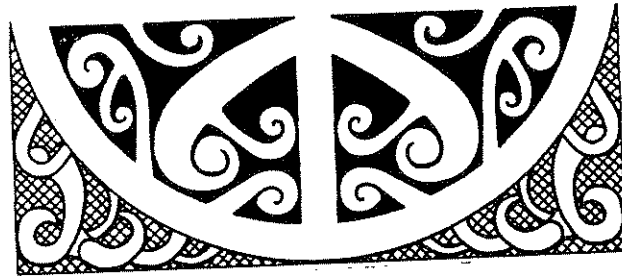


KIMIHIA TE MARAMATANGA



COLONISATION & IWI DEVELOPMENT

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Te Whakarapopotanga: Abstract

This thesis argues that iwi development is a discourse of power that is currently being contested by Maori and state interest groups. It also argues that 'iwi development', whilst being problematic, cannot be understood without examining imperialism/ colonisation of Maori and, in fact, the wider context of struggle by indigenous peoples world-wide. This thesis proposes that decolonisation is therefore a necessary part of indigenous peoples 'development'. Two areas of iwi development are investigated, the media and education, to highlight how some of the struggles for development are unfolding between the state and Maori.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE ISSUES

Tuku iho, tuku iho

te mana o te iwi

(1.1) THE POLITICAL CONTEXT OF IWI DEVELOPMENT

When people talk about iwi development, an assumption is usually made that 'development' means economic development. However this thesis argues that iwi development is about a great deal more than simply economic issues. Iwi development is also about how Maori people have been positioned: socio-economically, politically, and culturally. Whilst the economy is a crucial part of the equation, race and gender issues are also being debated fiercely within iwi development discourses.

Iwi development is also about basic issues of power and control. It is about a struggle to establish spheres of control by iwi. What may be transferred to iwi, to whom and how iwi are to be held accountable are all contested issues between iwi and government. These debates are taking place in all spheres of government, justice, health, education, housing, environment etc. Also being debated are matters of iwi representation and consultation. What constitutes adequate consultation? Who are the representatives of iwi? Who has the mandate for iwi?

The positioning of iwi development as a predominantly economic debate has tied in neatly with the New Right ideologies driving government policy since 1984. So the focus on iwi development as an economic debate has been, in a sense, strategic for it has often been underpinned by the language of government policy. What is also clear is that in the drive for self-determination, iwi clearly desire a return to an independent economic base.

Iwi development has in some areas been viewed as a corporate, entrepreneurial exercise only. But there are some fundamental contradictions to the view of iwi development in this light. Capitalism depends on individualism, exploitation of resources for profit and the assumption that individuals are self-serving. Maori socio-economic and political views have always emphasised the collective good and the view of a reciprocal relationship with Rangī and Papatūānuku¹ (Kelsey 1992). These contradictions underlie tensions between government and iwi.

The corporate model of iwi development views development as a business endeavour. But iwi development is about more than just a desire for profit and expansion, it has been driven by the need to address the socio-economic position of Maori, as well as the need to retain Maori language and culture:

It would be less of a victory if we emerged from the current renaissance with an economic base but no living language.

(Karetu in Time 1992:13)

¹Ranginui and Papatuanuku can be translated as the heavens and the earth, but we also descend from them.

When iwi development is spoken of as an economic debate only, the historical and social context within which Maori exist are rendered invisible and what is unspoken is colonisation.

This thesis takes colonisation as a central theme of the iwi development debate. The establishment of colonial states, world-wide, has had similar effects for all indigenous peoples: land dispossession, language dispossession, economic marginalisation, political marginalisation, urbanisation, environmental poisoning, high imprisonment rates, high infant mortality, illness and high levels of alcohol and drug abuse (Yates B, Smith C 1992).

Colonisation brought with it particular mores and values:

....a world view that believes in the absolute superiority of the human over the nonhuman and the subhuman, the masculine over the feminine, the adult over the child, the historical over the ahistorical, and the modern or progressive over the traditional.

(Nandy 1983:xi)

Colonisation, however is not a static process, it can change form. Today there is an increasing complexity to colonisation which appears multi-faceted. There is, for example, a developing hegemonic world economic system. While colonisation in Aotearoa is of British origin, and the early land grab was carried out by the British, there has been a more recent loss of economic autonomy since the mid 1980s. The massive sell-off of state-owned assets, and enterprises, following the sharemarket crash in 1987, has also seen thousands of companies pass into foreign ownership. They have predominantly been sold to Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States (Jesson 1992).

