

Introduction to Section Two.

'Researching Back'

Why is Research a Site of Struggle for *Maori*?

From the vantage point of the colonised, research is inextricably linked to imperialism and colonialism. Thus the way 'scientific' research is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism is still a remembered history for the world's colonised peoples.¹ It is a history which still offends the deepest sense of our humanity. Just knowing that someone measured our 'faculties' by filling the skulls of our ancestors with millet seeds and comparing the amount of millet seed to the capacity for mental thought offends our sense of who and what we are.² This collective memory has been perpetuated through the ways in which knowledge about indigenous people was collected, classified and then represented in various ways back to the west, and then through the eyes of the west back to those who have been colonised. Edward Said refers to this process as a western discourse about the 'other' which is supported by 'institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles'.³ According to Said, this process has worked partly because of the constant interchange between the scholarly and the imaginative construction of ideas about the Orient. The scholarly, he argues, is supported by a corporate institution which 'makes statements

¹ Consider this statement from a recent piece of research by Australian Aborigine researchers, 'We have been, and still are, frequently considered to be objects for research and continue to be put under the microscope of other people for their benefit.... Our Aboriginal knowledge has been subjected to processes of extraction, like the mining industry has taken minerals from our lands....' Ardler, S., et al. 1993. 'We are under this great stress and we need to speak out: Reflections on the Shoalhaven Aboriginal Education Research Project', paper presented at the World Indigenous Peoples' Education Conference, Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia.

² Thomson, A.S., 1859. *The Story of New Zealand. Past and Present-Savage and Civilized*. London, John Murray Publishers. Thompson writes that 'This comparative smallness of the brain is produced by neglecting to exercise the higher faculties of the mind, for as muscles shrink from want of use, it is only natural that generations of mental indolence should lessen the size of brains'. v.1, p.81.

³ Said, E., 1978. *Orientalism* New York, Vintage Books, p.2.

about it [the Orient], authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching about it, settling it, ruling over it'.⁴ In these acts both the formal scholarly pursuits of knowledge and the informal, imaginative, anecdotal constructions of the 'other' are intertwined with each other and with the activity of research. This section of the thesis examines research as a site of struggle between the interests and ways of knowing of the 'west' and the interests and ways of resisting of '*Maori*'.

Part of this exercise is one of 'researching back' in the same tradition of 'writing back' or 'talking back' which characterises much of the anticolonial literature. It has involved a knowingness of the 'coloniser' (in Fanon's sense of 'knowing each other well'), and a recovery of ourselves, an analysis of colonialism and a struggle for *rangatiratanga*. Research is one of the ways in which the underlying code of colonialism is both regulated and realised. It is regulated through the formal rules of individual disciplines and the institutions which support it (including the state), and it is realised in the myriad of representations and ideological constructions of *Maori* in scholarly and 'popular' works and in the principles which help to select and recontextualise those constructions in such things as the school curriculum. Nandy argues that the structures of colonialism are embedded with rules by which colonial encounters occur and are 'managed'.⁵ The different ways in which these encounters happen and are managed are different realisations of the underlying rules and codes which frame in the broadest sense what is possible and what is impossible. In a real sense research has been an encounter between the west and *Maori*. The site of that encounter has been a system of ideas about each other, one supported by a system of power and the other by a system of resistance.

In this particular section of the thesis the three chapters reflect parallel sequences of change in approaches to social science research which have occurred over the last decade and which have led to the current context in which it is possible to talk about *Kaupapa Maori* research.⁶

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.3.

⁵ Nandy, A., 1989. *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism*. Delhi, Oxford University Press.

⁶ These have not just occurred, for example, in education but in other disciplines such as anthropology and sociology, and in some applied areas such as health, policy analysis and feminist research.

By parallel sequence I mean that one thing has not led inexorably on to the other, but that there have been simultaneous developments at various levels and from different directions. The academic literature has been slow to chart the development of indigenous peoples' responses to research but that does not mean, for example, that they started to respond to the problems of research *after* western feminism. This sequence has involved critique within the west by feminist challenges to the tradition of western knowledge and by critical self reflections from sections of the scientific community itself. The quiet spaces in these critiques occupied by various groupings of colonised people, for example Third World women, postcolonial nationalist intellectuals, civil rights workers and other liberationists, have gradually been filled with the voices of indigenous peoples. These voices have been organised more systematically through various international organisations and have begun to respond, not just to old forms of colonialism, but to newer forms which promise to perpetuate the same kinds of terrors, for example, the raids by transnational companies on indigenous plants and medicines, the development of gene farming and the patenting of indigenous cultural and intellectual property.

It is only in the last two or three years that it has been possible for *Maori* to talk and write about *Kaupapa Maori* research. As yet it is premature to claim a fully theorised approach. We are still at a formative level of carrying out research. Although in the large research funding agencies there is recognition that *Maori* research needs to be carried out by *Maori*, there is still a hierarchy of research which privileges technicist approaches to research and which is deeply suspicious of the social sciences. The 'governmentality' of research and the emphasis on providing economic benefits to New Zealand mean that *Maori* research is already positioned on the margins, because we still have serious social issues to address before we can become fully self-sufficient economic units.⁷ Furthermore our priorities are different. Reclaiming our lands and resources, recovering our histories and attempting to intervene in major health and educational problems are current priorities. In order to meet some of the criteria for research funding we are developing projects which attempt to

⁷ Smith G.H., 1995. 'Falling Through the Cracks of the Constructivism Debate: The Neglect of the 'Maori Crisis' within Science Education', in *Access*, 14, Education Department, University of Auckland, soon to be published. Smith argues that this context is marked by an ascendancy of the new right and a return to technicist, market driven approaches to science which not only marginalise *Maori* but the social sciences as a whole.

establish the relationship of land confiscations to current health difficulties, or the training needs of *Maori* women to issues of identity. Just in terms of funding there remain tensions between who funds research (the state) and what *Maori* people want from research (*rangatiratanga*⁸).

The first chapter in this section examines the extent to which colonialism is realised through the different ways in which 'research' on *Maori* has been carried out. In particular, the chapter discusses the underlying code and rules of practice which lead implicitly to systems of selection and representation. This coding is regarded as being embedded in the western archive. The metaphor of the archive is borrowed from Foucault's use of it in 'The Archaeology of Knowledge'. It seemed very apt as a metaphor in that it evokes, for me at least, hundreds of trips to museums, galleries and libraries where western knowledge is entombed and displayed, and at the same time a *Maori* architectural form, the *pataka*, which was a storehouse for food, often carved and set high above the ground to keep the rats away. Many of the underlying rules of practice have been shaped prior to the Enlightenment, for example, ways of representing racial differences, but the Enlightenment project reframed many of these older ideas into newer and more powerful discourses.

