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Diversity, Discrimination or Difference:
Case Study Aotearoa/New Zealand

Patricia Maringi G. Johnston



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IIDS Objectives

- To conceptualise and theoretically understand social exclusion and discrimination in contemporary world.
- To develop methods and measuring tools for the study of discrimination and exclusions in social, cultural, political and economic spheres of everyday life and their consequences.
- To undertake empirical researches on measuring forms, magnitude and nature of discrimination in multiple spheres.
- To understand the impact of social exclusion and discriminatory practices on inter-group inequalities, poverty, human right violations, inter-group conflicts and economic development of the marginalised social categories.
- To undertake empirical research on the status of different excluded, marginalised and discriminated groups in Indian society *vis-à-vis* their social, cultural, political, and economic situations.
- To propose policy interventions for building an inclusive society through empowerment of the socially excluded groups in India and elsewhere in the world.
- To provide knowledge support and training to civil society actors.

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of Indian Institute of Dalit Studies and supporting organisations.

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Foreword

Indian Institute of Dalit Studies (IIDS) has been amongst the first research organizations in India to focus exclusively on development concerns of the marginalized groups and socially excluded communities. Over the last six year, IIDS has carried-out several studies on different aspects of social exclusion and discrimination of the historically marginalized social groups, such as the Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes and Religious Minorities in India and other parts of the sub-continent. The Working Paper Series disseminates empirical findings of the ongoing research and conceptual development on issues pertaining to the forms and nature of social exclusion and discrimination. Some of our papers also critically examine inclusive policies for the marginalized social groups.

This working paper “Diversity, Discrimination or Difference: Case Study Aotearoa/New Zealand” situates discrimination within ideological and historical debates. The author examines how racial discourses and ideologies were constructed to mobilise the belief of difference as inferior. The Colonisers created an inferior ‘Other’ through racial ideologue and unequal structures to control Maori groups. This paper looks at the centres (universities) for ‘creation of knowledge’, responsible for knowledge hierarchies and hegemony that operated to subvert Maori knowledge and their autonomy. The author argues how the notion of ‘difference’ also became instrumental in building the Maori traditional university and development of indigenous tertiary institutions in New Zealand. This initiative led to re-connecting Maori with their identity, culture, language and knowledge. This counter-model incorporates distinct Maori knowledge base and uses it to critique, describe, review and analyse both Maori and non-Maori knowledge systems.

This paper was presented in the International Seminar on “Comparative Context of Discrimination and Equal Opportunity Policies in Asia” in New Delhi in May 2009. We hope our Working Paper will be resourceful to academia, students, activists, civil society organizations and policymaking bodies.

Surinder S. Jodhka
Director, IIDS

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Diversity, Discrimination or Difference: Case Study Aotearoa/New Zealand

Patricia Maringi G. Johnston*

1. Introduction

New Zealand was occupied by British subjects as early as the 1800s. The signing of a treaty (The Treaty of Waitangi) between Britain and Maori¹ (indigenous People) in 1840 was to recognise and honour the unique position of Maori which did not happen until 1975. Maori 'right's including sovereignty over their own lands and resources were instead subjected to colonial processes, which saw dramatically the reduction of their economic, social and cultural base and the "acquisition" of their lands and resources by settlers.

Maori were not prepared for the new social system imposed through legislation and policies. That system was based on British views and beliefs, introduced capitalism and individualism, which replaced traditional Maori practices based on collectivism and *kaitiakitanga* (guardianship). Moreover, settler desires for Maori land and resources in hand with their beliefs and views about the need to 'civilise' Maori, influenced the ways in which interactions with Maori proceeded. As British numbers swelled, so Maori numbers declined² and Maori soon became a minority in their own lands. As the settler foothold in New Zealand increased and gave them the upper hand numerically, the need for settlers to accommodate Maori society also declined. The results of that interaction were Maori economic, social and cultural decline.

At one level the settlers and colonists were focused on their own interests, which was about gaining Maori resources. At another level however, a humanitarian focus for Maori resulted in policies and practices to both civilise and educate them (Simon, 1990), but education (as this paper will argue) was restrictive and eventually supported the colonist interests. The result of colonisation was the decline of Maori culture, knowledge and language. In a contemporary setting, that foundation of colonisation has created misconceptions, beliefs, policies and practices that are detrimental to Maori

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well-being and advancement. However, over the past twenty-five years, Maori have sort to regain their own autonomy and independence over their lives through education, especially through the establishment of separate educational institutions that have at their 'core' Maori language and culture as the language/knowledge of instruction.

2. Racial Ideologies³

The relationship between settlers Pakeha⁴ (the British settlers) and Maori was influenced by racial ideologies prevalent during the 19th century. The belief in racial superiority of some groups, and the opposite contrasting position of racial inferiority of other groups, played a major part in the manner in which Maori were (and continue to be) identified and represented as different from Pakeha. The inferior/superior dichotomies behind the more commonly regarded differences between races developed in tandem with what Paul Spoonley⁵ refers to as the 'ideological justification for exploitation'. During the colonial conquests of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for example, countries like Spain, Portugal, France and England endeavoured to expand their land acquisitions and resources by conquering and exploiting those in a weaker military position to themselves. Arguments based on beliefs of racial hierarchies and civilisation developed to explain the advanced civilised position of Europeans and the assumed inferiority of practically everyone else.

The importance of those theories was that it resulted in a number of actions that set out to justify the hierarchical classification for races. Non-white races for example were gauged, measured, compared and perceived to be extremely different from white races. But also their differences were equated with notions of inferiority (Johnston, 1998). The differences of blacks (the uncivilised races) for example - that is, their physical and morphological differences - were analysed by a number of procedures, including skin colour, bone structure and the measurement of 'brain-size'. Stephen Gould⁶ has described how measurements developed with the onset of scientific approaches to race that were to dominate latter half of the nineteenth century.

Wetherell and Potter⁷ argue that notions relating to superior/inferior dichotomies resulted in a particular discourse, a system of classification that became a lens through which relations between, for example, Maori people and white migrants were viewed throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century. In this classification system, Maori (in comparison to Pakeha), were located much lower on the scale - perceived by colonists to be slightly superior to other

indigenous peoples, but nevertheless, still perceived as savage.⁸ As Spoonley (1987) states, Maori were

...cast in the role of primitive requiring paternalistic, or alternatively repressive measure in response to their believed barbarism.⁹

The term race also became a discourse for representing particular kinds of differences between groups. In these representations, genetic differences became discursive difference, that is, the organisation of groups into “ways of speaking, systems of representation, and social practices”.¹⁰ Stuart Hall states that this organisation, these discourses, see groups organised by

... a loose, often unspecified set of ‘differences in physical characteristics - skin colour, hair texture, physical and bodily features etc. - as symbolic markers in order to differentiate one group socially from another.¹¹

Perceived genetic differences between groups further implied a hierarchical relationship in terms of culture and language. The result was that those races who were ‘genetically inferior’ were also believed to be culturally and socially inferior. (Johnston, 1998).

Indigenous and black theorists¹² have challenged and contested the ways in which constructions around ‘race and difference’ have represented them both negatively and as inferior. Some of the results of their challenges have manifested themselves in terminology that represents the ways in which minority groups see themselves - not as Other or inferior, but as ‘First Nation People’, Indigenous, and in New Zealand, *Tangata Whenua*. Those who have been ‘named’ and ‘labelled’ are resisting, to name and define themselves.

3. Contesting the Debates: Reclaiming our Differences

Some theorists like Cornel West¹³ challenge the debates that have defined minority groups as different and inferior. He recognises that conceptions about difference are still firmly entrenched beneath the unequal power-relationships underpinning them. These debates continue to account for minority groups without necessarily accounting for what they say, so the importance of engaging with these debates is to contest and challenge dominant groups’ control and prerogative to define and represent difference.