What is also impacting on colonisation is globalisation of information systems and the media:

Not long ago, if you wanted to seize political power in a country, you had merely to control the army and the police.....Today a country belongs to the person who controls communications.

(Eco 1986:135)

The broader terrain on which iwi development seeks to assert itself is one of global relations and a global economy. Maori aspirations are linked to a wider world context. The aspirations of Maori are similarly expressed throughout the world by other indigenous groups who have also been denied the rights of self-determination.

(1.1.2) Treaty Claims

The Waitangi Tribunal has always been surrounded by controversy. Used as a political football and subjected to media bashing, the Waitangi Tribunal plays the part of recommending body to the government to settle all claims. This process has opened up a range of issues for both iwi and government. The government is committed to settling all claims by the year 2000 and consequently there has been a scramble to rush through numerous claims. With the settlement of some Waitangi Tribunal claims, some recompense is being made to iwi through the return of some assets and cash. However Pakeha phobias over loss of private land has been fuelled by the media and these areas have been ruled out of negotiation as a result.

Meanwhile many Maori feel that they are being sold short:

The deals are lousy and our negotiators return to the people and say look at the big glass bead we got you.

(Walker in Time, 1992:13)

With the provision of some compensation to iwi for past injustices, there is talk of a commercial renaissance for Maori, and Maori are being spoken of as the 'corporate warrior' (The Independent 1993: April 8, Time 1992: Oct 19). New investments by Maori, an estimated \$20 million in the last few years, have caused a great deal of publicity. (Waari Ward-Holmes in The Independent 8/4/93) However \$20 million dollars is not going to help alleviate unemployment or improve the social condition of Maori.

Iwi land interests and capital are largely vested in Maori land trusts and incorporations. These groups are viewed as sitting on enormous unrealised asset bases. The refusal of some trusts and incorporations to borrow against these 'assets' is viewed as poor business practice, but the conservative viewpoint of trusts and incorporations has meant that Maori survived the rural restructuring whilst many Pakeha farmers with heavy debts did not survive. What is being brought to light here is not a lack of entrepreneurial skills by trusts and incorporations, but the refusal to see the land purely as a commodity and to see the roles of guardianship of that land as being for past and future generations (kaitiakitanga).

Whilst there are Maori models of business practice being developed, an important question to ask is: To what extent will Maori benefit in the individualistic entrepreneurial marketplace?

Will it be to the extent that they are prepared to sacrifice a collective vision?

Recent announcements by Justice Minister, Douglas Graham, say that a limited fund called a 'fiscal envelope' or 'settlement fund' will be made available out of which all remaining Waitangi claims will be settled. Full settlement of Waitangi claims would cripple the state. The amount, and the length of time that the fund will be available, will be decided by government (N.Z. Herald 1994:Jan 13). Issues of equity and justice are taking a backseat to the desire by government to finish what seems a tiresome business. The Treaty claim settlements have been notable for the fact that there has been too much haste, too few resources allocated for research and not enough attention to detail. Treaty claims in the Waikato have re-emerged because the law courts and government considered them settled but Maori people did not.

(1.1.3) Socio-Economic Position Of Maori

One of the key factors driving iwi development at present is the desire by iwi to alleviate the socio-economic circumstances of Maori. Current statistics inform us that over recent years material conditions have steadily worsened for Maori, and poverty has steadily increased. The 'economic recovery' has caused higher levels of unemployment for Maori (Mowbray, 1993), and with less income, increasing ill health and other social ills.

Between March 1986 and March 1990 the unemployment rates for Maori increased from 8.5% to 20.6%. For non-Maori it was 3.0% to 6.5% (Dept Of Statistics 1990:17).

Maori women are being blamed for the steady increase in single parenting and Maori men are said to be abdicating their parenting responsibilities. The health of Maori continues to decline. Maori women have the highest death rate from lung cancer in the world (Dept Of Statistics 1990:17).

For Maori men the picture is hardly any better. The suicide rate for Maori men is climbing, and the imprisonment rate for Maori men is second only to Aboriginal imprisonment rates in the world. (N.Z Herald 1988: May 30) Add to that the fact that Maori death rate in motor vehicle accidents is second only to Portugal in OECD countries (Health Commission 1993).

Maori form disproportionate numbers of beneficiaries in all areas except National Superannuation. Maori dont live long, only 2% reaching the age of 65 or over (Dept Of Statistics 1990:15). This means there are few kaumatua who have to cover many roles.

