

KAUPAPA MAORI AND CONTEMPORARY IWI MAORI
RESISTANCE

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Table of Contents	Page ii
He karanga ki te Iwi	Page iii
He haka kowiri	Page iv
Mhipotopoto	Page v
Whakarapopototanga	Page vi
Chapter One: Introduction	Pages 1-6
Chapter Two: Kaupapa Maori	Pages 7-39
Chapter Three: Critical Theory	Pages 40-57
Chapter Four: A British Imperial context	Pages 58-80
Chapter Five: Indigenous Resistance	Pages 81-97
Chapter Six: Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho	Pages 98-118
Chapter Seven: Summary and Reflections	Pages 119-126
References:	Pages 127-135

He Karanga ki te Iwi.

Mai raa ngaa iwi i te raa, e haere mai!

Haere mai raa, huihuia mai raa ngaa mate tuatini o ngaa karanga o te raa, e haere mai!

Mai raa, huihuia mai raa oo taatou mate tuatini i te raa, e haere mai!

Haere mai raa te aahuatanga i oo taatou mate tuatini, e haere mai!¹

¹

*no english translation is offered.

He haka kowiri ki nga hau e wha.

Aa, whakarongo mai ngaa iwi nei, whakarongo mai te motu nei! Ahakoa te iti o te rawa e tau nei -

Aa ha! Aa, e kore te whakamaa piri ki ahau! E kore te whakamaa piri ke ahau! He maire au ka puukengatia! He maire au ka puukengatia! Karawhiua! Ana, ana, aue, hii!²

²

He haka kowiri mai Kurauia Tahuriorangi o Te Arawa, Ngati Pikiao oku tipuna whaea.

The writing up of this thesis is the result of many contributions. From our Atua, our atua matua Whenua, matua tipuna, kuia, koroua, matua and whanaunga. In the challenges set to put these Sacred stories onto the page, I give recognition and acknowledgement. To my everyday lifeteachers and inspirers, those tipuna which have comforted me during some very difficult hours of mortal reluctance. Ki oku tamariki the late Erika, Cerisse, Tabitha, Waiora, Tama Te Kapua and Ngaronoa. You represent the returning. Of special significance to me are the experiences, challenges, complexities, inspiration and tenacious spirit of many Iwi women. Many of these women created the spaces in which this work was made possible. While the learning has not always occurred on a positive note, engari he tohu tonu ki ahau. Cherryl Te Waerea Smith; I give acknowledgement to the maturing learning which emerged out of the undergraduate and postgraduate korero we engaged in. Ngaronoa Gardiner, Kura Tamahori, Bonita, Mere White, Waiora Port, Trisha Johnston, Glynis Paraha, and those Iwi women who have had the courage and fortitude to follow their dreams and realise them. Of all the Iwi women; Leonie Pihama, you have proposed the most compelling challenges, provided an excellent role model for the pursuit of excellence and precision thinking. You have also carried this within a humbling spiritual fortitude. You remain a mentor and teacher. To your whanau, Tam, Kumeroa, Te Aho o Te Rangi and Lilian tena koutou mo te aroha ki oku tamariki me maua ko Eric. The days of quiet and gentle support made the final journey of words onto pages a pleasing conclusion. My thanks to Paora Stanley for blunt reminders and Graham Smith for a political strategists guide to Iwi humour.

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Te Whakarapopototanga

This thesis argues that Pakeha power brokers are agents of British Imperialism and Colonialisation. Re-asserting the efficacy of Iwi forms of 'scholarship' it has also been argued that the political arrangements of Colonialisation were recognised and articulated by Iwi as Te Karauna (the British Crown), Kawanatanga (limited authority under Hapu and Rohe sanction), and Pakeha Colonial settlers or Tauwi as a problematic immigrant group. Because Colonialisation has been deployed to undermine the legitimacy of Iwi epistemologies and Sacred narratives, this thesis re-centralises their efficacy and legitimacy in shaping and informing Tikanga-a-Iwi and Kaupapa Maori theorising today. This thesis has focussed on the 1986 Department of Social Welfare Ministerial Advisory Report titled Puao-Te-Ata-Tu in which Iwi working from within a number of sites of Kawanatanga revealed that a number of fundamental Colonial contradictions have helped to mask institutionalised White racist economic and political exclusions and the naked Colonial elite manufacture of Iwi consent. As a result, the Report enabled a widening of Iwi Resistance strategies in which it became possible and imperative for Iwi to struggle within and against the Kawanatanga State.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This thesis contexts two power complexes and their problematics. It gives a privileged focus to the effects of these political arrangements in and on the lives of Iwi 'nations'³descendants. British Imperialism and the installation of a Pakeha controlled political, economic and epistemological hegemony are defined as Kawanatanga. The Iwi nations of these islands are referred to as Iwi. The structural and institutional configurations of Iwi will be developed and then taken for granted as legitimate throughout this thesis. The dominant colonising instruments of Kawanatanga are referred to in terms of institutional and ideological apparatuses of the Colonial bureaucracy, media, education, Church, and contemporary Pakeha Colony - Kawanatanga. It will also be argued that the structural and institutional tensions which signified the relationships between opposing, resistant and dissenting Iwi and the increasingly domineering and oppressive invasiveness of Kawanatanga were also mirrored linguistically and culturally as the right to appropriate.

Hidden behind this complex infrastructure of imposed silences and invisibilities is the agenda of shoring up a failing British Empire. Also hidden is the record of Iwi oppositions, Resistances and active dissent to the installation of alien Colonial rule. The invasion of British Imperialism and its parasitic extension of Colonialism have carried similar stories into the lives of many other Iwi nations. Imperialism was perfected within the Empires and will be redefined within this thesis as an active and implicit policy and practice for the realisation of Empire in the Colonies.

When my Mātua tipuna were first confronted by Pakeha elites attempting to evict them from their Papakainga, these images remained potent political symbols in

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Iwi Maori 'nations' is defined here using the Native American Indian configuration of nations within a nation framework. The term denotes a dialectical relationship between the Self and the Collective polity underpins all political configurations. From now on this will be referred to using the term 'Iwi'.

my life. They came to include the forced removal of many of our whanaunga into the Colonial Welfare residential institutions of the early 1960's and 1970's. Many of our whanaunga were directly psychologically and physically terrorised within Colonial institutions such as these. During this period of time Iwi children were being systematically removed from what Pakeha elites had decided were 'culturally deprived' backgrounds. The failure of Iwi children to assimilate into a Eurocentric ideal was blamed on Iwi 'parents' (in the particular and collective sense). Many atrocities followed the removal and later displacement of Iwi children into stranger (usually Pakeha Christian) care situations. Within the range of residential facilities which emerged, Iwi children dominated the statistics as residents. Clinical rape, sexual, physical, emotional and psychological abuse were not uncommon occurrences within Colonial residential and foster care arrangements. It is worth noting that almost all Colonial Social Work staff and the value base on which Social Work practice has evolved were eurocentric. Very little change has occurred without active Iwi oppositions and resistance. Eventually Iwi began to recover from the onslaught of British Colonialism and Kawanatanga was finally recognised as antithetical to Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho.

In the Pakeha controlled Academic arena, these struggles and tensions are continued. During my undergraduate years at a Colonial University there were few spaces available to study and be supported to theorise from the foundations and orientations of an Iwi political context. There were a few exceptional Pakeha who had been open to a radical critique of Kawanatanga, but on the whole the pervasiveness of Pakeha theoretical hegemonies and arrogance often overrode this uneasy support. Out of this broad range of experiences and concerns emerged a realisation that Iwi epistemological traditions are central to a confident Iwi orientation under Colonialism. It also provides important opposition and Resistance knowledge which is unique to the Sacred narratives of Iwi descent. These understandings have been used in this thesis to make different sense of the impact of Colonialism in the lives of my Whanaunga and by implication the lives of those Iwi descendants who proliferated as residential inmates.

Colonial schooling and educational theories are also implicated in the undermining of Iwi epistemologies. Colonial control over knowledge through ideational domination is argued to have been a key instrument with which to maintain and perpetuate the colonisation of Iwi into contemporary times. The results have been distorted by Pakeha elites who have rationalised the rejection of European linguistic and cultural mimicry as 'evidence' that Iwi are a backward people who Pakeha have been justified in seizing political control over. A central contention of these considerations is that without giving due consideration to Iwi epistemological traditions the forces which impact externally and the active opposition, Resistance and dissent which is employed throughout Iwi will never be fully understood. In terms of proposing social policy, this would seem to be a priority knowledge paradigm for any claims of authentic representation.

The final decision to attempt a thesis was prompted from supportive peers who were pivotal in the completion of an undergraduate nightmare. The topic itself reflects many of the historical issues which have confronted the lives of Iwi, hapu and whanaunga. The process for arriving at a topic for this thesis has taken over four years to bring together. In part there has remained a reluctance to complete the project as a building block towards what I have been advised are more meatier post graduate adventures at the Doctorate level. Basically as an alien to this very Pakeha process, I have found the bulk of this experience has at times served to re-affirm how great the need of Iwi descendants has become to have a solid grounding in their own Sacred narratives. Ideally, this grounding will eventually be matured in the language base of Te Reo Rangatira. I have therefore privileged the use of Iwi terms and concepts by capitalising them. I have also chosen not to translate some of the passages to emphasise that there exists ethical constraints and cautions against the illusion that a single interpretation is being attempted. Iwi English idioms have provided key bridging tools towards that end. This is a hope that I hold, some of the dilemmas which continue to be faced and a beginning point for introducing many of the contemporary issues which this thesis touches on.

