

HE PUTANGA KE NO TE AO PAKEHA TE AWE
KAHA ME TE URUPARE A TE WHANAU:
PAKEHA CULTURAL HEGEMONY
AND THE MAORI RESPONSE.

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HE PUTANGA KE NO TE AO PAKEHA TE AWE
KAHA ME TE URUPARE A TE WHANAU
A paper on the impact of organised domination, the response of the Ngati
Piritai whanau in
seeking literacy, greater social mobility, and equity outcomes. This
presentation examines
a cross cultural methodology used in a research on a thesis 'He koha kei
roto: He utu kei
waho' submitted to the Auckland University for a Master of Education
degree.
Rarawa Kohere. 18 November 1992.

PREAMBLE

The opening tauparapara or incantation of the thesis exhorts the reader to
follow the example
of the ancient Maori ancestor Tane-nui-a-rangi, who ascended to the 12th
heaven to collect
the three baskets of knowledge and understanding from the whare wananga
[House of
Learning] of Io Matua-Kore, the parentless god, for the well being of his
people.

ABSTRACT

This paper will outline the critical path taken in the thesis to fulfil its
premise and in keeping
with the task set for it will illustrate the interdependency of the two
tenets: 'He koha kei
roto' [Maori cultural capital - a birthright - a socially constructed and
valid world view.] and
'He utu kei waho' [The Maori transformative principle used to address the

need for
reconciliation].

HE HUARAHĪ A TE PONO ME TE TĪKA: A CRITICAL PATHWAY

As each aspect of this paper is introduced I will illustrate by taking each of the tenets in turn

to highlight the particular focus, orientation, or perspective to be highlighted.

'He Koha kei roto' as Maori cultural capital will be highlighted and explanations will be

made from the communal or collective view of the Ngati Piritai whanau.

This will be

followed by outlining - 'He Utu kei waho' - as a response indicating measures taken to

achieve success in accordance with its transformative principle of reconciliation.

1. The starting point of the research is with the abstract, acknowledgments, and an outline of a contents structure.

The critical path for Ngati Piritai begins and ends with the notion of 'Tino Rangatiranga',

while the rationale is that they have prior rights - both as an indigenous people and as

inheritors of an ancestor who signed the Treaty of Waitangi - entitling them to self-

determination. The response ['He utu kei waho' tenet] is that Ngati Piritai therefore have the

right to free themselves from domination by resorting to any means recognised by the

international community.

The research methodology therefore has been to utilise a variety of strategies to validate and

enhance both the rationale and the response as the thesis critical path is followed.

2. A powhiri [ceremonial welcome] 'Te Mata Kupu - The First Words' is also an

acknowledgment. It is an acknowledgment of the spiritual nature of the research task. In this

the critical pathway must outline the considerations of:

a. Pou whakaritenga [or executive summary]

b. Whakatakina [or introduction]

c. Nga ngarahu whakawa [or research design considerations]

d. Whakahaerenga [or operations].

The rationale begins here with the thesis premise advocating the 'proactive assumption of power'. The Ngati Piritai whanau see the accomplishment of this as being centered around their land, their people, their language, their tikanga [customs], and the literacy that they feel they need. Their response over six generations has been to endeavour to 'open up significant space in the structural ordering of society' in enabling them to access the literacy they feel they need. Since the thesis accepts the Macuse critique that we begin from an essentially 'unfree world', the research methodology ethic has been to focus on establishing the evidence to substantiate the validity of both the rationale and the response. The foundation of the thesis rationale is to point to the continuum of Te Ao Maori preceding Te Ao Pakeha; the arrival of the Pakeha, and then to contrast where possible the contradictions in the productive systems of both cultures. The nature of the theoretical terrain is covered by starting with an examination of individual and collective mana [the identity focus at different levels which may be derived from a particular epistemology] encapsulated in their world view. This is to be developed by actively utilising Utu as a transformative principle of reconciliation to successfully mediate in Ngati Piritai's interests. The research methodology endeavours to show later whether or not this has been done and if so how. An operational approach to emancipation centred on the retention and active protection of mana is advocated.

