

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

He mara tarutaru,
he rua tahanga

This thesis has focused on iwi development as a discourse that encompasses debates of power and control. One of the underlying questions of this thesis has been whether or not iwi development is a discourse that expresses a co-option of iwi structures? In many ways this is the ongoing danger for iwi. The context, in which iwi development exists is one of a consolidation of corporate power with a movement of wealth from the bottom up to the top. Maori are being told that they can have a slice of the pie. Market policies are preoccupied with consumption. On the world scene value is determined by markets, human resources, natural resources and technology.

Colonisation is a continuous process of controlling a people and their resources. Development in the Western world can mean, as Pacific writers warn us, the development of an elite middle class who become more efficient colonisers. The notion of development is fraught with tensions. Slogans about development will not transform the socio-economic position of Maori and it will not ensure the survival of the Maori language. Economic development is to take place within existing state structures. The state maintains the interests of a dominant Pakeha population. Maori notions of whanau, hapu and iwi are still at odds with a network of obligations owed to a sovereign state. These notions, backed up by a legal framework see group rights as problematic.

To fit into a market driven economy, iwi must compete against each other. In the marketplace it will be bigger iwi who will be able to ensure that their interests are safeguarded. Smaller iwi may not. The divide and rule potential within current government policies is enormous.

Within this environment are issues of, what is considered to be 'development'. This thesis argues that development for Maori encompasses tino rangatiratanga. The iwi development debate has nicely side-stepped this issue of sovereignty for Maori. The Treaty speaks from a more wide ranging, collective vision. It also establishes a relationship to the Crown. This means that tino rangatiratanga encompasses ideas of autonomy and control for iwi. But it also clearly specifies obligations for the Crown.

However, tino rangatiratanga is not just cultural revival and cultural pride, although this is a recognised crucial aspect of decolonising. What is also essential to decolonising, is the development of critical consciousness that is able to deconstruct imperialist/colonial hegemonies in order to ensure the survival of what areas are reclaimed. The political and the cultural are therefore inseparable for Maori.

Treaty settlements have also raised some major issues for Maori. The terms of the Treaty guaranteed 'full and undisturbed possession over fisheries' yet the Sealords Deal was not negotiated on these terms. The deal struck between a select few and government has raised the issue of: What are we prepared to trade off when it comes to tino rangatiratanga. The Sealords Deal was a clear example of divide and rule for iwi. Tino rangatiratanga was vested

in the people, not for chiefs to give away. Rangatiratanga is established through whakapapa. Whakapapa links us clearly to other iwi as well as our own. The reconstruction of the meanings of whakapapa is also occurring in contemporary times. It is being interpreted as patriarchal and exclusive.

Government policies and funding are now driven by the view that one day there will be a finish to Treaty claims. The Waitangi Tribunal may cease, but Maori protest will not. Too many stop gap measures have been used rather than addressing the issues at hand. There is no final settlement because colonisation has not ceased.

Patriarchy is also bound up in the current moves. The links between, business, men and the complicity of a few Maori men, in viewing iwi development in this light, that is, the reproduction of business models and or bureaucratic or public service models is a serious concern. There is an urgent need to find more inclusive models of development from whanau upwards, not from the Runanga or Trust Board down.

Decolonisation is a complex issue and we have not as yet examined ways in which this has occurred in depth among Maori, because it forms a terrain that has been the type of education that we have received in homes, with whanau, at hui and often in the interaction between ourselves and Pakeha. Only Maori fiction writers seemed to have discussed this area of education.

Although I say that developing cultural consciousness is not enough on its own, we know that the very act of speaking in ones own language immediately sets up powerful tensions within

a dominant english speaking society. Trask (1993) has said that decolonisation may be gauged by the extent to which there is recognition of the links between the political and the cultural, for it is the recognition of these links that strengthens the identity of a people.

In the media chapter we saw the power of the media to co-opt Maori youth to American and Black culture which is difficult to decolonise from. Immersion wananga, learning in Maori, involvement with cultural groups and activities can have a powerful re-centring effect on Maori.

The spaces we have created such as Kura Kaupapa Maori and Te Kohanga Reo cannot be just apolitical spaces because the potential of these movements will be lost. There are no 'safe havens' away from colonisation. There needs to be constant vigilance because our children live in relationship to a dominant group. In future years our children will have to engage similar struggles.

