

UNIVERSITY OF OTAGO

Destabilising the Binary: Reframing Cultural Identity

Postcolonial Reflections in Aotearoa New Zealand

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April 2012

Candidates Statement

I certify that the thesis entitled **Destabilising the Binary: Reframing Cultural Identity** and submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy is the result of my own work, except where otherwise acknowledged and that this thesis (or any part of it) has not been submitted for an equivalent degree to any other university or institution.

Signed:

Date:

Thesis

Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy Māori Studies
University of Otago

Te Tumu School of Māori, Pacific & Indigenous Studies

Dedication

To our loving mother Valerie Bidois...

You have been my greatest inspiration. We love and miss you dearly. You will be in our hearts and our minds forever.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank and acknowledge Professor Brendan Hokowhitu and Professor Michael Reilly for their patience, guidance and support over the past four years.

Thank you to Brendan and his beautiful family, for your aroha and manaakitanga, especially during my time in Dunedin. I really enjoyed our philosophical discussions over a wine (or two) and I am even more grateful for the friendship we have developed over the years.

Thank you to Michael for your unending support and insight throughout the writing of this thesis, your kind words and encouragement were always timely and kept me pushing on through those tough times.

To my whānau, family and friends, thank you all for your support over the years and giving me the strength to keep going. You have all been amazing.

To my partner Ardell, you have been my rock and my inspiration. Despite the long nights, early mornings and weekends of writing, your patience, love and support has been unwavering. I am so thankful to have you in my life. Thanks babe, love you lots.

Finally, to my beautiful daughter Brooke; thank you for all your love and patience over the years. Despite the long road trips and times apart, you have never once complained and have shown me the true meaning of unconditional love. You are my shining light.

Abstract

Historically, prevailing knowledge systems have been challenged, de-centred and replaced and, as a consequence, dualist and oppositional comparisons of knowledge and understanding have been established, such as, ‘traditional’ versus ‘non-traditional’, ‘subjective’ versus ‘objective’, ‘social constructionism’ versus ‘essentialism’, to name but a few. Moreover, anti-colonial and postcolonial writers have theorised about the dominant discourses that (re)define the historic and current relationship between the coloniser and the colonised. In Aotearoa New Zealand, for instance, many social theorists have analysed the historical and contemporary conditions that have influenced a politics of identity and resistance between Māori and Pākehā. This thesis critically examines postmodern and postcolonial perspectives, in an attempt to deconstruct the binary and dualist notions assumed within postcolonial discourse and in particular relation to Aotearoa New Zealand.

By problematising the notion of identity, this thesis endeavours to critically analyse its significance to Māori and Pākehā relations. It questions the binary distinctions that are so readily imagined and employed to describe, explain and interpret New Zealand’s racialised ontology. In particular, this thesis is critical of anti-colonial and postcolonial binary articulations of cultural identity premised upon the so-called *Self-Other* dichotomy. It asserts that, just as cultural forms such as identity are socially constructed, so too are the structures that determine our understanding of such forms.

The thesis promotes and searches for more culturally and intellectually inclusive spaces of articulation that allow for two (or more) distinct yet connected cultures or knowledge

systems to co-exist. In promoting the need to move beyond dualist and binary thinking, the thesis presents a *Conceptual Model of Understanding* that attempts to critically reflect upon epistemology.

Primary research within the thesis sought to investigate how Māori and Pākehā constructed themselves both historically and in a contemporary context. Through in-depth interviewing participants discussed how they negotiated and mediated their own sense of identity. The interviews sought to ascertain whether ontological binary constructs, such as Māori and Pākehā, determined lived realities and experiences, whilst also trying to understand how (if at all) participants were able to move past such binary articulations.

The key findings of this research suggest that the potential destabilisation of traditional colonial binary formations may eventuate from the continued integration of distinct cultures that, over time, might allow potential opportunities for unity, recognition and power-sharing. Although also setting the scene for instances of discrimination, misunderstanding and prejudice, the interweaving and interaction of cultures may allow for the unsettling and eventual destabilisation of the colonial binary.

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Introduction

A Brief History: Growing Up in Rural Aotearoa¹ New Zealand

The reflections that follow are an attempt to give some historical context to this thesis, its ideas, challenges and frustrations. As I reflect back over the past decade and my time as an emerging academic, researcher and writer, it became apparent to me that my current understandings, views and beliefs have been shaped by my own history and through my own unique experiences. This might seem an obvious assertion to make, but the implications of such awareness have caused for me not only moments of clarity, but also moments of disillusionment and uncertainty, as I have grappled with the social and cultural complexities of Māori and Pākehā identity construction in contemporary society. As such, the personal and historical reflections I present in this introduction highlight not only my reservations about dualist and binary constructs of identity, but also presents a biography of my own intellectual thought and development. Subsequently, the various positions I have taken in regard to the theories and concepts discussed in this thesis are not objective (as nothing ever is), for they have been subjected to the historical influences of my past. In other words, when undertaking any critical analysis I bring with it my own pre-judgements, assumptions and preconceptions.

