

CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY AND REFLECTIONS

This thesis has proposed that Iwi opposition, Resistance and dissent traditions are differently configured from those of European anti-colonial struggles in important ways. I argue in this thesis that fundamental differences exist between European notions of Sovereignty and those of Indigenous peoples as non-materialist human civilisations. An ongoing challenge set by this thesis focuses on a claim by Pakeha elites that in 1840 Iwi nations ceded their Indigenous Sovereignty to little more than 2,000 itinerant and struggling European settlers. This thesis rejects that claim. A series of historically layered deposited myths is argued to provide the intellectual context in which the grossly unequal power relationships and arrangements between Iwi and Kawanatanga are often minimalised.

Because of a central focus of Colonial and contemporary social policy constructions on Iwi descendants, this thesis centralises the position of Iwi epistemological traditions and contemporary Kaupapa Maori theoretical frameworks in its analyses. It is argued by this thesis that Iwi epistemological traditions are rightfully privileged in any examination of the effects and outcomes for Iwi descendants. Key reasons for this contention are based on an Iwi view of Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho as being based on: (1) A Sacred inner corpus of Iwi knowledges which relates te ira Atua, te ira Whenua and te ira Tāngata; (2) This Whakapapa provides the Iwi rationale for their chosen place upon Papatuanuku as the Tangata Whenua; (3) This status can also be sourced to three Sacred kete and Iwi holistic Worlds and their knowledges, and (3) Iwi Whakapapa based Mana Atua, Mana Whenua and Mana Tangata accords no such status to Pakeha. It is the exclusive ancestral legacy and birthright of all Iwi descendants to take up the roles, responsibilities and obligations to Kaitiakitanga.

I have included selected Critical theories, but these have been utilised to highlight the need for a critical theoretical approach. The inclusion of Critical theories is made cautiously. Key limitations of this approach includes a bias in analyses towards European capitalist economic contexts which restricts the legitimacy of

applying this framework to a non-material and non-capitalist based nation framework. Another limitation of European Critical theories is that they are largely silent regarding the impact of Imperialism and Colonialism in the lives of Imperial and Colonial women. These are major disjunctures and silences within European intellectual traditions which remain highly problematic and contested. The failure of European theoretical analyses to move beyond capitalist models of economics is another serious limitation of European theoretical analyses. One result of being restricted to a theory of Marxist capitalism is the danger of reinscribing rather than radically transforming that possibility. It is recognised that models of capitalist economics are prevalent and have become pervasive. However, it must also be kept in mind that only a hundred a fifty years ago these territories were not configured by such an economic model, philosophy or its practices. The point is that capitalism is not the issue, but rather the unwillingness of many European scholars to privilege the epistemological traditions of Indigenous peoples for the benefit of a World peace that rejects eurosupremacist arrogance. For these important reasons I have argued that European theoretical traditions are severely limited.

I have shown that the comprehensive and invasive processes of Colonialisation favoured an incremental and infrastructural model of political invasion. In the case of Aotearoa and Te Ika a Maui this was seen to be represented by the installation of a British sponsored Crown representative, Pakeha Colony and later Settler Government. This effectively abrogated all Pakeha claims that their intentions were honourable and opened the way to full blown Pakeha Colonialisation of Iwi territories. Incremental settler encroachment and later wholesale settler immigrations blatantly disregarded the status of Iwi Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho and Tino Rangatiratanga over these islands.

This thesis has rejected the popularised Pakeha societal claims that Iwi ceded their Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho by Treaty or that any claims which suggest that a mechanism for the wholesale transfer of ancestral power exists. I have argued that Iwi epistemological traditions and Kaupapa Maori theory affirm this claim.

In the historical context of Iwi Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho, this thesis has argued that a range of oppositional, Resistance and dissent frameworks were already operating. It is stated categorically here that Pakeha can never attain Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho because it is the unique legacy of Iwi descent. Any claims by Pakeha which suggest it could or should be installed from outside of an Iwi political complex are utterly rejected by this thesis. What is conceded is, that Pakeha hegemony has been able to successfully establish its dominant status. A direct consequence of this is that Iwi political autonomy and independence were simultaneously undermined and eroded, cancelled and fettered. This thesis argues that this is the context in which Iwi political struggles continue.