West repositions the difference debates in terms of a new cultural politics that he refers to as ‘new faces’ presented by difference. The new cultural politics

of difference are being driven and defined by minority groups as they contest, challenge and struggle against dominant group control over definitions and representations of their differences. A major component of the new cultural politics is the insistence that differences be acknowledged, more importantly, that the ways in which difference is defined and changes - the fluidity of difference, also be acknowledged. This process includes recognition of the intersections of factors like race, gender, class, age, colonialism, etc., helping to redefine the focus of difference debates in order to develop a new positive critique of difference. Stuart Hall (1992) also engages the notion of difference and remarks that there are two positions in these debates of which we need be aware.

*There is the difference which makes a radical and unbridgeable separation; and there is a difference which is positional, conditional and conjunctural...*¹⁴

While Hall does not elaborate on his first meaning of difference as a 'radical and unbridgeable separation', it appears to highlight 'differences' that are so overwhelmingly distinct, so separate and unlike, that no common ground can be found between individuals/groups with which to negotiate. If we look through our history books, we can see the consequences - religious wars, world wars, eradication of human populations, slavery, apartheid, etc.

Hall's second position of difference as 'positional, conditional and conjunctural' offers some insights into explaining how the extremely complex positions of difference can function. Let us for example take my identification as Maori. This is a positional identification for a number of reasons. First of all my claim of being Maori within the wider borders of New Zealand signals my relationship to Pakeha but also my differences from them. Such a claim asserts my Tangata Whenua status, my indigenous position and a particular cultural tradition which I (but not necessarily others) adhere to.

Others who claim to be Maori do so from a number of locations that includes language, *tikanga* (cultural protocols), *whakapapa* (genealogy), locations that are defined by *whanau* (family), *hapu* (sub-tribe), *iwi* (tribe) as well as individuals themselves. When I am with other Maori such assertions are 'taken for granted' and my position shifts to account for other 'differences', those signalled by my '*iwitanga*' (tribalness) - my *Ngaiterangi* and *Ngati Pikiao*¹⁵ connections - as the positions I occupy are related to the contexts I find myself in. My claim to being Maori is also conditional but those conditions are dependent specifically on the context. Such conditions when applying for scholarships, for example, might be whakapapa (genealogy) based, a certain level of fluency

in *te reo* Maori (Maori language), *tikanga* (cultural protocols), a commitment to things Maori and so on. These conditions depend on who is defining the criteria and controlling the context for what counts as 'being Maori'.

My identity is also conjunctural - dependent on various criteria that will operate at the same time. For example, as a Maori woman my experiences of a particular situation will be significantly different and carry different meanings from the experiences of a Maori man of the same situation. At one level we may experience commonalities in terms of racism, but our experiences in terms of sexism will certainly not be the same. While we can occupy a number of positions across any line of continuum, these positions will reflect our different contextual situations like experiences, beliefs, interests and aspirations.

Avtar Brah¹⁶ lays some foundations from which to examine contextual situations of difference. She claims that the ways in which difference exists relies on different meanings within differing discourses. Thus the notion of difference is difficult to define except at precise times and within exact contextual situations. For example, difference exists in terms of the way Maori and Pakeha live their day-to-day lives. Their realities and their ways of viewing 'the world' are quite different from each other, what feminists refer to as 'experiential diversity' and what Brah refers to as 'difference as experience'. There is difference in terms of social, political, and economic opportunities - who gets 'access' to particular goods and services and who does not. These I will refer to (here) after Brah, as differences influenced by 'social relations'. There is also difference in terms of culture, language, pedagogy, epistemology etc., what we could loosely term 'identity' or, as Hall¹⁷ would put it - identification.

3.1 Difference as Experience - 'Experiential Diversity'

According to Brah, experience is the key to understanding how particular groups make sense of their own lives and the lives of others. Changes for women in social, economic and political areas can only occur by women defining how those changes should take place, and what they should be. Understandably, in the context of low-paid employment, child-care or sexual violence, women have the 'insiders' position, - the experiential position - and are thus better able than men to address the issues that affect them.

In terms of experiential diversity however, there are some problems.¹⁸ The tendency has been to see the experiences of groups (like Maori) portrayed either negatively or in terms of "a site of contradictions to be addressed collectively".¹⁹ In attempting to address for example, the collective experiences of Maori, the result is one of treating Maori as a homogeneous group. Although

there are marked differences between the experiences of Maori people and Pakeha people, Maori also experience diversity within their own *iwi*, *hapu* and *whanau*. This diversity can be described in terms like educational experiences, backgrounds and cohorts that influence perceptions of 'what counts'.

Although 'experiential diversity' among Maori as a group exists, one of the most profound 'differences' for Maori is encapsulated through our relationship with Pakeha. Significantly, differences can be explained through *whakapapa* (genealogy), which binds us to the land both physically and spiritually. Our affinity to *whenua* (land/afterbirth) and *wairua* (spirituality) intensify our belonging to the land. Those affinities also differentiate us from Pakeha. Pakeha relationships to the land are through 'Treaty of Waitangi' and the fact that the treaty gave them residency rights. Arguably this group does not belong to the land but have since gained ownership over it.

One of the most profound examples that difference as experience presents for Maori, is in fact the diversity between the various *iwi*, *hapu* and *whanau*. Each of these distinct groups with distinct oral history, was affected in different ways by colonialism,²⁰ has different eponymous ancestors, *whakapapa* and geographical boundaries, although some commonalities (particularly for *hapu* at the *iwi* level and *whanau* at the *hapu* level) do exist. Yet traditionally, Maori are nearly always treated as a homogeneous group in areas of policy reforms and education policy. Although our *whakapapa* locates us firmly as descendants of *Papatuanuku* (Mother Earth)²¹ (and we have a commonality in terms of that specific relationship), those after whom our *iwi* and *hapu* are named are separated by time, distance and events. The claims of Maori may be similar in terms of land, unemployment etc., but experiential diversity of Maori means that such claims are laid for different historical reasons. At particular times, we can unite with a common voice, especially when our future as a people is threatened. In most cases however, we are as diverse in our beliefs and opinions as are Pakeha.

Brah's discussion of experiential diversity does not include culture. Her focus is a class analysis that targets social relations, economic and political factors of experiential diversity. However, cultural difference became a common form of recognising experiential diversity in New Zealand, but actually excluded wider factors like unequal power relations, social, economic and political. During 1970s in particular, cultural difference became a 'fashion' word, one that promoted an acceptance of difference by valuing cultural diversity. Cultural diversity did not assume the existence of homogeneity, so models and practices that implicitly or explicitly excluded subjects who did not participate in dominant

modes of thought, speech and action, were theoretically avoided as diversity also came to mean inclusiveness. One step further insisted that given occasions when conflict and misunderstanding occur, the advantage and respect should be given to the self-identification and world view of “members of groups who have been traditionally told who they are, what is true, and what is good for them”.²²

While I agree with this point, I would also argue that the acceptance and valuing of difference could result in the status quo for indigenous groups. Valuing and accepting difference has the potential to do little about the injustices, oppression and subordination that exists for those groups who have been defined as different, because difference does not address unequal power relations or who has control over decision-making contexts. In New Zealand, the valuing and acceptance of difference has resulted in difference being ‘celebrated’ and the act of celebrating difference has had major ramifications for Maori, because it did not address the issue of power. Celebrating difference tends to focus explicitly on culture, but culture in this form tends to be the window-dressing (cultural symbols particularly Maori art forms, *waiata*, *haka poi* etc.) with the real empowering material (epistemology, philosophical and pedagogical practices, Maori knowledge etc.) being excluded.²³ What is defined as Maori culture is constructed by the dominant group. Celebrating difference resulted particularly in the 1980s in tokenistic practices that incorporated different cultural practices into society without addressing the unequal structural power-relations that existed between various cultural groups and Pakeha. Nevertheless, Pakeha culture remained dominant.