This thesis has been purposefully wide in scope. The reasons for this are that we cannot understand iwi development as it is currently unfolding, unless we understand how we have been positioned as Maori and also unless we see the context within which iwi development takes place. However, the wide picture has meant that some areas have been glossed over and I want to refer to them now because they indicate important areas for Maori to research. As I said in the introduction this thesis was going to look at iwi development as more than just an economic discourse. There definitely needs to be further research about the relationship of Maori to capitalism, both historically and on the contemporary scene.

The writings on iwi development often cite the 1830s as a 'golden era' for Maori because iwi had flour mills, supplied food to settlers, traded with Pakeha and so forth. These examples are presented as 'proof' that Maori people were 'naturally' capitalist. This is a myth. The Maori economy was never based on the capitalist mode of production. The Maori mode of production was clearly transformed very early. Introduction of the musket is one example of how the economy was transformed prior to the 1830s. Muskets required that whanau and hapu were all put to work preparing items of trade such as flax for trade with Pakeha. One of the difficulties of accepting that this was the golden age of the Maori economy, is that this picture of the Maori economy was one of dependency on Pakeha. Also it means that the solutions proposed will be limited to a colonial framework.

As pointed out in the previous chapter Maori were considered to be more colonisable than Aboriginal people. One of the rationales for this argument is that Maori were considered to be more capitalist than the Aborigines. This is an implicit theory of development, our development was being judged along a line of how closely we related to the capitalist mode of production. It is a view that has been very powerful and has been mentioned in earlier chapters as being the views of such diverse figures as Samuel Marsden and Raymond Firth. It also appears in our own talk. But this is also taken on as the commonsense talk of some Maori for example when it is said that my ancestors were natural traders. Maori were considered not to have an economy prior to colonisation. This interpretation has been a very successful form of hegemony. Another argument against the acceptance of the 'natural' capitalist argument is that it renders Maori and their pre-colonial ways of living that existed

as inferior. It also renders Aboriginal people as inferior because it is accepted that Maori were seen to be superior in terms of a capitalist chain of development.

Another area that is largely invisible in this thesis is the construction of white identities through encounters with and in relationship to indigenous peoples. Ashis Nandy describes colonisation as a shared culture. The construction of Pakeha identity has had to be done in relationship to Maori but this has not been made explicit. Edward Said says that identity is formed out of a realisation of what we are not. This would suggest that the construction of Pakeha as hard working, superior whiteness must have been juxtaposed against ideas of lazy inferior brownness. This shared culture of colonisation, as it creates the identity of Pakeha, has not yet been explored. There is a deafening silence in this area.

In many ways iwi development is a neutralising discourse. For it does not specify that the world of the Maori is situated in an historical setting. Tino rangatiratanga does clearly indicate historical circumstance as well as political. Perhaps this is the gauge by which we might measure iwi development. To what extent does it further tino rangatiratanga.

GLOSSARY

hapu	grouping of people linked together by common ancestry
hui	meeting, gathering
iwi	Maori social structure larger than hapu
kaumatua	elder (female or male)
kaitiakitanga	guardianship
kawanatanga	governorship
Kohanga Reo	pre-school Maori schooling movement, immersion in Maori
kotahitanga	collectivity, unity
Kura Kaupapa	Maori schooling, primary level, immersion in Maori
kawa	protocol
mana motuhake	sovereignty, self determination
rangatahi	youth
rohe	district
runanga	assembly, council
tangata whenua	people of the land, legitimate owners of the land
tikanga	reason, meaning, custom
tino rangatiratanga	Treaty term meaning chieftanship, self-determination
Te Aho Matua	philosophical, guiding principles of Kura Kaupapa
wairua	spirit, spirituality
whanau	family
whakapapa	ancestry
Whare Kura	Maori secondary schooling, Maori language
Whare Wananga	Maori tertiary institutions

APPENDIX

Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

by the U.N. Working Group on Indigenous Populations

Affirming that all indigenous peoples are free and equal in dignity and rights to all peoples in accordance with international standards, while recognising the right of all individuals and peoples to be different, to consider themselves different, and to be respected as such,

Considering that all peoples contribute to all the diversity and richness of civilizations and cultures, which constitute the common heritage of humankind,

Convinced that all doctrines, policies and practices of racial, religious, ethnic or cultural superiority are scientifically false, legally invalid, morally condemnable and socially unjust,

Concerned that indigenous peoples have often been deprived of their human rights and fundamental freedoms, resulting in the dispossession of their lands, territories and resources, as well as in their poverty and marginalisation,

Considering that treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements between States and indigenous peoples continue to be matters of international concern and responsibility,

