

CHAPTER SIX

KAUPAPA MAORI THEORY

KA HUI TE MANA
KO IA TERA
E NGUNGURU MAI RA
E NGUNGURU ATU NEI
HE NGUNGURU TAI TANGATA
(Pita Te Huranga Hohaia)

So we are talking about enlightenment. I heard a teacher say -
"But you Maori boys here have to learn Pakeha skills at school. That is
why you have come to school". And I said to him on the quiet -
"What arrogance. Enlightenment belongs to humanity. Pakeha do not
have the monopoly over enlightenment".
(Rangimarie Rose Pere 1986).

INTRODUCTION

In this country all the brown babies have a right to be confident about
being brown.
(I.Ramsden 1994:261).

I structure this chapter under three paradigms; however, I do not compartmentalise Kaupapa Maori Theory. That is the de-constructive mode of Pakeha writers. The three paradigms are resistance, intervention and alternative; the boundaries of which are infinite. I do not attempt to give a definitive account of Kaupapa Maori Theory - Te Ao Maori is limitless. Our engagement with Theory is limitless. Te Iwi Maori have resisted colonisation and Pakeha hegemony. Maori continue to resist. Te Iwi Maori have always intervened in the processes of colonisation. Kaupapa Maori is an alternative to Pakeha hegemony. Kaupapa Maori Theory is an alternative to European forms of theorising.

The first imperative is this: Kaupapa Maori Theory is not for sale; it cannot be bought. Pakeha may attempt to co-opt our Tikanga, to submerge Te Reo Maori within the Master Language, to appropriate our Theory itself. It is Maori, who will control the definition of Mana Maori Motuhake, Kaupapa Maori, and Kaupapa Maori Theory. Our world, nor our World View, our Tikanga was never for sale. As Maori, we are not the commodity.

THEORY - KAUPAPA

The title of this thesis 'Kaupapa Maori Theory as a Resistance Against the Construction of Maori as the Other' has been problematic for me in the duration of writing. The notion of Kaupapa Maori as a Theory is problematic. I attempt to give reasons why this is so.

Linda Smith (1992) has written on the dilemmas of being a Maori academic. She writes:

We struggle to make theory, theory which connects our work to our aspirations and which can contribute to the wider world in which we too are citizens.

(L. Smith 1992:17).

The essence is that our struggle, becomes our Theory. Theory is something that we, as Maori academics do, with our pens. Many Maori have taken up their axes; these axes recite their struggle. Maori women like Emare Karaka or Kura Te Waru Rewiri choose their axe - the paintbrush. Film-maker Merita Mita takes up the camera. Maori activist Hone Harawira and Tame Iti choose to 'walk' their 'talk'.

I suggest that Maori do not need Theory (in the European-philosophical sense), in order to live. Despite the fact that I have labelled Kaupapa Maori as a Theory; it is also a praxis. Our Theory is a praxis. Kaupapa Maori Theory does not subsume itself within European philosophical hegemonies that posit the supremacy of the written word over the spoken.

As Maori we struggle to access the Power of literacy; in Wittgenstein's sense - for our words to become deeds. Our struggle to write, to be heard and read; these struggles inform our Kaupapa. How do we, as Maori choose to live in Te Ao Tuhi? This discussion is essential to any understanding of Kaupapa Maori Theory.

The process of writing this thesis can be seen as the exemplary mode of Kaupapa Maori as a praxis. Hence, I conclude that Kaupapa Maori is not a Theory in the Western sense; it does not subsume itself within European philosophical endeavours which construct and privilege one Theory over another Theory, one rationality over another rationality, one philosophical paradigm over another philosophical paradigm, one knowledge over another knowledge, one World View over the World View of the Other. Kaupapa Maori Theory is rather Kaupapa Maori Praxis. My problematic continues. I de-construct the title further; what remains is simply KAUPAPA MAORI.

KAUPAPA MAORI THEORY - HE AHA TEENEI MEA?

KAUPAPA

This is the explanation which gives meaning to the 'life' of Maori. The kaupapa is the base on which the superstructures of Te Ao may be viewed.

MAORI

This is a human, a tangata, born into a geophysical cultural milieu, bound by blood - in other words, a human being with a peculiar set of such circumstances. It must be remembered that the word itself has come to exist as a product of colonisation; to differentiate between Maori and Pakeha.

THEORY

This may be defined as a body of knowledge which seeks, in a coherent, cogent manner to understand, simply to allow tangata to understand himself/herself, and the universe and his/her place in it. Viewed in this light, what is to be observed is the centrality of tangata in all 'things'. That is all.

Kaupapa and Theory, viewed in this light are transpositional. They bear the direct relationship by analogy between Maori and Tangata. Where the former is characterised by particularity, the latter by 'the general'. The thesis begins and ends with - Kaupapa Maori. This can only be demonstrated in Te Reo Maori because Te Reo Maori is a tangata language; is a universal language. It is not an 'it' language. Maori do not call themselves Maori - we are Tangata.

(Personal communication with Pita Te Huranga Hohaia January 1996).

He aha te mea nui o te Ao?

He tangata he tangata he tangata

The notion of Kaupapa Maori as a resistance against the construction of Maori as the Other is problematic if Maori are seen as having internalised the notion of the Other; if Maori have become the Other. It is imperative to realise that Maori themselves do not see themselves as the Other. Many Maori have never entertained the notion that we are somebody else's Other; let alone being the Other to Pakeha. The crucial point

here is that Pakeha have posited Maori as the Other. That is the underlying premise of this thesis.

In view of this, it is therefore not correct to say that Kaupapa Maori is merely a resistance movement, a dualistic antithesis, counter-attack, counter-argument. As Maori we don't answer back as the Other. Kaupapa Maori has its dimensions far removed from the reality of European philosophical paradigms.

As an expression of Kaupapa Maori, this thesis is an expression of my Tino Rangatiratanga. This can be understood as the control over my own destiny. It is in the process of becoming, as is the notion of Kaupapa Maori Theory. I do not speak for Te Iwi Maori; my analysis is not iwi-specific. Whilst I agree with Glynnis Paraha (1993:7), that I must be conscious of being either individualistic or whakahihi and whilst I am aware that Maori women are not meant to make 'I' statements (K. Irwin 1994:80); I seek to retain my Mana Motuhake as a Maori woman with blood lines which traverse the universe of Ngapuhi.

My struggles are being lived out in the context of my identity as half-caste. These struggles inform my Mana Motuhake. Kaupapa Maori is one of struggle, of resistance, intervention and alternative. What I do illustrate here are some of the ways in which Maori have sought to 'name' their own world, but more importantly, to actually live in it.

RESISTANCE

The notion of resistance that I build upon is that of an antidote. The antidote is Kaupapa Maori. It is a physical, spiritual antidote to a disease that kills. The killer disease is not Aids, nor a new form of Cancer. The disease is ages old. The name we have come to know it by - Colonisation.

Many Maori people have died from this disease. Many Maori continue to die from it. It is a physical disease which manifests in the tinana of the Maori; appearing in

the form of obesity, alcoholism, drug addiction and physical violence. Other forms of this disease manifest in the loss of Mana Whenua, loss of Tikanga, the silencing of Te Reo Maori.