3.2 Difference as Social Relations

Brah²⁴ argues that social relations occur through institutions and social structures and social relations are central to understanding the oppression that continues to exist for groups like Maori. Throughout, Maori experience their difference in terms of subordination, reflected by the inequalities that they continue to experience in systems like that of education. Brah states that experience and social relations are best understood primarily in terms of the commonality afforded by collective histories and collective experiences, and help to explain the nature of our oppression. For example, our own history and stories have systematically been distorted, serving the interests of Pakeha. Firstly, there were the missionaries who worked at convincing us to discard our traditions and beliefs because they were those of savage and primitive people. While we were not murdered in the name of ‘Christ’ (as was the fate of many indigenous people), our culture, belief systems and language were

'murdered' instead, resulting in difficulties for making distinctions between contexts like 'traditional protocol' and the influences of the Church over that protocol.

Secondly, there were British anthropologists like Percy Smith²⁵ and Elsdon Best²⁶ who wrote our history in terms of 'pre-history', the presumption being that Maori history did not exist²⁷ and could only be accounted for in terms of 'pre-civilisation' epitomised through colonisation and western accounts of history.²⁸ Thirdly, and in hand with anthropology, were myths about whence Maori originated. One of the more renowned myth that was taught in schools especially during the 1950s and 60s, was of a great migration of seven canoes that brought Maori to New Zealand at the same time. The beliefs that Maori migrated to New Zealand from elsewhere are numerous,²⁹ and ongoing. As an anthropology student in mid 1980, I studied archaeology and the evidence for the arrival of Maori during the latter stages of the last millennium. That evidence was based on the organisation of Maori *whakapapa* to account for a number of generations based on the premise that 25 years equalled one generation. In counting back through 'recorded' Maori *whakapapa*, a date for arrival was established.³⁰ The arrival date for Maori is dependent on archaeological evidence that is the physical remains that can be found today. The proof in our claims to Aotearoa is contingent on contexts that are controlled by Pakeha, in this case - archaeology. Although our oral histories recite various versions of occupancy (dependent on *iwi*, *hapu* etc.), such histories, against those of physical evidence or written words are not viewed as valid. Maori oral histories either speak of us always being here or of arrival (depending on the *iwi*) at differing times.³¹

Fourthly, the portrayal of Maori collective histories is one of homogeneity. The term Maori is a colonial term that categorised Maori as Other. Different *iwi* however have different 'oral traditions', eponymous ancestors and histories. Experiences for Maori in terms of colonisation are similar - we were colonised, came under British rule, and colonisation impacted on the ways in which we, as a people, were explained. Our experiences are also however, collectively very different. Different *iwi* experienced colonialism in diverse ways with some *iwi* for example, embracing contact as a means to trade, while other *iwi* shunned contact altogether. Some *iwi*, lost all or most of their land while other *iwi* retained and even 'inherited'³² land through the colonisation process.

The selective portrayal of our history means that we as Maori are attempting to extricate Maori ways of knowing from colonial representations of those ways. The portrayal of our history in four points outlined supports the interests of the dominant group Pakeha. Reclaiming and rewriting our stories means

contesting and struggling over meanings, and while validity of written and 'scientific evidence' continues to far outweigh the oral forms of Maori knowledge, the struggle will continue to occur.

The definition of difference within the contexts of social relations as outlined by Brah is limited by using 'experience' and 'collective histories' to account for difference. In terms of social relations and structures, Maori are relatively located in the same powerless, subordinate positions, but positions are not necessarily a product of the same causal factors - there are many different ways one becomes poor, subordinate and marginalised. Certainly, there are differences that distinguish Maori from one another, and as Brah would suggest, Maori would mobilise when addressing structural and political impediments, in terms of their commonality of experiences - i.e. the commonality of being 'Maori'. However, the reasons for that mobilisation may not necessarily impinge on the 'same experiences' or be for the same reasons.

3.3 Difference as Identity

Elizabeth Grosz³³ has noted that the concept of identity has developed from Western frameworks. She claims that the notion is antagonistic to difference because it forces groups like Maori to see themselves in specific ways as constructed by Pakeha and the result is descriptions of what constitutes a 'Maori identity'. Grosz points out that what constitutes an identity relies heavily on who is defining the specifications - who has control over the contexts - for defining that 'identity' in the first place. She refers to distinctions between minority and dominant processes of identity as either a process of self-identification (self-identity) or as determined (determined identity).

Determined identity has been the most common form of identification process used by dominant groups to locate, define and represent those who were different from them. Dominant groups, through various discourses like those of race, defined the identity of groups like Maori as negative, because such notions operated on the premise that difference was negative. Brah suggests that historically the racial discourses of identity as biologically determined sought the naturalisation of difference through creating 'impervious boundaries between groups'.³⁴

Naturalisation meant that differences were ignored on the basis that differences between groups were natural and unchangeable, but nevertheless, desirable. Desirability (in terms of racist discourse) justified the differences between groups - that is the privileges experienced by some races (predominantly white)

over Others (black) as a natural, inevitable and unchangeable situation, arguably supporting the oppression of black races.

Self-identity operates on a different premise - it recognises that differences exist, but that those 'differences' are not positioned as either inferior or negative as has been the operational tendency of 'determined-identity'. Grosz states that the notion of self-identity

...is about establishing a viable identity for its constituency of claiming social recognition and value on the basis of shared common characteristics which are attributed both to the particular social group of an identity, but it need not be. It does however, involve the attribution of positive characteristics in place of the negative ones that describe the group in social terms, the establishment of rights, recognition and privilege that dominant groups have attempted to keep to themselves.³⁵

Stuart Hall in the discussion on what constitutes identity argues that the formation of an identity does not occur in isolation; group dynamics and relationships influence identity through different systems of values, meanings and symbols (what Hall³⁶ refers to as culture). These interactions result in individuals aligning themselves, and subsequently occupying particular places in the social and cultural world, according to what they identify with. I would add further that society has impacted on the ways Maori identify themselves and it is not just a matter of Maori 'aligning themselves' and 'occupying places' (self-identity), but of Maori being allocated specific 'spaces' within society (determined-identity).

Margaret Harawira³⁷ for example, has looked at some of the different ways in which the identification of Maori has occurred legally, statistically and historically by Pakeha and the State. Harawira³⁸ claims that because of the deculturalisation periods of the first half of the twentieth century, many Maori actively sought not to signal their identity as Maori. The negativity associated with 'Maori/ness' was a major influencing factor contributing to non-identification. The legacy for the children of those parents was alienation from their own cultural base and the struggle to find their 'roots'.

One of the more complicating factor about identity is that diversity between Maori groups, *iwi*, *hapu*, *whanau*, and between different contexts that underpin what counts as identity, is often overlooked. Hall reiterates those diversities when he states that

... the politics of living identity through difference is the politics of recognising that all of us are composed of multiple social identities, not of one. That we are all complexly constructed through different categories of different antagonisms, and these may have the effect of locating us socially in multiple positions of marginality and subordination, but which do not yet operate on us in the same way. It is also to recognise that any counter-politics of the local which attempts to organise people through their diversity of identity has to be a struggle which is conducted positionally.³⁹

Hall also refers to the fact that identity is a shifting concept - that what constitutes identity one day may not necessarily entail the same meanings or methods of identification on another. The recognition of identity is therefore complex because it is intercepted by many parallels that locate individuals and groups in different positions at different times, indeed experiential diversity and the context within which definitions for identity are taking place, impact on what that identity constitutes. He further⁴⁰ argues that there is no such thing as a stable or unified identity. Each being is composed of several identities, sometimes contradictory or unresolved.

