</td>
<td>expert carver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuahine</td>
<td>sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuakana</td>
<td>older sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuku whenua</td>
<td>seller of land</td>
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<tr>
<td>turangawaewae</td>
<td>place to stand</td>
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<tr>
<td>uri</td>
<td>descendent</td>
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<tr>
<td>wahine</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waiata</td>
<td>song, chant</td>
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<tr>
<td>waiora</td>
<td>health</td>
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<tr>
<td>wairua</td>
<td>spirituality</td>
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<tr>
<td>waka</td>
<td>canoe</td>
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<tr>
<td>wananga</td>
<td>learning, knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whaea</td>
<td>mother, aunt</td>
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<tr>
<td>whaikorero</td>
<td>formal speech</td>
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<tr>
<td>whakahihi</td>
<td>show off, arrogant</td>
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<tr>
<td>whakaiti</td>
<td>shy, to humble</td>
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<tr>
<td>whakama</td>
<td>shy embarass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whakapakari</td>
<td>strengthen, to make healthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whakapapa</td>
<td>genealogy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whakatauki, whakatauki</td>
<td>sayings, proverbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whanau</td>
<td>extended family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whanaungatanga</td>
<td>relationships, relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whangai</td>
<td>adopted person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whare nui</td>
<td>large house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whare pora</td>
<td>house of weaving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whatumanawa</td>
<td>feelings, kidneys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wheke</td>
<td>octopus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whenua</td>
<td>land, afterbirth</td>
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