This is also a spiritual disease; it attacks the hinengaro of Maori. The name of this spiritual disease - 'internalisation of colonisation'. Here, the disease is most potent. It manifests in a slow, lingering, debilitating death.

The causes of the disease were brought to Aotearoa by Pakeha colonisers. Some can be seen with the eye - tobacco, alcohol, white flour. Schizophrenia is an imported disease. Other causes are hard to see. They came in latent form, in the crevices of minds, in the processes of thought, in the guise of World Views that sought to appropriate, dominate and negate other World Views that it found in its path.

For many Maori, the antidote comes too late. Maori suicide rates attest to this. Maori suicide is an expression of the most ultimate, devastating form of resistance, that many Maori choose to exercise. We, as Maori, can acculturate ourselves to Pakeha culture. We can accommodate our minds to Pakeha thought patterns. We can even dismantle the Master's house, using his own ideological tools. We choose, however to build our own whare alongside his/her house. Our real resistance however, can only be Kaupapa Maori. It is the only effective combative antidote. Kaupapa Maori is nothing less than a **blueprint for survival**.

He kakano e ruia mai i Rangiatea. E kore e ngaro.

LIVING IN OUR OWN WORLD

Our struggle is often seen by Pakeha as one of reaction. Our praxis of resistance is posited by Pakeha as reactionary, the seeking of a 'reparative' justice. Our struggle is also associated with the notions of apartheid, separatism, radicalism, and activism.

For Maori however, our struggle, our resistance is one of survival. We resist, in order to live. In this sense, Maori resistance is not a process of negation. Our resistance seeks to empower, not to accede to Power. It does not seek to destroy, but rather, to enhance a lifeforce; the lifeforce of Maori. Regarding Sovereignty, Donna Awatere wrote:

for the Maori, without sovereignty we are dead as a nation. It is not sovereignty or no sovereignty. It is sovereignty or nothing. We have no choice.

(D.Awatere 1982:42).

TE TIRITI O WAITANGI

Kaupapa Maori did not begin with Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Kaupapa Maori is not a reaction to the arrival of Pakeha. As Maori, we lived in our own world, before the Pakeha 'sighted' us. However, any understanding of Kaupapa Maori today must refer to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, because it contains, in its 'messages', glimpses of who we are, the threads of our Kaupapa.

Whilst Te Tiriti does not position itself at the centre of our world, it represents a historical break in the continuity of Kaupapa Maori. As an individual of both worlds; it represents the reality of my existence. Te Tiriti allowed my Pakeha ancestors to inhabit this land. If that historical break did not happen, I would not be here. It was Matiu Rata's view in 1989 that every New Zealand citizen is a beneficiary of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. By whakapapa I am bound to Te Tiriti. My tupuna Hone Heke was the first known rangatira to sign Te Tiriti.

The Pakeha Tiriti negotiator Doug Graham, in his short-sightedness, declared in 1995 that colonisation might well have taken place even if Te Tiriti had not been signed. (New Zealand Herald, May 6 1995:page 1). In view of the historical reality of European colonisation, on a World scale; his declaration is right. However, I do contend that if colonisation would have occurred regardless of Te Tiriti o Waitangi;

those waters from which I would have flowed, would indeed have been bloodied ones.

The shadow of the land goes to Queen Victoria but the substance remains to us.
(Nopera Panakareao).

It has been said - Te reo o te Tiriti mai rano (te tiriti is always speaking). For many Maori, Te Tiriti has already spoken. Bernard Kernot (1989), states that:

The Treaty can be regarded as always speaking only when attention is given to its "spirit, true intent and meaning".
(B.Kernot 1989:6).

Here the "spirit" of Te Tiriti has its greatest significance if we adhere to the "true intent" of Te Tiriti that my tupuna Hone Heke and other rangatira from Ngapuhi, adhered to. The historian Claudia Orange illustrates this intent.

The religious connotations are inescapable. Hobson's words, 'He iwi tahi tatou' (We are now one people), should be understood in the Christian sense, less as an aspiration for a unified nation than as a covenant: Maori and European would be one in the one God, the treaty itself being the covenant between Maori and the Queen as head of the English Church and state. Heke spoke of the treaty as the new covenant; and the idea was echoed at the Kaitia treaty signing when one young chief expressed the hope that 'if your thoughts (meaning British) are towards Christ as ours are, we shall be one'.
(C.Orange 1989:13).

The Rt. Rev. Manuhuia Bennett (1989) reiterates the notion of covenant. For Manuhuia Bennett, to say that the Tiriti is always speaking, in the context of faith, is also to realise that Te Tiriti is not just a contract, nor a compact between partners; it is also a covenant of mutual good faith. He writes:

It is indeed a statement of faith in itself and is the sign of covenant between Maori and Pakeha.
(M.Bennett 1989:16).

It is the Maori version of Te Tiriti which Maori people have regarded as the real and binding version of Te Tiriti. Its meaning to them has been different from the meaning Pakeha have taken from the English version. In the second article of the Maori version, the power and autonomy of chiefs - their 'rangatiratanga o o ratou whenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga' (their chieftainship over their lands, their homes and other treasures) - was expressly preserved, as stated in this article.

R. Walker (1989), regarding the first article in the Maori version, relates that in ceding governorship to the Queen, the Maori were in no sense ceding sovereignty.

Their understanding of kawanatanga would be understood as a benign term not even remotely connected with the basic question of sovereignty. But if sovereignty had been translated as mana whenua 'sovereignty over land', then the chiefs would have had no doubt as to its meaning. It is highly probable they would not have signed the Treaty.
(R.Walker 1989a:264).

MANA WHENUA

At the heart of Te Tiriti is the notion that Maori would maintain their rangatiratanga over their whenua. All understandings of Kaupapa Maori adhere to this. It is not enough to say that Maori have resisted colonisation in its endeavour of raupatu. Maori have not only resisted the loss of whanau land, of hapu land, or iwi land; Maori have resisted the coloniser's attempt to deplete their life-force, the life-force of Papatuanuku.

Dame Whina Cooper speaks of the relationship of trust between the Crown, Maori and whenua.

And land, those mountains, we are afraid for the mountains. We would rather be under the Crown because we have the Treaty rights under which the Queen is looking after our concerns for our land, our mountains, all those lands. We gave it in the trust and knowledge that the Queen will look after our people. And we trust with the trust of our ancestors who told us the Queen will look after us.

(W. Cooper, cited in P. Kingi 1989:87).

Her words express eloquently the relationship that Maori have with whenua.

...we have been taught by our ancestors to talk to the mountains because the bones of our ancestors are up there. And we talk to those mountains because we know that our ancestors are all buried up there. They all have their mana there. At any big hui that's called at our maraes you find that when anybody comes there they talk to the mountain first. They call to the mountains because they can see all the Maoris that are dead now....To link from the people who have died back to the living... It is the very top dead. We say it in Maori. We say bind the land to the people. The people are part of the land. That's how our ancestors live. The people are born of the land. The land is our mother.

(W.Cooper, cited in P. Kingi 1989:88).

Mana Maori is the link between the land and God. In Te Reo Maori the name for the placenta is whenua because the placenta provides the nourishment in order for the baby to grow and be born into the World; the whenua is the life-force as is the land for tangata. As we are born of the earth mother, Papatuanuku, so we return to the earth mother. This is why we return the whenua to Papatuanuku, when it has finished its task of nourishing the baby.