4. On Space

The points relating to race raised in the first part of this paper are significant because beliefs about race translated into practices, which in turn influenced the ways that Maori came to see and identify themselves. The first part of this paper has discussed some of the issues associated with race and identity.

The discussions relating to difference are as equally important because they signal some practices and assertions made by Maori relating to how they seek to define themselves, to challenge and reframe the racial discourses that have undermined Maori as a people, and Maori language and culture. In the latter part of this paper, we will examine how those assertions are being practiced through Maori initiated educational institutions. Before that discussion however, I want to explore the idea about 'space' and how 'space' has become an important theoretical and practical tool in the development of Maori educational institutions and practices.

In terms of intellectual and moral leadership, Pakeha have gained the upper hand from being our teachers and leaders. However, this situation is changing as more and more Māori are being found in professions where they were not earlier seen. In the education system, Māori are now teachers, school leaders,

researchers and lecturers, bringing quite clearly into perspective the context within which the question “what happens to education when the educationless become the educationalists?” (Johnston 2001) can begin to be answered. The process outlines the significant role of organic intellectuals, which are the thinking and organizing element of a particular ethnic group, distinguished by their role in the development of the consciousness of their own (Gramsci, 1981). This is a process that Gramsci (1981) refers to as “a revolution of the mind,” a revolution which Linda Smith (1991) argues is about ‘decolonising’ our own, reclaiming our space, and what Waitere-Ang and Johnston (1999) refer to as ‘talking back, writing back, researching and educating back’.

When the educationless become the educationalists (Johnston, 2000), they influence and transform the educational terrain. Those changes can be witnessed through the philosophies that underpin education delivery (such as equity), through the research methods that examine inequalities from positions that no longer focus on Māori as the problem; and in terms of a curriculum that imparts knowledge from two distinctly different and often mutually contradictory cultural perspectives. The desire of Māori educators and leaders, especially within Maori educational initiatives, is to “shatter... the mystification of the existing power relationships and the social arrangements that sustain them” (Darder, 1991 p.33). It is also about reinforcing the legitimacy and validity of those things which Māori experience and live through, whether traditional or contemporary. The recent development of tertiary (higher) educational institutions (*wananga*) is at one level an overthrow of dominant hegemony, as Māori move to establish institutions that recognise Māori teaching and learning practices that lead to Māori students ‘re-reading, re-thinking and re-producing their own ways of knowing’ (Dei, 1996) including Māori knowledge, philosophy, language and culture. In the New Zealand context, there are two educational ‘spaces’ where Maori students can be found.

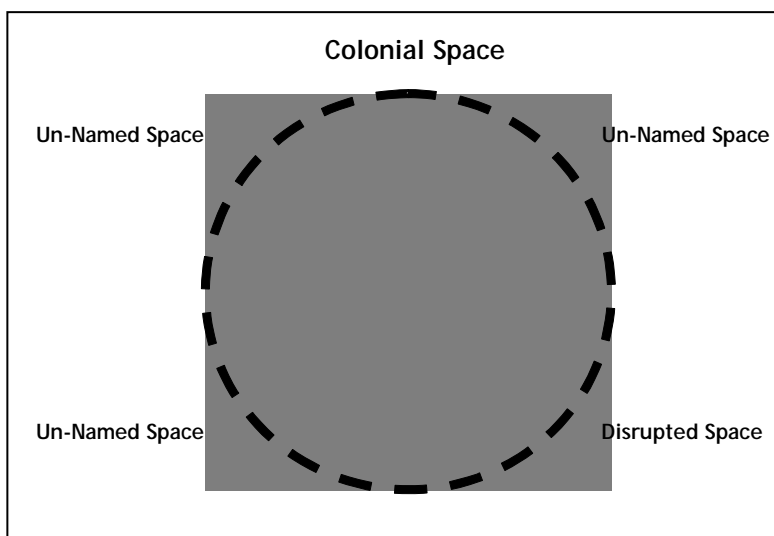
The first is referred to as conventional or mainstream education. These are the educational spaces that have been established by Pakeha, validate Western knowledge and practices, where Maori knowledge/culture can be found, but in sanitised forms and practices. The second space is Maori educational initiatives. These have been established by Maori, for Maori and operate on a normalcy that locates Maori knowledge, culture and language at the centre. Within the mainstream context, some of the latter spaces can be found but their operation and functioning is based on being supported by the dominant group.

Our ability as Māori educators to facilitate and create change in educational contexts has come about through recognising the spaces we occupy and how

we might effectively influence changes in those spaces to our best advantages. I have referred to the two different spaces elsewhere (Johnston 2002) as Colonial and Indigenous spaces. The significance of these spaces is as follows.

The colonial space, one in which the dominant groups' views, values, and knowledge are the norm (Johnston, 1998). This is the space in which we become the 'other' (Said, 1985), where we experience the disruption to our language and culture through the very curriculum and teaching practices (Johnston and Baker, 2002) that have sort to assimilate us. The colonial space contains a number of other spaces represented in the figure:

Figure 1



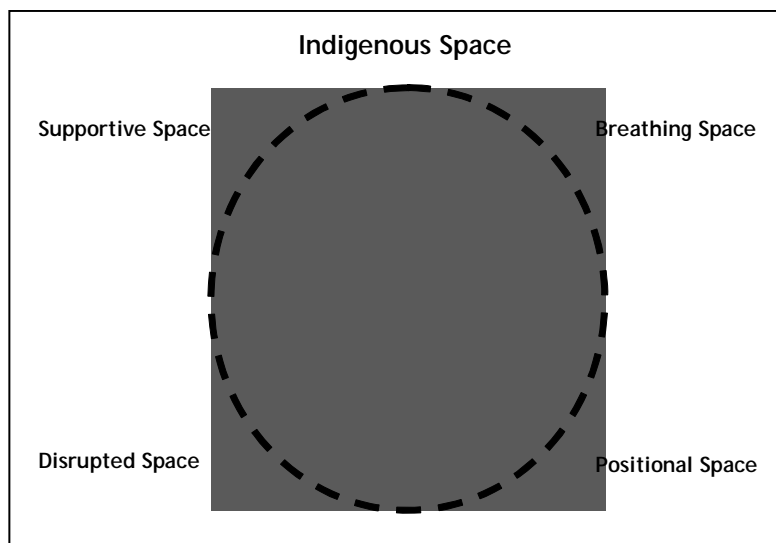
The occupational space represents areas in which non-indigenous educators reside. We recognise that within this arena, much of the decision-making relating to Māori education sits with those who are not Māori. Within institutions, programs and schools, the result is often representations of Māori education that Māori do not support (Johnston, 1991). Occupational space is filled with 'gate-keepers' who control, subvert and sabotage our endeavours for 'the right of education' (Dei, 1996, p.17). Their role can become one of interfering in Māori assertions for decision-making by Māori for Māori (Smith, 1991).

The un-named space is one that supports the legitimacy and validity afforded to for example, Pakeha culture, world-views and English language. That

legitimacy is based on un-stated, unwritten normality (Waitere-Ang & Johnston, 1999), which everything Māori is measured against. Thus in school contexts or curriculum programmes, we see the focus on Māori culture as cultural diversity (to the norm) rather than as an integrated aspect of the everyday normal operation of curriculum subjects and school programmes. The un-named space however needs to be recognised for what it is: monoculturalism, the assertion of dominant world-views and practices as the only legitimate forms of education; the belief that such assertions are taken for granted but commonsense understanding; the fact that dominant frameworks constitute the norm.

