

Chapter Four

Decolonising Intellectual Identity: *Maori*/Woman/Academic.

(Colonial Maori)....are noticeable because they have succeeded as white in some section of white culture: economically, through the arts, at sport, through religion, the universities and the professions.
(Donna Awatere, 1984)¹

As an academic myself I would say that if one begins to take a whack at shaking that structure up, one sees how much more consolidated the opposition is.
(Gayatri Spivak, 1990)²

Maori women are loath to speak of themselves and their work, it is not the done thing. Our culture sanctions us against such personal proclamations. And so the work often remains invisible as do the women who undertake it.
(Kathie Irwin 1988)³

While at the beginning the native intellectual used to produce his work to be read exclusively by the oppressor, whether with the intention of charming him or of denouncing him through ethnical or subjectivist means, now the native writer progressively takes on the habit of addressing his own people.
(Frantz Fanon, 1967)⁴

Introduction.

My concern in this chapter is to explore the politics of being a *Maori*, a *Maori* woman and an academic working in a university in New Zealand. This task has already been attempted

¹ Awatere, D., 1984. *Maori Sovereignty*. Auckland, Broadsheet, p.83.

² Spivak, G., 1990. 'Criticism, Feminism and The Institution', in *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*. ed. S. Harasayam, New York, Routledge, pp.1-16, p.6.

³ Irwin, K., 1988. 'Maori, Feminist, Academic', *Sites*, v.17, pp.30-38, p.34.

⁴ Fanon, F., 1967. *The Wretched of the Earth*. trans. Constance Farrington, London, Penguin, p.193.

by Kathie Irwin in her 1988 paper, '*Maori*, Feminist, Academic'.⁵ I presented a paper on 'The Dilemma of Being a *Maori* Academic' at a conference in 1992⁶ and in 1995 another colleague *Arohia* Durie presented a paper at a conference of *Maori* university staff entitled, 'Keeping an Open Mind: A Challenge for *Maori* Academics in a time of Political Change'.⁷ What Kathie Irwin, *Arohia* Durie and I share in common is that we identify ourselves as *Maori* women,⁸ we work in a field other than *Maori* Studies and we work in an area which assumes a continuing engagement with and reflection upon issues of pedagogy, of our place within the institution and of our relationships with our own varied communities. Gayatri Spivak has argued that her project as an Indian/Asian/Third World woman working as an intellectual in the United States is one of 'un-learning our privilege as our loss'.⁹ My response to Spivak's quote is one of ambivalence. Why, for example, don't I feel 'privileged' as an academic? Where were we supposed to learn this privilege as academics? Is this quote useful? A short answer is that it is somewhat more useful than the alternative quote I was going to use which is; 'Take me out and shoot me now, I confess, I'm an academic, I write, I read what others write, (*Pakeha*, males, Marxists, Feminists), I think theory is important, I work in a university and I think it is an important place for us as *Maori* women to be!'

Of course, we are not the first or only *Maori* academics or *Maori* women academics to explore what our work means to us. A previous generation of *Maori* have similarly attempted to discuss the issues for *Maori* academics, or for that matter for *Maori* who simply made it to university as students. These issues were articulated by academics interested in *Maori* and by *Maori* academics themselves within the debate over the 'orientalising' of *Maori* Studies

⁵ Irwin, pp.30-38.

⁶ Smith, L.T., 1992. 'The Dilemma of Being a *Maori* Academic', paper presented at Joint NZARE/AARE Conference, Deakin University, Geelong, Victoria, Australia.

⁷ Durie, A., 1995. 'Keeping an Open Mind: A Challenge for *Maori* Academics in a Time of Political Change', Keynote Address, *Matawhanui Hui*, Palmerston North, Massey University.

⁸ This is not just through the titles of our papers but in a number of different ways, through our work, our identification with *iwi* backgrounds, our involvement with various *Maori* community initiatives and programmes, our children and through the way we interact and behave at various gatherings.

⁹ Spivak, pp.1-16.

as a university subject.¹⁰ At a community level, every *Maori* who 'made it' to University was celebrated uncritically as a *Maori* 'who had done well', by implication this meant *on Pakeha terms*. This achievement was seen as fulfilling the wishes and desires of earlier *Maori* leaders and of 'proving' ourselves to be fully capable as citizens.¹¹ The radicalisation of *Maori* politics in the 1960s¹² and the leading role played in this process by *Maori* students disrupted this sense of self-congratulation. Previous *Maori* leaders who had achieved educational success were looked at more critically in relation to what was regarded as their complicity with *Pakeha* in anti-*Maori* policies. The education 'system' in particular was viewed as a major site of struggle for *Maori*. Schools were seen to have denied *Maori* language and culture and of being places where, according to one activist group, 'cultural murder' was committed.¹³ One of the first public acts of *Nga Tamatoa*, a group which began in the early seventies, was to stage a protest in the grounds of Auckland University beside an old stone wall which had been built to protect Auckland from 'unfriendly *Maori*', reminding the University that it too was founded on colonialism. *Pakeha* research and *Pakeha* researchers were often targetted as individuals who had made their names through the exploitation of *Maori* communities. The role of the few *Maori* academics during this period was still developmental in that many of them were just returning from overseas study, completing their degrees, or about to leave for overseas study. However the expectation from *Maori* activists was that *Maori* academics would join the struggle. If they did not, it was taken to be proof of their total assimilation into *Pakeha* culture.

¹⁰ See for example; Biggs, B., 1978. '*Te Whakaako i Te Reo Maori i te Whare Wananga o Akarana*' paper given at the Inter-University *Maori* Studies Conference, Wellington, Victoria University; Mead, S.M., 1983. '*Te Toi Matauranga Maori Mo Nga Ra Kei Mua: Maori Studies Tomorrow*', in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, v.92, no.3, pp.333-351; Sorrenson, M.P.K., 1982. '*Polynesian Corpuscles and Pacific Anthropology: The Homemade Anthropology of Sir Apirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck*', in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, v.91, no.1, pp.7-27; Webster, S., 1985. '*The Domestication of Maori Culture*' in *Republican*, v.53, pp.4-11.

¹¹ This argument is developed in more detail in section four. The citizenship discourse was linked to the efforts of the *Maori* Battalion in World War II. In the First World War *Maori* were not so forthcoming in volunteering and many *iwi* resisted efforts by *Maori* members of parliament to join up. So, the support given during World War II against this background was 'appreciated'.

¹² Yes, *Maori* also had a 'defining moment' in the late 1960s but it wasn't the student riots in Paris in 1968 or the riots at Berkeley in 1967! Spivak makes the point also, that is, 'May 1968 does not have the same impact outside of a certain sort of Anglo-US-French context', Spivak, p.3.

¹³ MOOHR newsletter 1971, cited by Walker, R., 1990. *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*. Auckland, Penguin. p.210.

This last point situates our positions very clearly within a particular history, the history of colonialism, education and the struggle by *Maori* for *rangatiratanga*.¹⁴ But there are other histories which are equally important to the way *Maori* academic women are constituted. There are competing and intersecting tensions which are struggled over simultaneously in our academic work. We are implicated through the various positions we take, strategic and deliberate or passive and taken for granted, in the processes and production of knowledge we legitimate or attempt to de-legitimate. This applies not just to our training in western traditions of scholarship but in our training within our own cultural systems and representation of those systems back to the institution. What feminist research methodology heralds as reflexivity is formed in our work out of a struggle for confidence over self-doubt; a search for a place to *be*; an engagement in multiparty dialogue with our colleagues, students, graduate students, *Maori* groups of various kinds; an attentiveness to who our audiences are and therefore to our language; a sensitivity to 'our' students; a desire to support them and challenge them; a constant vigilance towards the demands of our own communities of interest and in my case a personal desire to write, to be creative, to keep reading and to move on. To think reflexively about our work engages us constantly in history, in theory and in practice, in the particulars and in the universals of being *Maori* academic women.