He wahine he whenua i mate ai te tangata.

This whakatauki is often used by Maori in relation to land and women. Maori women writers, Waerete Norman (1992), and Rangimarie Pere (1990), have written that this whakatauki is credited with the meaning that 'by women and land men are lost'. (R.Pere 1990:3). Both writers prefer to interpret this whakatauki in a different sense, saying that 'without women and without land mankind would die'. (W.Norman 1992:9).

They bring to the forefront the relationship we have with Papatuanuku. Without women, who are the *whare o te tangata*, and without Papatuanuku; Tangata would die.

I interpret this whakatauki in a different sense also to say that yes, it is by women and land, that Tangata is lost. Women, as *whare tangata*, are the persona of the earth mother, Papatuanuku. Tangata are inevitably lost to Papatuanuku; this dying, this loss is also a return to the birthplace of Humanity. Though we are lost; the *mana whenua* remains. The mother remains.

The history of Maori protest against the loss of their *whenua* is extensive. The 'Genesis of Maori Activism' or Maori Resistance has been documented in the writings of many Maori and Pakeha writers. Ranginui Walker's contribution to this documentation is extensive. (1984, 1987, 1989a, 1989b, 1990, 1993, 1994).

Kaupapa Maori sees it this way. If Pakeha choose to pollute, disfigure, disrobe and 'sell out' the land; then it is not the land itself that they are polluting, disfiguring, disrobing and selling out from beneath our feet. Pakeha have not only claimed and stolen the land from beneath us; leaving us legless. More importantly, they have chosen to deplete the life-force of Maori. In so doing, they have depleted the life-force of Tangata, of all people who inhabit this land.

THEORISING MAORI RESISTANCE - RANGINUI WALKER AND PAULO FREIRE

The academic work and writings of Maori academic, Ranginui Walker, can be seen to exemplify the struggle of Maori to make Theory which is also praxis, in that it leads to a transformation which is one of liberation. Ranginui Walker is one of the most politically-active intellectuals in Aotearoa. He has provided Pakeha and Maori with an extensive, exhaustive written account of Maori resistance to colonisation; specifically, with regard to issues of *Mana Whenua* and *Te Reo Maori* survival. Through his work as a University lecturer and through his writings, Walker has theorised the praxis of Maori resistance, according to Paulo Friere's notion of conscientization.

Walker's decision to become involved in 'cultural politics', whilst being himself a part of European academia, was precipitated by his choice to be no longer an "intellectual voyeur". (R.Walker 1988:40). It was/is his contention that:

...intellectuals, by virtue of their luxury afforded them by their profession to think, and ponder on the human condition, have a duty to society to become involved in the political life of the nation; for politics is the very stuff of life. (R.Walker 1988:45).

In the forward to the book Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Richard Shaull wrote that Paulo Freire's thought represents the response of a creative mind and sensitive conscience to the "extraordinary misery and suffering of the oppressed around him". (Shaull, in Freire 1972:9). Like Freire, Walker's commitment to cultural politics is influenced by his identity. Walker's experiences as a Maori have influenced his ability to think, to write, to provide alternative spaces in which Maori can position themselves in relation to Pakeha hegemony. As a child, he had first hand experience of the reality of his iwi's lands being confiscated. Like many Maori of his generation he experienced the humiliation of being prosecuted for speaking Te Reo Maori, at the age of six years. He knows the reality of being denied accommodation because of the colour of his skin. Racism is no stranger to him. (R.Walker 1988:40). He has also struggled with the dilemmas of being a Maori academic.

Paulo Freire's thought and work has made a significant contribution to the praxis of education in many countries. His work has created a unity of theory and praxis; in essence a 'practice of freedom'. In 1984 Walker wrote:

Freire's contention that "knowledge of the alienating culture leads to transforming action resulting in a culture which is being freed from alienation" is borne out by the Maori experience. (R.Walker 1984:1).

Here, the notion of decolonisation is paramount. Maori have participated in many transformative actions since the arrival of Te Iwi Pakeha in Aotearoa. Hone Heke, Patuone, Waka Nene, Te Rauparaha, Wiremu Tamihana, Te Whiti, Te Kooti, Wiremu

Ratana, Te Puea Herangi, Whina Cooper; these are only a few of the many Maori in our history who have transformed our realities, who have freed Maori from alienation. This is the genesis of Maori activism which produced Nga Tamatoa, Te Matakite, the Mana Motuhake political party, Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Maori and many other transformative alternatives to Pakeha hegemony.

Here I will give an account of some of Freire's theoretical tools, which have informed not only the writings and thought of Ranginui Walker; these tools have informed many individuals who have sought freedom.

The notion of cultural invasion implies superiority of the invader and inferiority of those who are invaded. (Freire 1972;129).

In essence this is the historical reality of Pakeha colonisation in Aotearoa and the positioning of Maori as the Other.

For cultural invasion to succeed, it is essential that these invaded become convinced of their intrinsic inferiority. (ibid:123).

For many Maori, myself included, this has been our reality at certain times in our lives - the internalisation of colonisation. We became the Other to ourselves.

The more the oppressors control the oppressed, the more they change them into apparently inanimate things. (ibid:35).

This has been exemplified in the positioning of Maori children as Objects, as the Problematic, the variable under study.

Conscientization does not lead men to destructive fanaticism...conscientization enrolls them in the search for self-affirmation. (ibid:15-16).

This is the essence of Mana Motuhake, Tino Rangatiratanga, Maori Sovereignty.

This then is the great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed: to liberate themselves and their oppressor as well...This fight (against oppression), because of the purpose given it by the oppressed, will actually constitute an act of love, opposing the lovelessness which lies at the heart of the oppressor's violence, lovelessness even when clothed in false generosity. (ibid:21-22).

This is the essence of Kaupapa Maori which is, Kaupapa Tangata. Ranginui Walker's involvement in the cultural politics of Aotearoa has been extensive; his involvement with the Auckland District Maori Council, Nga Tamatoa, Matakite, the Mana Motuhake Party, and his involvement with various Maori Leadership Conferences, have positioned him at the interface between Maori and Pakeha. His strength comes from his desire, not only to educate his own people, but to educate Pakeha as well.

One of the earliest references to biculturalism was made by Ranginui Walker in 1973, when he challenged the deficit ideology that posited Maori as the Problem in education. He used the term 'bicultural' to describe the Maori child who was obliged to become familiar with two cultural codes, Maori and Pakeha. In this context, he was using the term to denote a personal attribute relating to culture.

Judith Simon (1992) relates that by 1980, Walker was applying a wider political meaning to the term. By 1986, he was more vigorously defining biculturalism in terms of power-sharing. The notion of biculturalism was subsequently picked up by all sectors of the education system. Walker's work; his praxis can be seen to be part of the genesis of Maori resistance and activism; an activism that seeks liberation.

Michel Foucault has spoken of intellectuals involved in 'specific' practices against the structures of power. In opposing Gramsci's organic intellectual and in contrast with the role of the traditional intellectual, he outlines the role of the 'specific' intellectual. For Foucault the intellectual's role is:

...to sap the power, to take the power, it is an activity conducted alongside those who struggle for power, and not their illumination from a safe distance. (M.Foucault 1972:207).