As far as practicable this thesis has attempted to draw on Iwi, Indigenous and black critical theorists, commentators, writers, artists and debates because this thesis is interested in examining the ways in which British Colonialism impacts on the lives of Iwi as Tangata Whenua and as a peoples subjected to British Colonialism. The experience of other Indigenous peoples has been crafted in to highlight the consistent recurrence of Colonial attempts to manufacture Iwi nations' consent through colonisation processes and to recognise that active opposition and resistance have also been integral in global struggles for decolonisation. Decolonisation of the status of Other, alien and margin in their own Sacred homelands is argued to be a driving force and prerequisite for Iwi to reclaim the full exercise of their Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho.

The decision to include selected strands of European critical theorists and their theories is based in the view that European theories can provide a bridge from which to critically inform opportunities for opposition, Resistance and transformation. This also recognises that critical theoretical traditions exist within European intellectual traditions and contests the view of European societies as being homogenous or defined exclusively in terms of a deterministic monolith by Imperialism and Colonialism. Western Feminisms, liberation theologies, Gay and Lesbian movements and theories are some examples of oppositional and resistance within the Western intellectual traditions.

An introduction to the next six chapters will now be outlined.

(i) Chapter Two proposes that any comprehensive and critical analysis of the political frameworks for Rangatiratanga and Tino Rangatiratanga cannot be realistically comprehended outside the context of the Iwi epistemological traditions which made them possible.

This chapter also posits the view that a number of changes have taken place within Iwi political arrangements which have been further undermined in their dealings with Kawanatanga. This chapter centralises the claim that Iwi

opposition, Resistance and dissent are not new phenomenon, but that a range of tikanga-a-iwi have culminated in the transformation of Iwi epistemologies and the emergence of a range of Kaupapa Maori theoretical frameworks and their debates. These have also been applied and have transformed the ways in which Iwi are engaging, intervening and transforming their range of views regarding Kaupapa Pakeha knowledges.

This chapter re-centralises the important role and status of Iwi women and the future of Iwi - our tamariki as important contemporary symbols for our struggles. A challenge left at the end of this chapter is to examine the extent to which Iwi epistemologies might be usefully translated beyond the constraints of a very embryonic Iwi academic resistance community within Kawanatanga academic settings.

(ii) Chapter Three proposes that European critical theories and theorists have a place for informing Kaupapa Maori theorising. However, this is restricted to the context of European power contexts and influences. Critical Theory also offers a way of inverting the deceit of Colonial paradigms, because a key principle of critical theories is to reveal existing contradictions which can be used to inform critical action and praxis.

(iii) Chapter Four develops a global and national context for Pakeha Colonial policy production as an Imperial phenomenon which has emerged like a plague throughout indigenous societies and territories.

(v) Chapter Five develops the view that Iwi oppositional, Resistance and dissent existed for generations before the arrival of Pakeha Colonialism. It is also proposed that these underpin the traditions of and strategies for Iwi political struggle which are reflected throughout many historical attempts by Iwi to halt the inhumanities of British Imperialism and Pakeha hegemonic Colonialism. This chapter makes the point that Iwi and Kawanatanga meet at a range of power 'intersections' and that the development of Kaupapa Maori theoretical frameworks

has come to include oppositional, Resistance and dissent models for these contexts. The central position of Iwi epistemologies for Iwi descendants is emphasised by this thesis as a cornerstone of Iwi recovery or decolonisation and includes their Sacred narratives as central in informing their Resistance counter knowledge. The potential of Iwi epistemologies to Iwi Resistance is also being used to inform critical analyses with which to intervene in the Pakeha elite and coloniser manufacture of Iwi consent to political genocide.

(vi) Chapter Six incorporates two themes; (1) The resurgence of Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho as a central thesis of political struggle, and (2) the need to shift analytical privilege from a focus on Pakeha hegemony to one which centralises the importance of Iwi Sacred narratives for the realisation of Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho. The Ministerial Advisory Report Puao-Te-Ata-Tu (1986) is used as a key example of the ways in which Iwi could act from within and against Kawanatanga dominance. It signalled a return to models of opposition and struggle based on Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho.

(vii) Chapter Seven takes a reflective look and considers some of the implications of this analysis. I also look at areas which could be developed further. Limitations in the methodology of this thesis have also been discussed in terms of having entered into an English based scholarship tradition as a result of my own experiences of British and Pakeha Colonialism. This means I am not an English speaker by choice, but as a result of my own language and cultural suppression.

CHAPTER TWO: KAUPAPA MAORI

Introduction:

Within contemporary debates related to Tino Rangatiratanga¹ the epistemological base and traditions which reinforce Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho² have been silenced, disregarded and at times re-defined by Pakeha power elites to serve their exclusive economic and political interests. Unfortunately many Iwi descendants, often in important positions of political power have often been willingly co-opted by Kawanatanga. In many of these cases the term Kupapa³ has been used to highlight conscious complicity. This kind of political negotiation package remains highly problematic to Iwi struggles for political independence because they promote the illusion that internal Colonial rule is preferable to Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho - political independence and autonomy.

There has also been misplaced confidence in Kawanatanga which has been turned against Iwi interests. In this chapter I argue that in order to fully appreciate the terrain of struggles regarding Iwi descendants, that those dynamics must be placed in context by Iwi epistemological traditions. I also argue that Kaupapa Maori has emerged as a contemporary expression of these diverse traditions. I

¹ Tino Rangatiratanga is defined here as the transformation of Rangatiratanga into a territorial status in relation to a new human group.

² Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho is defined here as Iwi defined political authority which is seen to be derived from the Sacred Whakapapa of Te Ira Atua and Te Ira Whenua with Te Ira Tāngata. Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho has also undergone conceptual reductions which have restricted its usage to a narrowly defined and Pakeha contexted status for political expedience. Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho is quite literally derived from an Iwi epistemological belief system as a total philosophy of and for life that continues to regulate Iwi law and political organisation.

³ Kupapa is defined here as an auxiliary force which may be co-opted to in support of another group. In contemporary times the term kupapa has been used in the negative sense to define Iwi power brokers who compromise the Tino Rangatiratanga of related Iwi in their specific interest deals with Kawanatanga. The Ngai Tahu case under Tipene O'Regan and the emergence of a 'brown table' of Iwi male leaders are two examples of this definition.

argue that Kaupapa Maori theorising is also being developed to actively transform the ways in which Kaupapa Pakeha knowledge can be more usefully used to shape and inform a wide range of contemporary Iwi and Kawanatanga political debates.

I argue that Kaupapa Maori knowledge paradigms, theories and frameworks are rightfully privileged by Iwi descendants as the basis of their linguistic and cultural heritage and integrity. These bodies of knowledges provide the historical context within which a distinctively three World Iwi orientation is grounded. This orientation is argued to be founded on a corpus of knowledge which has continued to be transmitted through the social frameworks of whakapapa⁴ in which a three dimensional framework of human existence is based in te ira Atua⁵, te ira Whenua⁶ and Iwi, hapu and whanaungatanga as te ira tangata⁷. These epistemological principles continue to shape and inform contemporary Iwi social power relations. However, it is also recognised that the outcome of language and cultural suppression have dramatically affected this knowledge from being transmitted as a complete and cohesive body of knowledges and practices. Today these principles are being reclaimed by Iwi descendants as their rightful Iwi legacy and supports many struggles throughout Iwi to actively restore and reproduce the knowledge and practices of Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho⁸ and Tino

⁴ Whakapapa is defined here as an ancestral descent matrix through which social power relations are being configured within Iwi Maori nations.

⁵ Ira atua is defined here as the seed descent of Iwi Maori creation from Creator Gods. The usage of the term Gods is restricted to this range of indigenous knowledges and the meanings imputed to them exclusively by Iwi Maori nations and their descendants.

⁶ Ira whenua is defined here as the seed descent of the planet and its sibling environs. Ira whenua is often associated explicitly with the primal power of Papatuanuku the Earth Parent of Iwi Maori nations.

⁷ Ira tangata is defined here as the seed descent of human life according to Iwi Maori nations belief systems. This is a gender neutral concept.

⁸ Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho is defined in this instance as the Atua derived authority, roles, responsibilities and obligations of Iwi human existence.

Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho⁹.

This section privileges the role and status of Iwi women and children as contemporary political metaphors of Iwi political struggles. During the crucial 1950's and 1970's, the increasing visibility of Iwi women and the focus of Iwi struggles around their future - their tamariki and mokopuna, became catalysts to active political struggle. In the 1980's and 1990's they have remained potent political symbols and rallying points for political struggle together with a fundamental questioning of alien Pakeha elite rule and the shallow veneer of the British Empire.

RANGATIRATANGA I TUKU IHO

The ancestral context of these lands is based in a three dimensional framework of Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho. For thousands of years Iwi have conducted their political lives from generational wisdom and the internal problematics which have attended most human societies. M. Marsden and T. Henare (c1988,1992) contend that an Iwi epistemological framework rests on two conjoint corpuses of knowledge, (1) A fundamental corpus of general knowledge, and (2) a Sacred inner corpus of knowledge.

From these two interwoven knowledge paradigms, Iwi knowledge is constructed from a three dimensional framework and world view which carries within it cultural imperatives defined as Tikanga-a-Iwi¹⁰. The three ancestral kete as baskets of knowledge represent three interwoven knowledge paradigms which are at times referred to as realms, world views or dimensions. Each kete provides important layers of knowledge which are only fully comprehended through a masterful command of Te Reo Rangatira the Iwi mother tongue. Four

⁹ Rangatiratanga I tuku Iho and Tino Rangatiratanga as Iwi Sacred and political authority at the Rohe or local and Motu or Nation wide status of Iwi to Kaitiakitanga and Mana in this land.

¹⁰ Tikanga-a-iwi are defined here as the transmission of ancestral wisdom directly through practical application. Refined and transformed over time, tikanga-a-iwi are the archives of ancestral wisdom fully realised in collective action.

contributing principles also inform these epistemological traditions and reflects a broad framework of Iwi 'scientific' knowledge is available. These dynamic concepts have been defined by Marsden and Henare (1988) as four elemental forces.