The dilemma posed for minority educators when working as researchers and teachers has already been discussed in the wider international literature. My first introduction to this was in an article by Jacquelyn Mitchell. Writing in the *Harvard Educational Review* a decade ago she expressed the hope that other '*minority researchers involved in struggles like mine will realize that the contradictions and ambivalent feelings that they experience are not simply personal problems, rather they are an aspect of being a minority in a white-dominated society*'.¹⁵ Although I was excited by reading Mitchell's paper, at the time of reading it I was still a student and had no expectation that I might one day be in a position to see myself as either a social scientist, an academic or a university teacher. Mitchell's paper, however, is still one to which I refer *Maori* students because she locates herself so clearly within the

¹⁴ *Rangatiratanga* meaning among other things sovereignty, self-determination, regaining autonomy over our lands and resources, well-being as individuals and *whanau*, *hapu* and *iwi* and *mana* as a people.

¹⁵ Mitchell, J., 1982. 'Reflections of a Black Social Scientist: Some Struggles, Some Doubts, Some Hopes', in *Harvard Educational Review* v.52, no.1, pp.27-44.

context of cultural deprivation theories and the impact these educational ideas have had on the lives of African-American children. This is a context which relates very closely to the experiences of *Maori* students and teachers who came through the school system when cultural deprivation theories were in the ascendancy.

In New Zealand two articles have had a similar impact on me. One by Maiki Marks on the 'Frustrations of a *Maori* Language Teacher'¹⁶ which was written for the *Maori* Educational Development Conference in 1984 and the other by Kathie Irwin entitled '*Maori*, Feminist, Academic'. Maiki Marks wrote about the day to day realities which confront *Maori* teachers in secondary schools. According to Marks *Maori* teachers face two big problems. The first one she identifies is '*that schools are basically designed to teach Pakehas, and middle class ones at that*'. The second problem is that '*For teachers to cooperate, plan together, evaluate together, plot revolution together is utterly exhaustingly hard work*'. In analysing her work in a university context Kathie Irwin put the case simply, '*The university context is a difficult place for Maori academics to work*'.¹⁷ The implication of such a view is that the context is much more difficult for *Maori* academics than for the traditional, white and generally male academics who have defined the cultural and structural aspects of academic work. Irwin identifies the university as a site of struggle for *Maori*, a site in which the very construction of '*Maori*' is contested on a number of different levels. One of these levels is as basic as physical space. A more entrenched logic, however, is located in the notion that academic, intellectual work exists in opposition to what is viewed as the irrational, primitive cultures of groups such as *Maori*.¹⁸ We cannot begin to describe the dilemma which faces us in our

¹⁶ Marks, M., 1984. 'The Frustrations of a *Maori* Language Teacher', in *Proceedings of the Maori Educational Development Conference*, ed. R. Walker, Centre for Continuing Education, University of Auckland.

¹⁷ Irwin, pp.30-38.

¹⁸ Antonio Gramsci has argued that institutions such as schools and universities exist to combat folklore and to enable the dominance of nature through the teaching of the laws of the state. He argues that 'traditional intellectuals' such as those who work in universities are functionaries of the superstructure and play a critical role as mediators between the state and society. Such intellectuals enjoy a prestige and confidence based on their connection with an uninterrupted historical continuity of intellectual work and are able to maintain dominance as intellectuals through the elaboration of intellectual work and the mystique of autonomy and independence which is built around their identity as a separate group. Intellectual and moral leadership perpetuates the hegemony of civil society and mediates the relationship between political and civil society. *Selections From the Prison Notebooks* edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith 1971, London, Lawrence and Wishart.

practice without first recognising that we exist in institutions which are founded on the collective denial of our existence as *Maori* and which not only actively continue to assimilate us but, more importantly perhaps, actively compete with us and the world views we represent. Furthermore the linkages between denial and assimilation are deeply embedded in the way our society is structured and whilst we may engage or confront these issues at a personal level, they are issues which we need to recognise as having a structural basis.

Colonialism and the University.

Although New Zealand universities see themselves as being part of an international community and inheritors of a legacy of western knowledge, they are also part of the historical processes of colonisation. In concrete terms the University of Auckland has been a direct beneficiary of the oppression of one of my own *iwi*, *Ngati Awa* and of other *iwi* who fought the government last century in a bid to defend their lands.¹⁹ Originally 194,120 acres were confiscated from *Ngati Awa* in 1865. However, 77,870 acres were eventually returned to *Ngati Awa*, and of the remaining 116,250 acres, 10,000 were given by the state to the University of Auckland as part of an endowment. *Ngati Awa* and other tribes who fought to defend their lands were punished severely. Lands were not only confiscated but were awarded to soldiers who fought for the government, and to other *Maori hapu* who supported the government during the campaigns against *Ngati Awa* and other *Maori* tribes. In this way *Ngati Awa* were hemmed in by their enemies or dislocated entirely by the land confiscation. Individual *Ngati Awa* were also punished through a series of court martials and civil trials.²⁰

¹⁹ *Tainui* in particular have a *raupatu* claim in respect of their confiscated lands which were also given as an endowment to the University of Auckland. The Auckland University College Reserves Act of 1885 'vested large areas of land in the College. There were 10,000 acres at *Taupiri* (*Tainui*), 10,000 acres in the *Waikato* (also *Tainui*), another 10,000 acres at *Whakatane* (*Ngati Awa*) and 354 acres at *Ararimu* (also *Tainui*)' quoted in Sinclair, K., 1983. *A History of The University of Auckland 1883-1983*. Auckland, Auckland University Press and Oxford University Press, p.30.

²⁰ In *Ngati Awa's* 1988 case for the pardon of *Ngati Awa* chiefs and warriors 37 men are listed. There have been pleas made for pardon since the men were taken. However of the 37 *Ngati Awa* men listed 29 had been originally sentenced to death, of these 11 had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment, 5 were eventually executed, 4 died in prison and the rest served between 4 and 14 years in penal servitude. The men were originally court martialled but this was ruled to be illegal and they were then tried in a civil court. This is recorded in *Te Runanga O Ngati Awa Te Murunga Hara: The Pardon* 1988. *Whakatohea* were also heavily punished and have fought a long struggle for the pardon of one of their chiefs, *Mokomoko*. This finally eventuated in 1992.

Whilst some of these men were eventually released others were hung and others sentenced to life imprisonment.²¹ Sir *Apirana Ngata* a leader of *Ngati Porou* visited *Ngati Awa* in 1899 and described *Ngati Awa* as a 'sick people because of the punishments of the law and I wept for them who had been made to suffer so severely by the government'.²² Where did the women go after the confiscations? In brief their stories, their *whakapapa* lines were 'disappeared'. The women and children were made landless and found sanctuary with other *iwi*. Some were eventually allocated land through the Native Land Court. A few stayed and worked on the roads and in the gardens. Those women whose fathers, husbands and brothers and sons were punished and imprisoned in Auckland faced the shame of this loss outside. One particular *hapu*, most affected by the confiscations and punishments lost its *mana* and effectively became absorbed into other *hapu* until very recently.