The second chapter is concerned with the critique of research as an objective and value-free process for understanding social realities. It begins by discussing the grounds upon which western social theory has developed its own critique of positivist research. This discussion has been organised around two notions, research as methodology and research as a social aim. As a counter to the ways of knowing which are often implicit in western research an alternative *Maori* view of coming to know the world is posited. It is suggested that there are different ways of knowing, and that for *Maori* people these alternative ways of knowing do in fact account for why we are who we are. The second part of this chapter then examines the development of culturally sensitive research methodologies. These strategies are ones employed primarily by *Pakeha* researchers working with *Maori*, and the assumption is that culturally sensitive research is research by those from the dominant culture investigating within a minority culture. Finally in this chapter the limits to such an approach are discussed.

⁸ I use the term *rangatiratanga* here to mean the right to determine our own research priorities and how these priorities can best be met.

These limits have been set by *Maori* people and by the limits of the culturally sensitive approach itself.

In the third chapter I discuss the development of *Kaupapa Maori* research, locating it within the wider platform of *Kaupapa Maori* and then discussing the methodological implications and difficulties of such an approach. *Kaupapa Maori* research is, I argue, still framed by the tensions between colonialism and the struggles for *rangatiratanga*. *Rangatiratanga* however, in this context, is a way of reorganising ourselves and moving strategically towards a greater autonomy over research which has an impact on *Maori* people. *Kaupapa Maori* research draws from critical and emancipatory discourses on one hand, and cultural knowledge forms on the other. These two poles are not necessary to each other, in fact at times they may be contradictory, but they are realised and made compatible through the '*kaupapa*' of *Kaupapa Maori*. I have deliberately resisted defining a list of the essential characteristics of *Kaupapa Maori* research. The principles identified in the second half of the chapter as informing what *Kaupapa Maori* research may look like and feel like do not constitute a definitive list. They are principles around which ideas about what counts as *Kaupapa Maori* research can be organised and articulated.

The second part of this preface sets out a context in which research can be seen as a site of struggle over knowledge between *Pakeha* ways of knowing and *Maori* ways of knowing. One of the intersecting lines when we examine research is the relationship between the wider system of the west and the way research became institutionalised, not just through disciplines, but through learned societies and scholarly networks. The transplanting of research institutions from Britain enabled local interests to be organised and reinforced. This was not unproblematic as many of the earliest local researchers were not well trained and were hobbyist researchers and adventurers. The significance of travellers' tales and adventurers' adventures is that they represented *Maori* to a general audience back in England which became fixed in the milieu of cultural ideas. Images of the 'cannibal chief' or the 'tattooed *Maori* head', and stories which told of savagery and primitivism generated further interest and therefore further opportunities to represent *Maori* again.

They Came, They Saw, They Named, They Claimed.

Research on *Maori* by *Pakeha* began in a systematic way from Cook's first voyage. Prior to that time Abel Tasman's observations and encounters with *Maori*, which were not happy ones, had infiltrated into the general consciousness of Europeans as travellers' tales.¹⁰ *Maori* were represented as savages and according to Salmond their descriptions 'gave *Maori* a bloodthirsty reputation in Europe'.¹¹ Tasman is also credited as the man who 'discovered' and 'named' this land. Although Salmond argues that 'not much can be learned about *Maori* life from this voyage',¹² Tasman and his crew nevertheless signalled the start of recorded observations of *Maori*, which has since led some *Maori* to claim that we 'are the most researched people in the world'.¹³ Similar claims have been made by other indigenous people who can trace back even further the beginnings of their recorded encounters, for example Native Americans, who were 'observed' by outsiders from the sixteenth century.¹⁴

Cook's voyages to New Zealand are more important to *Maori* in that the link to science and research was much more explicit. His first voyage was partially funded by the Royal Society in order that the transit of Venus could be observed in Tahiti. The journey also included the

⁹ 'Adventures in *Maoriland*' form the basis of a 'genre' of published travellers tales for example; Reischek, A., *Yesterdays in Maoriland*. London, Jonathan Cape, (ii) Stewart, A., 1908. *My Simple Life in New Zealand*. London, Robert Banks & Son, (iii) A.H., A.W. Reed, 1939. *Two Maoriland Adventurers, Marsden and Selwyn*. Wellington, Reed, (iv) Reed, A.H. ed., 1935. *Early Maoriland Adventures of J.W. Stack*. Wellington, Reed. (v) Grieve, H., *Sketches from Maoriland*. (date unknown), Auckland, Whitcombe & Tombs.

¹⁰ Salmond, A., 1991. *Two Worlds, First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772*. Auckland, Viking Books.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.82.

¹² *Ibid.*, p.84.

¹³ Syd Jackson makes this claim in a *Metro* article in 1987 but it has been around for a much longer period than that. Jackson, S., 1987. 'Te Karanga o te Iwi', in *Metro*, v.7, no.73, pp.190-191, p.190.

¹⁴ Actually the issue has become an 'insider' joke in the indigenous peoples' network. In Australia, for example, we have friendly contests with Aborigine colleagues about who has survived European research the longest - them or us.

southern places already known as New Zealand and Australia. Joseph Banks was regarded highly as a botanist and sailed with Cook and a small entourage of eight people. His observations of plant life and his penchant for collecting plants and birds also included observations of *Maori* and the potential of New Zealand as a colony. Bank's Journal covers a number of topics which were of great interest at that time and was full of comparisons with other places known to the British. The ease with which comparisons could be made reinforce the imperial eye with which Banks saw the land and all that was part of it. While at one level this ability could be called knowledge, it was imperial knowledge that measured everything new against what was known by Banks himself. He noted the quality of the natural resources and commented on the '*immense quantity of woodland, which was yet uncleared, but promised great returns to the people who would take the trouble of Clearing it*'.¹⁵ He noted the '*properest place we have yet seen for establishing a colony*' along what he called the River Thames. '*The River Thames would furnish plenty of fish, and the soil make ample returns of any European Vegetables sown in it*'.¹⁶ After describing the landscape, insects and butterflies, sea animals, birds, vegetables, cultivated plants and fruits, Banks described the people, the men, then the women with the same detached eye. He comments on their appearances and their dispositions still making comparisons with other 'Islanders' they had previously met. He goes on to write about their clothing, their houses, their food, their technology, their weaponry, death ceremonies, religion and language. He commented on what he liked and what disgusted him and made suppositions which attempted to explain what he considered 'curious'. A pre-ethnography of those sections of *Maori* society which they encountered.

