

Chapter Five

Research Through Imperial Eyes.

Introduction.

Many critiques of research have centred around the theory of knowledge known as empiricism and the scientific paradigm of positivism which is derived from empiricism. Positivism takes a position which applies views about how the natural world can be examined and understood to the social world of human beings and human societies. Understanding is viewed as being akin to measuring, measuring is a procedural problem so the challenge to understanding the social world is developing operational definitions of phenomenon which are reliable and valid. The analysis in this chapter begins with a much broader brushstroke. Although the Enlightenment is seen as a key demarcation in the development of European thought and the subsequent flow of major social and economic transformations in Europe, many *Maori* criticisms about research are expressed within the single term of '*Pakeha* research'. The word '*Pakeha*' has multiple meanings which are frequently invoked simultaneously within *Maori* interactions.¹ '*Pakeha* research' is more than just research which is located in the positivist tradition. It is research which brings to bear, on any study of *Maori*, a cultural orientation, a set of values, a different conceptualisation of such things as time, space and subjectivity, different and competing theories of knowledge, highly specialised forms of the English

¹ *Pakeha* is used politically to identify those who colonised us, biologically to identify those who are not *Maori*, historically to mean the descendants of the British Crown on whose behalf the Treaty of *Waitangi* was signed. Sometimes it is used to mean just 'white' people and other times it means all people who are not *Maori*. It used to refer to people who had become assimilated into *Maori* society. For discussions on the meanings of *Pakeha* see for example, King, M., 1985. *Being Pakeha: An Encounter with New Zealand and the Maori Renaissance*. Auckland, Hodder & Stoughton, and the special issue of *Sites 'Being Pakeha'*, no.13, Spring, 1986. For wider discussion on ethnicity in New Zealand read for example, Spoonley, P., D. Pearson, C. Macpherson, eds. 1991. *Nga Take, Ethnic Relations and Racism in Aotearoa/New Zealand*. Palmerston North, Dunmore Press.

language and structures of power.

In this chapter I argue that what counts as *Pakeha* research draws from an archive of knowledge and systems, rules and values which stretch beyond the boundaries of western science to the system now referred to as the 'west'. Stuart Hall makes the point that the 'west' is an idea or concept, a language for imagining a set of complex stories, ideas, historical events and social relationships. Hall suggests that the concept of the 'west' functions in ways which; (i) allows 'us' to characterize and *classify* societies into categories, (ii) condenses complex images of other societies through a *system of representation*, (iii) provides a standard *model of comparison*, and (iv) provides *criteria of evaluation* against which other societies can be ranked.² These are the procedures by which indigenous peoples and their societies were coded into the western system of knowledge.

Research, in both a scientific and nonscientific sense, contributed to and drew from these systems of classification, representation and evaluation. Although the Enlightenment stimulated the discovery of 'new' knowledge and new ways of thinking about knowledge, everything learned from the past did not simply disappear. Imperialism and colonialism were the modes through which the Enlightenment project was produced and reproduced in the South Pacific. In his critique of colonialism, Nandy argues that the rules of colonial practice not only managed the ways colonised people could conform to imperial authority but they also managed the ways people could resist.³ He argues that the structures of colonialism are embedded with the rules by which colonial encounters occur and that these rules make dissent predictable and manageable.⁴ Liberalism and science appealed to notions of universal truths which could be examined systematically through objective analysis of data. The processes for discovering these 'truths' were regarded as open and democratic. Empiricists saw data as existing in the world of experience 'out there', and rationalists saw data as existing within rules of logic and the application of the intellect to problems. The point is that whilst there

² Hall, S., 1992. 'The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power', chapter six of *Formations of Modernity*. eds. S. Hall, B. Gielben, Cambridge, Polity Press, Open University, pp.276-320.

³ Nandy, A., 1983. *The Intimate Enemy, Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism*. Delhi, Oxford University Press.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.2-3.

may be no unitary form of knowledge there are rules by which knowledge is recognised as such. These rules are rules of classification, rules of framing and rules of practice. Although the term 'rules' may sound like a set of fixed items which are articulated in explicit ways as regulations, it also means rules which are masked in some way and which tend to be articulated through implicit understandings of how the world works. Power is expressed at both the explicit and implicit levels. Dissent in the form outlined above is manageable, because it conforms to these rules, particularly at the implicit level. Some writers use the notion of grammar to explain the underlying rules, others use the term 'code'. Scientific and academic debate in the west takes place within these rules. Two major examples of how this works can be found in Marxism and western feminism.

The Cultural Formations of Western Research.

Forms of imperialism and colonialism, notions about the 'other', and theories about human nature existed long before the Enlightenment in western philosophy. Some scholars have argued that the key tenets of what is now seen as western civilisation are based on black experiences and a black tradition of scholarship, and have simply been appropriated by western philosophy and redefined as western epistemology.⁵ Western knowledges, philosophies and definitions of human nature form what Foucault has referred to as a cultural archive and what *Maori* people might refer to as a 'storehouse' of histories, artifacts, ideas, texts and/or images, which are classified, preserved, arranged and represented back to the west. This storehouse contains the fragments, the regions and levels of knowledge traditions, and the 'systems' which allow different and differentiated forms of knowledge to be retrieved, enunciated and represented in new contexts.⁶ Although many colonised peoples refer to the 'west', usually with a term of their own such as '*Pakeha*' or '*Tau'iwi*', as a cohesive system of people, practices, values and languages, the cultural archive of the 'west' does not represent a unitary tradition of knowledge. Rather, there are many different traditions of knowledge and moments of history in which philosophical ideas are sometimes reformed or

⁵ See for example, Bernal, M., 1991. *Black Athena, The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*. London, Vintage.