The disrupted and supportive spaces are the points at which we as educators engage to challenge others to think and act outside the colonial space. That space is context specific in that whatever model or programme is operating, is dependent on individuals and dominant group support. In educational contexts, indigenous space is one where Māori language, knowledge, beliefs, world-views, and culture, are taken as given. In this space, debate and discussion between various Māori academics, tribes and communities exists; Maori language, culture and knowledge is central and normal and taken for granted. Decision-making is by Maori for Maori (Smith, 1991). The indigenous space is the one in which we as indigenous educators operate, and is represented as follows:

Figure2



The notion of 'breathing-space' is afforded by the existence of Maori educational initiatives and institutions and the ability to distance ourselves away from potentially hostile contexts as a means to strategise and plan. This is an important space. It is the one that enables Māori to discuss and contest in the relative safety of Māori, an understanding that Māori language and culture is taken for granted and autonomy over our decision-making, goals and objectives. This is the space where we validate and legitimize our own educational experiences.

Positional Space is recognition of the decision-making around Māori Education that resides with academics and educators in positions of authority. Thus our participation becomes central to decision-making forums like committees. Those positions also afford us the ability to implement our ideas and strategies.

The disrupted and supportive spaces are the points at which we as educators engage to challenge our own perspectives to think and act outside of a colonial space. This is also an important space because it recognises that 'our own' need decolonising, that Maori can become 'hegemonised' (Gramsci, 1981) taking on board the views and values of the dominant group as those of our own.

5. The Education System

Significantly, the education system was utilised as a mechanism through which British ideas, culture and knowledge were imparted to Maori and heavily influenced how Maori came to not only see themselves, but define themselves culturally and socially (Johnston, 2005). It also became the mechanism for gaining control over the future directions of Maori, by restricting Maori access to knowledge. Thus by the turn of 20th century, the curriculum for Maori was heavily based on manual and practical skills rather than academically focused as 'Maori boys learnt to become farmers, and Maori girls, domestic workers and farmers' wives' (Simon, 1990).

Maori forms of knowledge were also displaced by selected aspects of Pakeha knowledge (Walker, 1990): racial discourses promoted the superiority of British knowledge/English language and the inferiority of Maori knowledge/language. While exposure to a restricted curriculum has impacted on Maori economically, more significantly the result of undermining Maori language, culture and knowledge, and their legitimacy as valid forms of education, has had far more devastating consequences. Maori knowledge - our views about science, research

and the world - struggle to be recognised and acknowledged within the New Zealand education framework although during the past 30 years in particular, attempts have been made to accommodate Maori requests for Maori language, culture and knowledge to be included in the curriculum. For example, in the early 1980s the education system acknowledged and recognised cultural diversity and difference in schooling practices through - multiculturalism. However, Maori needs and aspirations in education were approached in the same manner as the needs of other minority ethnic groups, thus reducing the issues and concerns raised by Maori in terms of their language and educational under-achievement to issues associated with cultural difference more generally. Maori argued that multiculturalism did not address the disproportionate levels of under-achievement for Maori children, nor could it address language and cultural loss through colonisation. It was in this vacuum, created by the State's lack of response to address Maori needs that Maori educational initiatives began to emerge.

5.1 Maori Education Initiatives

The first is the pre-school initiative of *Te Kohanga Reo* (Language Nest), which was (among other things) based on a struggle to revitalise Maori language and culture. *Te Kohanga Reo* had its intellectual beginnings in the 1960s when Maori University students sought to "perpetuate and enhance the still existing practice of grandparents rearing one or more of their grandchildren".⁴¹ Grandparents were being urged not only to foster and raise their grandchildren, but to also teach them *te reo* Maori (Maori language). The research by Richard Benton⁴² was to highlight concerns expressed by Maori *kaumatua* (elders) that large numbers of young Maori had little or no acquaintance with Maori language and *Te Kohanga Reo* developed as a means to address those concerns. The aim, according to Edward Douglas, was to bridge the ever-widening gap between Maori/English speaking cohorts and their predominantly English speaking descendants.⁴³

Ever since the launching of *Te Kohanga Reo*, its growth has been phenomenal. By 1984, there were 274 *Kohanga Reo*, 1987 - 470,⁴⁴ and in 1993 the number was in excess of 800. One of the key factors for success was the existence of 'Kaupapa Maori' philosophies and practices that underpinned *Te Kohanga Reo*. *Te Kohanga Reo* reinforces the positive aspects of being Maori - that Maori language and culture is valid, that Maori philosophies are normal and worthwhile and that being Maori is also valid, normal and worthwhile. 'Maori conceptions of difference' are therefore central, 'normalised' in the context of *Te Kohanga*

Reo, as opposed to being marginalised, the latter situation existing with relation to the State education system. *Te Kohanga Reo* not only offered the opportunity for Maori children to be educated in their own language, but also within pedagogical practices that (as research by both Tania Ka'ai⁴⁵ and Margie Hohepa⁴⁶ testifies) supported them, and with which they readily identified.

Douglas & Douglas⁴⁷ and Leonie Pihama⁴⁸ have discussed how *Te Kohanga Reo* operates through three inter-related key objectives, - *Te Reo* (language), *Whanau* (concept of family) and *Mana Motuhake* (autonomy). These objectives "are directly linked to an underlying assumption that asserts the validity and legitimacy of Maori language, knowledge, pedagogy and cultural practice"⁴⁹. For example, in terms of *te reo*, Douglas & Douglas state that *Te Kohanga Reo* were "expected to arrest the decline of Maori-speaking people in New Zealand"⁵⁰. *Te reo* is therefore an overriding consideration of the *Kohanga Reo* movement, aiming for language survival, retention, maintenance and development.

The second objective, '*whanau*', involves the mobilisation of a traditional concept into a contemporary setting of *Te Kohanga Reo*. The *whanau* group can be "constituted through both *whakapapa* (geneology) links and as a community of common interests."⁵¹ *Whanau* take ultimate responsibility for the functioning of each *Kohanga*,⁵² and with control vested in their hands, knowledge, expertise and decision-making practices are retained by that *whanau* group. The third objective of, '*Mana Maori Motuhake*', is complete autonomy for Maori. Through mainstream schooling avenues, Maori have to take their chances, because autonomy for Maori exists in either small isolated pockets, or not at all. Maori are required to contest non-Maori for resources, for control of programmes, and for funding. The ability of Maori to make decisions for themselves is not taken for granted assumption in the mainstream schooling system. *Te Kohanga Reo*, however, is an expression of Maori control throughout decision-making practices, planning and organisation of the whole *Te Kohanga Reo* movement. This, Pihama argues, exemplifies decision-making by Maori for Maori, "Maori aspirations for [the] right to make choices and take control of the destinies of Maori children"⁵³. What develops for many Maori parents is 'conscientisation'; the awareness of economic and social contradictions for Maori generally, and as Graham Smith states in relation to *Kura Kaupapa* Maori (and *Te Kohanga Reo*):

The kaupapa (philosophy) of Kura Kaupapa Maori is such a powerful and all embracing force, through its emotional (ngakau) and spiritual (wairua) elements, that it commits Maori communities to take seriously

*the schooling enterprise despite other social and economic impediments; it impacts at the ideological level, and is able to assist in mediating a societal context of unequal power relations; it makes schooling a priority consideration despite debilitating social and economic circumstances.*⁵⁴

In their struggles with dominant Pakeha structures, Maori became increasingly conscious of the discrepancies between the rhetoric of equality and their own oppressive realities. The burden of financially supporting *Te Kohanga Reo*, for example, helped to shape awareness of where and how inequalities existed and more importantly, why. The whole *Te Kohanga Reo* experience became a transformative process for Maori. Resistance to and contestation of the State education system (as not meeting the needs of Maori children) was a result of Maori recognition of a continual struggle for resources, financial assistance, validity and worth of *te reo*, *whanau* and *mana motuhake*.