In this light, Ranginui Walker has more than adequately fulfilled this role in Contemporary Maori Society. His work more than adequately exemplifies a 'practice of freedom'. His work is a **synthesis of theory and practice**; this is the essence of Kaupapa Maori Theory. Despite this synthesis, Walker would no doubt agree with Maori writer and academic, Linda Smith who writes in 1994:

...university did not give me my theories. Nor has it given me my practice, my history, my identity or my space. Those things I have lived and struggled for, claimed and reclaimed.
(L. Smith 1994:19).

SHIFTING THE MIDDLE GROUND

Ranginui Walker has stated that 'activism' is defined in the Concise Oxford Dictionary as a "policy of vigorous action in politics". (R.Walker 1984:267). No value judgement is made in the definition. According to Kaupapa Maori, we seek to claim our own label, to define our definitions. Pakeha writers have attempted to not only name our worlds but have chosen to remove those labels at whim. Andrew Sharp has written that the "doctrine of absolute Maori sovereignty was the response to justice denied". (A.Sharp 1990:253). Here, he reduces the notion of sovereignty, an integral part of Kaupapa Maori, to a mere doctrine of reaction, a dualistic response to Pakeha hegemony.

In 1840 Te Tino Rangatiratanga was the authority and responsibility exercised by chiefs, over their respective peoples and regions of influence. Collectively it can be described by the contemporary expression of Maori Sovereignty. Rangatiratanga denotes the mana not only to possess what is yours, but to control and manage it in accordance with your own preferences.

Rangatiratanga, or the notion of Maori Sovereignty did not begin in 1840 as a reaction, nor a response to colonisation. As Maori, our sovereignty nor our rangatiratanga has never been in dispute; its reality sits firmly in our past, which is

our present, which is our future. In co-opting Foucault's phrase, our history is very much of the present.

In 1975 Donna Awatere described Maori sovereignty as "the Maori ability to determine our own destiny and to do so from the basis of our land and fisheries". (D.Awatere 1975:10). Maori sovereignty seeks nothing less than the acknowledgement that Aotearoa is Maori land, and seeks the return of that land. It demands an end to monoculturalism, to Pakeha hegemony. In 1995, Awatere's views had not changed. For her Tino Rangatiratanga, or Maori Sovereignty was "Maori control over things Maori, Maori being in control of their own destiny, Maori control over Tikanga Maori. (Awatere on Television One 'Assignment' September 14, 1995).

The notion of nationalism is problematic. Maori have been termed Maori Nationalists by Pakeha writers. Michael King in 1986 denies Maori people like Atareta Poananga and Donna Awatere, the right to call themselves nationalists. He has said:

Well I wonder how you can be a nationalist if you don't address yourself to and embrace your country's total experience.
(M.King, cited in P.Spoonley 1986:11-12).

Here, King is claiming the term for his own identity, his own Pakeha culture. Despite whether or not Atareta Poananga claims the term for herself and other Maori who seek Tino Rangatiratanga; King denies her the ability to claim for herself the label, to name her world.

The views of Atareta Poananga and other Maori individuals who have been named 'activists' and 'radicals' in contemporary Maori society are the topic of this next section. I choose to call these Maori individuals the **shakers and movers** of Contemporary Maori Society. The only credentials they hold is that they are Maori; the only Kaupapa they adhere to is Maori. As a spokewoman for Te Ahi Kaa (The Keepers of the Fire), Atareta Poananga has defined the Kaupapa by which Te Ahi Kaa adhere to. Maori Nationalism, or Sovereignty is a matter of **survival**.

Yes, survival. We are trying to rebuild a nation, a Maori nation.
(A.Poananga, cited in Legat, 1996:46).

Poananga prefers to rephrase the terminology, imposed by Pakeha. She chooses the notion of 'conservative'. She relates:

We do not want the term radical or activist used to describe us. We are conservatives. We are conserving our culture. To call us radical is a put down - it implies that we are doing something new and different. But we are guarding our traditions.
(A.Poananga, cited in Legat, 1996:44).

The view of Poananga and other members of Te Ahi Kaa are shared by all Maori who adhere to Kaupapa Maori. Poananga sees Te Ahi Kaa as "another group of fire keepers" (ibid:44). As fire-keepers, Maori are not only guardians of the lands; we are the first people of the land, the tangata whenua. The processes of colonisation have denied every Maori their right as tangata whenua, as keepers of the fires. Te Ahi Kaa is not a reaction to what is happening everyday. It is a **continuum**. (ibid:45). In the past Maori were in control of their whenua. As Poananga puts it:

What we had in the past we want in the future...in the end our goal is Maori control of Aotearoa.
(A.Poananga,cited in Legat 1996:46).

Te Ahi Kaa's strategy is not one of withdrawal, nor is it anti-white; rather it is pro-Maori. Specifically, it addresses the notion that Maori must first decolonise their minds; this will precipitate a re-awakening of Mana Maori Motuhake, a sense of intrinsic pride in being Maori. Viewed in this light, Te Ahi Kaa presents a kaupapa which is a pro-active continuum which seeks to re-awaken, conserve and facilitate survival. This is Kaupapa Maori.

WALKING THE TALK

In 1995 Hone Harawira, who is a spokesperson for Ngapuhi based Te Kōwhiri, delivered a lecture on Māori Sovereignty as part of "The Lecture Series of the Century" initiated by the political action group, Te Kōwhiri Maro. I will outline here some of his comments. Hone Harawira bears the burden on "being a warrior twenty four hours of the day", being a "kaumatua before your time". His notion of Tino Rangatiratanga is something that cannot be owned by individuals; true sovereignty is born out of sacrifice. We recognise others before we recognise ourselves; this informs his philosophy, his Kaupapa Māori.

In this sense, we, as Māori, must maintain our consistency in all that we do. This means simply that we adhere to our Tikanga; of which *whanaungatanga* and *manaakitanga* form the base. Harawira's emphasis, like that of Atareta Poananga's is on the unification of Te Iwi Māori; the re-awakening of Mana Motuhake. His address to Māori - "Think globally, not local". He describes the plight of all our Māori leaders. They are out in front, pushing, taking the flack. Each time the leaders make headway, the middle ground shifts. As the middle ground shifts, we all move progressively. The essence is that we all make the move together.

I don't mind the label of radical, if it means that I'm a person who's prepared to push society to the extremes. I take comfort in the fact that what seems extreme today will seem normal in the future.
(H.Harawira, cited in Mana 1995:23).

For him He Taua in 1979 was a highlight in his activist career. The incident was about defending, protecting and respecting Tikanga Māori. For Harawira, violence is justifiable, in terms of the things we do; violence is this light can be seen as a defense mechanism. Māori are defending their Tikanga, fighting for survival. Simply put:

We believe the Crown is trying to rob us, steal our mana, our land...what we do is try and stop them. Then they try and smash us so they can carry on

doing it. So I've never equated our acts with violence, but as a means of self-defence.

(H.Harawira, cited in Mana 1995:23).

As a warrior, a father and a grandfather, Hone Harawira wants the best for all young Maori. Specifically he wants a world for Maori children that will take traditional principles and apply them to a modern context; a world where Tikanga Maori is a lived reality. Kaupapa Maori, from the perspective of Poananga and Harawira, is about conserving a culture, building a Maori nation, protecting and defending Tikanga; the survival to Te Iwi Maori.