⁶ Foucault, M., 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans, A. Sheridan Smith, New York, Pantheon.

transformed, in which new knowledges lead to new sets of ideas.

Foucault also suggests that the archive reveals 'rules of practice' which the west itself cannot necessarily describe because it operates within the rules. Various indigenous peoples would claim, indeed do claim, to be able to describe many of those rules of practice as they have been 'revealed' and/or perpetrated on indigenous communities. These claims will be examined later in the chapter. Hall has suggested that the western cultural archive functions in ways which allow that to happen, quite radically at times, without the archive itself, and the modes of classifications and systems of representation contained within it, being destroyed. The Enlightenment was one such 'moment' although its formation took at least two centuries, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and its associated project of 'modernity' is still being played out four centuries later.

This sense of what the idea of 'the west' represents is important here because to a large extent the theories of knowledge, of science, of history, which have shaped our understandings about the nature of research, are underpinned by a cultural system of classification and representation, by views about human nature, human morality and virtue, by conceptions of space and time, by conceptions of gender and race, and by a long experience with imperialisms and colonialisms. These systems enable different traditions or fragments of traditions to be retrieved and reformulated in different contexts as discourses, and then to be played out in systems of power and domination, with real material consequences for colonised peoples. Nandy, for example, discusses the different phases of colonisation, from 'rapacious bandit-kings' intent on exploitation, to 'well-meaning middle class liberals' intent on salvation as a legitimisation of different forms of colonisation.⁷ These phases of colonisation, driven by different economic needs and differing ideologies of legitimisation, which may be described as separate discourses, still had real consequences for the nations, communities and groups of indigenous people being colonised. These consequences have lead Nandy to describe colonisation as a 'shared culture' for those who have been colonised. This means, for example, that colonised people share a language of colonisation, share knowledge about their colonisers and in terms of a political project, share

⁷ Nandy, *p.xi*.

the same struggle for decolonisation.

The Intersections of Race and Gender.

David Theo Goldberg argues that one effect of the western experience as colonisers, indeed as the most accomplished colonisers, is that western ways of viewing, talking about and interacting with the world at large are intricately embedded in racialised discourses.⁸ Notions of difference are discussed in Greek philosophy, for example, as ways of rationalising the essential characteristics and obligations of slaves.⁹ Medieval literature and art represents fabulous monsters and half-human, half-animal creatures from far off places. According to Goldberg, concern about these images led to 'observers [being] overcome by awe, repulsion and fear of the implied threat to spiritual life and the political state'.¹⁰ Goldberg argues that whilst these early beliefs and images 'furnished models that modern racism would assume and transform according to its own lights', there was no explicit category or space in medieval thought for racial differentiation.¹¹ What did happen, according to Goldberg, was that the savage, that is, the violent, the sexual amorality, the lack of civility and civilisation, was internalised as a psychological and moral space within the individual which required 'repression, denial and disciplinary restraint'.¹² In Goldberg's analysis, modernity and the philosophy of liberalism which underpins modernist discourses, transformed these fragments of culture into an explicit racialised discourse. Race, as a category, was linked to human reason and morality, to science, to colonialism and to the rights of citizenship, in ways which produced the racialised discourse and racist practices of modernity.¹³

Western concepts of race intersect in complex ways with concepts of gender. Ideas about

⁸ Goldberg, D.T., 1993. *Racist Culture, Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning*. Oxford, Blackwell.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.23.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.23.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.23.

¹² *Ibid.*, p.23.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp.41-60.

gender difference and what that means for a society, can similarly be traced back to the fragmented artifacts and representations of western culture, and to different and differentiated traditions of knowledge. The desired and undesired qualities of women, as mothers, daughters and wives, were inscribed in the texts of the Greeks and Romans, sculptured, painted and woven into medieval wall hangings, and performed through oral poetry. Different historical ideas about men and women were enacted through social institutions such as marriage, family life, the aristocracy and ecclesiastic orders.¹⁴ These were underpinned by economic systems, notions of property and wealth and increasingly legitimated in the 'west' through Judaeo-Christian beliefs. Although it can be argued that women's roles in the family changed as the economy changed, gender distinctions and hierarchies are deeply encoded in western languages. It is impossible to speak without using this language and, more significantly for *Maori* people, it is impossible to translate or interpret *Maori* society into English language, for example, without making gendered distinctions. This has had real consequences for *Maori* women in that the ways in which *Maori* women were described, objectified and represented by *Pakeha* in the nineteenth century, are now being struggled over before the *Waitangi* Tribunal.¹⁵ The *Waitangi* Tribunal was established to hear the 'legitimate' claims by *Maori* which contravened the Treaty of *Waitangi*. Before this Tribunal, the *Maori* women taking the claim are having to establish and argue, using historical texts, research and some oral testimonies, that the Crown has ignored the '*rangatiratanga*' of *Maori* women. To argue this, the claimants are compelled to prove that *Maori* women were as much '*rangatira*' as *Maori* men. At a very simple level the 'problem' is a problem of translation. *Rangatiratanga* has generally been interpreted in English as meaning chieftainship and sovereignty, which in colonialism was a 'male thing'.