Welcoming the fact that indigenous peoples are organising themselves in order to bring an end to all forms of discrimination and oppression wherever they occur,

Recognising the urgent need to respect and promote the rights and characteristics of indigenous peoples, especially their rights to their lands, territories and resources, which stem from their history, philosophy, cultures and spiritual and other traditions, as well as from their political, economic and social structures,

Reaffirming that the indigenous peoples, in the exercise of their rights, should be free from adverse distinction or discrimination of any kind,

Endorsing efforts to revitalize and strengthen the societies, cultures and traditions of indigenous peoples, through their control over development affecting them or their lands, territories and resources, as well as promote their future development in accordance with their aspirations and needs,

Recognising that the lands and territories of indigenous peoples should not be used for military purposes without their consent and reaffirming the importance of the demilitarization of their lands and territories which will contribute to peace, understanding, economic

development and friendly relations among all peoples of the world,

Emphasizing the importance of giving special attention to the rights and needs of indigenous women, youth and children, and in particular to their right to equality of educational opportunities and access to all levels and forms of education,

Recognising in particular that it is usually in the best interest of indigenous children for their family and community to retain shared responsibility for their upbringing and education,

Believing that indigenous peoples have the right freely to determine their relationship with the States in which they live, in a spirit of coexistence with other citizens,

Noting that the International Covenants on Human Rights affirm the fundamental importance of the right of self-determination of all peoples, by virtue of which they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development,

Bearing in mind that nothing in this Declaration may be used as an excuse for denying to any people its right of self-determination,

Encouraging States to comply with and effectively implement all international instruments as they apply to indigenous peoples, in consultation with the peoples concerned,

Solemnly proclaims the following Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples:

Part I

1. Indigenous peoples have the right of self-determination, in accordance with international law by virtue of which they may freely determine their political status and institutions and freely pursue their economic, social, and cultural development. An integral part of this is the right to autonomy and self-government.

2. Indigenous peoples have the right to the full and effective enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms which are recognised in the Charter of the United Nations and in international human rights law;

3. Indigenous peoples have the right to be free and equal to all other human beings and peoples in dignity and rights, and to be free from adverse distinction or discrimination of any kind based on their indigenous identity;

Part II

4. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or individual any right to engage in any activity or perform any act contrary to the Charter

of the United Nations or the Declaration of Principles of International Law on Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;

5. Indigenous peoples have the collective right to exist in peace and security as distinct peoples and to be protected against genocide, as well as the individual rights to life, physical and mental integrity, liberty and security of person;

6. Indigenous peoples have the collective and indigenous right to maintain and develop their distinct ethnic and cultural characteristics and identities, including the right to self-identification;

7. Indigenous peoples have the collective and individual right to be protected from cultural genocide, including the prevention of and redress for:

- (a) Any act which has the aim or effect of depriving them of their integrity as distinct societies, or of their cultural or ethnic characteristics or identities;
- (b) Any form of forced assimilation or integration by imposition of other cultures or ways of life;
- (c) Dispossession of their lands, territories or resources;
- (d) Any propaganda directed against them;

8. Indigenous peoples have the right to revive and practice their cultural identity and traditions, including the right to maintain, develop and protect the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites and structures, artifacts, designs, ceremonies, technology and works of art, as well as the right to the restitution of cultural, religious and spiritual property taken from them without their free and informed consent or in violation of their own laws;

9. Indigenous peoples have the right to manifest, practice and teach their own spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies; the right to maintain, protect and have access in privacy to religious and cultural sites; the right to use and control of ceremonial objects; and the right to the repatriation of human remains;

10. Indigenous peoples have the right to revive, use, develop, promote and transmit to future generations their own languages, writing systems, and literature, and to designate and maintain their own names of communities, places and persons. States shall take effective measures to ensure that indigenous peoples can understand and be understood in political, legal and administrative proceedings, where necessary through the provision of interpretations or by other effective means;

11. Indigenous peoples have the right to all levels and forms of education, including access to education in their own languages, and the right to establish and control their own educational systems and institutions. Resources shall be provided by the State for these purposes;

12. Indigenous peoples have the right to have the dignity and diversity of their cultures, histories, traditions and aspirations reflected in all forms of education and public information. States shall take effective measures to eliminate prejudices and to foster tolerance, understanding and good relations;

13. Indigenous peoples have the right to the use of and access to all forms of mass media in their own languages. States shall take effective measures to this end;