Unlike Tasman who visited only one coast line, Cook circumnavigated New Zealand and proceeded to rename the entire country at will. This renaming was at one level entirely arbitrary, responding to the fortunes or misfortunes of those on board the ship and to the impressions gained from out at sea of the land they were observing. Other names, however, recalled the geography and people of Britain. These names and the landmarks associated with

¹⁵ Beaglehole, J.C., 1962. The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks 1768-1771. Sydney, Angus & Robertson, p.3.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.4.

them were inscribed on maps and charts and thus entered into the west's archive as the spoils of discovery. The renaming of the world has never stopped. After the Treaty of *Waitangi* was signed and settlement by *Pakeha* became more intensive, townships, streets and regions were renamed after other parts of the British Empire. Some towns, for example Napier, took on names which reflected Britain's battles in other parts of its Empire such as India. Naming the world has been likened by Freire to claiming the world and claiming what counts as legitimate ways of viewing the world.

If the first encounters with *Pakeha* were ones in which indigenous people were observed as research objects, what did that mean for *Maori*? In 'Two Worlds, First Meetings Between *Maori* and Europeans 1642-1772' Anne Salmond argues that these observations, or what she refers to as 'interpretative encounters', occurred both ways, with *Maori* people exercising a considerable degree of agency over how they saw these first Europeans and pursuing their own agenda.¹⁷ The master narrative has been the one established from European accounts while *Maori* interpretations remained as oral stories. The difficulty with trying to extract specific reactions to 'research' is that, for the most part, *Maori* people did not 'know', in the sense that we would now expect them to know, that they were being researched. Research could not be disconnected from other *Pakeha* activities. 'Researchers' were also missionaries, amateur botanists, surveyors, officials, traders, and in fact any European who was able to write or draw pictures. In fact many Europeans managed to combine several occupations into one life. Colenso, for example, began life in New Zealand as a printer, was ordained as a minister and was awarded medals as a botanist. In between his ordination and honours as a botanist he had a child with a *Maori* woman while still married, was defrocked, and then reinstated as a minister.¹⁸

During the Land Wars in the 1860s this became far more problematic for some *iwi*, as military men who led campaigns against the *Maori* then became resident magistrates or land commissioners who presided over the alienation of *Maori* land, or became interpreters in trials or land dealings, and in later life came to be regarded as reliable and 'respected' sources on

¹⁷ Salmond, p.12.

¹⁸ Rowse, A.L., 1989. *The Controversial Colensos*. Cornwall, Dyllansow Truran Cornish Publishing.

Maori beliefs and customs.¹⁹ Their authority as experts in *Maori* things is vested in the whole structure of colonialism so that while engaging in very colonial operations with *Maori*, they also carried out investigations into *Maori* life which is later published under their names. Through their publications they come to be seen by the outside world as knowledgeable, informed and relatively 'objective'. Their 'informants' are relegated to obscurity, their colonial activities seen as unproblematic, and their chronic ethnocentrism viewed as a sign of the times.

At one level, every *Pakeha* person who wrote about their travels, their time in residence, their experiences with *Maori*, contributed to the larger research encounter which occurred between the *Pakeha* world and the *Maori* world. For example, there were a number of books published in the nineteenth century which told the stories of life in a colony and of contact with *Maori* through the eyes of *Pakeha* colonists. These 'adventures' idealised some aspects of life in the colony and obviously, as autobiographies, put the authors into the centre of events. At the same time, the actual real experience the writers had and their real encounters with 'real life savages', continually fed the imaginations of people 'back home'. On the basis of these stories and the hard sell of settlement companies, new migrants set off for their own adventures in the colonies armed with all their newly acquired misinformation about the availability of land, that is *Maori* land and the opportunity to make new lives.

Those observers of *Maori* whose interest was of a more 'scientific' nature could be regarded as being far more dangerous in that they had theories to prove, evidence and data to gather and specific languages by which they could classify and describe the indigenous world. So for example, *Maori* skulls were measured and weighed to prove that *Maori* minds were

¹⁹ Captain Gilbert Mair and Major William Mair are two such examples. Both brothers were active during the Land Wars. William was a major and was involved in the campaigns against Ngati Awa. He was part of the force which invaded Ngati Awa and then acted as the interpreter for the Ngati Awa men who were put on trial. Gilbert, the younger brother was an interpreter during the Land Wars and was made a captain after an engagement in Rotorua against Te Kooti. Both Mair brothers worked with the Arawa who fought on the side of the Government. Gilbert Mair was later to be very influential in matters relating to *Maori* land. He was buried as an 'Arawa' chief in 1923. Mair, G., 1923. *Reminiscences and Maori Stories*. Auckland, Brett Publishing, Mair, G., ed., 1923. *The Waikato War, Together with Some Account of Te Kooti Rikirangi*. Auckland, Brett Publishing.

smaller than the European mind.²⁰ Other stories are told of burial caves being 'discovered' and examined for the precious 'artifacts' which were left with the dead, of carved houses being dismantled and shipped to England, of dried and shrunken heads sold and exported back to museums. This side of the research encounter, with the inducements that sometimes went with the exchange of 'artifacts', has left a long lasting resentment by *Maori* and by other indigenous people, who are now attempting to have items and the remains of ancestors returned to their own people.²¹

Governor Grey, Percy Smith and Elsdon Best.

George Grey, Percy Smith and Elsdon Best were all collectors and appreciators of *Maori* knowledge at the turn of the century. There were a number of other students of *Maori* knowledge such as Tregear, Anderson, Taylor, White, Shortland and McGregor. However, these three represent the kinds of research encounters which occurred between *Maori* and *Pakeha* in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. These encounters remain influential in that they also involved an attitude or an orientation to *Maori*, which was a complex mixture of colonial exploitation and fostered dependency, deep sympathy towards *Maori* as an ideal while hostile towards *Maori* who fell short of this constructed ideal, and the need to collect volumes of material. Of these three individuals Elsdon Best is probably the best known as a researcher of *Maori*. However, George Grey, as Governor, collected around him a number of *Maori* chiefs and *Maori* confidants. Among these were *Tamati Waka Nene*, *Rangihaeata*, *Potatau*, *Te Heuheu*, *Patuone*. More importantly, however, Grey was an avid collector of material. Much of his material on *Maori* was gathered from his close friendships with *Maori*

²⁰ Thompson, p.81.

²¹ *Te Awakotuku*, N., 1985. 'He Tuhituhi Noa Iho', in *Agmanz Journal*, v.16, no.4, p.8. *Te Awakotuku*, N., 1988. 'The Role of Museums in Interpreting Culture', in *Agmanz Journal*, v.19, no.2, pp.36-37. There are several layers to this debate. One, is that museums claim to be protecting 'our' heritage and are uncomfortable with the idea that once returned, skeletons and other bodily remains will be buried by the indigenous people concerned. Another new issue is that genetic science is now capable of extracting DNA from museum remains of indigenous peoples, some of whom no longer exist. This aspect is part of the Human Genome Project. Another layer is that we as indigenous people want a greater say over the ways in which museums are administered, the nature of their displays, the general practices and values when it comes to the treatment of *taonga*. Finally, there is the real issue for some families that the museum is a safer place for some of their *taonga* such as greenstone *mere* or weapons, because private homes are unsuitable or because families can not agree on who should be looking after their own *taonga*.

chiefs. His '*Nga Moteatea*' (1853) was a collection of 533 *waiata* (chants). His book '*Polynesian Mythology*' (1855) is a translation and interpretation of *Maori* myths and stories. Percy Smith published among several books, '*The Lore of the Whare Wananga*', which is his translation of a manuscript by a *tohunga*, *Te Matorohanga* on the conceptions of *Maori* knowledge.

