Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.
HE MARAMARA Mō TE AHI:

EXPLORING THE POSSIBILITIES FOR

TREATY PARTNERSHIPS

A thesis presented in
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Sociology

at Massey University, Albany,
New Zealand.

Helen Marie Potter

2003
ABSTRACT

The thesis takes as its starting point, the aspiration of Māori to be self-determining and to have this authority recognised and engaged in Treaty partnerships with the Crown in its own evolving terms. This prospect is examined in relation to the tertiary education environment, with a particular focus on the possibilities that kaupapa Māori spaces and structures presently being developed at various universities offer to advancing just forms of Treaty partnership. Its methodological journey to posit how Treaty partnerships might be conceived of and made possible draws on concepts from kaupapa Māori theory, supported by deconstructive insights as both seek to question and transform totalising colonial bicultural identities and discourses of sovereignty. Current political and legal bicultural arrangements are examined and critiqued as inadequate vehicles through which partnership might be advanced as they do not sufficiently question the sovereign position of the state. Significantly, this failure allows a reconsideration of the very meaning of partnership, bringing forth the possibility of recognition being given to both authoritative partners to Te Tiriti o Waitangi/The Treaty of Waitangi, Māori and the Crown. Through the lines of critical questioning, consideration is given to the structural arrangements, relational resources and ethical principles that might rejuvenate the notion of partnership. Central to the thesis is the notion that Treaty partnerships become possible by and through each partner recognising and engaging with the limits of their own authority to determine the nature and terms of partnership.
HE MIHI

"Ka rere ana te wai o te awa
ki roto i te moana, ka ngaro"

The fresh river waters that run into the ocean become lost in its vastness

Te Aramau Lake

This whakataukī provides a rich metaphorical reservoir through which to consider Māori identity in relation to the bicultural or global identities that neo-liberal discourses seek to prescribe. Perhaps the most immediate interpretation is that of a warning, that to accept the identities offered by and through neo-liberal discourses is to become disconnected and lost. The implicit reminder for Māori, through this whakataukī, is that identity remains in relation to the environment from which we originate – an identity that continues through a perpetual returning. Relationships with cultural Others do not then presume the transcendence of a Māori identity. Indeed, rivers sustain and are sustained by a network of whakapapa relationships between ngā atua, whenua and tangata whenua, a network that provides them with an eco-system which is both separate to and connected with the ocean. Thus a relationship with the ocean does not, and cannot, define the totality of a river as the ocean is not the only source of water supply nor is it the only destination of a river. Instead, tidal movements set up a symbiotic relationship wherein the identity of each remains. Narrated in and through such metaphorical whakataukī, traditional sources of Māori knowledge understand identity as both enduring and open, where whakapapa connections between the spiritual realms, people and the environment, always-already defy explanation in and through rationalistic Western-derived discourses.

Colonisation has seen a massive and unabated attack on Māori forms of identity. While the genocidal practices and fantasies of the nineteenth century are imagined as residing in the far recesses of the historical past, forgotten through celebrating the ‘birth of a
nation’, transcended through the Crown apologies that accompany Treaty settlements to hapū and iwi, they are not as distant as popular bicultural discourses would have us believe. The call for Māori to be included through participation in the nation's mainstream, to imagine ourselves as first and foremost citizens of a sovereign New Zealand nation-state, as market-oriented entrepreneurs, most surely continues our genocide as much as mounted British soldiers and metal bullets. More recent claims that the Crown does in fact recognise and respect a Māori identity as tangata whenua and kaitiaki and can co-inhabit such an identity does not signal some ‘progressive’ post-colonial moment. Instead, it reveals an intensification of colonial desires to re-shape the very sources of our identity to the rational authority of governmental control – a re-scripting that again denies to Māori an identity in and through our own relational terms.

A Treaty-based partnership between Māori and the Crown, however, necessarily implies the continued existence of the two parties to the agreement. Thus the aspirations of Māori to be self-determining, to be authoritative partners with government in shaping the directions of Aotearoa/New Zealand and the nature of our on-going relationship, crucially revolve around the foregrounding of a Māori identity. Indeed, it forms the very basis of such claims. As such, the issue of identity is a key strand running through the discussions of the thesis chapters, and accounts for its central positioning in this mihi through which the thesis begins.