Universities were established as an essential part of the colonising process. Colonisation interrupted the historical continuity of the indigenous people. The idea of a university in Otago for example was sown as part of the recruitment for Scottish settlers to Dunedin. Its development was connected to the aspirations of the Presbyterian Church settlers in Otago. A Select Committee of Parliament recommended in 1867 that '*the Government should seize the opportunity of setting apart portions of confiscated lands for the purpose of providing an endowment for a University when the proper time came for its establishment*'.²³ Canterbury University grew out of a similar scheme for intending colonists to Christchurch.²⁴ Schooling, and this included university education, was a primary instrument for taming and civilising the natives and forging a nation which was connected at a concrete level with the historical and moral processes of Britain. Part of this process involves a collective re-construction of history or, as Judith Simon has argued, a collective forgetting, a social amnesia which enables the

²¹ In 1990 the bones of the *Ngati Awa*, *Whakatohea* and *Te Atiawa* men who died in Mt Eden prison were exhumed and returned to their respective tribes.

²² *Ngata*, A.T., 1899. '*Te Reta mai a Apirana ki nga Etita o Te Pīpīwharauoa*', in *Te Pīpīwharauoa*, no.16, pp.2-4.

²³ *Te Murunga Hara: The Pardon*. p17.

²⁴ Gardner, W.J., E.T. Beardsley, T.E. Carter, 1973. '*A History of the University of Canterbury 1873-1973*', Christchurch, University of Canterbury.

connection with the dominant group's view of historical continuity to take place.²⁵ *Ngati Awa* suffered not only in concrete, physical terms, but have struggled for more than a century to have the stigma attached to the families of the people who were captured, tried and then sentenced to death overturned and lands restored.²⁶

It is not that this history is not known because it is known and is alluded to in the official history of the university.²⁷ Rather it is that this history is rated as unimportant and trivial when compared to an officially constructed history. 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*'.²⁸ 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*'.²⁹ There was scant official acknowledgement, even in hindsight, that these lands belonged to *Maori* people.

Colonialism and 'Native' Intellectuals.

The first recorded *Maori* to graduate from a New Zealand university was Sir *Apirana Ngata* who graduated with a law degree in 1894 and went on to complete a Masters degree. When he served as a member of Parliament, *Ngata* was the highest qualified member, either *Maori* or *Pakeha*. *Ngata* was part of group of young *Maori* men educated at *Te Aute* school and

²⁵ Simon, J., 1992. 'Social Studies: The Cultivation of Social Amnesia?' in *The School Curriculum in New Zealand* ed. G. McCulloch, Palmerston North, Dunmore Press, pp.253-271.

²⁶ An essential part of *Ngati Awa's raupatu* claims has always involved a pardon for those who were sentenced for activities during the land wars. This pardon was eventually gained on the 14 December 1988 at 9.33pm after the third reading of the *Ngati Awa Runanga* Bill was passed in Parliament.

²⁷ Sinclair, 1983.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.1.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.30. According to the Chairperson of *Te Runanga O Ngati Awa* the *Whakatane* land in question stretches from hill country down on to flat land and in his view the poor rent was more an indication of poor land management than poor land. In 1992 the land in question is considered prime farm land. personal communication

prepared for an academic education by their principal, Thornton. At the time, this preparation went against the prevailing ideology of schooling *Maori* for manual work.³⁰ The first *Maori* who worked as a university academic was Sir Peter Buck or *Te Rangihiroa*, who was younger than *Ngata* but also attended *Te Aute*. Buck trained as a medical doctor and then became an ethnologist, taught at Yale University and was later Director of the Bishop Museum in Hawaii. At the turn of the century *Maori* as a people were in dire social straits, Native School policies had closed off opportunities for academic advancement, and the leadership provided by people such as *Ngata*, *Te Rangihiroa*, *Pomare*, and others from the 'Young *Maori* Party' was aimed at the basic survival of *Maori* people and retention of lands. *Ngata* and the others closely aligned themselves with *Maori* elders and different *Maori* audiences. Politically, *Maori* aspirations were tied up in Government paternalism.

At this time leaders such as *Ngata* upheld the value of western knowledge and *Pakeha* education as the means to our physical survival but this did not mean a rejection of all aspects of *Maori* language, knowledge and culture. *Ngata* himself was involved in the establishment of a number of Native Schools. In 1907, the passing of the *Tohunga* Suppression Act outlawed, ostensibly for health reasons, a whole class of traditional *Maori* intellectuals. The preamble to this Act reads;

*Whereas designing persons, commonly known as tohungas, practise on the superstition and credulity of the Maori people by pretending to possess supernatural powers in the treatment of cure of disease, the foretelling of future events, and otherwise, and thereby induce the Maoris to neglect their proper occupations and gather into meetings where their substance is consumed and their minds are unsettled, to the injury of themselves and to the evil example of Maori people generally:...*³¹

Although aimed at a number of 'healers', *Pakeha* as well as *Maori*, who were travelling around communities offering cures for various ills, the ideologies embedded in the Act had a more general appeal. For example, any occasion where *Maori* gathered and used *Maori* language was viewed by non-*Maori* as an example of *Maori* people practising their religion.

³⁰ See Barrington, J., 1988. 'Learning the 'Dignity of Labour': Secondary Education Policies for *Maoris*', in *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, v.23, no.1, pp.45-58.

³¹ New Zealand Government, 1907. *Tohunga Suppression Act*. *The Statutes of the Dominion of New Zealand*. Wellington, Government Printer, no. 13, pp.26-27.

What is more significant for this discussion, however, is that the main instigators of the Act were *Maori*.³² This example is just one of many which illustrates the wider issues for *Maori* whose western education gave them access to power.

The positions within their own societies of 'native'³³ intellectuals who have been trained in the west, has been regarded by those involved in nationalist movements as seriously problematic.³⁴ Much of the discussion about intellectuals in social and cultural life and their participation in liberation struggles is heavily influenced by Marxist revolutionary thought, is framed in the language of oppositional discourse, and was written during the post-war period when struggles for independence were underway.³⁵ Included within the rubric of 'intellectual' by liberation writers such as Frantz Fanon are also artists, writers, poets, teachers, clerks, officials, the petite bourgeoisie and other professionals engaged in producing 'culture'. Their importance in nationalist movements was related to their abilities to reclaim, rehabilitate and articulate indigenous cultures and to their implicit leadership over 'the people' as voices which can legitimate a new nationalist consciousness. At the same time, however, these same producers and legitimators of culture are the group most closely aligned to the colonisers in terms of their class interests, their values and their ways of thinking. They may have become estranged from their own cultural values. Their consent to participate in nationalist movements can never be assumed, and their failure to participate has been regarded in terms of their co-option into the culture of the coloniser and their alignment with the class interests of the indigenous elite who have been installed by the colonisers.