3. One of the initial tasks addressed in the thesis is to research Maori and Ngati Piritai epistemology. The critical pathway here being to preface epistemology and provide a theoretical perspective. The research further examines the components of both the tenets 'He

Koha kei roto' [Ngati Piritai cultural capital] and 'He utu kei waho' [Reconciliation] in detail. Given the relations of dominant Pakeha and subordinate Maori, and by association Ngati Piritai, there is certainly a recognised need to respond to the necessity for such a thesis. The immediate task at this stage was to establish the theoretical foundation of the thesis and

to point to further tasks in exploring Ngati Piritai development over six generations of contact

with Pakeha. Along with that task reconciliation [utu] has been incorporated as a 'necessary reconciliative planning consideration', since it will be needed to:

- * 'understand the world'
- * 'ask whose interests are being favoured here?'
- * 'save the worlds problems'.

In addition to the examination of Maori ancestral role models the methodology for this research was to also examine the perspectives of key critical theorists in helping to illuminate the planning foundations for the thesis.

At an early stage key outputs were sought in clearly identifying the essential considerations

of:

A. 'He Koha kei roto' as Maori cultural capital - a birthright - a socially constructed and valid world view, and certainly to focus on Ngati Piritai cosmological origins.

'From the very first creation down to the creation of man, each creation exists in its own period, growing up in their own time, increasing in their periods, living in their own periods, each conceived after their own manner and time, of whatsoever nature; each had its own time of conception, or sprouting. We now understand that this was the nature of all things, and, each thing has its female [counterpart] through which it conceives. All things are named [created] by god - of the worlds, in the heavens, the planes, and the water, each has its own function, even the smallest atom, such as grains of dust, or pebbles, have their place - to hold the boundaries of the ocean or the waters.

The earth has its own form of life, as has the water, fire, trees, rocks; all plants of every description have their own particular life. The air, the sun, the moon, the stars, have their own form of life. Whatever there is in this world, or in the Rangi-tu-haha, all have the same [ie their own special form and life].

Everything as has been mentioned has a spirit [wairua, spirit, soul] of its own similar to itself, each one has a spirit.'

B. 'He utu kei waho' as the Maori transformative principle used to address

the need for reconciliation. Such outputs were seen as necessary in addressing the problem in which there is a need to reconcile 'doing the Maori thing' with 'doing the Pakeha thing'. Utu as a principle in the context of today's understanding seems to have been locked into a time warp where it is associated within the context of a pre-European Maori warfare notion of revenge. Utu can achieve reconciliation in other certain specific ways, such as in for example, economic mediation.

C. 'Nga Pou tikanga' being the protocol determinants used in this thesis in which:

[a] MANA: is the identity focus at different levels which may be derived from an epistemological world view. Within this framework there are three aspects to the notion of Mana as derived in this thesis:

[i] 'MANA ATUA' - is a derivation from the ancestors which informs on a traditional Maori world view

[ii] 'MANA TANGATA' - is a derivation from the everyday interaction of Maori in varying contexts

[iii] 'MANA WHENUA' - is a derivation identifying the relationship between Maori and their land. [Papatuanuku; Turangawaewae]

D. Tapu: Used in this thesis to accommodate restraints and constraints in moving from one context to another - as in the tensions of determinism versus structuralism.

E. Take: The cause or rationale behind taking on a project or enterprise: eg to establish the 'validity of knowledge', to understand the nature of 'cultural reproduction', and to reconcile 'power relations' between Maori and Pakeha.

F. Kaupapa: The provision of a plan, or a scheme of operations.

The concluding task for the third stage was to develop a policy with which to research

available data and to reinforce and maintain the behavioural principles needed to support the

premise for this thesis. The Basil Bernstein quote:

"How a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the

educational knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution

of power and the principles of social control" Basil Bernstein [1977]

On the Classification and

Framing of educational Knowledge.

has served as a valuable reference point. As an inheritance from the Frankfurt School based

on historical analysis and a philosophical framework, a critical theory perspective has been

used to orientate this thesis policy. The several unifying principles brought together to make up this policy orientation:

- attempt to uncover and disclose hidden interests of individuals and groups
- question the relationships between economic factors and societal institutions
- are emancipatory
- insist on the indivisibility of theory and practice
- posit the relative autonomy of education and the potential to change.

In adopting these principles as an orientation for policy, the writings of selected critical theorists have been utilised in the analysis of the effects of Pakeha colonisation on Ngati Piritai over the last 150 years. This has included views of the role played by the State, culture, and power relationships as the two differing systems of production have become enmeshed, each with the other.