This claim illustrates the complexities which Stuart Hall has discussed. Several different and differentiated sets of ideas and representations are to be 'retrieved' and 'enunciated' in the historically specific context of this claim. In summary these may be classified as; (i) a legal framework inherited from Britain, which includes views about what constitutes admissible

¹⁴ Erler, M., M. Kowaleski, 1988. *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*. Athens, University of Georgia Press.

¹⁵ The claim being taken is referred to as the *Mana Wahine* Claim, it has been taken by the ex-Presidents of the *Maori Women's Welfare League* and a small group of 'high profile' *Maori* women.

evidence and valid research, (ii) a 'textual' orientation, which will privilege the written text (seen as expert and research based) over oral testimonies (a concession to indigenous 'elders'), this is also linked to the interpretation of different languages, (iii) views about science, which will allow for the efficient selection and arrangement of 'facts', (iv) 'rules of practice' such as 'values' and 'morals', which all parties to the process are assumed to know and to have given their 'consent' to abide by, for example, notions of 'good-will' and 'truth-telling', (v) ideas about subjectivity and objectivity which have already determined the constitution of the Tribunal and its 'neutral' legal framework, but which will continue to frame the way the case is heard, (vi) ideas about time and space, views related to history, what constitutes the appropriate length of a hearing, 'shape' of a claim, size of the panel, (vii) views about human nature, individual accountability and culpability, (viii) the selection of speakers and experts, who speaks for whom, whose knowledge is presumed to be the 'best fit' in relation to a set of proven 'facts', and (ix) the politics of the Treaty of *Waitangi* and the way those politics are managed by politicians and other agencies such as the media.

Within each set of ideas are systems of classification and representation; epistemological, ontological, juridical, anthropological and ethical, which are coded in such ways as they 'recognise' each other and either mesh together, or create a cultural 'force field', which can screen out competing and oppositional discourses. Taken as a whole system, these ideas determine the wider rules of practice which ensure that dominant *Pakeha* interests remain dominant.

Conceptualisations of the Individual and Society.

Social science research is based upon ideas, beliefs and theories about the social world. While it is acknowledged that people always live in some form of social organisation, a family unit, an efficient hunting and gathering unit, a work unit, and increasingly larger and more effective variations of those basic units, western forms of research also draw on cultural ideas about the human self and the relationship between the individual and the group/s to which he or she may belong. Such ideas explore both the internal workings of an individual, and the relationships between what an individual is and how an individual behaves. These ideas suggest that many of these relationships are causal and can be observed and predicted. A standard account of these systems of ideas would begin with a creation story to explain the

presence of people in their specific environment. It would then suggest that earlier societies linked their understandings of human behaviour to some form of external force, such as spiritually powerful beings, 'gods' or sacred objects. Human activity would be seen to be caused in these societies by factors outside the control of the individual. These societies would not have made much distinction between human beings and their natural environment. Classical Greek philosophy is regarded as the point at which ideas about these relationships changed from 'naturalistic' explanations, in which nature and life are one and the same, for example, the understanding that all life and matter can be reduced to water, to humanistic explanations which separate people out from the world around them, and places humanity on a higher plane (than animals and plants) because of such characteristics as language and reason.¹⁶ Socrates, Plato and Aristotle are seen as the founders of this humanistic tradition of knowledge. However, there are fragments of other traditions which can be tracked back to other forms of Greek philosophy, for example biological and mathematical orientations.

Human 'nature', that is, the essential characteristics of an individual person, is an overarching concern of western philosophy.¹⁷ Education, research and other scholarly traditions have emerged from or been framed by, debates relating to human nature. The separation between mind and body, the investing of a human person with a soul, a psyche and a consciousness, the distinction between sense and reason, definitions of human virtue and morality, are cultural constructs. These ideas have been transformed as philosophers have incorporated new insights and discoveries, but the underlying categories have remained in place.¹⁸ From Aristotle and Plato, in Greek philosophy, the mind-body distinction was heavily christianised by Aquinas. French philosopher, Descartes, developed this dualism further, making distinctions which would relate to the separate disciplines required to study the body (physiology) and the mind (psychology). His distinctions are now referred to as the Cartesian dualism. German philosopher, Hegel, reasoned that the split was dialectical, meaning that there was a contradictory interplay between the two ideas and the form of debate required to develop these ideas. However, it must be remembered that concepts such as the mind or the intellect,

¹⁶ Brennan, J.F., 1991. *History and Systems of Psychology*. 3rd Edition, London, Prentice Hall International.

¹⁷ The very suggestion of human 'nature' seems to undercut western views of the human vs nature.