I would imagine that for many students embarking on lengthy projects such as doctoral study, the topic of choice would need to resonate at a deeply personal level in order to generate the energy and commitment to see it through to the end. My own identity as both Māori and Pākehā and the questions it has raised around cross-cultural relationships have profoundly shaped my life, and in turn, this thesis. Both of my families, Pākehā and Māori, through their respectful consideration of the other, each allow the other to be powerfully present for me. It is this which prevails through the myriad of tensions that continue to arise. While Māori and Pākehā are certainly not the same ‘under the skin’, that culture is a mere ‘surface’ penetrated and transcended through shared norms as liberals might believe, there can be enduring relational arrangements built through a deep and embodied sense of respect for difference and the importance for such difference to prevail un-reconciled to the terms of the other.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Four posts have supported and sustained the construction of my thesis. These posts connect this work to the whenua of Aotearoa, the body of Papatūānuku, the place where I was formed, so firstly I acknowledge her awesome life-giving presence. Not only do rivers provide an understanding of Māori identity, they are also the network of veins that nourish the body of Papatūānuku and her descendants. I thus also acknowledge the life-sustaining force of the river that locates my identity, ko Mōkau te awa.

While it might be tempting to simply name these posts separately – emotional, intellectual, material, and spiritual – the contributions that have come from the four posts are not so starkly marked out. Indeed, the generosity, the wisdom, the support of many of the people associated with each post traverses such tidy definitions.

The first post to acknowledge is that formed by the Māori student and Māori staff roopū, respectively, Te Waka o Ngā Ākonga Māori and Matawhānui-ki-Oteha, at the Oteha Rohe Albany Campus of Massey University. ‘The roopū’, as the groups are collectively known, has been my whānau away from home and has been a vital and invaluable haven of support, intellectual stimulation, sharing, and joy. So to Mere Aoake, Leila Brazendale, Lynn Coffey, Karina Donaldson, Sheryl Egglestone, Anita Elers, Lea Jones, Janette Hamilton-Pearce, Michelle Herbert, Paia Kingi, Rarawa Kohere, Robin Manihera, Iona Maxwell, Edwina Merito, Ali Middleton, Marlene Ngapo, Heather O’Neill, Glenis Philip-Barbara, Kim Tahiwi, Alice Te Punga Somerville, Brenda Tipene-Hook, and Virginia Warriner from the roopū, a deep thank you.

I would like to make particular note of two people from the roopū whose contributions to my academic-personal journey have been especially important. The first is Rarawa Kohere whose illuminating stories, intellectual power and tikanga-centred practices have taught me so much about the inter-play between mana and manaakitanga. The second is Glenis Philip-Barbara, a wahine whirlwind who swept into the Oteha Rohe Albany Campus in 1998. Her visionary leadership, manaaki and commitment to te ao
Māori as a powerful foundation for living has contributed to many, and to myself in particular. So to you both, for the immense contributions you have made to me both personally and to the shaping of this thesis, many heartfelt thanks.

The second post has been that of thesis supervision. I would like to firstly acknowledge the profound contribution made by my supervisor Warwick Tie. His deeply insightful intelligence, breath-taking knowledge of sociological theory and a commitment to its transformative possibilities, combined with a truly respectful openness, have made this thesis journey a rich and stimulating experience. Thank you Warwick, so much. To my co-supervisor Trish Johnston also, a deep and appreciative thank you for the many valuable discussions, the tautoko, the guidance, and for seeing it through to the end with me despite the change in institution.

The third post includes the many institutions, organisations, groups of people, and individuals whose assistance has ensured completion. To those who have provided funding – Massey University, Māori Education Trust, New Zealand Federation of Graduate Women, and the Ministry of Women’s Affairs – many thanks for your crucial support. I would also like to acknowledge the diligence and efforts of the librarians at Massey University Oteha Rohe Albany Campus, and in particular Patricia Kay, and more latterly the extramural librarians at the Palmerston North Campus. Thank you also to the Massey University Albany Campus Human Ethics Committee for granting approval to interview senior Māori managers at various universities. Many thanks then too, to those who generously consented to be interviewed and thus for their contribution to this thesis, namely Graham Smith, Tamati Reedy, Piri Sciascia, Mason Durie, and Rarawa Kohere.