Chapter Two develops a theoretical framework based in the foundational principles that Iwi epistemologies are premised in a fundamental and Sacred inner corpus of knowledges. Further, that this epistemological base is also informed from a three World paradigmatic orientation to their Universe. What this means is, Iwi identity is fundamentally underpinned by their view of themselves as sharing a direct descent from te ira Atua, te ira Whenua and te ira Tangata. Many Tohunga carried responsibility for the transmission and storage and reproduction of these ancient knowledges. The arrival of a destructive alien influence, was also proposed by early Tohunga who described the period of the 1830's to its closure in the 1990's as 'the Great Deluge'. The confirmation of these prophecies is confirmed by the entrance of four Imperial powers and the eventual invasion of Aotearoa by British Imperialism and the consequent installation of a British Colony installed as internal Colonial rulers. Iwi have defined this power base and its people using the terms Kawanatanga and Tauwiwi Pakeha. A limitation of this chapter is attempting to use Maori English idioms to translate an entirely differently configured range of epistemological traditions. In the future I want to expand into the areas of Indigenous Sacred narratives. A standing dilemma is the writing of these non-English concepts into a language which has murdered its Sacred stories.

In Chapter Three it was proposed that selected strands of European theoretical

traditions can be useful for informing Kaupapa Maori oppositional, Resistance and dissent strategies with regard to Kawanatanga power intersections. Some of the key strengths of Critical Theory are identified in terms of its critical approach, its insistence on the indivisibility of theory from practice, the power of critical theories to reveal underlying contradictions of power the means for developing a critical emancipatory praxis. Designed primarily with European s in mind, this thesis has immediate currency for those societal contexts. However, the realities for Iwi are quite different. This chapter makes the point that European critical theories and it's theorists are culturally, institutionally and structurally bound to European theoretical frameworks whereas Iwi are engaged because of the gross political fact of Imperial and Colonial impositions. It is acknowledged that limited Iwi involvement in Imperial capitalism occurred before full blown Pakeha Colonialism was established. The difference between that form of Iwi engagement is the historical fact that Iwi could control the level and extent of their involvement or withdrawal from such economic relationships. Under Pakeha Colonial rule this option is no longer available to Iwi. This is a key reason why emphasis in this chapter is placed on the limitations of transplanting European theoretical frameworks onto and over Iwi epistemological traditions. History has witnessed successive attempts by Pakeha hegemonies within Colonial educational sites to achieve this goal on the basis of 'assimilation, bi-cultural, multi-cultural and Pakeha mainstreaming' policies for Iwi. In practice these policies mean linguistic and cultural genocide and the desire of our colonisers to Europeanise Iwi for the bottom rungs of Pakeha controlled economic and political structures. In order to provide an historical context for these arguments, the next chapter looked at the emergence of British Imperialism. A number of weaknesses in this chapter stem from my reluctance to privilege Kaupapa Pakeha over Kaupapa Maori theorising. In particular, there is no discussion of Pakeha controlled Feminist discourses of power or a consideration of key limitations within a Marxist economic analysis.

Chapter Four introduces a brief historical overview and sketches the very recent rise of materialism, liberal individualism and the policy and practice of Empire.

Key disjunctures are identified in the transformation of a previously tribal and community supportive English class system transformed by the ascendance of organised acquisition. While it is not explicitly included within this chapter, a key disjuncture is the absence of an Indigenous Sacred narrative and especially the Sacred Stories of the English women throughout that society. These contours and their disjunctures, it was argued, shaped and informed the internal Colonialisation of the English 'peasantry', the neighbouring Celtic language nations, the Americas, Te Moana Nui A Kiwa and in particular Aotearoa. In anticipation of Pakeha settlement, Iwi individually as Iwi and collectively across Iwi set in place a number of strategies in an attempt to preserve their ancestral status. This chapter could have had more depth in terms of exploring the particular ways in which European Sacred narratives were undermined, silenced, marginalised and taken over. This may have strengthened the contention that elite discourses of power have served to manufacture the consent of those individuals and groups recently subjugated.

Chapter Five proposes that, the concerns of Iwi to preserve their ancestral status are common threads throughout global Indigenous movements attempting to decolonise their status from British Imperialism and Colonialism. Iwi Resistance principles were also argued to be premised on Sacred frameworks who commonly refer to Papatuanuku as their Mother and themselves as her descendants. Iwi epistemologies were also argued to be prefigured by similar belief systems. It was argued that there were recognisable stages and shifts in the foci of Iwi opposition, Resistance and dissent struggles. These ranged from, immediate defence, non-violent protest, autonomy and separatism, accommodation, concession, infiltration and finally direct political activism. The use of political writing also became an important component of contemporary Iwi political struggles. The presence of Iwi political commentators enabled important ideological interventions to be developed and bringing the fundamental basis of Pakeha political rule into question. The shifts within the foci of Iwi struggles were also being expressed in other arenas such as the institutional Colonial Welfare State established unilaterally by Kawanatanga from appropriated Iwi territories and resources.