Both Percy Smith and Elsdon Best were colonial officials who surveyed *Maori* land on the one hand and observed *Maori* life on the other. Percy Smith, who was older than Best, eventually became Surveyor General. Elsdon Best has been acknowledged as a New Zealand-born ethnologist of high standing in the scientific community because of his years of meticulous study of *Maori* culture. He spent some time in the Armed Constabulary and was sent to *Taranaki* to 'put down' the passive resistance of *Te Whiti* at *Parihaka*. His senior officer and brother-in-law, Captain Gudgeon, and Percy Smith, who was also at *Taranaki*, later became the founding members of the Polynesian Society. Percy Smith became Best's mentor and after Best left the Armed Constabulary he followed Smith to the *Urewera* in 1895 to assist in the building of a road through the lands of *Tuhoe*. Best remained in the *Urewera* until 1910. In 1900 he became a health inspector in the *Mataatua* District and then became the ethnologist at the Dominion Museum. Most of Best's research was carried out among the people of *Tuhoe*. It is Best who is credited with renaming *Tuhoe* as the romanticised 'Children of the Mist'.

Best's research amongst *Tuhoe* is probably the most significant early research on *Maori* because it was clearly conceived by Best as research, and followed many of the conventions now associated with social science research. This includes systematic note taking, checking and rechecking of sources, interviews with informants and eventually the publication of results. At the same time, however, he was not involved with *Tuhoe* simply as a researcher. He was employed initially as paymaster-storeman for the roadworks and was expected to ease the communications between the roadworkers, who were British, and the chiefs of *Tuhoe*, who did not actually desire to have a road built through their lands.²² He was to play this intermediary role between *Maori* and *Pakeha* officials for the rest of his life. *Pakeha* officials

²² Craig, E., 1964. *Man of the Mist: A Biography of Elsdon Best*. Wellington, Reed.

clearly saw Best as a 'friend of the *Maori*', but how *Maori*, particularly *Tuhoe* regarded him has been largely left to anecdote and unrecorded stories.²³

Revisiting some of Best's material and his biography suggests that *Tuhoe* did react to Best, the researcher, in a number of ways. There were acts of open-ness and generosity as well as occasions of hostility and resistance. Best, for his part, was deeply committed to his pursuit of knowledge, but was also generous and willing to learn from his mistakes. He either paid or gave a *koha* or 'gift' to some of his informants. It is unclear to me where this practice came from, it is possible to interpret it in terms of established *Maori* values of *koha*,²⁴ or in a less sympathetic context of bribery. On the other side of this, Best had to work hard to gain the trust of *tohunga*. According to Elsdon Craig, his nephew and biographer, there were a number of incidents which show some insight into how the people dealt with the researcher. These are summarised as following:

- (i) *Hamiora Pio* of *Ngati Awa* 'offered up a prayer for their mutual protection when discussing these highly sacred matters'.
- (ii) '*Ngati-whare* called a meeting of the tribe and discussed Best's proposals at some length before deciding to make their records available to him free of charge'.
- (iii) *Te Tuhi Pihopa* had a dream about Best which turned out to be accurate.
- (iv) *Tutakangahau*, a warrior chief aged in his sixties accompanied Best on a journey into the bush, knew the name of every plant which he shared with Best and treated him with 'quiet mannered courtesy'.
- (v) When attempting to get to the source of mythology 'they (*Nga-Potiki*) led him into many blind avenues where he became engulfed in a maze of conflicting accounts of wars and raids. He found few tribal historians ever prepared to acknowledge defeat...After following dozens of false leads in an attempt to reach the truth, he realised the sheer futility of trying to fathom the tribe's history and decided to abandon the quest on the ground that it was no more than local interest, whereas anthropologists sought information of a more vital nature'.²⁵
- (vi) When Best attempted to test the knowledge of a *tohunga* and asked a question about a very sacred 'god' outside the *Te Whaiti* store, "he froze me at once" then taking Best to the door the *tohunga*

²³ See also Sisson, J., 1991. *Te Waimana, The Spring of Mana*. Dunedin, University of Otago Press. Sisson has a very detailed critique of Best's interpretation of *Tuhoe* in the introduction, pp 6-34.

²⁴ *Koha* is the practice of gifting, reciprocity.

²⁵ Craig, p.76.

warned him, "this is not the place to talk of such things".²⁶

- (v) Two months later, he attempted to ask the same question. This time he was out in the bush, at night after they 'had boiled the billy for supper'. The old man 'looked concerned and, before Best could proceed, interrupted him again. "Look here, son, never mention such a thing again near a cooking fire".²⁷
- (vi) Best found it difficult to get access to certain types of knowledge especially 'sacred rites'.. 'For the *Maori* will have business around the corner about that time, or he will close up like a sea anemone when you prod at it'.²⁸
- (vii) When it became clear to some *tohunga* that Best had gained access to the genealogies 'of nearly every member of the tribe...the *tohunga* feared for their lives as they believed he had the power to bewitch them. One night he was riding when a shot rang out and a bullet whined close overhead'. This was seen as an attempt on his life by the *tohunga*.²⁹
- (viii) After a visit to *Ruatahuna* Best wrote, 'A primitive people and a kindly, these Tuhoe of *Ruatahuna* gave us their best *whare* and such food as they had, the fruits of the soil and fresh milk and the bread of the *hinau*'.³⁰
- (vix) *Paitini*, one of his informants scolded him, 'Why don't you listen when I talk to you'..failing to extract an answer *Paitini* would depart abruptly for a walk in the bush to regain his mental equilibrium'.³¹
- (x) When he interrupted a woman weaving while smoking his pipe she scolded him and ordered him to leave.³²

Best was determined to get access to the forms of knowledge held by *tohunga* which were more 'sacred', and at one level he was an opportunist who exploited friendships with chiefs and *tohunga*. In return it appears that he was treated with respect, his mistakes were forgiven and his intense questioning answered with patience. Just from these small examples there were other things happening which are still important in *Maori* contexts. The use of karakia; (i) to protect knowledge, to open a discussion about sacred things, the calling of *hui* or

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.72.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p.72.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.73.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.73.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.83.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p.84.