¹⁸ Such views are fundamentally 'western' in origins and quite distinct from eastern world views.

the soul, reason, virtue and morality are not in themselves 'real' or biological parts of a human body. There are no organs or biological systems as such, which can be taken from a body and named as a soul or as a mind. Whilst the workings of a mind may be associated primarily with the human brain, the mind itself is a concept or an idea.

What makes these ideas 'real' and taken for granted as real, is the system of knowledge, the formations of culture, and the relations of power in which these concepts are located. What an individual is, and the implications this has for the way a researcher or teacher, a therapist or a social worker, an economist or a journalist, might approach their work, is based on centuries of philosophical debate, principles of debate and systems for organising whole societies predicated on these ideas. In the context of power, these ideas are real until they meet the ideas and beliefs of other societies such as *Maori*, and then they become more than real, they become 'better', reflecting 'higher orders' of thinking and acting and less prone to the dogmatic immediacy of 'primitive' people. Ideological appeals to such things as literacy, democracy and the development of complex social structures, make this way of thinking appear to be a universal truth and a necessary criterion of civilised society. Although eighteenth and nineteenth century forms of colonisation brought christian beliefs about the soul and human morality to *Maori*, these concepts were discussed in western traditions prior to christianity.

The individual, as the basic social unit from which other social organisations and social relations form, is another system of ideas which needs to be understood as part of the 'west's' cultural archive. Although very early Europeans lived in groups, hunted in groups, defended themselves from others; and later Europeans continued to live in villages as small communities, withstanding or merging within conquering groups and gradually forming increasingly larger groups, owning significant territories, western philosophies and religions place the individual as the basic building block of society. The transition from feudal to capitalist modes of production simply emphasised the role of the individual. Concepts of social development were seen as the natural progression and replication of human development. However the relationship between the individual and the group was a major theoretical problem for philosophy. This problem tended to be posed as a dialectic or tension between two irreconcilable notions. Hegel's dialectic on the self and the society has become

the most significant model of thinking about this relationship. His 'master-slave' construct has served as a form of analysis which is both psychological and sociological.

Rousseau has a particular influence over the way indigenous people in the South Pacific came to be regarded, because of his highly romanticised and idealised view of human nature. It is to Rousseau that the idea of the 'noble savage' is attributed. This view linked the natural world to an idea of innocence and purity, and the developed world to corruption and decay. It was thought that the people who lived in the idyllic conditions of the South Pacific, close to nature, would possess 'noble' qualities from which the west could relearn and rediscover what had been lost. This romanticised view was particularly relevant to the way South Pacific women were represented, especially the women of Tahiti and Polynesia. The view soon lost favour, or was turned around into the 'ignoble savage', when it was found that these idealised humans actually indulged in barbaric and savage customs and were capable of what were viewed as acts of grave injustice and despicability.

Whilst in the psychological traditions the individual has been central, within sociological traditions the individual is also assumed to be the basic unit of a society. The concern becomes a struggle over the extent to which individual consciousness and reality shapes, or is shaped by, social structure. The classification system for representing this relationship is assumed, the focus of analysis is different. During the nineteenth century this view of the individual and society became heavily influenced by Social Darwinism. This meant, for example, that a society could be viewed as a 'species' of people with biological traits.¹⁹ Primitive societies could be ranked according to these traits, predictions could be made about their survival and ideological justifications could be made about their treatment. The concern of early sociology became a concern about the belief systems of these 'primitive' people, the extent to which they were capable of thought and of developing 'simple' ideas about religion.²⁰ This focus was intended to enhance the understandings of western society by showing how simple societies developed the building blocks of classification systems and

¹⁹ Goldberg, pp.62-69.

²⁰ *Although even within this tradition there were alternative and subordinated themes and theories within the west itself. Social Darwinism became dominant and I would suggest that one reason for this was its easy link to imperial practice.*

modes of thought. These systems, it was believed, would demonstrate how such social phenomena as language developed. This in turn would enable distinctions to be made between categories which were fixed, that is, the structural underpinnings of society, and categories which people could create, that is, the cultural aspects of the life-world. It also reinforced, through contrasting associations or oppositional categories, how superior the west was.

Conceptions of Space.

Similar claims can be made about other concepts, such as time and space. These concepts are particularly significant for *Maori* because *Maori* language itself makes no clear or absolute distinction between the two, that is, the *Maori* word for time or space is the same. There are positions within time and space in which people and events are located, but these cannot necessarily be described as distinct categories of thought. Western ideas about time and space are encoded in language, philosophy and science. Philosophical conceptions of time and space have been concerned with; (i) the relationships between the two ideas, that is, whether space and time are absolute categories or whether they exist relationally, and (ii) the measurement of time and space. In the fifth century, for example, Zeno posited a series of paradoxes which centred around two ideas, one which suggests that space and time are continuous, and one which suggests that they are made up of divisible parts. Others have argued since Zeno, that there can be no such thing as 'empty space' because, if it is empty, it does not exist. Space came to be seen as consisting of lines which were either parallel or elliptical. From these ideas, ways of thinking, which related to disciplines of study, emerged, for example, mapping and geography, measurement and geometry, motion and physics. These distinctions are generally part of a taken for granted view of the world.²¹ Spatialised language is frequently used in both everyday and academic discourses.