4. 'Te Wiwi Nati, He Nati, He Whanoke' is a phrase clearly identifying the next research task in which the critical path of establishing who the Ngati Piritai are, that is to say their genealogical origins, descent and kinship factors, genealogical factors [Hapu or sub-tribal focus], descent groups [whanau focus]; and social organisation factors. The rationale for 'He koha kei roto' here is to not only provide evidence of problem resolution in respect of the requirements of the research task but also to respond by indicating the utilisation of utu in analysing correct and sufficient data. This aspect of the thesis proved to be a particularly sensitive requirement for me. Should I divulge for the record, knowledge which our whanau regards as most precious? If it were seen as being absolutely necessary to the thesis completion, how should it be done? Inevitably there have been trade offs - urban drift and the fragmentational effects of government policies on Maori have meant that whanau are in a situation now of being isolated from their 'whanau-keepers of knowledge.' What then would be the effects of this knowledge loss if and when it would no longer be

available to them?

In keeping with the intent of this thesis and in regard to Ngati Piritai
'access to literacy'

information relating particularly to them has therefore been included. The
second question

for me was that in completing this research was to determine how such
information could be

presented in ways that would not cut across the rights of other Ngati Porou
whanau, hapu,
or in fact the tribe itself.

5. Along with the identity indices determining Ngati Piritai epistemology
'Turangawaewae'

[a place to place ones feet; a common hearth] as a key aspect of Ngati
Piritai existence

enabled a critical path to be taken in which the geophysical foundation of
the Ngati Piritai

and their setting was outlined. This involved the further examination of
the concept of

'ahikaroa' or 'The long burning flame of occupation', Within this notion, a
look at the

specific details of hereditary tenure, and the contrast of perspectives in
the notions of

'trusteeship' [a Maori perspective] versus 'ownership' [the Pakeha
perspective] was addressed.

The rationale here being the focus on how trusteeship and ownership play a
crucial role in

determining the nature of 'cultural reproduction'. The reconciliative
[utu] response to that

rationale has been the perception that in common with the earlier
developments, the focus for

utu has been on the necessity to provide the evidence reinforcing the
legitimation of a Ngati

Piritai epistemology in this regard. It has been from such an inheritance
that the foundations

have been laid to enable Ngati Piritai to have the power to intervene and
reconcile the

contradictions that impact on the 'cultural reproduction' processes
affecting their collective

well being.

6. An ancestral canoe 'Te Ruru-a-Tarapikau' [an important ancestral icon]
introduces the

theme of 'power relations' in which a critical pathway is taken in
highlighting significant sites

of struggle in Ngati Piritai history. Broadly this includes:

* Tane-nui-a-rangi - as the ancestor of all Maori - and the ascension up
to the 12th heaven

to obtain the 3 baskets of knowledge

* Tuwhakairiora - as the Ngati Porou ancestor responsible for avenging the death of his grandfather Poroumata, at the hands of the Ngati Ruanuku tribe, and for establishing the confederation of tribes now known as Ngati Porou. He is the ancestral figure of the hapu [sub-tribe] Te Whanau a Tuwhakairiora, to which the Ngati Piritai Whanau is affiliated to.

* Mokena Kohere who is the founding ancestor of the Ngati Piritai whanau. This has provided the research opportunity to analyse some of the reconciliative factors that have affected power relations in those contexts. The rationale for 'He koha kei roto' in relation to this pathway required outlining and scoping; structure and socialisation; since it centres on the social location of Ngati Piritai today as a result of their preceding history. The reconciliative response to that has been to develop the notion of utu in the context of sites of struggle. It explores further the importance of creating options as a strategy for reconciling the context of dominant Pakeha and subordinate Maori relations.