IRA ATUA

Iwi epistemologies are founded on a system which argues that within the cosmic Universe there exists four primary causal principles. The four cosmic elements represent related elemental energies or building blocks necessary to the life force of the Universe. These elemental forces are represented as the whakapapa of Papatuanuku which follows a sequential formulae. These four cosmic elements are, Mauri, Hihiri, Mauri Ora and Hau Ora.

Mauri:

The beginnings of whakapapa (genealogical sequence of Creation) and the first Sacred principle in the building blocks of all life forms, is represented as Mauri (life force). As the earliest fundamental first principle for life, Mauri is the pervasive cosmic element which is actively organising, cohering, unifying and binding the developing constituents to a newly evolving whole. Mauri represents a primal rhythmic patterning of all life forms.

Hihiri:

A formulae for the refinement of 'pure energy' hihiri also represents an Iwi knowledge of quantum physics in which hihiri represents the World underpinning the natural World. This 'real' World is comprised of 'rhythmical patterns of pure energy'

Mauri-Ora:

The life principle of all things. A transformative life force which moves a life form from its early or primal stages and pure energy towards the prospect of becoming an independent life form.

Hau-Ora:

The wind breath from the spirit of all life. It is the final stages before independent 'being' becomes conscious of itself (M. Marsden and T. Henare 1992:5).

From the four elemental life principles Iwi epistemologies also trace the origins of Te Ira Tangata to Te Ira Whenua and Te Ira Atua. Iwi knowledges have also been retained within what are referred to as the three Sacred kete of knowledge. These Sacred kete Wananga are the repositories in which Iwi celestial, cosmogonic, cosmological, esoteric and Sacred knowledge continue to be provide the fundamental underpinnings for Iwi laws, structures and institutions of power. These Sacred kete have also continued to shape and inform the philosophical foundations on which Tikanga-a-Iwi are practiced today. This Iwi knowledge system also gives record and accord to the view that Iwi existence is also counterpoised by a three World holistic interdependence.

The three kete of Sacred Iwi knowledges are claimed by Iwi to a unique cultural heritage that descends exclusively from this motu¹¹. While Iwi variation in the naming of the Sacred kete is acknowledged, for the purpose of this thesis it is a minor consideration here. Ngapuhi elder Maori Marsden (1989) has referred to the kete as, Te Tua-Uri¹², Te Tua-Atea¹³ and Te Aronui¹⁴. The strength and accuracy of these knowledges relied heavily on oral pedagogy. Passed on directly through familial networks, the earlier knowledge transmission systems of Iwi were seriously undermined and deliberately eroded during full blown British Colonialism. Today the competing processes of Tikanga-a-Iwi and Kawanatanga are reflected within Iwi epistemological traditions as contestations and tensions, external impositions, erosions, resistances and transformations. The important emergence of Kaupapa Maori epistemologies cannot be underestimated as a major intervention into the problematic rise and contestation of the centrality of

¹¹ Motu is defined here as a widely recognised geo-political status of Rangatiratanga or absolute indigenous Sovereignty recognised over a territory.

¹² Te Tua Uri has been defined as the world beyond the world of darkness and the 'real world' behind sense perception or the 'natural world' (Henare, M. 1989:8).

¹³ Te Ao Tua Atea is defined here as the world beyond space and time or the infinite and eternal world before Te Tua Uri.

¹⁴ Te Aro Nui is defined here as the world before us or the constructed world of our senses (Marsden, M. 1989:10).

Tikanga-a-Iwi by Kawanatanga power brokers within the political, economic and cultural spheres used to impose Colonial rule today.

Acknowledgement of the tuakana concept of Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho has been obscured by Colonial debates which have given privilege to the contemporary notion of Tino Rangatiratanga as the central debate. This shifted emphasis from a central focus on the status of Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho as the central axis of political power and elevated the status of Kawanatanga by turning the Treaty of Waitangi on itself. Uninformed Pakeha analysts of all description have attempted to imprison debates regarding Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho by deliberately repositioning Tino Rangatiratanga and as a consequence the recent emergence of Kawanatanga. Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho is proposed here as the root concept which makes the term Tino Rangatiratanga possible. This ancestral status is rooted to Iwi Whakapapa and human philosophies which binds the right of political authority as unique to descent from Te Ira Atua, Te Ira Whenua and Te Ira Tangata and the consequent roles, obligations and responsibilities. Any disregard of Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho is also a disregard of Tino Rangatiratanga. Tino Rangatiratanga as the extension of such powers has also been promoted by many Pakeha academics as the basis on which all Iwi throughout the motu were supposed to have ceded their Iwi 'Sovereignty' over to Britain and Pakeha Governance. No such evidence for this exists within the Sacred narratives of Iwi as diverse yet related Tikanga-a-Iwi. There are no mechanisms within Tikanga-a-Iwi which enables the wholesale transfer of ancestral power from one Iwi to another. In this case nga Iwi o te motu also came to include a limited authority for regulated Pakeha settlement within some hapu territories. The Treaty, as Pakeha elites came to redefine it, attempted to rationalise and justify colonisation by claiming that "the Maori people" signed their Sovereignty to "the Crown and the Pakeha people". No such transfer ever took place. Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho means that the mana of Iwi is a matter of descent. The term I Tuku Iho directly asserts that Mana Maori Motuhake is derived only through descent from te ira Atua, te ira Whenua to te ira Tangata. Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho can never be "transferred" as Pakeha elites would have

their colonised subjects believe.

In the past one hundred and fifty six years Colonial policy makers have been inventing a new mythography which has distorted the three dimensional basis of Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho. Kaupapa Maori theorising has presented the clearest theoretical interventions into that network of Colonial mythographies whose negative impact has silenced and denied Iwi descendants their own historical narratives and integrity. By denying these histories the basis of Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho has been undermined and contemporary Iwi confidence eroded. The Sacred narratives of Iwi descendants exist in a number of forms. Two forms are used here. Primarily the written form relies on a range of Iwi English idioms. These are English idioms which have been developed in response to language and cultural Imperialism. They are problematic in terms of any full comprehension of Tikanga-a-Iwi because these idioms were developed primarily as a tool of colonisation to deny Iwi their own words. Iwi were also actively resisting and opposing this imposition and this is how many of the Iwi English idioms have evolved during this period for communication purposes. In this sense they act as bridges which can provide pivotal signposts and access points from Colonial domination to Colonial oppositional and resistance movements. This can open up the possibility for emancipation and a returning to a more positive and decolonised view of Iwi epistemologies. It has often been a much needed route for highly colonised Iwi descendants to re-trace their cultural and linguistic integrity within Te Reo me ona Tikanga. A cautionary note is that Iwi English idioms can never replace the central role of Te Reo Rangatira¹⁵, nor should it be proposed that this range of oppositional and resistance Iwi English idioms ought to.

The central importance of Te Reo Rangatira me ona tikanga is continued within a range of settings in which Iwi descendants have been enabled to realise some

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Te Reo Rangatira is the common term used for the Iwi Mother tongue. It has been misnamed in an heirarchical configuration as 'the language of Chiefs' rather than the language of Whakapapa descent from Mana Atua, Mana Whenua and Mana Tangata and the ancestral context of Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho.

degree of autonomy. These struggles are also echoed within movements such as Te Kohanga Reo and Te Kura Kaupapa Maori immersion initiatives. However, the appearance of these initiatives is problematic in a number of ways as estranged Iwi descendants struggle with Pakeha bureaucratic terrorism. Decontexted and alienated from a complete language community, many Te Kohanga Reo and Te Kura Kaupapa Maori supporters have been charged with the responsibility for changing over a hundred years of active language and cultural genocides. That responsibility rests squarely with the Colonial state. Another problem which threatens such initiatives comes from those Iwi descendants who have grown in environments which have taught them to negate their Iwi identities and to mimic their oppressors nihilism. Despite these ongoing tensions and the debates regarding Te Reo Rangatira the struggles to re-assert political Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho continue. Generational undermining of our language and cultural communities are highlighted by Timoti Karetu who makes the important claim that his Reo Rangatira is his mana Rangatira. The national fact of language Imperialism and the negative impact it has had on generations of Iwi descendants can no longer be denied, according to Timoti Karetu (1993:24). Acknowledging the prolific examples of Iwi elder abuses as a part of their Colonial schooling experiences, Karetu emphasises the point that;

"While denials are made that the active suppression of the [Iwi] language was practised in the [colonial] schools, there are too many [Iwi] people living today who were the victims of that racist, unenlightened philosophy" (T. Karetu, 1983:224) [my own emphasis].

While it was an unenlightened philosophy it was also a deliberate Colonial policy imposed throughout the world to silence the political dissent, opposition and resistance movements of Indigenous peoples. Imperial powers were prepared to suppress Indigenous civilisations at many levels while appropriating their lands and resources. British Pakeha settlers came to Aotearoa and Te Ika a Maui as descendants of colonisation rather than as the invited guests and manuhiri of Iwi. Pakeha complicity in the project of Imperialism attempted to rationalise Colonial invasion on the basis that it was a necessary step to Pakeha determined 'progress' for the 'Natives'. That such projects were undertaken by undermining the human integrity of another human civilisation was consistently overlooked by the Colonisers and the negative effects for Indigenous peoples continues to be denied.

Europeanisation has been constructed as 'desirable' by our Colonisers for Iwi.