³² *Ibid.*, p.68.

meetings (ii) to discuss at a collective level Best's access to information; the willingness to share some forms of knowledge (iv); the little tests and barriers that were put before him (v) just as Best tested their knowledge; the avoidance of some subjects (v, vi), the accumulation of knowledge which Best acquired which was perceived by *tohunga* as dangerous (vii) and their patience. All of this needs to be considered within a context. Firstly, a context in which *Maori*, even *Tuhoe* who had been cut off from much contact with *Pakeha*, no longer had control over their own lives or lands and were dealing with hostile officials. A friend such as Best was an important friend to have in the circumstances. Secondly, the strong belief held at the time that the *Maori* race was dying, or that civilisation was occurring so rapidly that the 'traditional' needed to be recorded as rapidly as possible before it became polluted or lost. The exchange of highly sacred forms of knowledge for sheer physical survival seems to be a pragmatic solution to the encroachment of colonisation, but it did not occur as a full scale divulging of things held to be important. Best did give up on some pursuits but put his change of tack down to the lack of importance of the topic, not his failure to discover anything (v).

Best however, gained his knowledge from *tohunga*, mostly from *Tuhoe*, but some from other tribes. He sought the most knowledgeable and most respected *tohunga* who had access to the kind of knowledge he thought would reveal the most profound aspects of primitive culture. Their knowledge existed within a much wider cultural framework which was under attack by the colonial urge to civilise and assimilate *Maori*. In 1907 *tohunga* were outlawed through the *Tohunga* Suppression Act which sought to prevent *tohunga* from practising 'quackery'. While Best lives on as an expert, his informants and the rest of their knowledge lies hidden in manuscripts and archives.

The Polynesian Society.

Scientific or Learned Societies were very important for the organisation of science in eighteenth century Europe.³³ This was a new development based on similar systems for the organisation of other cultural activities, for example, salons, gentlemen's clubs and religious orders. The Royal Society of London and the Paris Academy were established in the 1660s

³³ McClellan, J.E., 1985. *Science Reorganised: Scientific Societies in the Eighteenth Century*. New York, Columbia Press.

as were a few others.³⁴ They grew partly in resistance to the role universities then played as religious institutions, where science was expected to conform to theological prescriptions. For the most part these earlier models were associated with wealthy patrons and private capital as their source of funding. However, by the eighteenth century, Scientific Societies had become associated with secular government and received support from Government sources. This shift allowed for the systematic exchange and distribution of ideas and for the growth of some form of consensus among a community of scientists. The disciplines, particularly in the social sciences were being formed around these consensual groupings of scientists. These societies and associations become more important in New Zealand in the shaping of what counts as curriculum subjects and the way these are eventually classified and framed.

In the nineteenth century the scientific drive assumed that there were universal models of human society and human nature, and that societies deemed to be more primitive could contribute to science by showing the most simple, most fundamental systems of social organisation. Learned Societies were an important part of the way these ideas were organised and then redistributed. Certainly in New Zealand, Fellows and Members of various societies came, looked, named and then wrote about their own encounters with the flora, fauna and people they met. Societies developed within New Zealand in the latter part of the nineteenth century to further assist these scholarly pursuits. Learned societies exerted some form of ethical control over their members, partly because they were regarded as good scholars with open minds, and mostly because they were considered to be gentlemen with the 'right conduct'.³⁵ Access to the status of gentleman and of scholar was based on class divisions and wealth. Their significance for *Maori*, however, is that these societies defined and produced 'culture', not just scientific culture but the culture of knowledge, of elitism, of patriarchy and of *Maori*.

Joseph Banks was already a member of the Royal Society when he set forth on Cook's first voyage to the South Pacific in 1769. In fact the Royal Society partially funded the voyage and Banks was wealthy enough to bring four servants with him. This scientific interest in the

³⁴ See Salmond, 1991, for a discussion of the Royal Society, pp.97-100.

³⁵ McClellan.

Pacific began with Roggeveen's Dutch West India Company funded voyage in 1721. These earlier expeditions were driven by the several different objectives; the search for an El Dorado and other trade possibilities, and the scientific interest in and speculations about the nature of human beings, exploring in particular Rousseau's view of a noble savage. With colonisation as a primary objective in the nineteenth century scientific interest shifted, according to Sorrenson, towards more ethnographic descriptions.³⁶ Implied in the urgency for describing indigeneous cultures was the sense that these cultures were becoming 'contaminated' by contact with the west and were likely to die out. Included in the 'Tasmanian Journal of Natural Science' in 1842 was an article on *Maori* mythology by missionary James Hamlin.³⁷ Literary and Learned Societies were established alongside other settler activities, and by the 1860s there were a number of such societies functioning in New Zealand. These culminated in 1867 with the passing of legislation establishing the New Zealand Institute and a public museum. This occurred before the establishment of the University of New Zealand. The 'Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute' provided the first scholarly New Zealand journal for the publication of research on *Maori*. Three features dominated the Transactions, one was the interest in the '*moa*' which involved the natural scientists, the second was an interest in recording oral traditions and the reconstruction of *Maori* migration and the third was an interest in comparative ethnology. The social scientists were more interested in the latter two areas, that is oral traditions and comparative work.

The Polynesian Society was established in 1892. Percy Smith's initial proposal conforms to the view that, central to the scientific endeavour, was the the need for a community and a system of communication which allowed for the production of ideas. Smith saw the need for a Society which would allow for '*communication, co-operation and mutual criticism between those interested in studying Polynesian anthropology, ethnology, philology, history, manners and customs of the Oceanic races, and preservation of all that relates to such subjects in a*

³⁶ Sorrenson, M.P.K., 1992. *Manifest Duty: The Polynesian Society over 100 Years*. Auckland, The Polynesian Society.

³⁷ Cited in Sorrenson, p.17.

permanent form'.³⁸ The comparative emphasis was reflected in the membership with the first patron being the Hawai'ian Queen. Two other Hawai'ian women joined and in fact the Hawai'ian women appear to be the only women members when the Polynesian Society was established. There were two *Maori* men and a Samoan who were also invited to join, one of these, *Tuta Tamati* actually joined.³⁹

Percy Smith and Elsdon Best exerted considerable influence over the way *Maori* histories were theorised. Their theories and obsessions with the origin of *Maori* can be summarised in two 'orthodoxies' which have become taken for granted views about *Maori* despite these theories being challenged and discredited. Percy Smith is regarded as setting the chronology of *Maori* migration, through a method of analysing *Maori* genealogies and attributing an 'average' life span for each generation. Through this 'method', dates and time spans were established and the myth of the 'Great Fleet' entered the way *Maori* history has been historically and geographically framed. Elsdon Best was a supporter of the idea that there were some *Maori* whose origins were more 'melanesian' and who, as a people, must have been conquered and assimilated by the more aggressive *Maori* of polynesian ancestry. This belief lay behind the second major myth, namely the myth of the Moriori. The power of these two 'myths' lies partly in the fact that they have shaped the understandings about *Maori* of generations of both *Maori* and *Pakeha* school children, partly in that they have also shaped academic discourses on *Maori* by scholars set on proving or disproving various origin theories, whilst simultaneously *Maori* people were having their lands and resources systematically stripped by the state, were being increasingly marginalised and subjected to the layers of colonialism imposed through economic and social policies and through the racist discourses of society.