The gap between rich and poor is widening. The Incomes Monitoring Report 1981-1991 released in 1993 by the Social Policy Agency reports that between 1981 and 1991 there was an increase in the average income of the top 10% of income earners and a drop for the bottom 10%. Underpinned by deficit theories, the report focuses on the Maori 'problem' and asks: how does the presence of a Maori or a Pacific Island person in a household affect the figures? The framing of the question assumes that race is a problem that will affect the

figures. Whilst it is clear that there is a difference in the way that unemployment impacts on Maori, questions such as: why are Maori unemployed in disproportionately higher numbers; and how does unemployment hit Maori; would be more useful. Many government reports focus around similar themes - Maori are burdening the taxpayer and causing budget blowouts.

The last census tells us that the median income for Maori females over 15 is \$10,000 and for Maori males it is \$11,000 per annum (Dept Of Statistics 1993). The bottom 10% that are getting poorer are overwhelmingly Maori. Iwi development takes place in this context - a context where iwi development means trying to save lives, feeding and clothing children, trying to get an education and reducing the incidence of illness and social ills.

(1.2) BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

When I began this thesis I started by looking at iwi development 'on the ground' by focusing on an iwi educational initiative in the Wairarapa and examining the process of development. What I learnt was that there was a complexity of issues that could not be explained by just examining the process of starting up an iwi initiative. The levels of racism and opposition to that particular example of iwi development by local Pakeha seemed unbelievable. The complexity of hapu and iwi politics was an enormous task to sort through because of the complexities of the histories. That would involve a thesis of its own. What became increasingly clear was that the shaping of iwi development has been influenced by historical processes, which were social, economic and political in nature.

Within the context of a dominant Pakeha society, iwi have been viewed as being relatively unimportant. Why was iwi, a Maori social structure, suddenly being taken seriously by the Waitangi Tribunal and government policy? This emerged as one of the key questions to be investigated. What also became clear was that changes occurring at government level, such as the introduction of the Resource Management Act, were mechanisms that had empowering potentials for iwi but at the same time required that iwi fight bureaucratic battles with local government to make any gains - gains that were often more illusionary than real.¹

Many of the changes for iwi are actually being decided by the state. Iwi are regarded as peripheral and consequently are positioned on the margins, whilst change is being decided from a centre. In order to understand the fuller picture of iwi development, it is necessary to take into account what the centre is doing.

Hapu and iwi politics now appear to be a major sorting out ground throughout the country as Waitangi Tribunal claims, the changes in legislation and government policy, all underpinned by definitions of the Treaty, mean that iwi are now being consulted about a whole range of issues. The very definition of tangata whenua² has become an issue within many districts: one that is currently being struggled over. The manner in which Pakeha define property rights, that is, that only one group can hold sway over a particular area, has

¹See Shaun Kerins M.A. thesis (1992) for an in depth look at the Ngati Kahungunu struggle in this regard.

²tangata whenua means the people of the land or the legitimate owners/caretakers of the land. For an example of how these conflicts are played out see the article Blenheim's Tribal Warfare Of Words in the Sunday Times, Dec 26, 1993.

caused a conflict with iwi traditions that state there is tangata whenua by conquest, tangata whenua by occupation, and/or tangata whenua by ahi kaa. All these histories exist simultaneously within Maori paradigms and all constitute legitimate claims to the land. In other words, there have always been 'overlapping histories and intertwined territories'³ of hapu, whanau and iwi.

But governments seem to get confused when there is a multiplicity of voices. Single voices and single organisations such as a Trust Board or a Runanga along with selected 'experts' are easier for state agencies to deal with. A recent claim to the Waitangi Tribunal also challenges the overwhelmingly patriarchal nature of who is considered to be an expert for iwi. The Mana Wahine claim argues that because Maori women have been marginalised by the Crown, their voices are not being heard by the state and the interests of all Maori women are rendered invisible or of less value in the process.(Evans 1993)

(1.3) INTRODUCTION TO THE MAIN THEMES

It was against this background that the key themes emerged.

Chapter Two examines the processes of colonisation and looks at the international literature on decolonisation. Decolonisation is a philosophy of resistance that has been picked up on and written about by the colonised throughout the world and has also been touched on in

³This expression comes from Edward Said in his book *Culture And Imperialism*, 1993

Maori writings. Some of the key overseas writers on decolonisation are reviewed in this chapter in order to contextualise the broader worldwide indigenous terrain on which iwi development takes place.