5.2 Case Study: *Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi* Higher Educational Institution.

This section examines another educational context - that of higher education and the tertiary sector and my own experiences in this institution. I am an academic staff member of one of three tribal Universities in New Zealand. The institution I am employed by is named *Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi*, which means 'the house of learning of *Awanuiarangi*'. *Awanuiarangi* is the eponymous ancestor of the region where the *wananga* is located (Whakatane, Eastern Bay of Plenty) and after whom the local 'iwi (tribe) *Ngati Awa* (which is short for *Awanuiarangi*) is named.

Like many staff at *Awanuiarangi*, I am university trained, that is my degrees have been gained from one of the traditional universities, my research and publications have been measured, weighed and ranked according to the University standards, and I have taught extensively at both graduate and undergraduate level. At Massey University where I was last employed, I chaired the Graduate Committee of the College of Education and I was a member of that University Academic Board. It is here that I stand in a position of holding recognised University qualifications and experiences, but of working in an institution perceived of being somewhat 'primitive by nature'. When I accepted my position at the *wananga* in January of 2003 many of my University colleagues voiced concerns that I was committing academic suicide. Others suggested I was going 'native', because the perception is that the traditional universities

are the only true institutions for academic rigour and excellence, and a *Wananga* is not. And yet the traditional *wananga* that existed in New Zealand prior to colonisation were the highest places of learning, where the teaching of information was subjected to exceptionally rigorous and demanding process accessed by 'experts' and 'superior families - and that was said by a British anthropologist in the early 1920s (Best, 1923). They were also the only higher educational institutions in early colonial New Zealand for several decades.

The programmes, teaching philosophies, information, cultural actions of that institution are taught and learnt from holistic positions that give prominence to collective and shared experiences of the indigenous people, Maori. Working and living in this environment has changed the way that I think about learning and teaching as students and fellow colleagues push me to consider other pathways, other journeys and other points of view that a traditional University training very nearly completely trained out of me. To illustrate these last points, I draw from a recent experience that clearly indicates some of the challenges and issues that I face by being 'traditionally academically trained', and working in an environment that at times pays no heed to those skills at all. I am a member of a funding panel attached to one of the traditional universities. At a recent meeting we were asked to consider what we thought knowledge transfer was, as a means to devise criteria for allocating money according to said criteria. My esteemed colleagues from the university contexts spoke of things like publications, research findings and reports, seminars, conferences, teaching and other such university activities, which related specifically to the teacher or lecturer imparting knowledge to the audience or students. I gave an example of a multiple knowledge transfer system, which involved an undergraduate class, their university trained lecturers, members of the community and their families.

The class was a group of students from the Bachelor of Environmental Studies degree who were on a field trip to collect samples for testing the pollutant levels in one of the local streams. For all intents and purposes, they looked like any other undergraduate students except for one important fact: they were accompanied by a group of elders. These elders spoke about the relevance of that stream in terms of its genealogy to other waterways in the area, and students were also given an insight into the functions of that stream in terms of its importance for providing food and entertainment for the local community. The elders on the other hand, observed the scientific methods for gathering and testing water samples, which only reinforced for them what they already knew - the stream was polluted. They knew this from the numbers of dead

fish, the diminishing of other food sources (i.e. some traditional foods were no longer available in the stream) and the sickness of the wildlife who fed from it.

The fact is that when I first asked the question about knowledge transfer, I would have volunteered the same information as my esteemed colleagues, but my involvement with the *Wananga* has influenced the ways in which I think about a whole range of things I have previously taken for granted. The multiple knowledge transfer situation to which I was referring was one of local community knowledge, traditional Maori knowledge and scientific knowledge being equally shared and distributed by all participants on that field trip. Each group learnt about the others' methods of arriving at the same conclusion - that the stream was polluted - but from different reference points and knowledge basis. While the students were privileged to be exposed to information that went far beyond their scientific lesson about pollution and waterways, I know that the University scientific knowledge base would be given the credibility for proof. The local traditional and Maori knowledge would be given the burden to 'prove it', and not seen as credible proof anyway.

While universities have traditionally acted as centres for the 'creation of knowledge', they have also been responsible for the creation of knowledge hierarchies. Maori were not involved in the research processes except as members of the studied group. As Ranginui Walker (1985) so aptly stated, what has happened in terms of research is that Maori became the "...happy hunting ground of academics as neophytes cut their research teeth on the hapless Maori...[B]eing marginal to the social mainstream, Maori were not in a position to challenge the findings of published research let alone the esoteric findings of academic elites (p. 231). While the situations outlined by Walker (1985) have changed somewhat, there have been significant consequences and implications for Maori generated by decades of contributing to a knowledge archive as the researched subject. Historically then, universities have enjoyed positions of elitism, as their academics and researchers ran rampant through Maori communities, selecting certain information, critiquing and analysing, writing about Maori from their own world-views and perspectives.

However, the recent arrival of Maori academics in traditional university contexts and the development of indigenous tertiary institutions in New Zealand has signalled a clear challenge to academic communities that the socially constructed hierarchical knowledge categorisation and belief systems that reside within University contexts, can no longer be taken for granted as being the only knowledge systems that exist. The very idea about knowledge, ethics, morality

and processes associated with information collection, the ways in which knowledge is transmitted, presented and represented, and even 'what counts as knowledge' are all processes that are currently being contested and struggled over.

Programmes within the *wananga* adopt holistic approaches to teaching and learning, which includes support systems for Maori students based on cultural imperatives. These approaches can differ from programme to programme but incorporate several key elements. At *Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi* for example, there are a number of certificate, diploma, undergraduate and graduate programmes. For all intents and purposes, the programmes might look from the outside like any other programme offered by tertiary institutions but there are some major differences especially in the content of the material and the mechanisms for delivery. The former content draws from a knowledge base that is distinctly Maori and uses that base to critique, describe, review and analyse both Maori and non-Maori knowledge. Students engage with western concepts, theorists and their ideas, because our belief is not only for our students to have excellence and be familiar with Maori 'world-views', but for excellence per se.

Some of the content is delivered through the medium of Maori language, which may not seem unusual in an international context but quite unique for a country like New Zealand, which had education policies aimed at colonising Maori through the eradication of Maori language and culture (Simon, 1990). The material can also be delivered in a style and framework that draws from experiences and structures recognised as distinctly Maori. For example, the relationship between teacher and learner is epitomised in the Maori language by one word - *Ako*, which means both to learn and to teach. If we add prefixes to *ako* we can produce *pouako* and *kaiako*, translated as 'teachers'. If we add suffixes we can produce *akonga* (student) or *akomanga* (classroom) to delineate between the positions of learning and teaching however, the importance of *ako* goes beyond mere literary differences. *Ako* recognises that the learner and the teacher can be one in the same. The ability to be able to recognise who assumes what role requires as Patricia Williams (1991) indicates, a 'master-key' or as Bernstein (1990) states, a 'code' that enables students to decipher and act accordingly in any given situation. *Ako* is a code that contains an accumulation of beliefs that "represent underlying principles which regulate how we make sense" of any given situation (Mead, 1996, p. 88). *Ako* is context-specific and defines which position (learner or teacher) becomes prominent for individuals. *Ako* also allows for the role of teacher to be shared according to the task being undertaken, further recognising that some students have

expertise in areas that relegates the teacher or lecturer to the position of learner.