In response, a range of Iwi Resistance movements emerged whose Kaupapa remains consistent with a central thesis of Tikanga-a-Iwi and the ancient aspiration of Rongomaraeroa (peace). Iwi leadership was defined in terms of the ability of Iwi leaders to secure and maintain this ancient Iwi notion of sustained peace. During the early years of Colonial invasion, many Rangatira attempted to apply their Tikanga-a-Iwi by making direct representation to the British Crown. Iwi strategies of passive Resistance and Kotahitanga initiatives such as the Kingitanga were aimed at halting land sales. The Iwi policy is referred to as Pupuri Whenua and the holding onto the Earth Parent Papatuanuku. Where no other option was seen to be at hand and in many cases British and Pakeha militia precipitated a war, many Iwi became subjected to military campaigns in which British elites and Pakeha power brokers held superior military might. While Colonial wars were being fought because Pakeha power brokers continually abrogated their pact with those hapu who originally supported it, a re-invention of the Treaty defined and controlled by Pakeha elites was being developed to justify full blown Colonial imposition. Resistance has also occurred as a response to language and cultural Imperialism. Directed at Colonial power elites, the struggles to regain control over the production of Iwi knowledge and language has been predicated on the appalling inhumanities experienced by successive generations of Iwi elders psychologically undermined in Colonial schools. Karetu extends this base to include a growing number of dispossessed and estranged Iwi descendants for whom;

"It seems ironic, and yet not surprising, that all efforts being expended in the revival of the language are by those whose loss has been the greatest and who are painfully aware of how great that loss is"(T. Karetu, 1983:225).

In the contemporary context of Iwi struggles for autonomy and the return of their Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho, this group within Iwi descent groups have successfully transformed a history of pain into the language immersion programmes which have proliferated in the past ten years. Language immersion initiatives which are seeking a comprehensive and systematic approach to the autonomous and positive production and reproduction of Te Reo me ona Tikanga. Many recent initiatives

have also begun to include those Iwi descendants who have been structurally unemployed with some exciting results. Although language extinction is not completely arrested yet, the current range of language immersion initiatives and their availability to a wide cross section of Iwi descendants throughout the motu provides reason to be optimistic about the future for Iwi and confidence about the future of Te Reo me ona tikanga.

For those Iwi descendants already involved within a language immersion initiative there are many challenges to face. Sometimes these challenges have seen prospective supporters withdraw from the struggles. There exists within the movements themselves a continuum from utopian to radical view points so that what sustains. However, what sustains Iwi descendants within these struggles is based on a commitment and willingness to engage in varying levels of active political struggle. Kaupapa Maori, as a growing body of contemporary Iwi thought has an important role to play in supporting these important struggles as a theoretical and conceptual forum within which Iwi can further develop their debates.

KAUPAPA MAORI THEORISING

Kaupapa Maori is a network of Iwi knowledge frameworks which have transformed Iwi specific knowledge paradigms in response to forced Colonial education. While many negative outcomes have occurred, Kaupapa Maori as a forum from which to develop authentic bridges to Tikanga-a-Iwi has been an important educational transformation. As a form of theorising which has retained the centrality of Te Reo Rangatira me ona tikanga, Kaupapa Maori theorising has also provided an important bridge for drawing on and crafting in a range of Kaupapa Pakeha intellectual paradigms. Kaupapa Maori has also developed from within a range of highly sophisticated Iwi English idiom bases¹⁶. Kaupapa Maori theory has been articulated by Iwi educationalist Graham Hingangaroa Smith of

¹⁶

Iwi English idioms are defined here as Iwi transformations of the Colonising usage of English and its codification with Iwi meanings for non-colonising communication.

Ngati Kahungunu as being founded on the claims that;

- * the validity and legitimacy of Iwi are taken for granted
 - * the survival and revival of Iwi language and culture is imperative
 - * the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well being, and over our own lives is vital to Iwi survival
- (Smith, G.H.,1990:100 in Pihama, L.,1993:55)

Kaupapa Maori theorising is not a new phenomenon. Configured within the living ancestry of Iwi, hapu and whanaungatanga, the dynamic foundation concepts of Kaupapa and Tikanga continue to inform the reproduction and transformations of nga Tikanga me nga Ritenga as Iwi laws today.

KAUPAPA AND TIKANGA:

Kaupapa is derived from key words and their conceptual bases. *Kau* is often used to describe the process of 'coming into view or appearing for the first time, to disclose'. Taken further *ka u* may be translated as: 'representing an inarticulate sound, breast of a female, bite, gnaw, reach, arrive, reach its limit, be firm, be fixed, strike home, place of arrival' (H.W. Williams; c1844 - 1985:464). *Papa* is used to mean 'ground, foundation base'. Together kaupapa encapsulates these concepts, and a basic translation of it is 'ground rules, custom, the right way of doing things'. This concept always contributes as process to the broader dynamic of Tikanga.

Tikanga is also derived from key words and has an important role in setting out a framework through which kaupapa is made sensible. *Tika* means 'straight, direct, right, correct, rule, plan, method, custom, habit, anything normal or usual, reason, meaning, authority, control'. Tikanga is the template for Iwi social and political 'custom, authority, sanctions and controls'. Kaupapa provides the basic principles or 'policy'. To apply these concepts M. Marsden and T. Henare (1992:17) contend that where an important undertaking, action or situation arises for the Iwi, hapū or whanaunga, it is always important to give deliberate consideration to ways in which the needs are to be addressed and resolved. Uppermost in the process is the laying out of a kaupapa, the rules and guidelines

which will establish the base principles to be followed. For clarity, or in the case of doubt, it is always recommended that first principles set the foundation of a kaupapa.

The first principles are those formulated and derived from the Iwi Creation theories/stories of Tua-Uri (the World beyond sense perception). Tua-Uri provides for the development of a fundamental corpus of Iwi knowledge to provide guidance and adherence to a Sacred inner corpus of knowledge. Recalled in terms of extant 'myths and legends' these two bodies of knowledge were often woven together by recurring cultural motif and foci whose internal logic was acted out by a repertoire of human, animal, insect, flora and fauna heroes and heroines. Rangi and Papa, sky and earth parents, Maui and the many challenges, transformations, triumphs and near-disaster faced, triumphed then lost. Tawhaki, Hineahuone, Muriranga Whenua and Mahuika, fearsome and wise guardian of the last five fingernail fire children. Within these theories/stories are fundamental truths of the ancient Iwi world. Their actions, behaviours, trials and tribulations give importance to the strategies they employ to achieve their goals and triumph in the face of adversity. These theories/stories provide an important resource for Iwi nations today, urgently in need of Iwi critical thinking, oppositional and resistance theories with which to overcome their re-positioning under Colonialism. Iwi social policies derive their legitimacy from this fundamental corpus of knowledge. The kaupapa developed by the ancient Iwi provided for the formulation of 'social policies' which: 'have now become established as custom and a traditional way of doing certain things as being sufficient sanction for a certain course of action'. The Iwi social policies established are those framed under the term 'Tikanga-a-Iwi'.

Tikanga-a-Iwi are established, applied and tested custom. They necessarily draw their legitimacy from practises which span many generations and because of this are accepted as a preferred and relevant strategic plan for undertaking and achieving particular goals and objectives. These proven methodologies and their associated guidelines have been embedded within the socio-political institutions

of the Iwi World. Tikanga-a-Iwi forms part of the fundamental basis of nga tikanga me nga ritenga o te Ao Iwi, the standards and foundations of the Iwi world.¹⁷

NGA TIKANGA ME NGA RITENGA

The dynamic concept of tikanga forms a framework through which established custom, policies, ritual, belief and cultural mores can be translated today when applying an Iwi framework. Ritenga is a conjoint term and social framework through which the Sacred inner corpus has been carefully woven. The term ritenga was used within the Iwi oral text of Te Tiriti o Waitangi to bind the agreements of hapu leaders with a powerful karakia. The karakia also bound those Pakeha who left Europe and entered the ancestral home of Iwi. Manuka Henare (1988) has used the term ritenga in reference to the standards of excellence and foundations of Iwi nations in the writing up of the preamble in the Royal Commission on Social Policy's April Report. These two dynamic concepts reflect the view that there was and is a complex and interdependent human civilisation throughout the motu who are being denied their right to live in accord with their ancestral imperatives. These imperatives have survived in part because of the resilience of the social structures of Iwi, hapū, whanaunga and te tapu o te tangata. Although the concept of te tapu o te tangata is not interchangeable with the liberal Pakeha concept of Pakeha liberal individualism. These imperatives have also survived because Iwi retain within their Sacred narratives their accord with their Atua rights to be in these motu as Kaitiaki. Pakeha can never claim this status and have ignored or disregarded the roles, responsibilities and obligations which bind Iwi to this kawenata. Iwi, hapu and whanaungatanga are built upon these relationships.

IWI, HAPU AND WHANAUNGATANGA

The smallest socio-political unit is represented as a whanaunga base. This base

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see also Manuka Henare (1990) 'Nga Tikanga Me Nga Ritenga: Standards and Foundations of Maori society' in *The Royal Commission On Social Policy, 1990, April Report, Part Two*.

enjoyed its own internal authority and some degree of relative autonomy from the larger political consolidations of hapū and Iwi. Whānaungatanga literally embraces all close relatives often including up to several generations occupying a common area. Following the collective social philosophies espoused by Iwi epistemologies and practised today it can be confirmed that Indigenous peoples have continued to uphold collective wellbeing as socially 'normal' and culturally 'desired'. Whanaungatanga also represents the smallest socio-political unit, and were often headed by respected *kaumatua* - a non-gendered term for learned and respected wise family leaders, healers and orators. The imperative for belonging is encapsulated in the term 'whakawhanaungatanga' which seeks to embrace and bind all in as one. At times this included non-kinspeople such as Pakeha. However, this process recognises that with membership goes obligations and responsibilities and the view that respect is not automatic but earned. Whanaungatanga: the view of collective consciousness within which individual well being is made possible does not guarantee life without struggle, tension or the prospect of abuse. It is a philosophy which must be practised in order to be validated. Iwi writer Rangimarie Rose Pere adds that whanaungatanga cannot be learned by engaging in 'head talk'. Whanaungatanga has been described by elder Pa Tate as 'being' in the process of becoming.