Henri Lefebvre argues that the notion of space has been 'appropriated by mathematics' which has claimed an ideological position of dominance over what space means.²² Mathematics has

²¹ Soja, E., 1989. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. London, Verso.

²² Lefebvre, H., 1991. *Production of Space*. USA, Blackwell.

constructed a language which attempts to define with absolute exactness, the parameters, dimensions, qualities and possibilities of space. This language of space influences the way the west thinks about the world beyond earth, that is, cosmology and quantum physics; the ways in which society is viewed, that is, 'public/private space'; the City/country space, and the every day world of people, that is, domestic space, the market place, the theatre.²³ Whilst these ways of thinking about space are grounded in a materialist reality, they are still subject to ideological leaps of faith.

*Our knowledge of the material world is based on concepts defined in terms of the broadest generality and the greatest scientific (ie having a content) abstraction. Even if the links between these two concepts and the physical realities to which they correspond are not always clearly established, we do know such links exist, and that the concepts or theories they imply - energy, space, time - can be neither conflated nor separated from one another.*²⁴

Conceptions of space were articulated through the ways in which people arranged their homes and towns, collected and displayed objects of significance, organised warfare, set out agricultural fields and arranged gardens, conducted business, displayed art and performed drama, separated out one form of human activity from another. Spatial arrangements are an important part of social life. Western classifications of space include such notions as architectural space, physical space, psychological space, theoretical space and so forth. Foucault's metaphor of the cultural archive is an architectural image. The archive not only contains artifacts of culture, but is itself an artifact and a construct of culture. For the indigenous world, western conceptions of space, of arrangements and display, of the relationship between people and the landscape, of culture as an object of study, have meant that, not only has the indigenous world been represented in particular ways back to the west, but the indigenous world-view, the land and the people, have been radically transformed in

²³ For an analysis of the significance to the English of 'country' and 'city', read Williams, R., 1973. *The Country and the City*. London, Paladin. Also read Fanon, F., 1967. *The Wretched of the Earth*. London, Penguin. p.30. Fanon talks about 'zones' where natives live and 'zones' where settlers live. For him the border between the two are clear and there is no possibility for conciliation.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.12.

the spatial image of the west, in other words, indigenous space has been colonised. Land, for example, was viewed as something to be tamed and brought under control. The landscape, the arrangement of nature, could be altered by 'Man', swamps could be drained, waterways diverted, in-shore areas filled, not simply for physical survival, but for further exploitation of the environment. More significantly however, space was appropriated from indigenous cultures and then 'gifted back' as reservations, reserved pockets of land for indigenous people who once owned all of it. Other artifacts and images of indigenous cultures were then classified, stored and displayed in museum cases; some images became part of the post-card trade and the advertising market. Still other 'live' and performing examples, of *Maori* culture in particular, were put 'on stage' as concert parties to entertain Europeans. *Maori* culture became framed within a language and set of spatialised representations.

A specific example of the colonisation of an indigenous architectural space and spatial concepts can be found in the story of the *Mataatua*, a carved house built in 1875 as a wedding gift from one tribal group to another. The New Zealand Government negotiated and gained agreement to send the *Mataatua* to the British Empire Exhibition at Sydney in 1879. The house was displayed according to the aesthetic and economic sense of the exhibition's curators:

*Finding that it would cost at least 700 pounds to erect it in the ordinary manner as a Maori house, the walls were reversed so that the carvings showed on the outside; and the total cost, including painting and roofing with Chinese matting was reduced to 165 pounds.*²⁵

A '*Maori* House', displayed inside-out and lined with Chinese matting was seen as an important contribution by New Zealand to the Sydney Exhibition. As argued by its original owners,

the house itself had undergone a transformation as a result of being assimilated into a British Empire Exhibition. It changed from being a 'living' meeting house which the

²⁵ *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1880, H5:2.*

*people used and had become an ethnological curiosity for strange people to look at the wrong way and in the wrong place.*²⁶

Having gained agreement for this single purpose, the New Zealand Government then appropriated the House, sent it to England, where it was displayed at the South Kensington Museum, stored for forty years at the Victoria and Albert Museum, displayed again at the Wembley British Empire Exhibition 1924, shipped back to New Zealand for a South Seas Exhibition in Dunedin in 1925 and then given, by the Government, to the Otago Museum. *Ngati Awa*, the owners of this house, have been negotiating for its return since 1983.

There is a consistent view which sees space as static or divorced from time. This view generates ways of making sense of the world as a 'realm of stasis', well-defined, fixed and without politics.²⁷ This is particularly relevant in relation to colonialism. The establishment of military, missionary or trading stations, the building of roads, ports and bridges, the clearing of bush and the mining of minerals all involved processes of marking, defining and controlling space. There is a very specific spatial vocabulary of colonialism which can be assembled around three concepts; (i) the line, (ii) the centre, (iii) the outside. The 'line' is important because it was used to map territory, to survey land, to establish boundaries and to mark the limits of colonial power. The 'centre' is important because orientation to the centre was an orientation to the system of power. The 'outside' is important because it positioned territory and people in an oppositional relation to the colonial centre; for indigenous Australians to be in an 'empty space' was to 'not exist'. In New Zealand that vocabulary looks something like this:

²⁶ *Te Runanga o Ngati Awa, 1990. Nga Karoretanga o Mataatua Whare, The Wanderings of the Carved House, Mataatua. Research report 2, Whakatane.*

²⁷ *Masse, D., 1993. 'Politics and Space/Time', in Place and the Politics of Identity, ed. M. Keith, S. Pile, London, Routledge, pp.141-161.*

The spatial vocabulary of colonialism in C19th Aotearoa.