Educational Research.

Educational research encounters also followed the pattern of 'travellers' tales' and adventures

³⁸ Cited in Sorrenson, p.24.

³⁹ In later years there was a quite significant *Maori* membership, individuals and Trustboards, but this participation by *Maori* has since waned.

in *Maoriland* stories, which encouraged the idea that *Maori* were educable and capable of salvation. Missionaries needed positive outcomes in order to generate more funding back in England for their mission work. However, they also seemed to be genuinely pleased by the rapid progress in literacy skills and the enthusiasm for education in the early years.⁴⁰ The development of the Native School system after 1867 allowed for the collection of more systematic data relating to *Maori* children and their communities.⁴¹ Many of the teachers in this system made observations which confirmed or disconfirmed the apparent abilities of *Maori* children. The School Inspectors' reports provided vital information which was tabled in Parliament and used in arguments about the expenditure on *Maori* education. While these reports were not considered research, they fed back views about *Maori* children and were used as the basis for further policy development.⁴² The Inspectors of Native Schools were considered more or less reliable 'experts' in terms of their knowledge of how well (or poorly) *Maori* people were doing in schools. These were incorporated into reports and correspondences to the Department of Education.

Serious educational research on *Maori* in its earliest forms was strongly influenced by anthropology and then at a later stage by psychology. An early bibliography of New Zealand education noted that, *'from the first the 'education' of the Maori Race, since the coming of Pakeha, has been as much the result of the impact of Native and European cultures, in all the various aspects of human intercourse, as of the formal and informal acquisition of knowledge through the schools'*.⁴³ Hence the work of Elsdon Best, Peter Buck, William Colenso, F.M. Keesing, Percy Smith and other early documenters of *Maori* life are listed in this bibliography. In one sense this is the beginnings of an indigenous approach to *Maori*

⁴⁰ Barrington, J., T.H. Beaglehole, 1974. *Maori Schools in a Changing Society*. Wellington, New Zealand Council for Educational Research. Jenkins, K.E.H., 1991. *'Te Ihi, Te Mana, Te Wehi o Te Ao Tuhi, Maori Print Literacy from 1814-1855: Literacy, Power and Colonisation'*, MA thesis, University of Auckland.

⁴¹ Although in its beginnings teachers had other more practical concerns and early data on schools between 1867 and 1871, for example, is difficult to find.

⁴² The Reports of the Senior Inspector of Native Schools were tabled in Parliament and are part of the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives. These reports were very detailed outlining progress, reports on districts, problems, achievements rates, hygiene and other matters.

⁴³ Mules, M., A.G. Butchers, 1936. *Bibliography of New Zealand Education*. Wellington, New Zealand Council for Educational Research, p.63.

education research, one which was distinguished by a concern for recording *Maori* views of knowledge. This is significant in that discussion about *Maori* knowledge or *Maori* ways of knowing is not new, and although there is an element of retrieval of *Maori* forms of knowledge in the way some *Maori* argue, the discussion and awareness about knowledge and the access to literature on the matter has been around for some time. I am not sure as to the reasons there was such a fascination with *Maori* knowledge, whether it was derived totally from particular social science interests or whether *Maori* knowledge was regarded with real respect by the researchers working with *Maori*. I suspect it was a combination of the two. In another sense, the early research also illustrates the ways in which disciplines are implicated in each other and in the way education for *Maori* was framed.

Depending on where one constructs a starting point for research which was consciously regarded as 'educational research' it would appear that systematic studies of *Maori* education did not get underway until the late 1930s.⁴⁴ Although there were conferences on *Maori* education and a great deal of policy orientated debates, the major focus for learning more about *Maori* and education was related to the Government's wider agenda of assimilation.⁴⁵ The Native Schools had been established for the primary purpose of assimilation and there was always a policy concern to ensure this goal was achieved expeditiously.⁴⁶ There was growing concern that the processes of acculturation were being hindered and resisted by *Maori* and there was a need to know more about the reasons behind the slowing down of this process. The first major empirical study of 'modern' *Maori* which had implications for education was the work by anthropologists Ernest Beaglehole and Pearl Beaglehole, known also as the '*Kowhai* Studies', which was published in 1946. In the foreword to their book,

⁴⁴ At the University of Auckland, an Education Department predated psychology. As a field of study it was attached to the training of teachers. The first professor, A.B. Fitt, who trained under Wilhelm Wundt, the founder of modern psychology, was appointed in 1923. Theses in Education were being produced from 1924, theses in *Maori* education were presented from 1928 but theses with *Maori* education as the topic were also presented through other Departments for example D.G. Ball's 1932, thesis on 'The Education of the *Maori*' which was a Philosophy thesis. The New Zealand Council for Educational Research began in 1930.

⁴⁵ In terms of conferences the *Te Aute* Student's Association, made up of *Maori* men who had been students at *Te Aute*, held a series of conferences beginning in 1897 which discussed a wide range of issues relating to *Maori*, including education, employment, and in their second conference the education of *Maori* girls.

⁴⁶ In section three one example of a Native School is discussed in more detail in relation to the period 1874-1920 and in section four there is a discussion of the shifts in schooling policies signalled by the Hunn Report 1960.

Peter Buck comments that the, '*Beagleholes stress the problem of **Maori** character structure and education. They believe that the character structure of **Maori** must change to more nearly that of the **Pakeha** before full benefit can be derived from **Pakeha** education. It cannot be changed in the primary schools because it has been transmitted already by the parents and relatives before the children go to school. The most feasible solution, as the authors see it, is to provide adult education for the younger generation of between 18 and 30 years so as to prepare them for parenthood*'.⁴⁷ The Beaglehole study of a **Maori** community found the community as a whole to be 'disorganised' in contrast to the traditional model of **Maori** society they characterised as having a well organised social structure. One of their conclusions was that 'the future of **Maoris** is likely to lie in the direction of closer and closer approximation to the ways of living of the **Pakeha**'.⁴⁸ This would be possible they argued if '**Maoris** (made) a greater attempt than heretofore to adapt himself successfully to the values and demands of **Pakeha** society. To become a **Pakeha** in the cultural sense means not only that you speak, read, and write English, display a moderate skill at arithmetic and know something about art, music, poetry, literature and rhythm, but also that you pass through a specific process of conditioning in infancy and childhood which gives you a special character-structure'.⁴⁹

This work generated a series of other studies carried out in the 1950s and 1960s and the development of a particular strand of educational research. This included the '**Rakau**' studies of James and Jane Ritchie, the studies on **Maori** youth by David Ausubel, on **Maori** students by Thomas Fitzgerald and a number of related studies on psychological issues. The theoretical context in which many of these studies were carried out related to a number of broader, international research interests, for example; (i) in personality issues, (ii) maternal-child relationships, socio-linguistic development, and the notion of rejection, (iii) acculturation and

⁴⁷ Buck, P., 1946. 'Foreword' in Beaglehole E., P. Beaglehole, *Some Modern **Maoris***. Wellington, New Zealand Council for Educational Research, p.xvi.