³² *Sir Maui Pomare sponsored the Bill through Parliament.*

³³ *The word 'native' disappeared from Maori discourse during Peter Fraser's term as Prime Minister and Minister of Native/Maori Affairs and is no longer the preferred definition. See Butterworth, G.V., H.R. Young, 1990. Maori Affairs, a Department and the People Who Made it. Wellington, Iwi Transition Agency). However much of the metropolitan literature still employs this language. (See for a Pacific example; Trask, H. K., 1993. From A Native Daughter. Maine, Common Courage Press).*

³⁴ *Who themselves were often intellectuals who trained in metropolitan universities.*

³⁵ *Gramsci's views on the intellectual have been influential but Marxist views of history and links to the philosophies of Hegel and Freud, have also influenced this discussion. So too have the existentialist views of Jean Paul Satre who wrote the introduction to Fanon's book, The Wretched of the Earth. A critique of these influences on Fanon in particular can be read in Young, R., 1990. White Mythologies, Writing, History and the West. London, Routledge.*

As Fanon has argued, the problem of creating and legitimating a national culture 'represents a special battlefield'³⁶ and intellectuals are important to this battle in a number of different ways. In recognising that intellectuals were trained and enculturated in the 'west', Fanon identifies three levels through which 'native' intellectuals can progress in their journey 'back over the line'.³⁷ First there is a phase of proving that intellectuals have been assimilated into the culture of the occupying power, secondly a period of disturbance and the need for the intellectuals to remember who they actually are, a time for remembering the past. In the third phase the intellectuals seek to awaken the people, to realign themselves with the people and to produce a revolutionary and national literature.³⁸ For *Maori* intellectuals in the first part of the twentieth century, the context, and their engagement with it, can not be so easily reinterpreted within Fanon's model. Fanon was writing about Algeria and the structure of French colonialism in Africa. He himself was trained in France as a psychiatrist and was influenced by European philosophies. One of the problems of connecting colonialism in New Zealand with its formations elsewhere is that New Zealand, like Canada and Australia, were already privileged as white dominions within the Empire and Commonwealth, with the indigenous populations being minorities. Whilst geographically on the margins of Europe, they were economically and culturally closely attached to Britain. Within these states the indigenous people were absolute minorities. The whites who arrived here arrived as permanent migrants. For *Maori* this meant a different kind of experience with colonialism and different possibilities for de-colonisation. It has also meant that *Maori* intellectuals have emerged from different colonial and indigenous systems.

Although the role of intellectuals, teachers, artists and writers in relation to their own communities is still problematic, and the revolutionary rhetoric still forms part of community reaction to *Maori* academics, it tends to be driven by a number of other attitudes, for example; a more generalised anti-academic stance towards all academics in New Zealand; a reaction to the way *Maori* language and *Maori* Studies have become intellectualised in universities while at the same time *Maori* communities were losing the language as a daily

³⁶ Fanon, p.193.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.178-179.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.179

spoken language en masse; a disconnection between research on *Maori* and the benefits for *Maori* which were derived from research, and the anti-*Maori* position taken publicly by those perceived to be university academics. For many *Maori* communities, academics were trained especially to criticise and denigrate *Maori* culture. These views are still articulated in *Maori* contexts.

Colonising the Disciplines: Disciplining the Colonised.

Academic knowledges are organised around the idea of disciplines and fields of knowledge. These are deeply implicated in each other and share genealogical foundations in various classical and Enlightenment philosophies. Most of the 'traditional' disciplines are grounded in cultural world views which are either antagonistic to other belief systems or have no methodology for dealing with other knowledge systems. Underpinning all of what is taught at universities is the belief in the concept of science as the all embracing method for gaining an understanding of the world. However some of these disciplines are more directly implicated in colonialism in that they have either derived their methods and understandings from the colonised world or have tested their ideas in the colonies. How the colonised were governed for example was determined by previous experiences in other colonies and by the prevailing theories about race, gender, climate and other factors generated by 'scientific' methods. Classification systems were developed specifically to cope with the mass of new knowledge generated by the discoveries of the 'new world'. New colonies were the laboratories of western science. Theories generated from the exploration and exploitation of colonies and the people who had prior ownership of these lands, formed the totalising appropriation of the 'other'.

Robert Young argues, for example, that the German philosopher Hegel, *'articulates a philosophical structure of the appropriation of the other as a form of knowledge which uncannily simulates the project of nineteenth century imperialism; the construction of knowledges which all operate through forms of expropriation and incorporation of the other mimics at a conceptual level the geographical and economic absorption of the non-European*

world by the West'.³⁹ David Goldberg claims that notions of the other are more deeply embedded in classical philosophy but became racialised within the framework of liberalism and the ideas about people and society which developed as disciplines through liberalism.⁴⁰ In an interesting discussion on the discourses which employ the word 'civilisation', John Laffey suggests that the word 'civilisation' entered Anglo-French usage in the second part of the eighteenth century enabling the distinction to be drawn between those who saw themselves as civilised, and those who they then regarded as the 'savages' abroad and at home.⁴¹ As a standard of judgement, according to Laffey, the word 'civilised' became more defined with the help of Freud and more specialised in the way different specialities employed it. One such use was comparative and allowed for comparisons between children and savages, women and children, for example. This way of thinking was elaborated further into psychological justifications for the distinctions between the civilised and the uncivilised. Freud's influence on the way disciplines developed in relation to colonialism is further explored by Marianna Torgovnick who examines the links between Freud and anthropology in her analysis of Malinowski's book *'The Sexual Life of Savages'*.⁴² According to Torgovnick, *'Freud's explanation of the human psyche in terms of sexuality undergirded their endeavors and influenced the structure of many ethnographic enquiries at this stage of the discipline's development even when those enquiries suggested (as they often did) modifications of Freudian paradigms, such as the Oedipus complex'*.⁴³

Other key intellectuals have also been referred to as not so innocent philosophers of the truth. Critic Henry Louis Gates Jr. names Kant, Bacon, Hume, Jefferson and Hegel as 'great intellectual racialisists' who have been influential in defining the role of literature and its relationship to humanity, *'The salient sign of the black person's humanity would be the mastering of the very essence of Western civilisation, the very foundation of the complex*

³⁹ Young, p.3.

⁴⁰ Goldberg, D.T., 1993. *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning*. Oxford, Blackwell.

⁴¹ Laffey, J. F., 1993. *Civilisation and its Discontented*. New York, Black Rose Books.

⁴² Torgovnick, M., 1990. *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.7.

fiction upon which white Western culture has been constructed...'.⁴⁴ Of all the disciplines, anthropology is the one most closely associated with the study of the other and with the defining of primitivism.⁴⁵ The ethnographic 'gaze' of anthropology has collected, classified and represented other cultures to the extent that anthropologists are often the academics popularly perceived by the indigenous world as the epitome of all that it is bad with academics.⁴⁶ Haunani Kay Trask, a native Hawai'ian, accuses anthropologists of being 'takers and users' who 'exploit the hospitality and generosity of native people'.⁴⁷ These comments have been echoed wherever indigenous people have had the opportunity to talk back to the academic world.

A historian of geography, David Livingstone refers to geography as the 'science of imperialism par excellence'.⁴⁸ This relates to geographical studies into such things as the mapping of racial difference, the links which were drawn between climate and mental abilities, the use of mapmakers in French colonies for military intelligence and the development of acclimatisation societies.⁴⁹ History, which as a discipline is closely linked to geography (space and time) is also implicated in the construction of totalising master discourses which control the 'other'. The history of the colonies, from the perspective of the colonisers, has effectively denied other views of what happened and what the significance of historical 'facts' may be to the colonised. 'If history is written by the victor', argues Janet Abu-Lughod, 'then it must, almost by definition, 'deform' the history of the others'.⁵⁰ In the New Zealand context both these disciplines were included in the early school curriculum and because of their imperial view of the world, imposed a new landscape and new chronology

⁴⁴ Gates Jr., H. L., 1994. 'Authority, (White) Power and the (Black) Critic: It's All Greek to Me', in *Culture/Power/History* eds. N. Dirks, G. Eley, S.B. Ortner, New Jersey, Princeton University Press.

⁴⁵ Stocking Jr., G., 1987. *Victorian Anthropology*. London, The Free Press.

⁴⁶ See for example, Minh-ha, T., 1989. *Woman, Native, Other*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press.

⁴⁷ Trask, p.166.