In 1995 many Maori asserted their rights as 'keepers of the fires', as tangata whenua, in land 'occupations' throughout Aotearoa. Niko Tangaroa and Ken Mair, alongside many other Maori occupied 'Pakaitore Marae' in Wanganui for eleven weeks in 1995. Here, the notion of Wanganuitanga was prominent. They had argued that the council "property", known as Moutoa Gardens, like several thousand other acres in the region, had never been sold by Maori.

Tame Iti, the "ambassador from Tuhoe", is no stranger to Maori protest. Tame's mission is to build a "Tuhoe Nation". (Mana 1995:19). In 1995 he issued eviction notices to Pakeha landowners in his region, informing them that they lived on Tuhoe whenua; in the future these Pakeha would be living under Tuhoe rules.

Whilst the issue of Mana Whenua is central to Kaupapa Maori, the commodification of land, forests and fisheries is equally important. Mike Smith's pine tree attack on One Tree Hill in 1995 was an act of *murū*. Smith's agenda is to highlight the fact that our whenua and natural resources, are being continually sold to overseas interests. Here, not only the rights of Maori are being eroded, under Te Tiriti o Waitangi; the rights of all individuals in Aotearoa are being eroded.

Not only do Maori resist the commodification of our whenua; we resist the commodification of our Tikanga. The organisers of the 'Drive Sober campaign,' Whiriwhiri te Ora, in 1995 successfully led the charge on Lion Red when they used

'mana' to advertise their beer. I listened to a debate on the subject on a National radio station at the time. A Pakeha speaker announced - "but mana is part of the English language". His ethno-centric stance epitomised the view, held by many Pakeha, that Te Reo Maori had submerged into the English language. The dominance of the Master language prevailed.

The sites of resistance that I have outlined are also the sites of intervention. Maori intervene in order to survive. We intervene in the processes of colonisation that seek to commodify our whenua and Tikanga Maori. Maori protest is an interventionist, survivalist strategy; a praxis of liberation.

INTERVENTION

THE FISCAL ENVELOPE

In 1994 the National Government geared itself up for the final raupatu. (Leonie Pihama 1995:7). Maori people throughout Aotearoa rejected the Fiscal Envelope which represented the Crown's proposals for the settlement of Te Tiriti o Waitangi claims. As Pihama states:

This act of raupatu is not solely about land but is a raupatu of the 1990s. It is all encompassing, reaching to whenua, natural resources, nga taonga katoa. (L. Pihama 1995:7).

As Graham Smith relates the Fiscal envelope is embedded within deeper structural concerns. (G.Smith 1995:33). The ideology behind the Fiscal envelope incorporates the notions of commodification of land, commodification of rights, and ultimately the commodification of the individual. Smith relates that:

the Treaty is the one stumbling block impeding the path to a total capitulation to the free market and private enterprise dominant society. (G.Smith 1995:35).

Kaupapa Maori is at odds with New Right ideology and its emphasis on individualism. New Right individualism aligns itself to the competitive/consumer paradigm which posits individuals in the mode of 'homo-economicus'. In short, people are treated as 'rational utility maximisers' (M.Peters, J. Marshall 1990:177).

Embedded in the Fiscal envelope's philosophy is the notion that Maori rights under Te Tiriti become property rights. By affixing a monetary value to the land (one billion dollars), by commodifying the land, the spiritual and cultural significance of the land is denied.

For Maori, the land is not a commodity. Our tupuna signed Te Tiriti as a means of protecting our whenua, our taonga. At the heart of the Fiscal envelope is the notion that our Tino Rangatiratanga is a commodity that can be bought off.

Graham Smith (1995:36) relates that devolution as a social policy has been promulgated within Maoridom as "iwi development". In essence this is an attempt by Pakeha to individualise Mana Maori Motuhake. Maori are asked to identify with one particular iwi. As an individual unit, we become susceptible to the control of the State. Maori resist the notion that their tribal identity is being determined by the State; that Tikanga be defined by Pakeha.

TE REO RANGATIRA

Ko te puutake of te Maoritanga

Ko te reo Maori

He Taonga tuku iho

Na te Atua

The survival of Te Reo Maori is one of the biggest issues facing Maori today. The European Education System in Aotearoa has never admitted that there was ever any official policy of punishing Maori children for speaking Te Reo Maori. In 1986 the writers of the 'Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Te Reo Maori Claim' reported:

We simply say that on what we have heard it was clearly at least a practice widely followed that during the first quarter of this century Maori children were forbidden to speak Maori in school, even in the playground, and that they were punished if they did so.
(3.2.8. Wai 11:9).

Sir James Henare echoed the voices of many Maori when he related to the Waitangi Tribunal that he had suffered punishment at the hands of Pakeha teachers for breaking the rule that Te Reo Maori must "be left at the school gates". (ibid.).

Rangimarie Pere (1995) holds the belief that any language expresses the values, beliefs and ideology of a people. Te Reo Maori is basic to the retention and maintenance of the Maori heritage for it enshrines the ethos, the life principle of the Maori people.

Despite over one hundred and fifty years of repression and suppression, both overt and covert, Te Reo Maori has survived. Like Te Iwi Maori themselves, Te Reo Maori has survived 'assimilation out of existence'. The 1987 Maori Language Act which gave official status to Te Reo Maori, is seen as the direct result of the strength of Maori resistance and intervention. It is one example out of hundreds of examples; illustrating the strategy of Kaupapa Maori and the survival of a people. Te Reo Maori, as a taonga, was guaranteed protection by the Crown, in article Two of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Te Reo Maori is essential for the survival of Te Iwi Maori.

It is not untrue to say that Maori have always resisted the suppression and marginalisation of Te Reo Maori by Pakeha colonising agendas. The establishment of the mono-lingual Education System in Aotearoa contravened Te Tiriti o Waitangi through the suppression and marginalisation of Te Reo Maori. Te Reo Maori was seen by the missionaries as an obstacle in the way of civilisation.

THE SURVIVAL OF TE REO MAORI

The notion of Maori resistance and especially Maori intervention can best be seen in the context of the survival of Te Reo Maori; in the institutions of Te Kohanga Reo

and Kura Kaupapa Maori. Koro Wetere, the Minister of Maori Affairs in 1987 stated the objective of Te Kohanga Reo.

The ultimate objective of Te Kohanga Reo is nothing less than the rebirth of the Maori nation as an equal but separate element contributing to the common good of New Zealand society.
(K. Wetere 1987).

The following Maori academics are some of the Maori academics who have contributed to the collective body of knowledge that is called Kaupapa Maori Theory: Margie Hohepa (1990), Tania Ka'ai (1990), Tuki Nepe (1991), Arapera Tangaere (1992), Mere White (1995). Specifically, these Maori writers have elaborated on the praxis of Te Kohanga Reo. Kaupapa Maori philosophy and praxis underpins the success of Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Maori, Whare Kura and Whare Waananga in Aotearoa. Seen as an interventionist strategy for the revival and survival of Te Reo Maori, Kaupapa Maori is also a politicising agent that allows Maori to position themselves at the centre of their own World. It allows us to be Maori, to define who we are, to be in control of our Tikanga.