The term whanaungatanga can be viewed as having constituent meanings: whanau - to birth; birth; nga - the (pluralised potential); and tanga - collective. The birthplace of the collective. Dynamic structures, the concept of Iwi represents the largest political consolidation, hapū the next level and whanaungatanga the foundation level. Te tapu o te tangata is a way of talking about the individual-in-relation-to-collective notion of Selfhood.

The hapū, consists of wide whanaunga descendants. As whanaunga groups increased over time, it was a common practice to form new consolidating hapū bases. The same occurs at the hapū levels as they also emerged to form new Iwi. This growth was expected to put different pressures on Iwi in terms of territory and resources. Negotiation, mediation and compromise was often employed to

insure against internal upheaval and conflict within Iwi. Iwi represents the largest political unit in rohe (ancestral territory, identity and status) terms. Iwi provided a framework through which consolidations of hapū could be called to the defense of territories or support of other Iwi. Iwi also provided for the general ideologies of its members through Iwi counsels, networks of kaumatua and local leadership. Tohunga often played an important role in the life of an Iwi. There were often many differing Tohunga serving a number of key roles. Their role as Sacred counsel for Iwi was usually undertaken in association with the Rangatira. Rangatira represent the ultimate power of an Iwi. The roles and functions of Rangatira were bolstered by wise counsel and the confidence of their people. A Rangatira also sought to embody the ultimate virtues of the deities in all that they undertook to achieve with their people. Excellent leadership was expected and exacted within Iwi, hapū and whanaunga groups. The benchmark of excellent Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho was measured in terms of the well-being of the group. However, it was incumbent upon Rangatira to set excellent role models, provide clear evidence of competence in all matters pertaining to good governance and to embrace a posture of humility before their people.

The transmission of ancestral knowledge and wisdom was, in principle, retained within the inner circle of an Iwi, hapu and whanaunga base. Ordinary or every day knowledge was associated with those who held a general group membership, while high knowledge was more usually executed by tohunga¹⁸ and Rangatira¹⁹. A range of knowledge institutions evolved to insure the systematic reproduction

¹⁸ Tohunga is defined here as a high knowledge role further defined in terms of a particular deity and ancestral knowledge expertise. The term is associated with repositories of sacred knowledge as sages and seers of the three worlds.

¹⁹ Rangatira is defined here as the role of nominated leadership. Often inherited status, the role of Rangatira was that of seer and sage like the Tohunga. Rangatira systems of authority relied on the adherence of familial strongholds within Iwi and hapu and their support to retain the overall loyalty of their extended kin base. Material poverty and hardship on the Iwi was tantamount to the failure of the Rangatira to appease the Atua and an ill omen. Only the restoration of collective well being and dignity could restore the status of the Rangatira. The ability of the leader to ensure social well being is not a new phenomenon to Iwi Maori adept as they were when they controlled their resources and their ancestral territories.

of Te Reo Rangatira²⁰ and tikanga²¹. Iwi kainga, marae and whanaungatanga relationships remain key institutions through which Kaupapa Maori²² has been enabled to emerge. Iwi, hapū and whanaungatanga produced and disseminated knowledge of the Kauae Raro²³ and Kauae Runga²⁴ with interwoven principles from each of these corpuses informing and shaping the fundamental and Sacred inner corpus of all Tikanga-a-Iwi knowledges. Today Iwi descendants struggle with great urgency to recover their ancestral wisdom and knowledge systems. This struggle is made more acute and urgent in the face of colonisation and where the decolonisation of Iwi hearts and minds remains an urgent issue to be addressed. Decolonisation is argued to be a pre-requisite to the positive reclamation of Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho. Decolonisation also rests on the opportunity for Iwi descendants to gain access to their ancestral wisdom.

THE KETE OF SYMBOLISM

Iwi oral 'scholarship' developed a broad body of symbolisms (Marsden & Henare, 1992:12) which Marsden and Henare have termed a 'fourth World' related to the first three baskets of knowledge. Symbols were regarded by these two elders as serving a number of functions. They were conceptual tools with which the Iwi mind could depict, represent, and illustrate a number of perceived realities. These are extended to include, 'Words, formulae, art forms, ritualistic ceremonies, legend and myth' by providing mind maps 'models, prototypes and paradigms' in vivid and condensed forms. These symbolic frameworks provided the orator with a broad media through which ideas could be grasped, understood and reconciled in relation to the three baskets as fields of knowledge. Symbol also acted to keep 'outsiders' out and safeguard certain symbolic references from general

²⁰ Te Reo Rangatira is the original term for the Iwi Maori mother tongue.

²¹ Tikanga is defined as established policies, practices, customs, rituals, mores and belief systems.

²² Kaupapa Maori is defined here as a contemporary body of tikanga-a-iwi.

²³ Kauae raro is defined here as sacred knowledge of a lower house status.

²⁴ Kauae runga is defined here as high or upper house sacred knowledge and status.

consumption. Without 'inside' knowledge, the privileged knowledge remains locked within. According to M. Marsden & T. Henare, 1992:12, there were also symbols created for a general audience. However, these elders cautioned that relevance had to be determined between such signs and symbols and the realities to which they were being referred before these symbols would be incorporated into the general corpus of knowledge. Only then would it form part of the theoretical base used to inform the production and transmission of a number of 'common sense' bases that would later be translated into a general form of traditions and customs. The Tuatara as an Iwi species of lizard has been used by Iwi as a symbol of mature patience and the ability to persist over time. The Tuatara is also a symbol of gatekeeper and protector of the most Sacred knowledges and wisdom. The Tuatara is also renowned for its ability to transform itself, shedding the old to blend with the demands of a changing external reality. The potent symbol of transformation is a recurring theme within many whakatauaki such as, 'pu ana a roto, ke ana a waho'²⁵.

An Iwi nations²⁶ World view has been emerging for over a millennia within te Moana Nui A Kiwa as a 'family' of nations. Knowledge traditions shared by native Hawaiians and written about by her descendant, Haunani Kay-Trask has acknowledge Iwi nations as an inspirational Whanaunga of Te Moana Nui A Kiwa who are also struggling to free themselves of sponsored and installed forms of Colonial power (Haunani Kay-Trask; 1993:31-79). Kay-Trask also gives acknowledgement to the key role of Mana Wahine in those struggles citing the work 'Sovereignty' by Donna Awatere as an important intervention into the Colonial paradigm which murders the hopes of our future - our children, by

²⁵ This whakatauaki can be literally translated as the precision housed within is displayed quite differently on the outside. The three dimensional demands of te reo Rangatira mean that three paradigms interweave to offer three coinciding ranges of wisdom.

²⁶ The term 'Maori nations' is proposed using the Native American Indian notion of 'nations within a nation' rather than the problematic notion of an imagined 'Maori society'. Maori nations also recognises the plural and internally diverse character of Iwi, hapū and whanaungatanga relationships which are collapsed within the term 'society'.

denying them access to their ancestral wisdom. The importance of access to our ancestral wisdom is charted by this whakatauki which recognises that our power as a people comes from nowhere else but our ancestral roots;

Ehara taku mana i te mana hou
He mana tawhito tonu tōku mana

My ethos and power is not new
but comes from the three world aeons of my ancestors

(Traditional)

A recurring theme within Iwi debates is a challenge to return to the wisdom of the elders. In this case the advice is to look behind, deep into the beginnings of ancestral wisdom which is sometimes obscured. Whakapapa provides Iwi descendants with important access into their Tikanga-a-Iwi so that the present ignorance of Iwi descendants as a result of their colonisation can be intervened by gaining quality access to their Whakapapa at the whanaunga, hapu and Iwi levels

WHAKAPAPA

In his article 'Toku reo, toku mana' Tuhoe Iwi elder and masterful orator Timoti Karetu (1993) centralises the conceptual framework of whakapapa to establish not only his place in the Iwi universe but also the politico-historical, geo-political positioning of his group of identity and therefore a specific theoretical framework for engaging all others. Karetu (1993:24) asserts that his use of a whakapapa framework introduces and establishes his identity. Whakapapa often appears deceptively simple as a theory. This has often been because of a eurocentric trend to reduce its meaning to a shallow one dimensional and single-meaning comparison of contemporary Pakeha concepts. Whakapapa is a part of a complex Iwi epistemological body of Iwi thought, universalisms, theories, concepts and their dialectical practises within the Iwi world. Of importance to this thesis is a fundamental premise that the Iwi is central in the reproduction, transmission and practices of their whakapapa. This body of theories establishes their direct descent to the Iwi cosmos and ethos. Iwi whakapapa also sets out broad relational frameworks for organising positionality within and between Iwi in their Iwi, hapū and whanaunga groupings. Whakapapa is also relevant for articulating where and

how Iwi nations relates to Tauīwi-Pakeha Colonial society.