⁴⁸ Livingstone, D., 1992. *The Geographical Tradition*. Oxford, Blackwell.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.216.

⁵⁰ Abu-Lughod, J., 1989. 'On the Remaking of History: How to Reinvent the Past,' in *Remaking History*. Seattle, Dia Art Foundation, Bay Press, pp.111-129, p.118.

to New Zealand which reinforced Britain as the centre, English language as the new reality and British history as the only true version. The purpose of these few selected examples is to reinforce the point that academic disciplines are 'deeply implicated within each other' and in the incorporation of the 'other'.⁵¹

The concept of discipline is even more interesting when we think about it not simply as a way of organising systems of knowledge but also as a way of organising people or bodies. Foucault has argued that discipline in the eighteenth century became 'formulas of domination' which were at work in schools, hospitals and military organisations.⁵² Techniques of detail were developed to maintain discipline over the body. The colonising of the 'other' through discipline has a number of different meanings. In the terms of the way knowledge was used to discipline *Maori* it worked in a variety of ways. The most obvious forms of discipline were through exclusion, marginalisation and denial. *Maori* ways of knowing, views about land, for example, were excluded and marginalised through the forced imposition of individualised title, through taking land away for being in rebellion, for redefining land as waste land and then taking it away. It also worked through the physical disciplining of *Maori* who spoke *Maori* language at school. Foucault suggests that one way discipline was distributed was through enclosure, which is the other side of exclusion in that the margins are enclosures, reserved lands are enclosures, schools enclose, but in order to enclose they also exclude, there is something on the outside. Discipline is also partitioned, individuals separated and space compartmentalised. This allowed for efficient supervision and for simultaneous distinctions to be made between individuals.⁵³ This form of discipline worked at the curriculum level, for example, as a mechanism for selecting out *Maori* and girls for domestic and manual work. At the level of external examinations, hierarchies of subjects and statistical management of results ensured further distinctions could be made between individuals.

Said shows how Orientalism developed as an academic discipline in that knowledge about the

⁵¹ Young, p.119.

⁵² Foucault, M., 1977. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. trans. A. Sheridan, London, Penguin, p.137.

⁵³ See section three, chapter eight for further examples of this form of discipline.

other became subject to rules of enquiry and to institutionalisation. *Maori* Studies has become an established subject taught within the arts and humanities at New Zealand universities. Its development has been heavily influenced by anthropology and linguistics.⁵⁴ Different developments are currently occurring in the polytechnics and *Wananga* or tribal universities⁵⁵ which are leading to degrees in *Maori* Studies rather than the traditional university degrees in which *Maori* Studies may constitute a 'major' within a degree in arts, humanities or social science. The perceived disconnection of *Maori* university academics with what has been happening 'on the ground' in *Maori* social life has led to a number of criticisms with the way *Maori* Studies, particularly *Maori* language, is taught. This criticism is based primarily on the crisis occurring in *Maori* language and the perceived lack of support in the form of graduates who are orally competent in the language from university based *Maori* academics.⁵⁶ Making *Maori* language an academic subject, taught as a 'foreign language', has meant that it has been subject to the same regulations relating to language teaching in universities. These regulations are intent on maintaining the view that the language is studied as a language, a system of rules and meanings rather than a study which necessarily leads to oral competency.

Colonialisms, *Maori* women and the Academy.

In New Zealand we have only recently begun the work of analysing the effect of colonisation on women, children, elders and other groupings of *Maori*. Previous histories have glossed over or ignored the ways in which colonisation was gendered. All *Maori*, so our histories tell us, were subjected to the policies of assimilation, all *Maori* suffered land losses, confiscations and alienation. All *Maori* were exposed to diseases and to spiritual upheaval. On these grounds it was thought that we all suffered these consequences in the same way, that it was equally bad for us all, and that our struggles for *rangatiratanga* are about the same sorts of

⁵⁴ Read the discussion by Webster, pp.4-11.

⁵⁵ *Wananga* will be discussed further in the introduction to section four.

⁵⁶ Most teachers of *Maori* language in universities are *Maori* although not all *Maori* who teach in universities are based in *Maori* Studies Departments, or indeed are involved in the teaching of *Maori* language. However the general perception of our communities and of many of our colleagues is that if we are *Maori* we must be in *Maori* Studies.

things. In the last twenty years, feminist analyses and work in the 'post-colonial' field have looked more closely at this taken for granted or universalising view of colonialism. In more recent years, *Maori* women too have begun to carry out research which unpicks this narrative and looks more closely for the presence of women, the engagement of women, their resistances, their roles as 'actors' in the way we were colonised. That this activity is regarded as 'unpopular' by many *Maori* (men and women) points to a number of problems and issues which directly impact on the work of *Maori* women academics. One of the difficulties of analysing this and writing about it is that we are dealing with several different forms of colonialism all at the same time, the nineteenth century colonialism as it was manifested here in New Zealand, the internal colonialisms as they developed within our own communities, and the neo-colonialisms in which we are also incorporated. Indeed the word '*Maori*' is itself a construction of colonialism, as it defined our disparate *whanau*, *hapu* and *iwi* under a totalising label which allowed for more effective colonisation.⁵⁷ More than this, however, there is an alliance of disciplinary interests in the academy with institutional patriarchal practices which work to keep *Maori* women in the margins.⁵⁸

One of the distinguishing features of the civilising mission of nineteenth century colonialism was that it was directed at winning the 'hearts and minds' of the colonised. It was a struggle over consciousness and what counted as reality. A significant aspect of the writings of indigenous women has been in the rewriting of histories which are more specific to the individual communities and groupings of women who are often subsumed under the rubric of the 'other'. *Maori* women have followed a similar analytical pathway, although this has meant picking through the problematic notions of white feminism, 'Third World' or 'Women of Colour' and 'post-colonialism'.⁵⁹ Theoretical engagement by *Maori* women has occurred directly out of the political and intellectual work of *Maori* women and a commitment by women to writing, film making and 'talking back' as legitimate activities. This is not surprising given that *Maori* women were well known in pre-colonisation times for their

⁵⁷ This is discussed in more detail in the introduction to section four.

⁵⁸ This argument is developed further in the introduction to section three.

⁵⁹ These arguments are developed in section three.

composing of oral chants.⁶⁰

Authority and Voice.

In all my experiences within *Maori* communities *Maori* women, generally speaking, have never had a problem voicing their concerns and opinions, notwithstanding the comments by Irwin quoted at the beginning of this chapter.⁶¹ The problem is not therefore, one of being able to voice, but of the authority which is accorded such voice or, put another way, the problem of being heard. This belief is echoed by Spivak who says that; '*For me, the question 'Who should speak?' is less crucial than 'Who will listen?' 'I will speak for myself as a Third World person' is an important position for political mobilisation today. But the real demand is that, when I speak from that position, I should be listened to seriously; not with that kind of benevolent imperialism...*'.⁶² Despite the high and increasing numbers of *Maori* women involved in education at all levels very few senior positions, academic or management, are held by *Maori* women. Many of the arguments against the employment of *Maori* women have been made on cultural grounds. This is despite the fact that where *Maori* do have some control, for example *Te Kohanga Reo*, *Maori* women occupy most of the senior positions. However the cultural sanctions which are applied to *Maori* women are frequently framed around the formal 'rituals of encounter' in which *Maori* participate and for which many *Maori* are implicitly employed. Irwin has called many of these practices the 'newly traditional' which end up 'serving the interests of *Pakeha* men whilst disempowering *Maori* women in the name of *Maori* cultural practices'.⁶³ These practices, for example, are

⁶⁰ Ngata, A.T., P. *Te Hurinui*, 1958. *Nga Moteatea (The Songs)*. Wellington, The Polynesian Society.