The notion of controlling our own knowledge is paramount to Kaupapa Maori Theory. Elizabeth Rata's text - Maori Survival and Structural Separateness (1991) is a history of Te Runanga o Nga Kura Kaupapa Maori o Tamaki Makaurau 1987-1989. Rata elaborates the notion of control:

It seemed important to us that our history was told and analysed by ourselves, given the potential hegemonic uses of historical discourse when the ruling group has access to the history of the colonised group. Either the history is not told, and important collective experiences in the life of a social group are simply edited out by omission as if they did not occur, or it is interpreted in such a way as to serve the interests of the dominant group.
(E.Rata 1991:19).

The notion of controlling our own knowledge is illustrated also by the inclusion of a note inside the cover of Mere Whites's M.A. thesis. The note states - "To be reproduced for Kaupapa Maori purposes only".

Matauranga Maori and Kaupapa Maori Theory are intrinsically bound to Te Reo Maori. Nepe relates the contention held by many Maori educationalists that both Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori are:

... self-determined educational interventions aimed at ensuring the survival of the Maori language; re-establishing through the medium of Maori its own body of Kaupapa Maori knowledge; and redressing the educational crisis caused by the monocultural practices of the New Zealand system on the majority of Maori children who pass through it.
(T. Nepe 1991:3).

The writings of Maori educationalist Graham Smith (1988, 1989, 1990 a,b, 1991, 1992), have illustrated the praxis component of Kaupapa Maori, the conscientisation, mobilisation of Te Iwi Maori in the struggle to retain Tino Rangatiratanga. As in the case of Ranginui Walker, Graham Smith's academic work can be seen as the conceptualising of a Theory which is both informed by thought and praxis; in short it is a process of transformation. Smith states:

Kaupapa Maori can be defined in general terms as the 'philosophy and practice of 'being Maori''. It is a common sense, taken for granted assumption. In this respect 'being Maori' has a valid and legitimate social, political, historical, philosophical, intellectual and cultural authenticity.
(G.Smith 1992:1).

For Graham Smith, the crucial change elements embedded within Kaupapa Maori, need to be identified with a view to "wider application across the whole of New Zealand schooling". (G.Smith 1993:13). Some of these critical change factors, implicit in the praxis of both Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori are: Tino Rangatiratanga, Taonga tuku iho, ako Maori, Kia piki ake i nga raruraru o te Kainga, whanau, Kaupapa. For Tuki Nepe (1991), Kaupapa Maori is

...the "conceptualisation of Maori knowledge" that has been developed through oral tradition. It is the process by which the Maori mind receives, internalises, differentiates, and formulates ideas and knowledge exclusively through Te Reo Maori.
(T. Nepe 1991:15).

Nepe elaborates some of the distinctiveness of Maori metaphysical beliefs and body of knowledge that form Kaupapa Maori. These can be demonstrated by Maori animism, the concept of the relationship between the living and the dead. The Maori concept of time, the continuum is essential to any understanding of Kaupapa Maori. The relationship between male and female, individual and group and the implication of such relationships for social power relations; these knowledge types form the content and product of the uniquely Maori metaphysical base and Maori societal relationships. (T.Nepe 1991:5).

Kura Kaupapa Maori as an educational intervention, and as a Maori alternative praxis is guided by the principles of *Te Aho Matua*. This charter, written in Maori by Katerina Mataira, can be seen to epitomise the essence of Kaupapa Maori. It underpins and elaborates towards the holistic development of the Maori child.

ALTERNATIVE

The notion of alternative that I elaborate upon in the last section of this chapter is one of **difference**. Kaupapa Maori is different; however it is not opposed to sameness, nor is it synonymous with separateness. As Graham Smith relates, Maori parents who choose Kura Kaupapa Maori for their children, seek excellence in both cultural frameworks, Maori and Pakeha. It is not an either/or option. (G.Smith 1993:26).

The notion of alternative is also related to the notion of 'partnership', which is inherent in *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*. It is also a debate between **Kawanatanga** and **Tino Rangatiratanga**. Manuka Henare (1990) illustrates this point well:

When we look carefully at the institutions that have been built up, we see that they've [Pakeha] spent the last 150 years building up all the structures of state which have enhanced Kawanatanga. And have essentially diminished Tino Rangatiratanga....none of us are happy.
(M.Henare 1990:44).

It is my contention here that all Maori contribute the reality of Kaupapa Maori; even those who do not know their whakapapa. As Leonie Pihama has written:

Whakapapa remains irrespective of our knowledge of it. Our tupuna will always be our tupuna.
(L. Pihama 1995:24).

By our mere existence as Tangata Whenua, by the reality of our Kaupapa as Maori, by the historical reality of our struggles to maintain Tino Rangatiratanga; Te Iwi Maori and Kaupapa Maori is the alternative to Pakeha hegemony. The intent of the thesis has been to illustrate some of the ways that Maori have chosen to express an alternative World View which is their own.

LIVING WITH ACADEMIA

Linda Smith (1992) has elaborated upon the dilemmas that many Maori face as academics. We do "exist in institutions which are founded largely on the collective denial of our existence as Maori". (L.Smith 1992:3). We do, however, make Theory which is our own; we do position ourselves in the text, writing personal pronouns, celebrating our identities. Whilst Kaupapa Maori Theory can be seen as just another 'Grand Narrative', it is our own narrative. For Maori it is liberating.

As Maori academics and as parents, Graham and Linda Smith have played crucial roles in the dynamics of Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa and the development of Kaupapa Maori as a Theory. A distinction can be made between Kaupapa Maori writing and Kaupapa Maori Theory. As early as 1988, Graham Smith coined the phrase, Kaupapa Maori Theory. For him, the reason was an academic one and a political one. It was and is an attempt to conceptualise many of the underlying connecting philosophies and strategies that are incorporated in Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa movements.

This conceptualisation; of Tikanga Maori and praxis, engages with the dominant Pakeha political system which has tried to dismiss the libratory power of the Kura Kaupapa Movement. The Education Department at Auckland University is a site where this debate is taking place. Maori academics, such as Linda and Graham Smith who give lectures in Kaupapa Maori Theory, develop intellectual spaces for Maori writers, students and researchers. Kaupapa Maori Theory incorporates a critique of Pakeha academia; which is itself a part of Pakeha hegemony. It is from the position of being the researched that Maori academics have resisted and challenged Pakeha social science research endeavours in Aotearoa.

The Research Unit for Maori Education that was established within the Education Department at Auckland University in 1991 is an interventionist measure, initiated by Maori and invited Pakeha, as a research unit which aims to develop research which is based on Tikanga Maori and Matauranga Maori.

Kaupapa Maori forms the epistemological base of Kathie Irwin's doctoral research. Her journey through the research site aims to "satisfy the integrity of the scholarship of both the Maori world and of academia". (K. Irwin 1994:25).

Albert Tahana in 1980 chose to critique the critiques, which Pakeha academics had proposed; legitimating through their writings, the problematising of the Maori child as the Maori 'problem' in Education, the Object of discourse.

Other Maori academics provide us with critiques of Pakeha hegemonical practices which seek to undermine Kaupapa Maori. Leonie Pihama's (1993) M.A. thesis argues that the 1990 National Party's 'Parents as First Teachers' programme was not an emancipatory programme for Te Iwi Maori.