WHAKAPAPA AS A THEORY

From my own politics of experience and in acknowledgement of my own tīpuna and whaea, whakapapa provides key knowledge for the reproduction of Iwi knowledge. This section acknowledges the oral knowledge passed on by these elders in the formulation of much of this chapter. While written sources are also used, this thesis recovers the legitimacy of oral knowledge transmission as the central source of my own Iwi knowledge. Whakapapa as a body of knowledge also articulates a politics of identity within the Iwi world, as it marks out Iwi and hapū territories and contestation, political conflicts and alliances or basic knowledge of kin-based relationships of power. The role and status of Kaumatua²⁷ focuses on group cohesion, the application of social power sanctions and the ideal of collective holistic well being. Whanaunga could also call on their larger political groupings as hapū to mediate unresolved matters within a whanaunga group. Only in extreme cases would an Iwi-wide counsel be sought. At the level of hapū and iwi, warfare was always possible although reluctantly undertaken. True political leadership, like that idealised by the Japanese, was revered in the leader who used diplomacy over warfare and sought peace rather than retribution. An ancestral ideal of Iwi has been that peace is always preferable to war. A wounding self perception of Iwi has been manufactured under Colonialism which has constructed a myth of a war hungry and ravaged civilisation. The three kete wananga defies these claims. This whakatauaki opens the way back into the wisdom of Iwi nations ancestry by asking of the young Iwi world to;

"Kia mau ki tō tikanga
Me tō reo Māori
Koinei rā tō tūranga tei tei e'
(Wiremu Kerekere, 1993)

The message is for the young Iwi world to hold fast to the life way teachings of their ancestors wisdom and the key to that knowledge, Te Reo Rangatira because these are your credentials today. Kaupapa Maori theory as a way of theorising

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Kaumatua are the respected and acknowledged female or male figures within an Iwi, hapu and whanaunga base.

between the ancient and contemporary Iwi worlds has provided a nexus through which Iwi epistemologies can be authentically continued. Kaupapa Maori incorporates knowledge production undertaken by Iwi descendants regardless of the setting.

HE KETE WANANGA²⁸: Te Ao Tua-Uri, Te Ao Aro-Nui, and Te Ao Tua-Atea.

Te Ao Tua-Uri has been constructed within Iwi epistemologies as the world behind the human senses. It has also been located as the world in which Iwi Atua Ranginui²⁹, Papatuanuku³⁰, Te Kore³¹ and Te Po³² were conceived. Te Ao Tua Uri is also where it is claimed the cosmic processes continue as ‘a complex series of rhythmical patterns of energy to uphold, sustain and replenish the energies and life of the natural World’ (M. Marsden and T. Henare, 1992:8).

These philosophical beliefs are also embedded within the social and human philosophies of Iwi epistemologies. An example of the pervasiveness of these constructions is the view that there exists within each person at least five spiritual intellects which underpin an Iwi holistic self concept. These have been conceptualised as;

<u>Taha Atua</u>	-	descent from ira Atua to hold as Sacred that which is of the Atua in the life of te Tangata
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²⁸ He kete wananga is the conceptual term for the three baskets of ancient wisdom that informs a three world holistic Iwi world view.

²⁹ Ranginui is used here as the Iwi Maori name for their Sky Parent. Ranginui is also used as a term for horizon and the infinite expanse which encapsulates Papatuanuku the Iwi Maori Earth Parent.

³⁰ Papatuanuku is the ancestral name for the planet at large. It is also localised as the particular whenua on which the Iwi Maori nations have been sustained as a mother to her descendants.

³¹ Te Kore is defined here as part of the whakapapa or genealogy of the three world descent. Often described as a void or descent it is more accurately conceptualised as being a pregnant potentiality of formlessness.

³² Te Po is defined here as the pregnant darkness. The use of the term darkness is qualified here as the place in which the Tama Nui Te Ra the sun was conceived and in which it is believed came into full being. Therefore Te Po is not associated exclusively with death symbols, but also houses the potential for new life forms.

<u>Taha tinana</u>	-	the well being of a body intellect
<u>Taha hinengaro</u>	-	the well being of a mind intellect
<u>Taha wairua</u>	-	the well being of a spiritual intellect
<u>Taha whanaunga</u>	-	the well being of ira tangata as a plural imperative, including te ira Whenua and te ira Atua.

This well being philosophy places the body and mind intellect as contingent upon the overall well being of ira Atua, ira Whenua and ira tangata. An holistic Iwi belief system would contend that to ignore any aspect is to ignore the whole. These life principles are not being observed within Kawanatanga³³ educational or Welfare institutions. Whereas the earlier confident transmission of Iwi epistemologies may have helped to counter this crisis, today Iwi descendants are still reclaiming their birthright to access their ancestral wisdom and the Sacred narratives such as te kauae runga³⁴. It has been problematically argued that Sacred Iwi knowledge was rigidly held by a select few Iwi leaders such as Tohunga and Rangatira. This thesis contests that claim.

KAUAE RUNGA³⁵

A range of Whare Wananga, Whare Kohanga and Whare Maire have existed within these islands for over seventy generations. The names of earlier wananga include, Te Punakaiki, Ngaru Rau Tahi, Te Pai o Kakanui and Te Kohanga (cited in B. Brailsford; 1989:12). A range of whare wananga institutions served

³³ Kawanatanga is defined here as Pakeha domination won out of human settlement, military conquests and the systematic erosion of Iwi Maori Tino Rangatiratanga over these islands. Kawanatanga includes the symbol of the Crown even where the Crown has become an artifice for Pakeha elite monopolies and the denial of european bastardization into satellite colonies of the Empire.

³⁴ Kauae runga is defined here as an institution of high knowledge reproduction. This term also has other meanings which I will discuss where the context changes.

³⁵ Kauae runga is defined here as an elite learning level of Iwi wananga. Literally translated the term can be defined as the Upper Jawbone used symbolically to refer to the most revered of ancient wisdom. The association of knowledge with the mouth also corresponds with the view that to utter particular sounds invokes particular cosmological forces. The upper jaw is also the jaw that Murirangawhenua gave to her mokopuna Maui to fish up the sacred Stingray of Tangaroa, Whai Repo.

important roles as archives of ancestral knowledges and wisdom. Waitaha, Rapuwai and Te Mata Kokiri extended the role of whare wananga as Iwi specific learning institutions and candidates into these learning houses were drawn directly from a secular³⁶spiritual belief structure. The most powerful karakia were restricted to those who earned the right to be educated within the kauae runga. Waitaha, it has been argued, were charged with keeping the Sacred knowledge of te Kauae runga for over seventy generations. Based in a second prophecy, the seven tohunga of Waitaha contributed to the imparting of that ancestral wisdom in which they contend that;

"The sacred kete transcend iwi... . The Nation of Waitaha called gifted children from afar, from villages in the Hokianga, Waitangi Ki Tua, Rotorua, Taranaki, Tahunanui, Kawatiri, Moeraki and other places... . And they sailed to Hokitika, Okaroro or Waitaki in their journey to the ancient schools" (cited in B. Brailsford; 1989:12).

The freeing up of this inner corpus of knowledge occurred in 1990 based upon a prophecy in which the celestial conditions would give optimum support to its release. From this knowledge base an Iwi theoretical framework will be constructed. This foundation framework is also the context out of which my own political and theoretical positionings continue to be shaped and influenced.

PEDAGOGICAL MODELS

A range of pedagogical models continues to support the successful transmission of Iwi epistemologies. An example of some of these are; whakataauaki³⁷, whare whakairo³⁸, tukutuku³⁹, raranga kete⁴⁰, pu rakau⁴¹ and whariki⁴². Myrtle

³⁶ The term secular is used to represent a dynamically pervasive social phenomenon which incorporates the Iwi Maori holistic orientation to well being that includes, te taha atua, te taha tinana, te taha hinengaro, te taha wairua and te taha whanaunga.

³⁷ Whakatauki are defined here as a range of ancestral proverbs, wise sayings in poetic form which connects the three aspects of ira atua, ira whenua and ira tangata.

³⁸ Whare whakairo are defined here as art form knowledge transmissions. An immediate example of this form of knowledge transmission is the whare tipuna or marae ornately adorned inside and out with the important symbols and sacred signs of the Iwi Maori nations. Whare whakairo is an extension of living human knowledge released into a solid form.

Walker no⁴³ Taurangamoana (1984:20) states;

"I always teach on the marae because this is where I believe all our learning should begin. Our marae are about our only sanctuaries, one of the few places we have left where the Pakeha world does not interfere. I feel sorry for our kids trying to learn things away from the marae because I feel that the madness of the Pakeha world bamboozles them".

This statement reinforces the view that Iwi institutions rather than Pakeha imposed learning institutions have ready currency and legitimacy for Kaupapa Maori based 'education'. Rangimarie Rose Pere proposes that a strong, confident and broadly embracing kaupapa (foundation principle) ensured the active production and transmission of Kaupapa Maori knowledge was also applied within the daily experiences of Iwi, hapu and whanaunga. Rangimarie Rose Pere's (1982:56) wisdom sustained the view that;

"The whanau knew, believed in and attended to Atua (spiritual influences), Kia-tiaki (protectors, guardians, that could be either physical or spiritual) and tohu (omens, signs)".

The spiritual secularity or everyday knowledge of Iwi was explicitly acknowledged and applied. In these ways the fundamental and the Sacred inner corpus of knowledge were deeply interwoven. The three Kete of Sacred knowledge further informed the three World view. Iwi epistemology, it is contended, is enshrined within the social interactions, structures and institutional complex of Iwi, hapū and whanaungatanga relationships today.⁴⁴

³⁹ Tukutuku is defined here as the extension of the three world knowledges into a symbolic lattice weaving form. Tukutuku are also related to a whakapapa of weaving art practices which includes the piupiu, korowai and whariki.

⁴⁰ Raranga kete is defined here as the extension of the three world knowledges into basket forms. Many different kete were fashioned for diverse usages. Knowledge is also symbolised in and by the fashioning of a kete by a master weaver.

⁴¹ Pu rakau are defined here as forms of repetitious verse with internal parables. Layered within a number of overlapping paradigms, pu rakau provide the basic conceptual mind maps with which a learner could be tutored in the fundamental human and social philosophies of the Iwi Maori scholarship community.

⁴² Whariki is defined here as fine mats. Many fine mats served different purposes, and those used for tangihanga are never used for any other occasions because of the powerful tapu associated with death.

⁴³ 'No' is the Iwi term for 'from where' or where from, what origins. It is a term which generates the informational network of whakapapa as genealogical tables.

⁴⁴ (For a broad analysis of these notions see also R. R. Pere; 1990, *Ako: Concepts and Learning in the Maori Tradition*, Makereti; 1986, *The Old Time Maori*, Tom Roa; 1987, *Tukua He Tikanga Maori*, Manuka Henare; 1988, *Nga Tikanga me nga Ritenga o Te Ao Maori - Standards and foundations of Maori Society*).