⁶¹ Remember that I come primarily from two *iwi* which are very different from each other in terms of their general '*kawa*' or protocols for women. This does not mean that every *Maori* woman has been able to voice her concerns, for this would deny the realities of violence and abuse which many *Maori* women suffer within their families, however I would argue that those practices of abuse are not culturally *Maori* and that in the rules of my own *iwi*, there are always ways for women to express ourselves, to be political and to be articulate and passionate about issues.

⁶² Spivak, G., 1990. 'Questions of Multiculturalism', in *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*. ed. S. Harasayam, New York, Routledge, p.59-60.

⁶³ Irwin, K., 1992. 'Towards Theories of *Maori* Feminisms', in *Feminist Voices: Women's Studies Texts for Aotearoa/New Zealand*. ed. R. Du Plessis, Auckland, Oxford University Press, pp.1-21, p.16.

institutionalised so that in nontraditional contexts they privilege *Pakeha* men as speakers of *whaikorero*,⁶⁴ even when they can not speak *Maori*, over *Maori* women who are fluent and highly regarded. The prevailing view among many *Maori* men is that the primary or only determinant of *kawa*⁶⁵ is gender rather than the other considerations held to be important, even amongst male speakers, such as age, ability to speak *Maori*, *iwi* background and status as *tuakana*.⁶⁶

The questioning of these practices is often done by *Maori* women who are perceived in some quarters to be feminists, radicals, book educated, lesbians, who think like *Pakeha*.⁶⁷ In this struggle educational institutions can be a positive force if the people in them are prepared to support *Maori* women. However, recent appointments to high level jobs in education would suggest that *Maori* men have successfully convinced institutions that, all things being equal and in some cases all things being decidedly unequal in terms of the better qualifications held by women, men still hold more authority than women in relation to the *Maori* world. Of course, in urban areas this situation is complicated by other issues such as the *iwi* background of *Maori*, which can also be used to privilege some *Maori* over others. There is a huge degree of tokenism in the way this works in that many jobs where *Maori* are particularly 'welcome to apply' are considered by the institution to be nothing more than a job as a cultural 'tour guide', assisting the institution in its tour of equal employment opportunities legislation and its Treaty of *Waitangi* obligations. The positions may have fancy titles and high salaries (which for some people equate to a high degree of *mana*), but the spaces in which these positions can operate and the funding base upon which they operate are hugely under-resourced and marginal to the main decision making structure of the institution itself.

Maharaia Winiata argued that education emancipated *Maori* women by giving us access to

⁶⁴ *Whaikorero* being the formal speeches of welcome which occur on the *marae*.

⁶⁵ *Kawa* usually means the behaviours and protocols which shape the way we interact and conduct ourselves culturally.

⁶⁶ *Tuakana* is the older or senior line or sibling, the older brother of men and the older sister of women. My cousin whose mother or father is older than my parent is my *tuakana* even if she is younger, my daughter is *tuakana* to all my sisters children because I am the eldest sister.

⁶⁷ Either all or some of these categories peppered with a few expletives!

a greater range of leadership roles and to roles which were influential because they were related to their mediation between *Maori* and *Pakeha* societies.⁶⁸ The question of leadership and the possibilities for *Maori* women are still vigorously contested by *Maori* women. Certainly the *Maori* girls' boarding schools produced many *Maori* women who have fulfilled powerful roles within their own communities. Proportionately fewer have been able to achieve this at national level. However the primary function of these boarding schools after the *Te Aute* School enquiry in 1906, was one of domestication. Thus many *Maori* women were involved in health, education and welfare programmes at community level. Their access to an academic education was even more limited than that for *Maori* boys in that the curriculum had a clear gender bias. Although *Maori* women were influential in their *whanau*, *hapu* or local *rohe*, or region, this has not necessarily translated into an authority beyond that level. What has happened, however, is that resistances mounted by *Maori* women have over time occurred at that level. The 'flax roots' of *Maori* social and educational developments have become important sites of struggle, not just with dominant *Pakeha* forms of power, but with *Maori* forms of power. Different groups of *Maori* women, I would argue, have been politicised more through *Te Kohanga Reo* than any other initiative. This includes single *Maori* mothers, urban based women and very young *Maori* mothers. *Te Kohanga Reo* is not a general panacea for all *Maori* needs, but it began at a critical historical juncture and effectively created new priorities; *whanau* development, the restoration of certain pre-Native school relationships, the claiming of *te reo Maori* by native speakers, and the assertion of the legitimacy of *Maori* ways of knowing and doing things. These priorities have had a profound pedagogical impact beyond early childhood education. *Maori* women remain the power base of this movement.

The Authentic, Essentialist, Deeply Spiritual Other.

Recent post-structural and psychoanalytical feminist theorists have argued against the claims made by earlier generations of feminists that women as a group were different, because their essence as women was fundamentally, undeniably different, and that therefore their

⁶⁸ Winiata, M., 1967. *The Changing Role of the Leader in Maori Society*. Auckland, Blackwood & Janet Paul.

'sisterhood' would be a natural meeting place for all women. Pedagogically, essentialism was attacked because of its assumption that, because of this *essence*, it was necessary to be a woman and to experience life as a woman before one could analyse or understand women's oppression. Third World women and women of colour also attacked this assumption because it denied the impact of imperialisms, racism and local histories on women who were different. The concept of authentic, which is related to essentialism also suffered the same fate, but more so from psychoanalytic theories, because the concept assumed that if we strip away the oppressions and psychological consequences of oppression we would find a 'pure' and authentic 'self'.

In the colonised world, however, these terms are not necessarily employed in the same way that first world, white women may have used them. The term 'authentic', for example, was an oppositional term used in at least two different ways. Firstly it was used as a form of articulating what it meant to be *de-humanised* by colonisation and secondly, for re-organising 'national consciousness' in the struggles for de-colonisation. The belief in an authentic self is framed within humanism but has been politicised by the colonised world in ways which invoke simultaneous meanings; it does appeal to an idealised past when there was no coloniser, to our strengths in surviving thus far, to our language as an uninterrupted link to our histories, to the ownership of our lands, to our abilities to create and control our own life and death, to a sense of balance among ourselves and with the environment, to our authentic selves as a people. Although this may seem overly idealised, these symbolic appeals remain as being strategically important in political struggles. Furthermore the imputing of a western psychological 'self', which is a highly individualised notion to group consciousness as it is centred in many colonised societies, is not a straightforward translation of the individual to the group, although this is often the only way that westerners can come to understand what a group is.

The beliefs we hold in terms of our spiritual attachments to the land are embedded in a system of language and values and ways of viewing the world which for *Maori* have been well articulated.⁶⁹ The political significance of this view, locally and internationally, is

⁶⁹ These values are intricately linked to our creation through *Papatuanuku* the earth parent or 'mother'. *Whenua* for example means land, it also means the afterbirth which is returned to the land.

another issue. At a local level many of the arguments put by *Maori* in relation to land claims have been framed within this world view. Internationally it has become one of the defining characteristics of indigenous peoples who are organised under the auspices of the World Council for Indigenous Peoples. Several different *iwi* claims to the *Waitangi* Tribunal have sought to track out the way spiritual beliefs are embedded in language, in the landscape and in *iwi* customs. In *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* children are taught these relationships far more systematically and deliberately than with other generations. The politicisation of spirituality is part of a wider dynamic related to issues of sovereignty, to developments in *Maori* language and *Maori* education, to developing alternative strategies which challenge the legal frameworks of New Zealand, to the crises which have occurred at a socio-economic level, and to the emergence and political engagement of *Maori* women.