One programme at the *Wananga*, which has a holistic approach to teaching and learning, is the Graduate programme. This programme (like others) brings students together at designated times throughout the year to engage in study, seminars, workshops, teaching and learning. The theoretical core of that programme is based on Maori knowledge, pedagogy and philosophy as a central tenet for developing and supporting Maori students. The key to this model is creation of an environment that is conducive to their learning needs as represented by the following model:

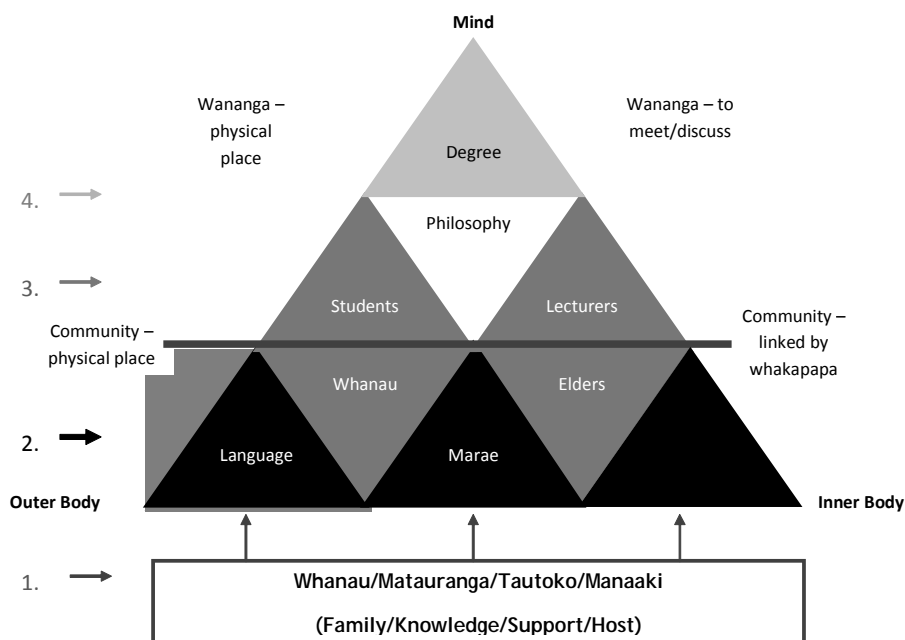


Figure 1: Holistic Approach to Teaching and Learning

The three corners of the triangle represent the intersections of mind (intellectual dimension), outer body (physical dimension) and inner body (spiritual dimension) (Pere, 1991), which are crucial to developing and sustaining a balanced environment for students (Johnston, 2002).

Part one of the model represents the philosophies that underpin the programme. This philosophy embraces Maori concepts of support and nurturing. For example, students actively share information and aid each other throughout their studies.

The expectation is that they will support each other, particularly through times of difficulty and stress. This support can also be generated by their families and communities who may aid in other ways like child-caring, transcribing of notes/interviews etc. The support network is one of the most dynamic and important facets of the model.

Part two represents the actual learning environment of the *marae*, a complex of buildings and ceremonial areas that Rose Pere (1991) describes as the central meeting place for the community (p.46). This is a place where students come together for their '*noho marae*' (staying at a marae). While the *marae* space is an ideal place for teaching and learning, at another level it gives students the opportunity to distance themselves away from potentially hostile contexts as a means to strategise, plan and learn. It is a space that also enables students to discuss and contest knowledge and ideas in the relative safety of things Maori. Students who are not strong in their language and culture are not disadvantaged in this context as those who have the experience move alongside to support them by either advising or showing them what to do, or through other activities like translating conversations from Maori into English.

Part three of the model represents the local community. This community is made up of elders, parents and families associated with the *marae* complex, and can also include local people in the area. The holistic approach to learning and teaching in this model relies on the inclusion of the communities, who bring a wealth of knowledge to the block courses, and who at times can take on the roles of both teachers.

Part four of the model is the *kaupapa* and the degree which students are striving for. The *kaupapa* is the philosophy, not of the programme but of individuals and their own personal growth. Students can't help but grow in this environment because the *marae* enables a healing process. It gives a 'breathing-space' to re-group, to re-read, re-think and re-connect to places, people and life-ways that colonisation has disrupted. It also enables us the luxury to critique, review and for some to decolonise in the safety of a breathing space where colonisers are absent.

In this space, students are often invited to assume a position of authority and are called upon to do things like introduce visiting lecturers and also thank them. They do so without fuss and without disagreement, with some even taking the lead to initiate these responses without being asked or indicated to do so. They will often direct the rest of the class to respond in appropriate

cultural ways and lecturers become just another class member. Students also learn about humility, to allow others the opportunity to speak and put forward their points of view, to have respect for each others opinions, even if they don't agree with them. Given the mix of students in terms of their *iwi* (tribal) affiliations, *hapu* (sub-tribal) affiliations, religious beliefs, etc., this is an exceptionally large undertaking because the historical actions of their *iwi* or *hapu* can place them in direct conflicts or disagreement with each other. They ultimately learn to navigate those pathways with diplomacy and tact. It is also manageable as the ground rules of 'how they are to interact with each other', is clearly spelt out at the beginning of the programme. They learn about accountability in terms of the knowledge they gain, just as they learn about reciprocity - giving and taking - a two-way process. Students are also quite clear about why they are involved in the programme - for the qualification of a degree. At Masters level, they are also exposed to ideas and made familiar to the expectation that some will go on to complete PhD's, just as they learn that their engagement with the programme means that they will use their degrees to further the needs of their own communities.

Lastly, the model is the *Wananga* and community terms which represent both tangible and intangible facets. For example, the tangible relates to the physical representations of both - by homes, regions, buildings etc., i.e. the 'seen'. The intangible aspect of the term *Wananga* is defined through its definition as a forum for discussions, dialogue and meetings. The intangible aspect of the community is defined by either genealogical links or as a community of interests. Both the physical and intangible aspects of *wananga* and community operate concurrently with each other, to bring about balance.

The impact of colonisation has been such, that University knowledge is perceived by many Maori to be unobtainable because it was mystified being in 'ivory towers', and Maori saw themselves as not worthy. In University contexts, knowledge is available if one knows how to find it, access it, and interpret it, the latter resulting in the allocation of grades based on an assessment process, which in itself validates knowledge hierarchies.

The irony is that, at the *marae* the students are exposed to the wisdom of elders who collectively had access to knowledge that is equally mystifying, restricted and obtainable only through holding master-key codes. But what the *marae* does, is to bring those knowledge bases straight into the Graduate programme, in a form that was not alien but familiar, which seeks to empower, not disempower, because at the crux of the graduate programme is a belief that 'shared knowledge' leads to 'shared power'.

6. Conclusions

The engagement of Maori in educational settings has certainly changed education for Maori. The creation of our own educational institutions, the content within curriculum and our degree programmes, the rigour of our students who engage not only with Maori forms of knowledge but Western as well, is changing the shape of the education system. Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony enables some understanding of how and why this has happened.

Hegemony has operated to subvert Maori knowledge and our attempts at autonomy, because the supremacy of the dominant group manifests itself in two ways; the first is as domination and the second is as intellectual and moral leadership (Darder, 1991). In the first instance, hegemony occurs when the dominant group establishes their world-view as 'universal'. This situation has certainly been the case within the education system, as the dominant culture reflected in Universities have established themselves as the norm against which every other tertiary institution is compared.