Myrtle Walker (1980) has focused on the importance of Iwi kainga marae and Rangimarie Pere (1982) has emphasised the central importance of whanaungatanga to Iwi knowledge production, transmission and practice. An important intervention is added to this from Ngapuhi tohunga Maori Marsden (1992:117) who states;

"THE ROUTE TO MAORITANGA through abstract interpretation is a dead end... .As a person brought up within the culture, who has absorbed the values and attitudes of the Maori, my approach is largely subjective. The charge of lacking objectivity does not concern me: the so-called objectivity some insist on is simply a form of arid abstraction, a model a map. It is not the same thing as the taste of reality".

Maori Marsden was referring to the dangers of pretended 'objectivity' that besets currently reified strands of Western Scientific thought has too readily assumed a pretended suprapolitical 'objectivity' and definitive centrality as part of the colonisation process. It is argued here that despite such Colonial arrogance and excess, Iwi Sacred narratives have survived and have continued to be re-asserted outside Pakeha controlled learning institutions and sites of ideological control. For many Iwi this has meant a range of covert anti-colonial and Tikanga-A-Iwi knowledge reproduction in the home, at the workplace, at social events and in between the intersections with dominant Pakeha society.

CONTEMPORARY PEDAGOGUES

The Sacred knowledge paradigms have re-emerged within the contemporary context. In particular, te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori immersion schools have sought to re-centre the efficacy and legitimacy of Kaupapa Maori knowledges in the problematic context of Colonialism. Younger generations are attempting to reposit the teachings of ancient karakia such as this one which depicts Tane's ascent of the twelve Ranginui to bring back the three kete wananga. The recitation of Tane's ascent is learned as a karakia⁴⁵ and waiata⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Karakia is defined here a sacred recitation which invokes ancestral wisdom, power, responsibilities and obligations.

⁴⁶ Waiata is defined here as a sacred rhythmical incantation used to strengthen memory and to layer knowledge in sequential formulae.

by tamariki mokopuna ⁴⁷which conveys the Sacred narrative that;

Tenei au tenei au
Ko te hokai nei ki taku tapuwae
Ko te hokai nuku ko te hokai rangi
Ko te hokai a to tipuna a Tane-nui-a-Rangi
I pikitia ai ki Te Rangituhaha
Ki te tihi o Manono
I Rokohina atu ra
Ko IoMatua Kore anake
I riroiho ai nga kete o te Wananga
Ko te kete Tua-Uri
Ko te kete Tua-Atea
Ko te kete Aronui
Ka tiritiri a ka poupu a ki a Papatuanuku
Kia puta ira tangata ki te whai ao
Ki te ao Marama
(* no English translation is offered)

This important Sacred narration centralises the successful pursuit and mastery of Iwi high knowledge or sciences. Tane represents preferred Iwi ideals, values, attitudes, characteristics and fortitude. From out of the highest heaven/level, Iwi epistemology has emerged. From the most Sacred of levels, the penultimate heaven Iwi epistemology became infused with Sacred responsibilities, obligations. There is also another, a thirteenth heaven, horizon, paradigm and World. This is the domain referred to as the Underworld of Hine Nui Te Po, the kaitiaki of Iwi in the Afterlife. The Three World Views held within the Sacred kete record this knowledge for it's Iwi descendants.

The term matakite⁴⁸ and matamua⁴⁹recognises that within each whanau are gifted descendants. It is the role of a hapu and Iwi to nurture these descendants and where wananga often provided important tutelage for these future tohunga.

⁴⁷ Tamariki mokopuna is defined here as the youngest generation of descendants.

⁴⁸ Matakite is literally translated here as wise seers, although many have the ability to see into the three worlds very few gain adequate tutelage which enables wise exercise of this knowledge. Matakite as a role is associated primarily with persons of immense spiritual fortitude, humility and generosity.

⁴⁹ A literal translation of the term matamua is the eyes before usually associated with spiritual second sight. A first born grandchild in a whakapapa is often associated with this term although the ability is never guaranteed. It is also believed that the powers of a matamua search out a whanau for a child of great humility and spiritual peace.

Whakataauaki associated with the tipuna⁵⁰Maui tikitiki a Taranga and Tane Mahuta continue to represent these potentialities. In terms of Iwi policy making, the use of extant myth and legends of tipuna such as those which depict Maui, MurirangaWhenua and Mahuika were also important teaching tools that Iwi descendants could easily identify themselves with. A range of narratives in which these characters appear as heroes, heroines and at times foes and adversaries mirror the needs of the human civilisation which created them. Very little of these Sacred narratives have entered into the abstract world of Pakeha controlled policy making. Pakeha controlled policy making which is spiritually sterile in its own terms and totally alien to a three world Iwi orientation have often been devastating as historically disempowered groups of Iwi descendants without access to their Iwi counter knowledge have been forced to view themselves through their colonisers eyes and thoughts. My own hapu and whanaunga history and experiences have recorded the systematic terrorism of such an imposition into our lives and the consequent ways in which many of our group eventually constructed self annihilating perceptions of themselves. Fundamentally this occurred as an alien knowledge complex was cumulatively layered over their own ancestral self knowledges. This process of alien invasion and encroachment has also been felt within the economic and resource bases, political representation and educational contexts in which Iwi descendants were forced to engage on Pakeha terms. Pakeha myths differ from the Iwi use of pu rakau because whereas Iwi can trace their whakapapa directly to the characters portrayed within their pu rakau, Pakeha often cannot. The Pakeha fairy story of Cinderella is a case in point.

M. Marsden and T. Henare (1992) refer to an important role of story telling or pu rakau. Within these pu rakau, Marsden and Henare suggest that basic concepts and frameworks were developed as narratives within narratives. Particular abilities were often indicated as young descendants developed mastery of the levels of knowledge paradigms pu rakau contained. The specific focus taken by young learners was also useful in determining where future tutelage might be needed so

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Tipuna is defined here as an ancestor who has passed on. In the case of Maui Tikitiki, Maui also represents ancestral wisdom won out of hardship and struggles.

that pu rakau have continued to play an important role in the early development of akonga⁵¹ as a comprehensive approach to holistic education. Iwi women have continued to play an important role as cultural carriers and people builders. In important ways Iwi women have retained the integrity of Iwi knowledge integrity and dynamism because of the paradoxical constructions of the 'domestic' sphere held by Pakeha. In the Iwi World males were responsible for these roles while females continue to be the repositories of Iwi knowledge and its transmission.

MANA WAHINE

Iwi women also claim a corresponding status and position with Papatuanuku, although this is not restricted to a domestic role as childbearer or exemplified by selfless devotion to others at the expense of her own female agency. Vapi Kupenga, Rina Rata and Tuki Nepe (1988:1) develop the view that birth and re-birth, the preservation of the ancestors after death and the direct engagement of Iwi with Whenua are symbolic of the intimate whakapapa relations shared between Papatuanuku and Iwi, and especially Iwi women. Returning the newborn Whenua (placenta) to the earth is a practise and ritual of 'earthing' her/his mana tangata (personal dignity/ integrity/ authority/prestige) within Papatuanuku.

These writers make the important point that, from birth to death Papatuanuku has sustained the person. Upon death, she/he is returned to their Whenua (birthplace, origin, land - Papatuanuku). Whenua is personified by Papatuanuku and Iwi women are the manifest form of Papatuanuku within the Iwi Universe. Each has a central status and position within Iwi nations as the 'birthplace' of their people and as symbols of primary sustenance, health and well-being of their people. These are not the only roles or functions either. Iwi women claim autonomy on a number of levels. Through the management over the Mauri of all life forms, Papatuanuku as all-seeing, all-knowing and all-embracing led Tane

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Akonga is defined here as 'dual potentiality of teaching and learning'. This concept is based in a multi-dimensional view of knowledge reception and transmission needed to preserve the three world orientation ira atua to ira whenua and ira tangata.

through the whakapapa which would Create the first female principle. The female whakapapa begins with Papatuanuku, who teaches Tane how to initiate the process from which the first female, Hine-ahu-one comes into her own being. Tihei Mauri-Ora! are the first sounds from the first woman. It literally means, I sneeze and I am alive. There is a fundamental reference to the ha - the lifebreath principle. This principle also has associative meaning and reference to 'te ha o Hine-Ahu-One, the first female. Ha is a powerful symbol of the Iwi World in the sense that it underpins the laws of Iwi to collective roles, responsibilities and obligations based in reciprocity. The term koha has as a central imperative the principle of reciprocity which cannot be reduced to an idea of material exchange. The term implies te ira Atua, te ira Whenua and te ira Tangata will all be accorded acknowledgement and respect in the observance of koha.

From the first human form of Hine-ahuone, the Sacred power of creativity, birth sustenance and growth. Hine-Titama, the second female principle and life force later self-transformed into Hine-nui-te-Po, protector, and guardian in the realm of death. From birth to death, Papatuanuku and the female descendants including Iwi women have a direct lineage of power. Iwi women's power is also associated with the unknown quantum of 'magic' and mystery over which secure Iwi men did not feel compelled to appropriate or press into their own service. Rather, Iwi women held their own sources of cosmic, celestial and esoteric powers. The Pakeha imposition of compulsory hetero-patriarchal ideals imposed through colonisation have acted to distort and silence Iwi women's female possibilities. Pakeha Feminist discourses have also acted to silence Iwi women's narratives by attempting to proclaim their female suffrage as a definitive and universal experience of all female oppression under patriarchy. Pakeha Feminists fail to recognise their own complicity in the colonisation process and disregard their position of privilege in relation to Iwi women. Pakeha women also have difficulty in confronting their co-option and complicity within a white supremacist system like Colonialism.