For western trained academics the whole area of *wairua* or 'the spiritual', unless embedded in Christian theology, cuts across the rationalism and empiricism which is part of our training. And yet, for many of us, these beliefs are an everyday part of our own personal behaviours and are incorporated into our own pedagogical practices. Although for many *Maori*, christianity has appropriated some *Maori* beliefs and de-legitimated others, there are still expressions and practices which transcend christian ideas. These are expressed culturally in the way we *tangi*⁷⁰ for the dead, the ways in which we regard food and other practices which occur on the *marae*. At a level of personal conduct, however, they are incorporated into ways of hosting people including students, ways of interacting with those who are older, younger, male, female, from my *iwi*, from another *iwi*, the ways we communicate with body language, and other styles of communication.⁷¹

Lived Experiences and Useful Theories.

One of the consequences of an anti-academic stance and a way of resisting academic

⁷⁰ *Tangi* meaning to weep, to mourn or a grieving ceremony which now includes the funeral.

⁷¹ Studies in the different teaching styles of *Maori* and *Pakeha* teachers have been carried out in primary schools. See for example Cazden, C., 1988. *Interactions Between Maori Children and Pakeha Teachers*. Auckland, Auckland Reading Association. See also Metge, J., 1986. *He Tikanga Maori-Learning and Teaching*. Wellington, Department of Education. Metge provides a cultural view of pedagogical styles and relationships.

discourses has been to privilege *experience-only* over any form of theory. Experience 'as a *Maori*' and 'in the *Maori* world' is seen by many as more authentic and the only determinant of identity and authority. Theory, on the other hand, is regarded as '*Pakeha*' unless it comes from other indigenous writers. A common form of abuse is to refer to people as 'Book *Maori*' referring to those who learned about *Maori* for the first time at university. This charge however is often made by *Maori* who themselves are also 'Book *Maori*', the major difference being that they read their books at home rather than at university. It is a silly accusation when one unpicks it but what it does illustrate is the tension between 'lived experience' and theory as the bases of analysis. As an example of how this tension is lived, I have listened on numerous occasions to *Maori* people 'from the community' whose versions of our histories may indeed have come from their *tupuna* but are so consistent with what certain books have claimed (which have been thoroughly discredited), that somewhere along the line someone had acquired book knowledge and then mystified and represented it as oral tradition!

Inside this privileging of *experience-only* is the other issue of oral tradition. The fact that it comes straight 'from the mouth' without reference to any literature is also seen as an authentic practice. This is despite the evidence and general acceptance by *Maori* that *Maori* oral traditions have their own internal rules and public accountabilities.⁷² Students have been known to claim, for example, that 'because I got this information from my *kaumatua* you can not assess my seminar'. Although this is often intended to 'put you in your place' as a teacher, it can also indicate defensiveness and insecurity in some students and mystification strategies in others. As a teacher, I don't accept the mystification of *Maori* knowledge which is sometimes employed by some *Maori*. This is not just because of my training in western traditions. My education within the *Maori* communities in which I grew up was one of constant exposure to open debate and contestability of ideas, to being encouraged as a child to sit in on adult debates and to contribute on the same terms as adults if I wished, to an excitement about new ideas, to a security about our identity and an exposure to *kaumatua* who valued and appreciated eloquent and substantive debates and *whaikorero* on the *marae*. The 'sweetness of the words', the 'pith of the speech', the sting of the words, the challenge,

⁷² This applies to the lores of *tapu* which governed access and respect for certain knowledges, to the *whare wananga* which were 'schools' for learning specialised knowledges, to the open debate which occurred on *marae* where people's knowledge was questioned and challenged.

the subtlety, the humour, the structure, the depth of the metaphors employed, there are numerous phrases which are used to describe the satisfaction that is felt when a 'good' speaker has spoken. Now as an adult I enjoy another aspect of this oral tradition and that is being witness to the preparation which occurs beforehand and the evaluation which occurs afterwards by the *kaumatua*, the careful selection of the *tauparapara*, of the metaphors, of *whakapapa*, of references to events, of the teasing and testing which occurs during the speeches and the laughter which occurs afterwards, as people talk about what happened on the *marae*.

The negative attitudes towards theory, however, are a legacy of schooling and the divisions in the curriculum between academic classes, which had mostly *Pakeha* students in them, and manual classes, which had mostly *Maori* students in them. Where streaming or banding still occurs in schools that pattern is still present. Resistance to what this has meant in socio-economic terms has been to invert what counts as important; academic, western knowledge is not important, therefore academics who produce that knowledge are not important. What this has meant then for *Maori* academics is that our relationships with our communities are built on our usefulness in working *for* the people. Theories are important if they are perceived as useful. On the other hand, some theorists, such as Freire, are regarded as icons in structural analysis and many community groups have undertaken courses in structural analysis, some without realising the theorist behind such an approach. The courses that I am a part of teaching which are heavily theoretical are popular with *Maori* students because they provide students with a language and a form of analysis which is enabling rather than alienating. This language enables students to make sense of their experiences in other ways, it enables them to channel their anger and hurt into action, it encourages them to think through issues and pose solutions.

To quote a poem from Cherrie Moraga:

I lack imagination you say
No. I lack language.
The language to clarify
my resistance to the literate.
Words are a war to me.
They threaten my family.

To gain the word
 to describe the loss
 I risk losing everything.
 I may create a monster
 the word's length and body
 swelling up colorful and thrilling
 looming over my *mother*, characterized.
 Her voice in the distance
unintelligible, illiterate.
 These are the monster's words.⁷³

Because for so long the experiences of *Maori* were viewed by schooling as major deficits and anything *Maori* was represented as negative/primitive, the re-validation of *Maori* experiences has been an important process of claiming space, even if it is pedagogical space through the right to speak. In some feminist literature and sometimes at women's conferences, this claim to speak from experience is re-interpreted as a way of silencing white women. For many *Maori* women, that is a good thing and should happen more often, as white women's feminism is regarded as a new form of colonialism.⁷⁴ As a *Maori* woman educator, covering the terrain of experiences and giving space for disclosures can be highly risky without the safeguards of either cultural understandings or language and theory. I give an occasional talk to counselling students which is entitled 'I'll show you my pus, if you show me yours', which is about issues related to shame, to degradation and voyeurism, to what it means for a *Maori* to admit to a *Pakeha* that their life is indeed filled with forms of 'savagery'. As a former counsellor and worker in the area of sexual abuse of young *Maori* women, it is also important to me (to my survival) that this former role does not intrude on my present role. However there are some strategies I learned as a counsellor of young *Maori* women which are part of my pedagogical practice, one of these is the importance of having a framework for analysing experience and for 'sorting out/prioritising' issues. Talking about that need often provides students with the bridge from experience into theory, or into a process of theorising

⁷³ A poem by Cherrie Moraga quoted by Anzaldua, G., 1983. 'Speaking in Tongues: A Letter to 3rd World Woman Writers', in *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings By Radical Women of Color*. New York, Kitchen Table, Women of Color Press, pp.165-173, p.166.

⁷⁴ See for example Smith, C., M. Taki, 1994. 'Hoihoi Wahine Pakeha' in *Te Pua* v.2, Puawaitanga, University of Auckland, pp.38-42. The title of their paper translates as 'keep quiet (or shut up) Pakeha women'.

experience. This has provided a pathway for many women into writing.