The Line:	The Centre:	The Outside:
maps	mother country	empty land
charts	London	terra nullius
road	Magistrate's Residence	uninhabited
boundaries	Redoubt, Stockade, Barracks	unoccupied
pegs	Prison	uncharted
surveys	Mission station	reserves
claims	Parliament	<i>Maori pa</i>
the fence	Store	<i>Kainga</i>
the hedge	Church	<i>Marae</i>
stone wall	Europe	Burial grounds
track	port	background
genealogies	foreground	hinterland
perimeter	flagpole	

L.T. Mead.

Conceptions of Time.

Time is associated with social activity, and how other people organised their daily lives fascinated and horrified western observers. The links between the Industrial Revolution, the Protestant Ethic, Imperialism and Science can be discussed in terms of time and the organisation of social life. Changes in the mode of production brought about by the Industrial Revolution, an emerging middle class able to generate wealth and make distinctions in their lives between work, leisure, education and religion, and a working class evangelical movement which linked work to salvation, contributed to a potent cultural mix. In the Pacific, western observers were struck by the contrast in the way time was used by Pacific peoples and their own organisation of time. Representations of 'native life' as being devoid of work habits, and of native people being lazy, indolent, with low attention spans, is part of a colonial discourse that continues to this day.

An example of how time is so integral to social life can be found in Joseph Banks's journal. The Royal Society supervised the Greenwich Observatory which eventually set the world-wide standard of measurement for time and was instrumental in organising Cook's voyage to the Pacific in 1769 to observe the transit of Venus. Throughout this journey Banks kept a detailed diary which documents his observations and reflections upon what he saw. The diary was a precise organisation of his life on board a ship, not only a day by day account, but an account which included weather reports, lists of plants and birds collected, and details on the people he encountered. Life on board the Endeavour was organised according to the rules and regulations of the British Admiralty, an adaptation of British time. Not only did the diary measure time, but there were scientific instruments on board which also measured time and place. As an observer, Banks saw the Pacific world through his own sense of time, his observations were prefaced by phrases such as, 'At daybreak', 'in the evening', 'by 8 o'clock', 'about noon', 'a little before sunset'.²⁸ However, after describing in detail such things as the dress, ornaments, tattooing, house construction and lay-out, clothing, gardens, net-making, women, food, religion and language of people, and describing visits he and Solander made at particular times to observe the people eating, carrying out their daily activities and sleeping, he confessed that he was unable to get a 'complete idea' of how the people divide time. The connection between time and 'work' became more important after the arrival of missionaries and the development of more systematic colonisation. The belief that 'Natives' did not value work or have a sense of time, provided ideological justification for exclusionary practices which reached across such areas as education, land development, and employment.

Lineal views of time and space are both important when examining western ideas about history. Here, the Enlightenment is a crucial point in time. Prior to this period of western development was an era likened to a period of 'darkness', the 'Age of Darkness', which 'coincided' with the shift of power to the east and the rise of Islam.²⁹ This era was followed by reformation within the Church of Rome and then the period of the Renaissance. During

²⁸ Beaglehole, J.C., 1962. *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks*. Sydney, Angus & Robertson.

²⁹ In other words, Europe's 'Age of Darkness' was someone else's 'Age of Enlightenment'. However the 'Age of Darkness' has become universalised as a period of darkness for everyone.

these periods, society was feudal, belief systems were based on dogma, monarchs ruled by divine authority, and literacy was confined to the very few. People lived according to myths and stories which hid the 'truth' or were simply not truths. These stories were kept alive by memory. The Enlightenment has also been referred to as the 'Age of Reason'. During this period history came to be viewed as a more scientific understanding of the past. History could be recorded systematically and then retrieved through recourse to written texts. It was based on a lineal view of time and was linked closely to notions of progress. Progress is in terms of technological advancement and spiritual salvation. It is evolutionary and teleological and is present in both liberal ideas about history and in Marxist views.³⁰

Different orientations towards time and space, different positioning within time and space, and different systems of language for making space and time 'real', underpin notions of past and present, of place and of relationships to the land. Ideas about progress which became a critical notion in the modernist project, are grounded within ideas and orientations towards time and space. What has come to count as history in contemporary society is a contentious issue for many indigenous communities because it is not only the story of domination, it is a story which assumes that there was a 'point in time' which was 'pre-historic'. By direct implication, this time was also a period of pre-science and pre-rationalism. The 'point' at which society moves from pre-historic to historic is also the 'point' at which tradition breaks with modernism. Traditional indigenous knowledge ceased, in this view, when it came into contact with 'modern' societies, that is the west. What occurred at this 'point' of culture contact was the beginning of the end for 'primitive' societies. Deeply embedded in these constructs are systems of classification and representation which lend themselves easily to binary oppositions, dualisms and hierarchical orderings of the world.