As will become apparent throughout this thesis, having an awareness of one's historical consciousness and its connection to one's interpretation of the present is a powerful and recurring theme. A critical understanding of how one's history affects comprehension of

¹ Aotearoa is the Māori name for New Zealand. Like many Indigenous terms its original meaning is sometimes elusive and associated often with historical stories and myth. In the context of this thesis it represents the same position and status as New Zealand in the naming of this country.

the present (and vice versa) provides, I believe, the self-reflexive space to enable new and critical interpretations of oneself, the world and others. As such, it is important in the context of this thesis that I provide a brief history of some of the experiences and events that have shaped the attitudes and beliefs I have today.

Growing up in Aotearoa New Zealand in the small Eastern Bay of Plenty town of Kawerau, the most prominent memories are of times I spent mostly with friends and family. Predominantly Māori, the population peaked at around 8,500 in 1981 and was typical of similar mill-town communities in the central and eastern parts of the North Island. Kawerau was relatively young compared to other townships. It was established in 1953 to support the new Tasman Pulp and Paper Mill which brought in revenue, employment, business and industry opportunities to the area. Compared with other nearby towns, Kawerau was well resourced with an impressive range of sporting and recreational facilities available to the community. Easy access to nearby lakes, beaches, native bush and forestry meant most families enjoyed the simple pleasures in life such as fishing, diving and hunting.

Sport, recreation and the outdoors were a way of life back then; there were none of the technological pleasures that most young people seem obsessed with having today. Almost everyone I knew played sport either socially or competitively - rugby, soccer, tennis, golf, squash, athletics, softball and cricket were some of the more popular sporting activities in town. The 1970s and early 1980s was a great time to be living in this small yet vibrant community.

Family Connections: Whānau, Whakapapa and Spirituality

When one is young the concept of family or *whānau* is not something you are taught at school or learn in books, not initially anyway. It is learned through the experiences one has with others, through the day-to-day interactions with parents, siblings, relatives, friends and so forth. *Whānau* represents one's connection to immediate family and/or extended family through *whakapapa* or genealogy. However, in Aotearoa New Zealand its contemporary usage has been broadened to include groups in society who have a common connection, through shared values and purpose such as those established in the community in occupational settings; sports clubs, church congregations and schools. For many Māori, including myself, family represents the relationships, beliefs and values that are important to you and that you choose to live by. The concept of *whānau* (whether descent-based or community based) is defined by key elements that guide and determine the way in which individuals (or a group) relate and interact with one another. Key concepts that are integral to these *whānau* relationships are *whanaungatanga* (establishing/maintaining relationships), *manaakitanga* (hospitality and kindness to others), *tūrangawaewae* (place of belonging/ one's standing place) and *aroha* (affection/compassion/love).

For some Māori *whakapapa* can be traced back for generations and is the base for identity, knowledge and culture. It also represents one's connection to the land (*whenua*), to one's ancestors and the universe and so is inherently ontological and temporal (bound in time). As such, *whakapapa* represents the connections and relationships Māori have with time, space and the universe, which according to Manuka Henare (2001) began "in the time before creation progressed, to the birth of the mythical and original homeland of

Māori called Hawaiki, a place distant in time and space, which is... [one's]... link with the spirit world” (Henare, 2001: 202). From this perspective, *whakapapa* validates one's ontological existence as Māori.

With a strong connection to *whakapapa*, also comes a strong association with *marae*² (tribal communal meeting place), *iwi* (tribal group) and *hapū* (sub-tribe). The *marae* has been a significant part of my upbringing in that it was where I strengthened and extended these relationships with *whānau*. The *marae* is commonly referred to as one's *tūrangawaewae* and is arguably the last stronghold of Māori language, culture and traditions. It is one's home and is where many official functions take place, such as, celebrations, weddings, christenings, tribal reunions, and funerals (*tangihanga* or *tangi*). The *tangata whenua*³ (people of the land) of the *marae* make the decisions concerning *tikanga*⁴ and *kawa* (protocols), define the roles on the *marae*, and ensure hospitality is extended to visitors.

Young people learn to respect *marae* elders (*kaumātua*) and the rules and traditions of the *marae*. Not all elderly people are adorned with the status of *kaumātua*, but those who are, have authority and are respected due to their longtime service and standing in the local (and extended) community. One of their roles is to maintain and pass on the language,

² Local *marae* consist of numerous buildings. The two main buildings are the *wharenui* or *tupuna whare* (ancestral meeting house) and the *whare kai* (dining hall), each of which are named after a significant ancestor. The *marae* itself is also usually named after an ancestor. The names trace the genealogical line that all descendants of the *marae* have with their ancestors, each other and the past. It is, therefore, an ever bonding link between the past and present; those that have passed on, the land and their descendents.

³ *Tangata whenua* literally means people of the land and is commonly referred to Māori in relation to Aotearoa New Zealand. It also refers to the people (*whānau*) of the local *marae*.