Cherryl Smith's M.A. thesis (1994), argued that the concept of 'iwi development', elaborated in the 1989 Labour Government's Devolution agenda, was merely an extension of Pakeha imperialism and Colonisation.

Patricia Johnston's M.A. thesis (1991), critiques the frameworks of Pakeha educational policies: The Picot Report, Tomorrow's Schools, The Lough Report. Implicit in her critique is the question: do these policies enable and empower Maori?

The praxis of Maori academics is informed by Kaupapa Maori; this praxis contributes to the body of knowledge that we call Kaupapa Maori Theory. The praxis of Maori people outside of academia contributes equally to Kaupapa Maori Theory. The writing of Ranghiroa Panoho (1995) elaborates on the appropriation by Pakeha of Maori visual art forms. For Panoho:

What is at stake is the symbol of a culture that deserves either to be left alone for Maori to develop or to be properly negotiated over for the betterment of Maori.

(R.Panoho 1995:19).

As examples, he cites the abstraction of the Maori 'koru' motif by Gordon Walters and the abstraction of the 'tiki' in Dick Frizzell's artwork. For Panoho, it is not so much the forms that are being threatened; it is the values inherent in Kaupapa Maori which are being threatened, which are being appropriated by Pakeha artists.

MANA WAHINE

The discourse and praxis of Mana Wahine far exceeds the limits of this thesis. The liberatory praxis of Mana Wahine is an integral part of Kaupapa Maori and Kaupapa Maori Theory.

What is the contemporary reality of Maori women in Aotearoa, in Te Ao? We have been positioned as the 'Other' to Pakeha colonisers, to Maori men and Pakeha women. Thus we are positioned at the bottom of the heap socially and economically. For many Maori women, to be Maori is not a 'given'; we can not take it for granted that we are the centre of our world. For many Maori women, our Kaupapa Maori is a site of struggle every day. However, our position of disadvantage is also one of advantage; this vantage point has allowed us to provide powerful critiques of Pakeha

hegemonical practices which have been informed by Pakeha patriarchal paradigms. These critiques are also targeted at Maori men who have internalised Pakeha phallocentricism.

The reality of Mana Wahine, whilst being a part of Kaupapa Maori which incorporates the notions of resistance, intervention and alternative; stems from a Maori metaphysical base unlimited by the constraints of past, present and future. Where does our Mana as Wahine originate from?

Our reality as Maori women, 'grounds' us in our whakapapa; not just our relationships with our whaea and tupuna whaea. Our reality as whare tangata, as Tangata Whenua, as the persona of Papatuanuku grounds us to this earth, this whenua here called Aotearoa. It is not enough to say, as many Maori men will say - "the land is our Mother, how can we sell a part of our Mother?" For Mana Wahine, we are not just from the land; we are the land. Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (1984) has expressed it so:

The Maori believes that the earth is the elemental womb to which we must all return. Folded within her, carefully placed, bones complete the cycle; for as she gives, so does she receive. And female in essence, she moves within the consciousness of many women.
(N. Te Awekotuku 1984:139).

My kaupapa, informed by my whakapapa, by my tupuna whaea, allows me to contend that nobody will take away my right to speak on my own Marae. As Mana Wahine, we have been collectively informed by our individual whakapapa. It is no surprise to us that Maori women have been the driving forces behind Maori protest, resistance, and intervention in regard to issues of Mana Whenua. Women such as Whina Cooper, Eva Richard, Titewhai Harawira, Te Puea Herangi, to name only a few; these are Maori women who show us a 'way out' of Pakeha colonising processes which seek to debase Mana Whenua.

In the political arena, women like Sandra Lee, Waerete Norman, Tilly Reedy, Naida Pou, Mira Szaszy, Ella Henry; these women among many others, occupy the forefront.

In the educational arena, women like Linda Smith, Leonie Pihama, Kathie Irwin, Rangimarie Pere, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, Irihapeti Ramsden; these women, among many occupy the 'interface', the cutting edge of Kaupapa Maori Theory and European academia.

As mothers and care-givers Maori women have been the driving force behind Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori. This praxis is informed by the notion that we did not just suffer the loss of our Reo with the arrival of colonisation; our Tino Rangatiratanga as women was threatened by colonising hegemonies. This loss of Rangatiratanga precipitated the presentation of a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1993, seeking a declaration about exercise and recognition of the rangatiratanga of Maori women.

Maori women in particular are invading the literary world, reclaiming voices, reclaiming our identities in answer to the Pakeha agenda which posited Maori women as voiceless. Three recent examples are - Images of Maori Women (1994), Mana Wahine Women who show the way (1994), and Toi Wahine The Worlds of Maori Women (1995). These works have created spaces for many Maori women, giving representation to the dynamics of Mana Wahine.

The energy and vitality of Maori women's writing has been celebrated in the journals of Te Pua, formed from the Maori women's academic group, Puawaitanga, which is based at the University of Auckland.

As the writing of Glynnis Paraha (1992) has shown, the writings and praxis of Merita Mita have urged Maori men and women to reclaim the control of our images by demystifying, decolonising and indigenising those images. (G.Paraha 1992:128). Mita's work contests Pakeha visual constructions that deny the reality of Mana

Wahine in the history of Aotearoa. Her film-making is informed by her reality as a Maori woman who 'realises' her Mana Wahine. For her a film is a modern way of carrying out the oral tradition which is very much a part of our reality as Maori and as women. (M.Mita 1986:57). Te Ao Maori is at the centre of Mita's work; our Maori image takes centre-stage, the coloniser is located on the periphery. In her film 'Patu', she destroyed the myth that Aotearoa was a racially harmonious society.

As Hinemoa Awatere has related (1995), Maori women have been leaders of the Tino Rangatiratanga movement. In the arena of Maori art and representation, Robyn Kahukiwa celebrates the essence of Mana Wahine. As Merita Mita relates, Shona Davies artwork portrays the sentiments of Donna Awatere's book *Maori Sovereignty*; Kura Te Waru Rewiri and Emary Karaka parallel in their paintings the statements of Eva Richard, Ripeka Evans and Atareta Poananga. (M. Mita 1995).

LIVING IN THE LITERARY WORLD

At the beginning of this thesis I discussed the notions of language, power and theory, knowledge and the self. The 'naming' of our own world is an integral part of Kaupapa Maori Theory. It is fitting that I should end this last chapter discussing further the relationship that exists between Maori and 'literature'. The notion of power is an integral part of this thesis. This has been discussed extensively throughout the thesis. Discourse has been a continuous site of violence for Maori. One of the rationales of the colonisers was to designate the oral culture of Maori as inferior to their print literary culture. This argument however is a circular one. It ignores the reality that oral cultures are the bases of all languages and all literacies.

It is not untrue to say that many Maori are wary of the written word. That fear or suspicion relates to events in our history when our Tino Rangatiratanga has been under attack. Maori have suffered the effects of the European legal system. The power of the word was exemplified in Native Land Acts, Land Confiscation Acts, Tohunga Suppression Acts, and various Native School Acts. The proliferation of discourse over the 'true' meaning of Te Tiriti o Waitangi illustrates this predicament.