Colonialism, Western Knowledge and Research.

The Enlightenment period of European history is seen as the 'moment' in which the 'west' takes on a shape which can be described as a specific historical, social and political formation, centered in Europe. It signals the end of feudalism and absolutist authority,

³⁰ Nandy, 1983. Refer back to chapter two.

legitimated by divine rule, and the beginning of the modern state. The new state formation had to meet the requirements of an expanding economy based on major improvements in production. The 'Industrial Revolution' changes and makes new demands upon the individual and the political system. The modern state is wrestled from the old regime of absolutist monarchs by the articulation of liberal political and economic theories.³¹ As a system of ideas, Liberalism focuses on the individual, who has the capacity to reason, on a society which promotes individual autonomy and self-interest, and on a state which has a rational rule of law which regulates a public sphere of life, but which allows for individuals to pursue their economic self-interest. The link between the individual and society, between the individual and the state, are rational concepts, which are necessarily rule-bound in order to protect individuals from tyrants and other covetous individuals. Once it was accepted that humans had the capacity to reason and to attain this potential through education, through a systematic form of organising knowledge, then it became possible to debate these ideas in a rational and 'scientific' way.

The development of scientific thought, the exploration and 'discovery' by Europeans of other worlds, the expansion of trade, the establishment of colonies and the systematic colonisation of indigenous people in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are all facets of what is sometimes referred to as the modernist project. Modernism is more than a re-presentation of fragments from the cultural archive in new contexts. 'Discoveries' about and from the 'new' world expanded and challenged ideas the 'west' held about itself.³² The production of knowledge, new knowledge and transformed 'old' knowledge, ideas about the nature of knowledge and the validity of specific forms of knowledge, became as much commodities of colonial exploitation as other natural resources.³³ Indigenous people were classified alongside the flora and fauna, hierarchical typologies of humanity and systems of representation were fuelled by new discoveries, cultural maps were charted and territories claimed and contested by the major European powers. These systems for organising, classifying, storing new

³¹ Jaggar, A., 1983. *Feminist Politics and Human Nature*. Sussex, Harvester Press.

³² Hall, 1992.

³³ Goonatilake, S., 1982. 'Colonies: Scientific Expansion (and Contraction)', in *Review*, V, no.3, Winter, pp.413-436.

knowledge and theorising the meanings of such discoveries, constituted 'research'. However, in a colonial context this research was undeniably also about power and domination. The 'instruments' of research were also 'instruments' of knowledge and 'instruments' for legitimating various colonial practices. The imaginary line between 'east' and 'west', drawn in 1493 by a Papal Bull, allowed for the political division of the world and the struggle by competing western states to establish what Said has referred to as a 'flexible positional superiority' over the known and yet to become known world.³⁴ This positional superiority was contested at several levels by European powers. Imperialism and colonialism are the specific formations through which the 'west' came to 'see', to 'name' and to 'know' indigenous communities such as the *Maori*. The cultural archive with its systems of representation, codes for unlocking systems of classification, and fragmented artifacts of knowledge enabled travellers and observers to make sense of what they saw and to represent their new found knowledge back to the west with 'authority'.

Whilst colonialism at an economic level, including its ultimate expression through slavery, opened up new materials for exploitation and new markets for trade, at a cultural level, ideas, images and experiences about the 'other' helped to shape and delineate the essential differences between Europe and the rest. Notions about the 'other', which already existed in the European imagination, were recast within the framework of Enlightenment philosophies, the industrial revolution and the scientific 'discoveries' of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. When discussing the scientific foundations of western research, the indigenous contribution to these foundations is rarely mentioned. To have acknowledged their contribution would, in terms of the rules of research practice, be as legitimate as acknowledging the contribution of a variety of plant, a shard of pottery or a 'preserved head of a native' to research. Furthermore 'Europeans could not even imagine that other people could ever have done things before or better than themselves'.³⁵ The objects of research do not have a 'voice' and do not contribute to research. In fact, the logic of the argument would suggest that it is simply impossible, ridiculous even, to suggest that the 'object' of a research can 'contribute' to anything. An 'object' has no life force or humanity of its own so therefore

³⁴ Said, 1978. *Orientalism*. New York, Vintage Books, p.7.

³⁵ Bazin, M., 1993. 'Our Sciences, Their Science', in *Race and Class*. v.34, no.2, pp.35-36.

can not make an active contribution. It is not 'intentional' or deliberately 'insensitive', it is simply that the 'rules' did not allow such a thought to enter the scene. So, indigenous Asian, American, Pacific and African forms of knowledge, systems of classification, technologies and codes of social life which began to be recorded in some detail by the seventeenth century were regarded as 'new discoveries' by western science.³⁶ These discoveries were commodified as property belonging to the 'west'. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which is the period during which the west encountered *Maori* people, was an era of highly competitive collecting. This included the collecting of territories, of new species of flora and fauna, of mineral resources and of cultures. James Clifford, for example, refers to ethnography as a science which can be regarded as;