Chapter Three picks up some of the themes from Chapter Two that looks at colonisation as a process of inscribing and reinscribing identity. What is looked at in this chapter is the struggle to control the definitions of our own terms, how throughout the colonisation process we have internalised particular ways of talking about ourselves and viewing ourselves. Over recent years, intensive struggle has ensued around issues of the control over definitions of the term iwi: a struggle played out in the Waitangi Tribunal, in government policy and often by Maori groups countering the direction of these definitions.

Chapter Four discusses the various discourses of development. On the one hand there are Western theories of development and on the other there are ideas about development that stem from indigenous peoples. Western theories of development viewed colonisation as a process of bringing progress and development to primitive or barbaric peoples. Western hegemony was both driven by and maintained by ideas of development. Rationales for imperialism and colonisation were often provided by ideas of development. These moral and political rationalities resulted in similar outcomes throughout the world for indigenous peoples. When indigenous groups refused to progress or develop they were often killed in the belief that violence was what they understood best. Consequently it was believed that they needed to be ruled. Alongside the western views of development have emerged indigenous discourses

and also in Aotearoa the discourses of iwi development. Indigenous views ask some critical questions about the notion of development, who is controlling and determining the process of development? Indigenous views see development as self determination. Tensions between the two groups are contested areas, played out in struggles over the control of particular discourses such as ideas of tradition and modernity.

Iwi development has come to prominence and achieved recognition by government at the very time that major restructuring of the state sector was occurring. What Maori view iwi development as has not accorded with what official views of iwi development are. Chapter Five looks at the history of iwi development as a discourse through the dismantling of the Department of Maori Affairs and the emergence of the Treaty into official recognition.

Within the fields of the media and education it seems that Maori have made some ground in claiming control of these areas, through Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa, iwi radio and iwi newspapers, but education and media are two key areas where colonisation has been most coercive. In these two areas knowledge is controlled through the selection of what is deemed to be valid knowledge and the legitimisation of that knowledge.

Chapter Six looks at iwi development in the form of iwi media. This chapter looks at iwi media as a decolonising entity in itself and also examines the decolonising potentials within iwi media. Both Chapter Five and Chapter Six look at specific initiatives. But media is also the area where there has been an increasing globalisation of images, discourses and representations. This has impacted on Maori and is also examined in this chapter.

Chapter Seven looks at iwi development in the form of educational initiatives. This chapter focuses on the structural relations of iwi education and asks the questions: what is iwi education? and what is the scope of iwi education? Both media and education are particular areas where the more coercive forms of colonisation are played out.

(1.4) COLONISATION AND UNIVERSITIES

Education itself plays a part in the colonial process, from pre-school to university, so thesis writing in itself can be viewed as part of a colonial process. When entering universities it usually does not take long for Maori students to realise that colonialism, racism and cultural imperialism do not only occur in society, outside of the gates of universities. With this realisation, Maori students start the process of 'writing back', 'arguing back', 'talking back' and consolidating themselves politically. As Salman Rushdie (1981) once said 'the Empire writes back to the centre'. This is what thesis writing is about for many Maori students, 'writing back' whilst at the same time writing to ourselves.

Because colonisation is the subject of this thesis, this section inevitably must become a discussion of the context of thesis writing by the colonised. It also asks the question: what spaces are there for Maori students to effect change?

I do not want to play down the fact that the universities have produced some of our most strident activists and a number of dissenting voices. In fact the universities are often the place where Maori students can first begin to learn Maori language and history. Also there

do exist within the universities (too few) radical educators who are concerned with creating strategies of resistance, liberation struggles and strategies for 'decolonising minds'. The university can often give Maori students the language to name the struggle. The importance of narratives of liberation such as Paulo Freire's, *Pedagogy Of The Oppressed*, have been an exciting find for many Maori students.

For some years now Maori researchers have criticised the idea of research as being the activity of an objective researcher. Maori people have long argued that Maori are best able to write about and conduct research into things Maori, because of the difficulties Pakeha have transcending their ethnocentrism. (Stokes, 1985: Te Awekotuku, 1991: McFarlane 1992)

This thesis draws heavily on the writings of Maori, Black⁴ and indigenous writers. The reasons for this are that they have articulated a range of perspectives that are often invisible from the viewpoint of the concerned coloniser. In the 'self' and 'other' discourses defined by dominant groups, the 'other' is constantly being positioned where they are forced to compare themselves to the dominant group. When you are in the dominant group you see 'self' but the 'other' is object. This means that the dominant group can only know the 'centre' whereas the 'other' moves in the terrain of the margins and the centre - the centre is always being presented to us such as in the media and in schools. Edward Said (1979) points out that a sense of identity is often formed out of the realisation of what we are not.