14. Indigenous peoples have the right to adequate financial and technical assistance, from States and through international cooperation, to pursue freely their own political, economic, social, cultural and spiritual development, and for the enjoyment of the rights contained in this Declaration;

Part III

15. Indigenous peoples have the right to recognition of their distinctive and profound relationship with the total environment of the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally occupied or otherwise used;

16. Indigenous peoples have the collective and individual right to own, control and use the lands and territories they have traditionally occupied or otherwise used. This includes the right to the full recognition of their own laws and customs, land-tenure systems and institutions for the management of resources, and the right to effective measures by States to prevent any interference with or encroachment upon these rights. Nothing in the foregoing shall be interpreted as restricting the development of self-government and self-management arrangements not tied to indigenous territories and resources;

17. Indigenous peoples have the right to restitution or, where this is not possible, to just and fair compensation for lands and territories which have been confiscated, occupied, used or damaged without their free and informed consent. Unless otherwise freely agreed upon by the peoples concerned, compensation shall preferably take the form of lands and territories of quality, quantity and legal status at least equal to this which were lost;

18. Indigenous peoples have the right to the protection and, where appropriate, the rehabilitation of the total environment and productive capacity of their lands and territories, and the right to adequate assistance including international cooperation to this end. Unless otherwise freely agreed upon by the peoples concerned, military activities and the storage or disposal of hazardous materials shall not take place in their lands and territories;

19. Indigenous peoples have the right to special measures for protection, as intellectual property, of their traditional cultural manifestations, such as literature, designs, visual and performing arts, seeds, genetic resources, medicines and knowledge of the useful properties of fauna and flora.

Part IV

20. The right to maintain and develop within their areas of lands and other territories their traditional economic structures, institutions and ways of life, to be secure in the traditional economic structures and ways of life, to be secure in the enjoyment of their own traditional means of subsistence, and to engage freely in their traditional and economic activities, including hunting, fresh- and salt-water fishing, herding, gathering, lumbering and cultivation, without adverse discrimination. In no case may an indigenous people be deprived of its means of subsistence. The right to just and fair compensation if they have been so deprived;

21. The right to special State measures for the immediate, effective and continuing improvement of their social and economic conditions, with their consent, that reflect their own priorities;

22. The right to determine, plan and implement all health, housing and other social and economic programs affecting them, and as far as possible to develop, plan and implement such programs through their own institutions;

Part V

23. The right to participate on an equal footing with all other citizens and without adverse discrimination in political, economic, social and cultural life of the State and to have their specific character duly reflected in the legal system and political and socio-economic and cultural institutions, including in particular proper regard to and recognition of indigenous laws and customs;

24. The right to participate fully at State level, through representatives chosen by themselves, in decision-making about the implementation of all national and international matters which may affect their rights, life and destiny, including the right of indigenous peoples to be involved, through appropriate procedures, determined in conjunction with them, in devising any laws or administrative measures that may affect them directly, and to obtain their free and informed consent through implementing such measures. States have the duty to guarantee the full exercise of these rights;

25. The collective right to autonomy in matters relating to their own internal and local affairs, including education, information, mass media, culture, religion, health, housing, social welfare, traditional and other economic and management activities, land and resources administration and the environment, as well as internal taxation for financing these autonomous functions;

26. The right to decide upon the structures of their autonomous institutions, to select the membership of such institutions according to their own procedures, and to determine the membership of the indigenous people concerned for these purposes; States have

the duty, where the people are concerned so desire, to recognise such institutions and their memberships through the legal systems and political institutions of the State;

27. The right to determine the responsibilities of individuals to their own community, consistent with universally recognised human rights and fundamental freedoms;

28. The right to maintain and develop traditional contacts, relations and cooperation, including cultural and social exchanges and trade, with their own kith and kin across State boundaries and the obligation of the State to adopt measures to facilitate such contacts;

29. The right to claim that States honour treaties and other agreements concluded with indigenous peoples, and to submit any disputes that may arise in this matter to competent national or international bodies;

Part VI

30. The individual and collective right to access to prompt decision by mutually acceptable and fair procedures for resolving conflicts or disputes and any infringements, public or private, between States and indigenous peoples, groups or individuals. These procedures should include, as appropriate, negotiations, mediation, arbitration, national courts and international and regional human rights review and complaints mechanisms;

Part VII

31. These rights constitute the minimum standards for the survival and the well-being of the indigenous peoples of the world;

32. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or individual any right to engage in any activity to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

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