The fourth and last post supporting the academic-personal journey of this thesis has been, of course, my quite considerable extended family. A huge and heartfelt thanks for the love, wisdom, fun, and generosity that you embody in guiding me in my life. I would like to particularly acknowledge our Uncle, Te Aramau Lake, for the many talks regarding the issues with which the thesis wrestles, culminating in the thesis title and the opening whakataukī. Thank you to our Nana and Manaaki Maestro, Te Amoroa Kurta (nee Lake), for her assistance with this also.
It takes an extraordinary generosity to open the connection between your adopted child and the families from which they came – an opening that helped create the possibility for this thesis to come to be. So, to my Mum Jeannette, the deepest thanks and love.
# Table of Contents

Abstract  
He Mihi  
Acknowledgements  

1 Introduction  
   He Maramara mō te Ahi  
   New Business, Old Business, But Always the Same Business: The Current Treaty Partnership Paradigm  
   The Current Paradigm in a Tertiary Education Context  
   Generating the Methodology of Inquiry  
   Leading the Way: Kaupapa Māori  
   In Support of the Methodological Journey: Post-Hegelian Theories  
   Weaving the Theoretical Strands  
   In Summary: The Thesis Journey  

2 The Bicultural State  
   Introduction  
   Contextualising Biculturalism  
   Biculturalism and the Assumption of Cultural Translation  
   Operationalising State-produced Discourses of Biculturalism  
   Biculturalism and the Current Reforms of the Tertiary Education Systems  
   Biculturalism in Action in the Tertiary Education Reform Process  

3 The ‘Gift of Freedom’  
   Introduction
Freedom and Government
The Construction of Freedom for Māori in Education
The Costs to Māori of Liberalism's Discourse of Freedom
The Problem Space Re-configured
Imagining New Solutions

4 Te Wai o Te Awa – Challenging Bicultural Identity
Introduction
Colonisation and the Generation of 'Otherness'
'Progress' and the Ideal of the Liberal Subject
Interrogating Recognition Through Inclusion
Disrupting Liberalism's Totalising Identities
Resisting Bicultural Identification
Responding to Criticisms of Deconstructive Projects

5 Tino Rangatiratanga – Unsettling Sovereign Fantasies
Introduction
The Ideal of State Sovereignty
Questioning the Ideal of State Sovereignty
Sovereignty Re-invigorated
Relating Tino Rangatiratanga and Sovereignty
Reconciling Tino Rangatiratanga and Sovereignty: The Fallout
Ways Through the Current Impasse

6 Space for Mana Māori – Re-generating Manaakitanga
Introduction
The Importance of Space
The Location of Kaupapa Māori Spaces 176
Bicultural Spaces 'Beyond' 182
Creating Kaupapa Māori Spaces 187

The University of Auckland
  Interview with Professor Graham Hingangaroa Smith 189
The University of Waikato
  Interview with Professor Tamati Reedy 191
Victoria University of Wellington
  Interview with Piri Sciascia 194
Massey University
  Interview with Professor Mason Durie 196
Massey University Oteha Rohe Albany Campus
  Interview with Rarawa Kohere 199

Considering the Possibilities 203

7 Possibilities for Kaupapa Māori Spaces 205

Introduction 205
In Support of Kaupapa Māori Spaces 208
Exploring the Notion of Limited Authority 210
Kaupapa Māori Arrangements: Disrupting Sovereign Authority 213
Limiting Authority Deconstructionist Style 217
Limiting Authority Within the Liberal Tradition 228
Re-thinking Kaupapa Māori Spaces 237

8 A Re-turn to Treaty Partnership 240

Introduction 240
Considering Partnership 241
Proposing Bi-cultural Arrangements 243
Re-thinking the Terms of Partnership 248