In the second instance of intellectual and moral leadership, universities have gained the upper hand of being the purveyors and surveyors of knowledge to such an extent, that 'what counts as knowledge' is driven by and controlled within university contexts. However, institutions like the *wananga* challenge those assumptions through their existence, activities and engagement in academic contexts. The process underlines at one level the significant role of the organic intellectuals, the thinking and organizing element of a particular ethnic group who can be distinguished by their role in the development of the consciousness of their own. This is a war currently being waged in the education system, one that Gramsci refers to as a revolution of the mind (Darder, 1991), a revolution that entails 'decolonising' our own, reclaiming our space, 'talking back/writing back (researching/educating back)'. That revolution is not about the creation of separate educational initiatives, but rather that Maori took control over their own destinies and futures.⁵⁵

At another level, institutions like the *wananga* are moving to 'disrupt dominant head-space' (Johnston, 2002) - the move to logically, theoretically (and thus practically) re-read and re-think existing teaching, pedagogic and learning practices in a range of establishments including universities. While we challenge other academic contexts, we are also instigating within our own institutions, learning and teaching contexts that are uniquely Maori. That is they draw from Maori experiences, knowledge and culture to create an environment which both recognises Maori students and endorses their knowledge as legitimate and valid.

Endnotes

1. The name Maori is a generic terms applied to all the indigenous groups in Aotearoa. In Maori context, Maori refer to themselves in terms of their own iwi (tribal) or hapu (sub-tribe).
2. *The decline of the Maori population was related to a number of circumstances that included the introduction of the musket, European diseases that Maori had no immunity to, the land wars of the 1860s and the destabilisation of Maori traditional, economic and political systems leading to a breakdown in Maori social systems. Bedford and Pool (1985) note for example, that the "Maori population experienced a substantial decrease in numbers in the nineteenth century from perhaps 150,000 in 1769, when Captain Cook explored the coasts of New Zealand to around 42,000 in 1896...Over the 70 years between 1770 and 1840 the rate of population decline is estimated to have been between 0.5 per cent and 1 per cent per annum rising to around 1.6 per cent per annum between 1840 and 1857/58 during which period there were several severe epidemics. From the late 1850s to the early 1870s (the period spanning the Land Wars), decline continued at a rate of around 1.4 per cent per annum". (p.4)*
3. Within the New Zealand context, the settlers were referred to as Pakeha, When reference to Maori is made in this paper, it is in relationship to Pakeha.
4. The term Pakeha is a generic term applied initially to British settlers but is used contemporarily to refer to the dominant group in New Zealand.
5. *Spoonley, p.2 .*
6. *Refer to Gould, ibid.*
7. *Wetherell M. and J. Potter p.124.*
8. *Refer also to Hall, S. (1992b) op cit. for a discussion on perceptions about the 'differences' within the general label of 'savage'.*
9. *Spoonley, p.9.*
10. *Hall, (1992b) p.298.*
11. *Ibid, p.298.*
12. *See for example, West, C. (1992) 'The New Cultural Politics of Difference' in S. During, (Ed) The Cultural Studies Reader London: Routledge; Hall, S. (1992) 'New Ethnicities' in J. Donald, and A. Rattansi (Eds) 'Race', Culture and Difference Milton Keynes: Sage Pub in association with the Open University.*

13. *West, (1992) op cit.*
14. *Hall, (1992) p.257.*
15. Ngaiterangi and Ngati Pikiāo are the names of my tribes.
16. *Brah, A. (1992)'Difference, Diversity and Differentiation'* in Donald, J. and A. Rattansi (Eds)'Race', Culture and Difference England: Sage Publications in association with the Open University pp.126-145.
17. *Hall, S. (1992a) The Question of Cultural Identity* in Hall, S. Held, D. and T. McGrew (Eds) Modernity and its Future Great Britain: Polity Press in Association with the Open University pp.276-331.
18. *Barrett, M. (1987) The Concept of Difference in Feminist Review* No 26 (Summer) pp.29-41.
19. *Brah, p.141.*
20. *The meanings associated with difference here is in relation to loss of land, religious orders, impact of schooling, land wars, as well as inter-tribal skirmishes etc.*
21. The term whakapapa is often translated as genealogy.
22. *Burbules, and Rice, (1991) op cit. p.401.*
23. *For a more detailed analysis of celebrating difference, refer to Chapter Five on Multiculturalism.*
24. *Brah, p.141.*
25. *See for example Smith, P. (1898) Hawaiki : The Whence of the Maori; with sketch of Polynesian History; Being an Introduction to the Native History of Rarotonga* Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs; (1904) *Hawaiki: the Original Home of the Maori; With a Sketch of Polynesian History* 2nd Edition Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd.
26. *See for example Best, E. (1924) The Maori as He Was: A Brief Account of Maori Life As It Was In Pre-European Days* Wellington: Dominion Museum; (1924a) *The Maori* Wellington: Tombs.
27. *New Zealand history is taken as occurring after discovery of this land by explorers like Abel Tasman and Captain James Cook. (Refer also to next footnote).*
28. *Linda Mead (Smith) critiques the notion of history, by examining nine general beliefs which she identifies historical 'thoughts' are organised around. One of these relates to discovery. She states that 'In terms of history this [beginnings] was often attached to concepts of discovery,*

the development of literacy, of the development of a specific social formation. Everything before that time is designated as pre-historical, belonging to the realm of myths and legends'. (See Mead, (1996) op cit. p.38).

29. *See for example, Buck, P. (1950) The Coming of the Maori* Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd.
30. *Refer to Simmons, D. (1976) The Great New Zealand Myth: A Study of the Discovery and Origin Traditions of the Maori.* Wellington: Reed.
31. *Once again, refer to Simmons who challenges the accepted anthropological representations of Maori arrival on several waka.*
32. When land was returned to iwi 'loyal to the Crown', the returned land did not necessarily belong to the iwi, to which it was returned.
33. *Grosz, p.31.*
34. *Brah, p.142.*
35. *Grosz, p.31.*
36. *Hall, (1992a) p.275.*
37. *Harawira, M. (1993) Maori: Who Owns the Definition in Te Pua Vol 2/1 and 2* A Journal Published by Te Puawaitanga, Te Whare Waananga o Tamaki Makaurau. pp.27-34.
38. *Ibid, p27.*
39. *Hall, S. (1991) 'Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities' in S. King, (Ed) Culture Globalization and the World System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity.* London: Macmillan Education Ltd, as cited in Peters, M.(1992) Radical Democracy, The Politics of Difference and Education. Unpublished Paper, University of Canterbury, New Zealand p.22.
40. Hall, (1992a) pp.276-277
41. *Douglas, E. (1991) 'Maori Language Nests (Kohanga Reo) - Their Impact on New Zealand Communities' Journal of Indigenous Studies Vol.3/1 pp.13-31 p. 28.*
42. *Benton, R. (1978) The Sociolinguistic Survey of Language Use in Maori Households* Wellington: NZCER.
43. *Ibid, p.28.*

44. *Ibid*, p.7.
45. Ka'ai, T. (1990) Te Hiringa Taketake: Mai i te Kohanga Reo ki te Kura. Maori Pedagogy: Te Kohanga Reo and the Transition to School. Unpublished M.Phil, Education, University of Auckland.
46. *Hohepa*, op cit.
47. Douglas, E. and R. Douglas (1984) 'Nga Kohanga Reo - A Salvage Programme for the Maori Language'. Paper presented to the Maori Educational Development Conference 'Nga Tumanako', Turangawaewae Marae 23rd - 25th March.
48. Pihama, op cit.
49. *Ibid*, p.82.
50. *Pihama's* analysis has shown that this consideration is still ongoing.
51. *Pihama*, p.83.
52. *Douglas & Douglas*, p.37.
53. *Pihama*, p.83.
54. *Smith G.* (1991) p.21.
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