*[a] form of culture collecting... [which] highlights the ways that diverse experiences and facts are selected, gathered, detached from their original temporal occasions, and given enduring value in a new arrangement. Collecting - at least in the West, where time is generally thought to be linear and irreversible - implies a rescue phenomena from inevitable historical decay or loss.*³⁷

It is important to remember, however, that colonialism was not just about collection. It was also about re-arrangement, re-presentation and re-distribution. For example, plant species were taken by Banks and Solander for the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew. Here they could be 'grown, studied, and disbursed to the colonial stations, a centre of plant transfers on the scientific level, and of the generation and publication of knowledge about plants'.³⁸ The British Empire became a global laboratory for research and development. New species of plants and animals were introduced to the colonies to facilitate development and to strengthen indigenous species. This point is worth remembering as it contrasts with the view, sometimes referred to as a diffusionist explanation, that knowledge, people, flora and fauna simply

³⁶ Goonatilake, 1982.

³⁷ Clifford, J., 1988. *The Predicament of Culture, Twentieth Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, p231. See also on the topic of collection, Ames, M., 1986. *Museums, The Public and Anthropology*. London, University of British Columbia Press.

³⁸ Brockway, L.H., 1979. *Science and Colonial Expansion, The Role of the British Royal Botannic Gardens*. New York, Academic Press, p.187.

disbursed themselves around the world. This botanical colonisation had already been successfully carried out in other places, for example, corn and tobacco from South America had been widely distributed. In the centre of this collection and distribution network was Great Britain. The colonies and Dominions were peripheral satellites, which gained access to these new knowledges and technologies through 'recourse to the writings of authors in the centre'.³⁹ One effect of this system of redistribution was the interference caused by new species to the ecologies of their new environments and the eventual extinction of several species of bird and animal life.⁴⁰ This globalisation of knowledge, or incorporation of knowledge within a world system, constantly reaffirms the west's view of itself as the centre of legitimate knowledge, the arbiter of what counts as knowledge and the source of 'civilised' knowledge. History is then reconstituted so that the story of civilisation becomes the story of the west. For this purpose, the Mediterranean world, the basin of Arabic culture and the lands east of Constantinople, are conveniently appropriated as part of the story of western civilisation, but, through imperialism, are repositioned as oriental in order to legitimate colonial rule.

The nexus between cultural ways of knowing, scientific discoveries, economic impulses and imperial power enabled the west to make ideological claims to having a superior civilisation. These claims were based on criteria which the west itself constructed.⁴¹ The moral authority this gave the west worked like the mirror on the wall which kept affirming the beauty of the wicked step-mother in the story of Snow White. The 'idea' of the west became a reality when it was re-presented back to indigenous nations through colonialism. By the nineteenth century colonialism not only meant the imposition of western authority over indigenous lands, indigenous modes of production or indigenous law and government, but the imposition of western authority over all aspects of indigenous knowledge, language and culture. For *Maori*, the major agency for imposing this positional superiority over knowledge, language and culture was education or, more specifically, state-funded schooling.

³⁹ Goonatilake, p.432.

⁴⁰ For a discussion on the introduction of plants and animals to New Zealand see Crosby, A.W., 1986. 'Biotic Change in Nineteenth Century New Zealand', in *Review*, IX, no.3, Winter, pp.325-337.

⁴¹ Foucault, 1972.

In Summary.

In this chapter I have attempted to unmask those aspects of research which lie behind or underneath western concepts of science. A danger in such an approach is that it can become very easy to reduce the west to an 'other' which is as simple and transparent as the 'other' the west itself created. I have tried to understand why it is that the west, as a system of knowledge, is not so much powerful as flexible, allowing for multiple traditions which weave in and out of what may constitute a dominant discourse at any point in time. I have found Foucault's metaphor of the cultural archive useful in that it gives the sense that knowledges can be classified and then stored away, retrieved and represented.⁴² Nothing gets lost. Research as a scientific activity enables that process to occur more systematically.

For us as indigenous people, however, the cultural archive was also a system which claimed, classified, stored, distributed and represented us. It was also a system which enabled the objectification of indigenous people at one level, the de-humanisation of us at another level and the idealisation of us at yet another level. A major effect of this process is that our worlds became fragmented. The classification systems which suited western forms of knowledge were unsympathetic to *Maori* ways of knowing and engaging in the world. The penchant for the exotic and the voyeuristic meant that parts of ourselves, quite literally, were transferred back to the imperial centre. Some of our world was sent to museums, some of it ended up in land courts, some went as entertainment to perform on stage, some went to the tourist industry, some went into the private possession of individuals. That this process was exploitative is already accepted, so too is it accepted that the justification of such a process was called science. What we confront as *Maori* now, today, is the struggle to recover and repatriate the fragments of our own world. We are re-searching back.

⁴² *One reason why I have an appreciation of such an image is that I spent some of my 'growing up' years with my father as he worked through various Maori and Marquesan art collections at museums in New Zealand and the United States. I got to see what was kept in the cupboards at the back of museums! My first ever paid job was at the Peabody Museum in Salem, Massachusetts where my father was doing his research and I typed up labels to stick on to the logbooks of ships (sloops and other such categories) which fought in the American Revolution.*