7. 'Mauria to moni, naku tonu taku riri, ehara i a koe, i te Pakeha' is a statement of independence by Mokena Kohere in resisting the efforts of the British first to confiscate, and then to persuade the Ngati Porou to part with their lands by offering Mokena a large sum of money. On reaching this point the critical pathway taken here has been to illuminate Christianity and Legislation as Trojan Horse structures as the foundation of the Pakeha strategy in their reconciliation of dominant Maori subordinate Pakeha relations. As with previous developments the rationale for 'He koha kei roto' in relation to this pathway requires outlining and scoping, structure and socialisation analysis, and it also centres on Ngati Piritai's social location. The reconciliative response to that has been to develop the notion of utu in the context of the socio-economic struggles of the times, and the effects of Native Land Court decisions in which 'occupation' versus 'take'[inheritance] are focused on as sites of struggle. Ngati Piritai lost large tracts of land basing their case on 'occupation' rather than 'take' [ancestral inheritance - evidence of opposition living on lands other than the lands

claimed]. The importance of creating options as a strategy for reconciling the context of dominant Pakeha and subordinate Maori relations is explored further, as 40 years of Native Land Court litigation proceeded.

8. 'Tikina nga kete e toru hei oranga mo te iwi' as a reference highlights access to the literacy that is needed for the wellbeing of the whanau [extended family]. The critical pathway taken by this research has led on to examine the 'New Zealand Educational paradigm and some factors in cultural reproduction' in which the establishment of schools, the determining of the curriculum, knowledge control, and education and schooling are seen to be sites of contestation and struggle. These factors conclude the thematic development of 'power relations' for this research. The rationale for 'He koha kei roto' in relation to this pathway requires further outlining and scoping, structure and socialisation, and again centres on the social location of the Ngati Piritai. The reconciliative response again has been to develop the notion of utu in the context of education and schooling as sites of struggle. It explores further the importance of creating options as a strategy for reconciliation in the context of dominant Pakeha and subordinate Maori relations.

9. 'He kai kei aku ringa - there's plenty with my hands' is a self explanatory phrase, and introduces the next stage of research involving relevant development on Ngati Piritai lands. The critical pathway taken is to examine further, 'not only educational and vocational paradigm factors in cultural reproduction', but also to develop the significance of 'whanau operations' itself and its influence on 'cultural reproduction'. The rationale here simply focuses a process and outcomes focus' in terms of schools creating work options for men and women, and then, in looking first hand at a Ngati Piritai situation of Maori control over Maori matters. This is done by a microscopic focus on whanau operations at Rangiatata, on the East Coast of New Zealand's North Island. The reconciliative response to that rationale is to view

utu as being also an `outcomes based principle in which looking at schools as positive and negative sites of cultural reproduction, we are able to see more clearly the conflict in reproducing `Taylorism' [scientific management systems theory], and `Tino Rangatiratanga'[self determination].

10. `He putanga ke no te ao Pakeha: te awe kaha me te urupare a te whanau: Pakeha cultural hegemony and the Maori response' now places in perspective the title of this paper. The critical pathway for this is to examine social mobility, cultural capital, equity outcomes, and to analyse specific factors which determine literacy outcomes. The rationale now, is to deal with the nature of marginalisation, the nature of the enterprise [Ngati Piritai access to literacy], change and transition, strategies for accessing literacy, and any evidence of problem resolution. The reconciliative response to that being to develop utu as intervention, as critical analysis, and as the very act of securing and maintaining access to literacy itself.

11. `Tawakewake' [as another whanau icon referring to a particular taniko pattern which bordered a cloak of our ancestor Mokena Kohere, and signifies having the power to mediate on behalf of the people] is the concluding stage of the research critical pathway taken and is used to analyse, interpret, and summarise what has been achieved. The rationale has been to establish `He koha kei roto' as a legitimate and valid epistemology and philosophy, and that `he utu kei waho' as a critical theory grounded in tikanga [culture] Maori is an appropriate principle to use in reconciling Pakeha efforts to establish hegemony over Maori and to enhance Ngati Piritai heritage. In response to that rationale the research:

- * has developed assumptions about `cultural reproduction
- * has adopted an investigative perspective based on a `projects approach'
- * makes reference to some determinative considerations in relation to productive systems and market forces. It examines further a perspective on how and what has been negotiated; it details the nature of what has been the Ngati Piritai experience over six generations of Pakeha contact; and lastly it relates reconciliation with the effects of ideology. In summary the thesis premise has been endorsed in highlighting the importance of the Ngati Piritai `whanau

collective' as a necessary foundation in the exercise of Maori access to literacy. In this, Ngati Piritai must then utilise utu as a principle grounded in tikanga Maori - land, language, identity, customs etc. as the essential ingredient needed to ensure Ngati Piritai success in reconciling Pakeha hegemony and in enabling an access to literacy which enables their lives to be enhanced and enriched.