Rangitunoa Black (1983) of Ngai Tuhoe descent centralises the place of Mana

Wahine (Iwi women's own power) in the formulation of female-centred Iwi knowledge and its' pivotal contribution to a dynamic and transformative Iwi nations. Using the power of poetic form, Black (1983) draws on earlier Iwi epistemological traditions in Te Reo Rangatira to convey new insights into Iwi female possibilities in the changed context of a Colonial Aotearoa when she writes;

"Puhi wāhine e pao i tō kuru pounamu
 Arā ki to horo ahau
 Ko au tonu te mekameka ka noho i runga i ngā take o ngā
 puhi maunga puha i te kōrero
 Ko au tonu te uha o tokū mana

Noble women, chant upon your greenstone rock
 That if I am to be shattered
 I am to be the greenstone necklaces that will sit upon the base
 of every female mountain that activates the words:
 I am the source of my own power
 I am
 (Rangitunoa Black, 1983 in *Towards theories of Maori Feminism*, 1992).

Black re-iterates that, Iwi women's power is based in the first female principle and is a direct lineage to Papatuanuku. The power of Iwi woman resides primordially within herself. The poem articulates a number of Iwi women's opposition and resistance symbols which personifies Iwi women and their struggles as Kuru pounamu⁵² which ultimately descend from the Atua, Ranginui and Papatuanuku. Faced with the prospect of being smashed by rabid Colonial compulsory patriarchal heterosexuality, Black (1983) contends that the plight of Iwi women and their struggles to become self determining subjects is a serious and urgent concern which must explicitly be recognised as a collective endeavour⁵³. To underline this point, Mason Durie (1984:8) points out that, 'to be totally independent and a separate person is, in Iwi terms, to be unhealthy'. The female principle within te ira tangata is also associated with the female tipuna Papatuanuku the Earth Parent.

⁵² Kuru pounamu is defined here in terms of references to highly esteemed, honoured, revered, sacred descent, obligations and responsibilities.

⁵³ see Kathie Irwin 'Maori Feminism', Linda Smith 'Mana Wahine', Ngahuia Te Awekotuku 'Mana Wahine' and 'Tahuri', Smith & Taki, 'Hoihoi wahine Pakeha'.

PAPATUANUKU - EARTH PARENT AND FEMALE LIFE PRINCIPLE

Iwi ecological theories also emerge out of the fundamental and Sacred corpus of knowledge. 'Conservation' is an imprecise rendering of the role inherited by generations of Iwi. The correct Iwi term is Kaitiakitanga. Kaitiakitanga which is based on a direct Whakapapa relationship between the Iwi nations and their Earth Parent, Papatuanuku. Whakapapa theories and Universe theories are integrated within the fundamental level of knowledge. These are held together by a Sacred inner corpus of Iwi philosophical thought⁵⁴. Discussing her views relating to Iwi women and Papatuanuku, Rangimarie Pere (c1979, 1989:25) of Ngai Tuhoe Potiki speaks of her deep affinity to Earth Parent because it signifies for her the placenta, the birthplace surrounding the embryo within the womb. These important concepts are incorporated within the Iwi term ira Whenua 'earthing' between the life force of the first female principle and Pere (1989) also points to the significance of Papatuanuku in terms of tangihanga as an institution which affirms and re-affirms Iwi bonds to their three world Whakapapa of te ira Atua, ira Whenua and ira Tangata. The returning of the tupapaku⁵⁵ to Papatuanuku is symbolic because it is a recognition of the return of the descendants to their Parent Papatuanuku and possibilities for rebirth and journey to the UnderWorld of Hine Nui Te Po.

The whakapapa of ira Atua and ira Whenua are finally returned to itself as the tupapaku is placed back into the bowels of the Earth Parent to join with the many

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see also Robyn Kahukiwa and Patricia Grace (1984) *Wahine Toa: Women of Maori Myth*, Collins, Auckland; Vapi Kupenga, Rina Rata & Tuki Nepe (1990) *Whaia Te Iti Kahurangi: Maori Women Reclaiming Autonomy* in *Puna Wairere: Essays By Maori*, New Zealand Planning Council; Maori Marsden (1980) *The Natural World and Natural Resources: Maori Value Systems and Perspectives*, Ministry for the Environment. (Part A of Resource Management Law Reform, Working Paper 29) Wellington; Rangimarie Pere (1979, 1984, 1990, 1991) *Taku Taha Maori: My Maoriness in He Matapuna: Some Maori Perspectives*, 1979 New Zealand Planning Council. Wellington., *The Health of the Family* in *The New Zealand Health Review Journal*, Vol. 4 No. 4 Spring 1984; *Tangata Whenua* in *Puna Wairere*, 1990; *Te Wheke. A Celebration of Infinite Wisdom*, 1991 Ao Ako Global Learning (N.Z) Gisborne.

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Tupapaku is a term used for a deceased relative during the transition from the physical and natural world back into the womb of the other two worlds.

ancestors who inhabit the realm of Hine-nui-te-Po. Death of the body is viewed differently by Iwi philosophical thought. It is a return of the ultimate spirit and the mauri-mate (death force) to all that is Sacred and spirit. It is not the end but an initiation of a new series of events without the body. All that is mortal is returned to that which is immortal. Finite is resurrected within that which is infinite. Through the ritual practices such as tangihanga, grief and death were placed in an ultimate and infinite context. These beliefs came to be reflected throughout a range of roles and positioning as well as the ways in which status was rationalised and accorded to Iwi women in a dialectical tension with their male counterparts. A Sacred value of a female life could be associated with either male or female descendants. The Iwi nations, like most other civilisations has it's own internal problematics. The current range of roles accorded women throughout the motu is a testimony to this ongoing contestation over the right to define Mana Wahine in contemporary times and to interpretive freedom of Iwi women to impute their own meanings into the female narratives of their tipuna whaea⁵⁶.

SUMMARY:

This section developed a theoretical and conceptual framework for analysing the impact of Colonial policy on Iwi nations and the ideals of Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho. Tracing a range of epistemological roots it was argued that the contemporary urgency for reclaiming Kaupapa Maori forms of theorising are not new but have their origins within Tikanga-a-Iwi and the generational transmission of Sacred knowledges. Kaupapa Maori was introduced to highlight contemporary resistance struggles by Iwi during the past hundred and fifty years of British and Pakeha colonisation which has seen the strategic Pakeha erasure of Iwi Sacred narratives and the potency of Iwi historical memories. A key issue within these struggles is identified as the control over knowledge which came to be exerted by Pakeha elites as a result of colonisation which was expressed in the suppression of Iwi knowledge and the imposition of the coloniser's language and culture in it's place. This form of Colonial language and cultural Imperialism helped to bring Tikanga-

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Tipuna whaea is defined here as all female ancestresses who have returned to te ira Atua and te ira whenua.

a-Iwi into a state of crisis.

The dynamic concepts of Kaupapa and Tikanga were developed as interconnected knowledge constructs out of which nga Tikanga me nga Ritenga o te Ao Iwi have continued to be translated, maintained and transformed by Iwi descendants since British Colonialism was installed. Nga Tikanga me nga Ritenga o te Ao Iwi are also proposed as foundation principles which have acted as a guide to the standards and foundations of Iwi nations today. Within and across Iwi a range of Sacred learning institutions also developed as wananga which provided support to some of the particular developments of an Iwi and in the case of Waitaha, the overall Sacred narratives of Iwi throughout the motu.

A development within these institutions was the emergence of he kete wananga with an institutional structure of kauae runga and kauae raro. From these origins contemporary Iwi educational models became shaped and informed moving from the autonomy and security of marae wananga and into the changing demands of colonised educational settings and contexts. It is from within the transforming milieu of contemporary struggles that Kaupapa Maori theorising emerged as a network of theoretical and practical Iwi responses to British Colonialism. In particular, Kaupapa Maori theorising galvanised around the preservation and maintenance of Te Reo Rangatira as well as the realisation by Iwi that Pakeha hegemony could be more readily opposed and resisted by establishing Iwi within a range of autonomous strategies which Iwi defined the development of. In a sense it was another level of struggle to ensure the survival of Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho as an explicit political practice. Another key response to the crisis of language Imperialism has been a growing awareness within Iwi regarding the importance of Whakapapa as three rather than one dimensional.

Whakapapa has also been developed within this section as a theoretical construct which can be applied to trace the origins of an Iwi descendant to te ira Atua, te ira Whenua and their ira tangata Iwi kainga. Whakapapa is also a symbol of ancestral wisdom and it is acknowledged in this section that access to Whakapapa

has at times appeared to occur haphazardly or not at all for many Iwi descendants. Colonisation has played a key role in the silences that have been signalled by Iwi ignorance of their Whakapapa. Whakapapa is a threatening symbol to Pakeha colonisation precisely because it carries the historical memories of Iwi and relates them directly to a connectedness with Aotearoa and Te Ika a Maui which Pakeha can never claim ancestry to.

The role of symbolism as another kete of knowledge was examined as an important layer through which Iwi Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho has been maintained. Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho which has in recent times been denied to many Iwi women by highly colonised Iwi males and Pakeha society at large. In response to this multi-stranded attempt to exclude Iwi women Mana Wahine discourses have emerged to contest such practices and assumptions. The role and status of Papatuanuku, subservient to no-one, highlights a three dimensional orientation Iwi epistemologies reinforce regarding the key roles and pivotal contributions of Iwi women to Iwi, hapu and whanaungatanga. Iwi males who continue to deny Iwi women their right to fully participate in decisions which affect the life of Iwi are breaking Iwi law, disregarding their ancestral roles, responsibilities and obligations and negating their own Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho. The challenge to all Iwi members is to restore the Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho based in the lifeways of te ira Atua, te ira Whenua and in turn, te ira Tangata I Tuku Iho.