⁴I have used the term Black in this thesis as opposed to Afro-American because it is the preferred self-definition of the Black writers referred to such as bell hooks, Cornel West, Malcolm X and others.

One of the central arguments of this thesis is that there is a growing realisation concerning the complexity of colonisation, its processes and hegemonic forms. Writing a thesis can be viewed as providing what Ashis Nandy calls 'official dissent':

It is possible today to be anti-colonial in a way which is specified and promoted by the modern world view as 'proper', 'sane' and 'rational'. Even when in opposition, that dissent remains predictable and controlled. It is also possible today to opt for a non-West which is itself a construction of the West....The West has not merely produced modern colonialism, it informs most interpretations of colonialisms.

(Nandy 1983:xii)

Perhaps Nandy is asking whether it is possible to beat the coloniser at their own game? The tools of the Pakeha have assimilative and co-optive edges. Maori academics struggle to articulate space but 'legitimacy' is often only given when a Pakeha has named the process or 'realised' the same idea. The extent to which Pakeha theorising has been informed by Maori argument is yet to be examined. The influence of Maori critique has largely been rendered invisible in the writings (Pihama L 1994)⁵ The theoretical ground within Universities is also one where colonial agendas get played.

Over the years, the spaces to expand what we say as Maori academics, has gradually been widened, by the Maori students and staff who have gone before us. What we are 'allowed' to say can be indicated by the fact that colonial oppression has become an OK subject to talk about in some quarters. Donna Awatere's book *Maori Sovereignty* is on the reading list of

⁵Toni Morrisons book also explores this theme of constructing whiteness out of blackness. *Playing In The Dark: Whiteness And The Literary Imagination*, 1993, Vintage Books

some University courses. But gradually those who have gone before have also begun to articulate what Maori students would not mention before because of the political context within which these things were written. So today we have academics such as Kathy Irwin who are prepared to argue that Maori men need to analyse their complicity with patriarchal oppression, but also to clearly state that Pakeha are not off the hook.

Audre Lourde has said that 'the masters tools will never dismantle the master's house' (Loudre 1981). Developing critical consciousness is an important part of the process of emancipatory education. It is important to note here that critique is not just criticism, it is also about illuminating and revealing wider aspects. Maori academics are not just learning how to 'writeback' skilfully, they are also looking for ways to dismantle the master's house. What bell hooks⁶(1990) argues is that critical consciousness is not enough on its own: there is a need to 're-centre' ourselves, for we are constantly being placed in the margins. As bell hooks has written one needs to examine the margins within which the coloniser positions us:

In an essay on counter-hegemonic cultural practice I named marginality as a site of transformation where liberatory black subjectivity can fully emerge, emphasising that there is a definite distinction between that marginality which is imposed by oppressive structure and that marginality that one chooses as sites of resistance, as location of radical openness and possibility....Such subversive play happens much more easily in the realm of texts than in the world of human interaction...where repression is real. I am moved by that confrontation with difference which takes place on new ground in that counter-hegemonic marginal space where black radical subjectivity is seen not overseen by any authoritative Other claiming to know us better than we know ourselves.

(hooks 1990:22)

⁶bell hooks spells her name in lower case letters.

In the struggle for survival many Maori are actively participating in countering oppression, without necessarily identifying or naming the process. Language is also an important part of the deconstruction and reconstruction that Maori students engage in. There needs to be not only deconstruction of the colonial processes but in the reconstruction process new ways of talking need to be created. New tools need to be created to dismantle the masters house.

Some Maori academics have begun to develop Maori theoretical paradigms such as Tino Rangatiratanga and Kaupapa Maori Theories (Huata H 1992, Smith G 1990, Nepe 1992). These theories have been developed out of a complexity of struggle socially, economically, politically, historically and theoretically. So they have been widely informed out of a complexity of processes. Because these theories are linked to action, they are both informed by and, in turn inform action. In that sense Maori academics have not created these theories but they have articulated what have been broader community and historical processes and they have made them palatable within an academic environment.

This thesis does not attempt to create a Maori theoretical paradigm, what it does do is to look to international discourses to see if there are writings that can inform the Maori struggle. In this thesis 'iwi development' is the name of the struggle.