⁴⁸ Beaglehole & Beaglehole, p.330.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p335.

the evolutionary move towards total assimilation and (iv) race relations.⁵⁰ Most of these studies employed a combination of ethnographic and quantitative methodologies and were heavily influenced by psychological approaches in education. *Maori* reaction to this research is best summed up by the comment of *Koro* Dewes in 1968, that 'he was sick and tired of (*Maori*) being blamed for their educational and social shortcomings, their limitations highlighted and their obvious strengths of being privileged New Zealanders in being bilingual and bicultural ignored'.⁵¹

Harker's 'state of the art' paper on research in *Maori* education lists three major themes around which educational research from 1971-1979 was focused.⁵² These were; (i) Historical, (ii) Language and (iii) Scholastic Achievement. Harker subdivided the achievement based studies into four sub-groupings; attitudinal studies, intellectual development and assessment, social factors and school factors. Reflecting the complexities and breadth of educational research, sociological, psychological, philosophical, anthropological and linguistic disciplines criss-cross each other in the research domains listed by Harker. In the language area, for example, there were two parallel strands of research which intersected each other in terms of *Maori* education policies. Sociological research and sociolinguistic research were both concerned about the relationship between language and school achievement. Anthropological linguistics research and 'multicultural' interests were more concerned with the relationship between language and culture, and in this regards were interested in the 'demise' of *Maori* language.

⁵⁰ (i) Ausubel's study on *Maori* male adolescents was concerned with the aspirations, motivations and other personality uniformities and differences between *Maori* and *Pakeha* in both rural and urban settings. Ausubel, D.P., 1961. *Maori Youth* Wellington, Price Milburn.

(ii) The Ritchie's studies which are published across a series of publications, for example, Ritchie, J., 1957. *Childhood in Rakau: The First Five Years*. Victoria University of Wellington Publications in Psychology, no.10., *Childhood in Rakau: From Six to Thirteen*, Victoria University of Wellington Publications in Psychology, no.11.,

(iii) Metge's critique of the Beaglehole and Beaglehole model was that it was seen as inevitable and unilineal. The Beaglehole model had *Maori* moving through phases of 'Acculturated Indigenous, Median Acculturated, Advanced Acculturated and High Level Acculturated. Metge, J., 1964. *A New Maori Migration: Rural and Urban Relations in Northern New Zealand*. London, University of London, Althone Press, p.259.

⁵¹ Cited in Curtis T., 1983. 'A *Maori* Viewpoint Related to Research in *Maori* Education', paper presented at a research seminar, Auckland Teachers College reprinted in *The Issue of Research and Maori*, Research Unit for *Maori* Education, University of Auckland.

⁵² Harker, R., 1980. 'Research on the Education of *Maori* Children' in *Delta Research Monograph 3*. New Zealand Association for Research in Education, pp.42-72.

The sociolinguistic approach received particular attention in New Zealand in relation to the work of Basil Bernstein and his concepts of elaborated and restricted language codes. These ideas were taken up with some enthusiasm in New Zealand and were used to promote language enrichment programmes. The Department of Education ran a series of staff development and in-service courses to promote these ideas and produced a number of texts in support of them. Two publications in particular show the extent to which ideas around linguistic deprivation came to the fore. These were 'Language Programmes for *Maori* Children' and 'The *Maori* Child'.⁵³ In the latter book we are told for example, that some of the difficulties arising from the social circumstances of *Maori* children may include the fact that 'The English some *Maori* children hear and speak away from school is likely to be a more restricted form of English than is met with at school'.⁵⁴ The significance of the sociolinguistic approach was that it was linked very directly to compensatory education.⁵⁵ The book 'Language Programmes for *Maori* Children' consisted of different approaches teachers could use to compensate for the language difficulties *Maori* children were having in school. These included lesson plans relating experiences to language development, co-operative reading, repetitive practices.⁵⁶

The anthropological concerns, however, became associated with bilingual education. The key figure in this research was Richard Benton who carried out a survey of *Maori* language usage in 1979.⁵⁷ Benton's survey found that very few *Maori* communities spoke *Maori* as a community language and that amongst younger generations, the language was being rapidly

⁵³ Department of Education, 1972. *Language Programmes for Maori Children*. Wellington. Issac, M., 1972. *The Maori Child*. Wellington, Department of Education.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.4.

⁵⁵ Bernstein's own views of compensatory education and the way his work had been co-opted by educationalists is set out in his paper 'Education Cannot Compensate for Society', first published in 1970 in *New Society*. Also published in, R. Dale, R. Fergusson, A. Robinson, eds. 1988. *Frameworks for Teaching*. London, Hodder & Stoughton, pp.377-386.

⁵⁶ I attended Teachers Training College in 1974 and as a specialist in 'language' I was put through a very intensive programme of language enrichment and language compensation programmes based on the Departmental Handbooks.

⁵⁷ Benton, R. A., 1978. 'Can the *Maori* Language Survive?' Wellington, New Zealand Council for Educational Research. Benton, R.A., 1979. 'The Legal Status of the *Maori* Language: Current Reality and Future Prospects: A Special Report', Wellington, *Maori* Research Unit, New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

eroded. Benton's conclusion was that the language was in the last stages of language death. As a result of this research bilingual schools were developed in those communities where *Maori* was still the dominant language. The 'bilingual' approach in these schools was related to introducing children whose first language was *Maori* to a planned programme of English. This point is important as the schools which developed as *Kura Kaupapa Maori* have a quite different approach to bilingual education.

Sociological research in education was also concerned with issues of ethnicity and social class. These concerns generated research which examined a range of environmental factors in achievement, such as teacher attitudes, teacher-child interactions, race issues and school organisation factors. Ramsay suggests that the multiple research interests of sociology reflect wider changes in the sociology of education which had occurred between the 1960s and mid-1970s.⁵⁸ According to Ramsay 'the field of sociology known as structural functionalism came under attack' and more emphasis was given to interpretative sociology, which had a concern for the 'forces' that move human beings, as human beings'.⁵⁹ This shift in emphasis was reflected in the research undertaken by sociologists in New Zealand during those years. Ramsay argues that there were three main approaches to interpretative sociology, the phenomenological, the symbolic interactionist and the ethnomethodological. Each of these approaches, and the older 'classical' approach to sociology, were used in research which was either concerned for or had a passing interest in *Maori* people.⁶⁰

A cumulative effect of all this research on *Maori* from the 1960s through to the early 1980s was the widespread perception by *Maori* that educational research was victim blaming research, which simply regarded *Maori* culture, *Maori* people, *Maori* parents and *Maori*

⁵⁸ Ramsay, D.K., ed., 1984. *Family, School and Community*. Sydney, George Allen & Unwin.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.4.