As I have illustrated extensively throughout this thesis, the English language and its proliferation of discourses has all but written Maori people out of existence. Witi Ihimaera has contributed significantly to the literature of Aotearoa. In 1978 he wrote:

And that, quite simply is why I began to write. To make New Zealanders aware of their 'other', Maori, heritage. To convince my countrymen, with love and anger, that they must take their Maori personality into account.
(W.Ihimaera 1978:84).

In recent years there has been a resurgence of Maori writing. In short, Maori are choosing to write their own history; inscribe their own identities, engage fully in Te Ao Tuhi. The Maori literary tradition incorporates the oral and grows far beyond it. The oral tradition is not simply a precursor to the literature but exists in and alongside it. Maori speak of their language as being Te Reo Rangatira. The language is a taonga, a gift from God. Thus, Maori interact with Te Reo in a uniquely Maori way.

The history of documentation of Maori writing is extensive; extending beyond the scope of this thesis. For an in-depth analysis of such documentation, one can read the writings of Jane McRae (1983, 1991, 1992). Her writing illustrates that there is a great body of manuscript literature in the Maori language that survives today in public libraries and archives in Aotearoa.

In 1983 she stressed the point that Maori manuscripts in archival institutions have not received the attention they deserve. These texts are an integral part of Maori history; they have also been an invaluable source for Pakeha researchers who have written about Maori history and Maori individuals. As McRae relates, it is important that this material is able to be accessed by Maori people. The issue comes down to the issue of control and knowledge. The question to be raised; the issue for further debate, is whether Maori have a right to reclaim this documentation.

The oral tradition survives into the contemporary world of Maori writing. The editors of the six volumes which form Te Ao Marama Contemporary Maori Writing (1993),

engage fully with the notion of Maori writing. Their kaupapa has been to bring Maori writing, in its fullness into the daylight where it belongs. An holistic notion of writing has been incorporated in their editorial methodology. They have extended the definition of oral literature to include haka, waiata-a-ringa, poi, the lyrics of modern songs including rap and protest lyrics.

Their anthology incorporates radio scripts, film television and stage play performances, alongside fiction and non-fiction writing in Maori and English. This anthology, including a volume of Maori writing for children, with cassette recordings, is truly a celebration of Maori writing; a marae where our writing will stand. Kaupapa Maori positions Maori at the centre. The editors of Te Ao Marama relate:

From our perspective Maori literature is the centre - If you are Maori and looking out, you do so from your own centre.
(W.Ihimaera et al.1993:15).

THINKING IN A DIFFERENT WAY

Kaupapa Maori Theory involves thinking and theorising in a different way. As Maori, we engage in Theory in a uniquely Maori way, according to Kaupapa Maori or Tikanga Maori. Our notion of Theory is different from the dominant European philosophical notion of Theory.

Kaupapa Maori Theorising involves thinking in ways that are uniquely Maori. That is, it requires thinking according to Tikanga Maori. Whilst our theorising can be seen as a critique of the dominant European philosophical heritage of dualistic thinking modes, whilst it can be seen to be just a resistance or reaction to dualistic thinking, it is also a mode of thinking and theorising about the world that is based in Tikanga Maori and Mātauranga Maori. Kaupapa Maori and Tikanga Maori were here before the Pakeha arrived, before the Western 'spectre' of Theory arrived.

Many of the essences of Tikanga Maori can not be explained adequately in the English language. This is a limitation of this thesis. The transposing of Te Reo

Maori, which is the base of Kaupapa Maori, into the English language, does not do justice to Te Reo Maori.

We can however illustrate some of the notions of Tikanga Maori that are not bound to the dualistic paradigms inherent in European Theory and Philosophy. The 'split' between Tangata and the Natural World (Man/Nature), implicit in European philosophy, has no relevance or bearing on Kaupapa Maori. According to Tikanga Maori, we as Tangata are not separate from the Natural World. Our relationship to Whenua is that we are one and the same. We do not 'inherit' the Earth; we are the Earth.

Another example of Tikanga Maori which is 'different' from the European philosophical dualistic heritage is the dichotomy of Man and God. This 'split' that is dominant in European philosophical discourses, that leaves the European identity in despair, searching endlessly for the essence of God; creating, endless fascimilies, in various forms and denominations; does not have any validation in Kaupapa Maori. According to Tikanga Maori, inherent in Te Reo Maori, there was no creation of God; we descended directly from the Gods. Our Kaupapa is a holistic one. There was no beginning and end. These are not 'meanings' in the figurative sense; these are our realities.

The notion of summarising Kaupapa Maori Theory is problematic, however there are several areas on which we can focus. Kaupapa Maori Theory involves thinking, theorising and engaging with the world in a way that is uniquely Maori, unique to Aotearoa. Kaupapa Maori Theory is not a definitive term - Te Ao Maori is limitless. Whilst some of its central tenets can be seen to be contemporary, that is, as a counter-force to colonising agendas; the bases of Kaupapa Maori Theory have their origins far removed from Pakeha or European realities. As such Kaupapa Maori Theory is as old as Tangata.

Kaupapa Maori Theory involves engaging with the dominant European philosophical notion of 'Theory'. This Grand Narrative notion of Theory does not align itself with

praxis; rather it sits in judgement. Kaupapa Maori Theory incorporates implicitly the notion of praxis; action that is informed by thought that seeks to activate, change, challenge and emancipate. As such Kaupapa Maori Theory does intervene in colonising agendas that have been imposed on Te Iwi Maori. For Maori the emphasis is on Theory as a verb, not simply the noun.

Kaupapa Maori Theory engages with the dominant European philosophical paradigms that are based in dualistic thinking modes, that posit the supremacy of one form of knowledge over another; the construction of forms of knowledge that appropriate and expropriate other forms of knowledge. Whilst Kaupapa Maori Theory engages with other forms of Knowledge construction, it centres itself in Mātauranga Māori.

Our Kaupapa as Maori involves engaging and living in our world, according to Tikanga Māori. As such, this encompasses notions of **Mana Whenua**, **Mana Wahine**, **Tino Rangatiratanga**, **Mana Motuhake**. At the basis of Kaupapa Maori Theory is Te Reo Māori.

In my discussion on Kaupapa Maori Theory, I structured my analysis under the paradigms of resistance, intervention and alternative. All these paradigms relate to the survival, protection, conservation and maintenance of Tikanga Māori. Te Tiriti o Waitangi is a central component of Kaupapa Maori Theory because whilst Kaupapa Maori was here before Te Tiriti, the practices of colonisation have seriously undermined Tikanga Māori. Te Tiriti stands as a witness, the founding document by which Pakeha were allowed to settle in Aotearoa. Implicit in Te Tiriti is the guaranteed protection of Te Reo Māori and other Taonga.

The survival of Te Reo Māori is essential to Kaupapa Maori Theory. Therefore Kaupapa Maori Theory seeks ways to ensure that survival. The structures of Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Whare Kura and Whare Waananga are a central component of Kaupapa Maori Theory. Kaupapa Maori Theorists and academics are

committed to notions of research based on Tikanga Maori; research that will facilitate the survival of Te Reo Maori and the improved health of Te Iwi Maori.

Kaupapa Maori Theory is not just a theoretical discourse that sits in an academic institution. It encompasses all Maori in settings and spaces throughout the land. It is a Kaupapa Tangata. As such it acknowledges the centrality of Tangata in Te Ao.