Making Space/Decolonising the Academy.

At the beginning of this chapter is a quote from Gayatri Spivak which refers to the struggle entailed when we do attempt to transform the institutions within which we work. The newer generation of *Maori* academics working in universities have focused our/their work on attempting to make structural changes within the university. These changes are directed not just at the governance of the institution, but in terms of the curriculum, of pedagogical practices and of the mentoring of *Maori* students beyond a first degree. With the exception of *Maori* Studies Departments, most *Maori* academics work in departments as the 'minority' voice. Many are employed *because* they are *Maori*, but are expected to teach *Maori* perspectives on topics which continue to reflect the theoretical interests of *Pakeha*. Re-prioritising and 'bringing to the centre' topics which may interest *Maori* represents the 'special battleground' mentioned by Fanon. In present-day terms this battleground is spatial. It is about theoretical spaces, pedagogical spaces, structural spaces. It is also about culture, history and power, about making sense of, transforming, struggling against, the institutions within which we work.

Within *Maori* society the leadership role of *Maori* academics is not dependent on our academic status but on our participation within our own communities.⁷⁵ Our connections both to the institutions in which we work and to the groups to which we belong place us at an intersection of social relations. We could theoretically choose to function as apologists for *Maori* shortcomings and become the missionaries of assimilation. This has been attempted historically by previous generations of *Maori* academics and is a good example of the function intellectuals have in maintaining hegemony.⁷⁶ We could choose to do nothing in which case we participate in maintaining the same social structures. The third option is to

⁷⁵ *Whanau, hapu and iwi and other communities such as Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Maori, Maori women, Maori teachers.*

⁷⁶ *For example, the roles played by Pomare, Buck, Ngata and other earlier Maori who are given official status in New Zealand history as leaders as compared to other Maori people who defended their lands, for example, who are still regarded as rebels.*

choose to make space within the very interface or spaces in which we engage official knowledge and the uninterrupted history of traditional academic structures.

Another option is one of '*Tino Rangatiratanga*', or complete autonomy, by moving outside mainstream structures altogether. It is a strategy in which I have participated on a number of issues⁷⁷ but one which is becoming less feasible as the New Right reforms of the state encroach on the 'space' which traditionally has been defined as lying 'outside'. For example, what has often been defined as community space has become a dumping ground for people, as the state withdraws welfare support and takes more control over state spending through charitable schemes.⁷⁸ The socio-economic resource base of *Maori* has been considerably weakened through labour market policies and the restructuring through privatisation of the state. What needs to be done is a shift in our own definitions of what is inside or outside. I am arguing two points. Firstly, even when supposedly on the 'inside' of a system such as a university our marginalisation within this system puts us on the 'outside' of the system. Secondly, we need to radically redefine the way we think about 'spaces' and our location within them. We have argued about spaces relating to forests, airwaves and land.⁷⁹ These spaces are clearly defined because they are empty and yet visible. The spaces this chapter writes of are to some degree already occupied and are small sites of struggle, but there is space to be gained and space to be reclaimed.

Making space within institutional structures is a necessary part of *Maori* academic work. This space has to be made within the very sites of struggle in which we are located. Therefore 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

⁷⁷ As a parent in the early days of *Kura Kaupapa Maori* we went 'outside' the state and set up a *kura* or independent school.

⁷⁸ For example, the state lottery schemes.

⁷⁹ For example, through claims to the *Waitangi* Tribunal or High Court injunctions which have been sought to contest the privatisation of assets by the state.

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.

There are also the day to day smaller struggles over the way the university answers the phone or people type *Maori* words or greet *Maori* visitors. These are the struggles over common sense and the taken for granted culture of institutions. University academics function within large administrative structures. Important knowledge is contained within the way things are done day to day. Gaining access to this implicit knowledge is time consuming but essential for gaining a real working knowledge of the system. Much of this cultural knowledge of how institutions operate is unknown to academics at large. They have not needed to know because it has served their interests implicitly and connects more comfortably with their own cultural values and human relationships. For many academics what is important is to have access to research time and autonomy over how they work, what they teach and security through tenured positions. To be reminded that academics have social responsibilities to competing sets of communities, ones in which *Maori*, women, Pacific Islands and other 'groups' live is a source of irritation.

When appointed to my current position at university I arrived with a background of teaching in mainstream primary and secondary schools as either the only or one of the few *Maori* teachers on staff. I assumed that at universities people who were more learned and had more insights into theory and deep knowledge would be more tolerant or accepting. I was mistaken. The language is different and the sites of struggle sometimes differ, but the issues are the same. There is a greater emphasis on the teaching of theory, but even when engaging in theories about emancipation or ones of cultural difference, the progression into a theory in action can not be assumed. For many *Maori* academics, women and men, theory, action, reflection and theory, is part of our ongoing survival. Sometimes the greater emphasis is on the action with little time for reflection and theory and even less time for writing. In other ways, however, most *Maori* academics are involved in the tasks of being secretaries of the

people, writing submissions and helping to research land claims. These activities are an important part of recovering our ways of knowing and need to be seen as legitimate academic research.

The dilemma for *Maori* women academics is that we are constituted by at least three identities, all of which are regarded as problematic; *Maori*, woman, academic. Our struggles are to find the emancipatory spaces within such an intersection and then develop those spaces for others. What this chapter has argued is that the university and the disciplines of knowledge privileged within it are implicated in the marginalisation of our work. It is also implicated in the ways in which *Maori* are represented as other. One way in which our academic work implicates me as an academic is that I and others like me have learned to access and work from the western code. At the same time, however, I have argued that there are pressures and tendencies from within our own cultural contexts which mean that we also struggle as educators to open up intellectual and imaginative spaces in the minds of our students. The challenge is that we need to draw not only from western ways of knowing but from the alternative ways of knowing offered to us by the example of *Te Kohanga Reo*. Teaching in a university is one site where this can occur, this thesis is another site. A brief synopsis of the first section will follow on from this chapter. This pattern, of introduction, three chapters and a brief synopsis, will be followed for each of the sections.

A Brief Synopsis to Section One.

In this section I have mapped out the broad parameters of the approach being taken in this thesis. I have situated the experiences of *Maori* against both the historical background of imperialism and colonialism and its contemporary expressions. In the first chapter I located myself as a *Maori* writer and researcher within a *whakapapa* which describes a particular theoretical and political terrain. Also in chapter one is an introduction to the literatures which have been interrogated. The theme of writing was developed further in chapter two, situating the approach to the entire thesis within what is referred to as the discourse of 'writing back'. Chapter two began with a critique of modernist 'History', laying out its basic assumptions and arguing that while history is important for *Maori*, History as a western discipline is also connected to western power. History and justice are not synonymous. Finally in chapter two I argued that even though western theory has been used to oppress *Maori*, theorising the world is important for *Maori* people. Although it is necessary to critique history, theory and writing, critique must also offer possibilities and alternatives. In chapter three I identified four threads which bind this thesis and enable different ways of analysing and making sense of the multiple layers of struggle. These are: (i) the imagination, (ii) intersection, (iii) movement and, (iv) code. Finally in chapter four, using my role as a *Maori* academic woman, I discussed the ways in which academic or intellectual work is connected to imperialism in a number of different ways; through being the beneficiaries of land confiscated by *Maori*, through academic disciplines developed through an appropriation of the 'other', and through the legitimisation of disciplinary practices exercised through teaching and learning. Finally I argue that this legacy has real consequences for teaching and learning and for the uneasy role played by *Maori* academics generally, and *Maori* academic women specifically.