Chapter Six re-centres the argument that Iwi political opposition, Resistance and dissent has historically been grounded in Iwi epistemological traditions based on the desire for peace. An overriding principle, Rangatiratanga I Tuku Iho, eventually returned as a central thesis for political struggle beginning in the 1950's. In this chapter it has been proposed that, an Iwi focused analysis which draws on the positive impact of the Report Puao-te-ata-tu in the political struggles of Iwi, has been down played by Pakeha elites backlash. However, it is argued to have been a catalyst for a new era of Iwi political activism and the rise of movements led by both the flax roots and Iwi intellectuals. It ushered in an important stage of Iwi challenges directly to the Colonial State. Iwi political struggle had matured and the struggles for political freedom from the colonising power group, political self determination and independence from Kawanatanga were now non-negotiable Iwi goals.

This thesis has used a number of interrelated constructs and the context of British Imperialism to define the problematic notion of Colonial policy construction. The manufacture of Iwi consent is conceptualised as an outcome of imposed Colonial policy constructions. The manufacture of a sub-ordinated political group's consent is complex, to the extent that this also involves economic, political, structural, institutional, linguistic and cultural domination, repression and exploitation. Hidden beneath this veneer of political surrender is an historically rooted political struggle between the ancestral power institutions of Iwi and the retention of their Indigenous Sovereignty and the contested role and status of alien Colonial rulers.

A number of implications emerged from this analysis. The central importance of Iwi epistemological traditions and their extension as Kaupapa Maori theories was consistently reinforced and affirmed. In terms of developing relevant and authentic Iwi critical praxis, it has been argued that Iwi epistemological traditions have a central role in the reproduction of ancestral wisdom and knowledge translated into the present. In terms of the education of policy makers, this thesis suggests that the fundamental question of legitimate representation of Iwi

interests is not the prerogative of Kawanatanga to dispense or of Pakeha elites to select. The rights that Pakeha elites have assumed to decide the political future of Iwi must be consistently and vigorously challenged in terms of legitimacy at the structural, institutional and at times personal levels. Kupapa Iwi must also be challenged.

In its focus on Iwi epistemologies and especially the lives of Iwi women, this thesis does not argue that externally imposed patriarchal ontologies have had no impact on Iwi male cultures. Rather, this challenges the view that the presence of patriarchy is not 'traditional' to Iwi nations' and that the uncritical acceptance of 'tradition' needs to be interrogated by Iwi at large. This challenge is based on the recent 'discoveries' that colonisation has had wide ranging impact on the ways in which Iwi descendants now view themselves through their Colonisers contemptuous gaze. Within Iwi nations epistemologies the presence of gender contestations is acknowledged as having already been problematic. However, those tensions have not been critically analyzed on the basis that they have emerged out of a particular political complex. It is illusory to suggest that this problematic can be legitimately removed from and interpreted from outside of its context. The childrearing practices of our tamariki and mokopuna also need to be scrutinised in terms of Iwi epistemological understandings and not from an uncritical acceptance of dominant culture as if it is superior simply because it is now familiar and known.

This thesis has shown that Iwi opposition, Resistance and dissent are not new phenomena. Kaupapa Maori is a distinctive Indigenous knowledge paradigm has a long legacy in these islands which do not concur with simplistic linear models of history such as those proposed by European academic hegemonies. Iwi existence has been forged out of a long and ancient philosophy of peace. This has been preserved by those nations who came here over centuries and became absorbed by and into those Tangata Whenua who were already here. The fundamental Sacred Stories of these islands is based on a circle of peace which

is symbolised within Iwi epistemologies by the Atua Rongomaraeroa.

Iwi structural, institutional, cultural and linguistic traditions have been shaped and informed from this base. Two important aspects of Kaupapa Maori theories have arisen; (1) The legitimisation of the Sacred inner corpus of knowledge within Kaupapa Maori theorising, and (2) the acknowledgement of contemporary Iwi theorists that Maori English idiom can be used to abridge language and cultural Imperialism.

In terms of popularised Colonial 'policy' constructions, this thesis would argue that the illegitimate practice of Pakeha elites who unilaterally decide and then deliver policy options to Iwi should be ended. The privileging of European knowledge paradigms is contested by this thesis. It has also been argued that Iwi epistemological traditions offer radical critiques of Imperialism and Colonialism which provide important insights into the problems which plague those societies today.

This thesis is covered by a karakia whakamutunga. Anei he mihi, he tangi, kei te hari koa taku ngakau ki tae mai nei ki te mutunga tenei mahi uaua. He tohu enei korero maku e tiki no nga hau e wha. Ma te Atua he karakia poto. Mangai pono pikiora te kaupapa mai nei ki a tau te rangimarie me te humarie e nohopuku ai mo te kakano i ruia mai a Rangiatea i au. Whakatakoto mai te tumanako i raro i te kaupapa tino tapu o Rongomaraeroa aianeia akeneia ae.

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