⁶⁰ Ramsay's list of research on *Maori* differs from Harker's summary in that it confines itself to research that is of interest to sociologists. This list includes research on ethnicity, racism, social stratification, occupational choice, class structure, parental attitudes, family and home factors in achievement, maternal care, social disorganisation, linguistic factors, assessment procedures. Not all of these areas were confined to research solely by sociologists.

children as being culturally deprived.⁶¹ The 'cycle of deprivation' seemed to incorporate within it, and to **Maori** at least, lay blame on, all aspects of **Maori** life, personality, home circumstances, family size, economics and educational achievement.⁶² What appeared to be missing consistently was any sense that there might be profound historical and political reasons which accounted for the socio-economic circumstances of **Maori**, that power relations may be a significant variable in any explanations of **Maori** society, or that the 'disorganised' society in which **Maori** lived might have within it the resources to resist and recover. This kind of research was seen as offering nothing positive or new for **Maori** people and was more about validating the careers and ideas of the people who carried out the research. As argued by Stokes, 'there is an increasing awareness in the **Maori** world that **Maoris** have been guinea pigs for academic research, that some academics have made successful careers out of being **pakeha** experts on **Maoris**; but that **Maoris** have not gained a great deal from this process'.⁶³ Smith argues that 'research was used against **Maori** in order to fit **Maori** into **Pakeha** prescribed moulds and to assimilate **Maori**'. Furthermore he argues that the continuing crisis in terms of **Maori** under-achievement reflects the failure of educational research to deliver better outcomes for **Maori**. Smith lists six 'impediments' in educational research from the 'sordid past'. These are; (i) *deficit/deprivation emphasis*, (ii) *victim blaming orientation*, (iii) *reductionist research*, (iv) *lack of local theory related to the New Zealand context*, (v) *descriptive, problem oriented research*, (vi) *dominance of **Pakeha** needs, concerns and interests*.⁶⁴ Finally, a *kaumatua* has made the following comments about research, 'research is used as damage control on **Maori**.....Research which has been done has a negative

⁶¹ This was also the pattern in Britain and the United States with various discourses on the 'Black Mother', 'Black English' and other arguments being used in support of the cultural deprivation view. For an early critique of these approaches see Stone, M., 1981. *The Education of the Black Child The Myth of Multiracial Education*. London, Fontana. See also a critique by Collins, P.H., 1990. *Black Feminist Thought*. Boston, Unwin Hyman. Collins identifies the Black mother syndrome as a core theme of Black feminist thought because it has been represented to Black women as a controlling image. Refer to pp.67-90.

⁶² Smith G.H., 1992. 'Research Issues Related to **Maori** Education' in *The Issue of Research and **Maori***, Research Unit for **Maori** Education, University of Auckland.

⁶³ Stokes, E., 1985. 'Maori Research and Development', A discussion paper prepared for the Social Sciences Committee of the National Research Advisory Council. Reprinted in *The Issue of Research and **Maori***, Research Unit for **Maori** Education, University of Auckland.

⁶⁴ Smith G.H., 1992. pp.4-5.

impact on us'.⁶⁵

In Summary.

There are several dynamic experiences which intersect the following discussions on research. Firstly, *Maori* people have an attitude towards research which has been based firstly upon our experiences as the researched and secondly on *Maori* attitudes towards knowledge. These two features are not mutually compatible but intersect each other, sometimes in contradictory ways and at other times in sympathetic ways. The 'attitude' towards research is deeply ingrained and this has consequences not just for *Pakeha* researchers but for *Maori* researchers. Even though *Maori* researchers are encouraged by our communities and invited to carry out research projects, the invitation has to be read alongside the contradictory discourse relating to research as exploitation and research as a *Pakeha* activity.

A second feature relates to the struggle over *Maori* knowledge. As mentioned in relation to the work of Elsdon Best and other ethnographers, *Maori* knowledge has been a topic of interest for *Pakeha* researchers. Different *iwi* or tribal versions of their histories have been recorded and published. Many of these accounts are contested by the *iwi* concerned but are also used by younger generations of *Maori* to recover a view of *Maori* knowledge which, for reasons to be outlined later in the thesis, have been denied them. *Maori* women, for example, have argued that these early histories have marginalised the role of women in *Maori* society and constructed *Maori* women within the ethnocentric and patriarchal views of women held by *Pakeha* men towards *Pakeha* women.

A third feature relates to the policy cycle in which research about *Maori* feeds directly into policies which are promulgated in the curriculum, in staff development and in other educational matters. The power of research is linked directly to the crisis which continues to entrap *Maori* students in under-achievement. In its desperation to solve the crisis expediently (in political and economic terms), previous policy makers have themselves responded to

⁶⁵ Cited in *Teariki C., P. Spoonley, 1992. Te Whakapakari Te Mana Tangata: The Politics and Processes of Research for Maori.* Palmerston North, Massey University, Department of Sociology.

research findings with enthusiasm but not necessarily with reflexivity or generosity.⁶⁶

A fourth aspect relates to research as praxis, the relationship of research to social and political benefits. In this sense research assumes a different kind of importance for *Maori* who wish to recover that which has been lost, to reclaim that which has been taken and to re-centre that which has been marginalised. Although *Maori* people have a new interest in carrying out research, that interest is shaped by different sorts of priorities. Those priorities sometimes appear to be in contradiction with each other in that they argue for emancipatory goals and at the same time, for very practical, instrumental and materialistic outcomes.

As a site of struggle research then has a significance for *Maori* that is embedded in our history under the gaze of western science and colonialism. It is framed by our attempts to escape the penetration and surveillance of that gaze whilst simultaneously re-ordering and reconstituting ourselves as *Maori* in a state of on-going crisis. Research has not been neutral in its objectification of *Maori*, in fact objectification itself was a process of dehumanisation. In its clear links to western knowledge research has generated a particular relationship to indigenous people which continues to be problematic. This relationship is what the following chapters examine.

⁶⁶ *This response however is highly selective. In one example according to the researchers Marshall & Peters, their study which found examples of racist practices at an institutional level was 'shelved' by the Department of Education while research which found that the Maori peer group held back the development of bright Maori students was actively promoted by the Department with media coverage.*