⁴ *Tikanga* is loosely described as the general behaviour guidelines for daily life and interaction in Māori culture but is most strenuously adhered to on the *marae*. *Tikanga* considers such things as custom, rules, lore, etiquette, formality, values and ethics.

culture, and traditions of the *marae* through *whaikōrero* (speeches), *whakapapa* and *waiata* (song).

The *marae* is the place where as children we first experience the loss of loved one's, and learn to cope with grief and loss in a supportive and loving environment. *Tangi* usually involves the immediate family staying at the *marae*, sleeping in the *wharenui* (ancestral building) alongside the *tūpāpaku* (body of the deceased) for up to three days. During this time friends, colleagues and *whānau* visit and pay their respects to the deceased and their family. All those who visit a *marae* (for whatever reason) and who are not *tangata whenua* must be formally welcomed on to the *marae* through a process called a *pōwhiri*. The *marae-atea*, the grassed area adjacent to the *wharenui* is where *pōwhiri* are regularly conducted.⁵ During a *tangi*, it is usually a busy time as local *whānau* are constantly preparing meals and cups of tea for each group of visitors (*manuhiri*) as they arrive. Although a particularly sad occasion, *tangihanga* provides an opportunity for *whānau* to reconnect, support each other and catch up on old times. As a child the *marae* is where friendships and (re)connections with other children are nurtured and then maintained; once the formalities have been completed it is very common to see children laughing and playing on the *marae*. *Whanaungatanga*, *manaakitanga* and *aroha*, for many Māori, constitute a way of acting and behaving not only on the *marae* but also in everyday life.

The *marae* symbolises all that I know and feel of what it means to be Māori. It represents the values and beliefs that are important to me. It also represents my spirituality, a connectedness I have with a larger reality, and an understanding of myself in relation to

⁵ The *marae-atea* is considered a *tapu* (sacred) place, especially during the *pōwhiri*. If the weather is bad the *pōwhiri* is sometimes conducted inside the *wharenui*.

others, nature and the universe. My sense of being Māori, therefore, is grounded in these experiences where my physical, emotional, mental and spiritual well-being is nurtured and maintained.

Them versus Us: Introduction to Racial Disharmony

As I reflect back on those early years, my upbringing was quite typical to that of many of my friends and relatives in the area. Family and a sense of community was important and close friendships were indicative of rural town living. The question of being Māori or being Pākehā was never one that raised concerns for me. In fact, I have no lingering memories or experiences of the so called ‘them versus us’ type thinking that has been made apparent to me since first engaging with anti-colonial and postcolonial literature.⁶ This could be explained by the simple fact that I was young and naive and ignorant of the contemporary political and social issues of the time.⁷ In saying that, I have no recollection of my parents or of close friends and family (both Māori and Pākehā) ever engaging in social or cultural politics of any kind. It seemed we were living in our own little utopia, devoid of analysing any socio-political issues of historical injustices or racial concerns. In spite of my own youthful ignorance, however, it would be our greatest national symbol of unity that was to introduce me to the political and racial tensions brewing between Māori and Pākehā. Against the backdrop of anti-apartheid political and

⁶ Robert Young (2009) describes the postcolonial as “involving what we might simply refer to as the aftermath of the colonial. The situations and problems that have followed decolonization—whether in the formerly colonizing or colonized country—are then encompassed in the term postcoloniality. ... At its simplest level, the postcolonial is simply the product of human experience, but human experience of the kind that has not typically been registered or represented at any institutional level.” (13)

⁷ The 1970s and 1980s saw the rise of a new political consciousness (largely due to the black civil rights movement and Vietnam protests in the US) amongst Māori and, in particular, urban Māori that gave birth to protest movements all around the country.

international dissent, the 1981 South African Springbok Rugby Tour⁸ was about to shake the very foundations of racial politics in Aotearoa New Zealand and, subsequently, the relationship between Māori and Pākehā. The perceived notion of Aotearoa New Zealand being in a relatively harmonious state of race relations was to be severely tested. The All Blacks rugby team had become symbolic of an imaginary (or otherwise) feeling of togetherness and unity. Māori and Pākehā were united through a collective allegiance to some common sense of nationalistic pride being played out on the international rugby field. Renowned New Zealand historian Sir Keith Sinclair stated, “[r]ugby stimulated national pride and national feeling. It brought the nation together, providing a focus for a feeling of unity. It brought Pākehā and Māori together” (cited in Zavos, 1992: 79).

The egalitarian potential of sport and, in particular, rugby was something I also experienced growing up in Kawerau. I had many friends (both Māori and Pākehā) and it seemed, from my perspective anyway, that we never looked at each other as culturally in conflict with one another or as a threat to each other’s group or individual identity. The so-called ‘them versus us’ duality was limited to the typical rivalries experienced on the sports field, or between local sporting clubs and districts rather than some typified racial binary.

Effective History: A state of Cultural Amnesia

The 1981 Springbok Tour is significant for it represents my earliest memories of any type of political polarisation in Aotearoa New Zealand. As a 10-year-old my first impressions of the graphic images of violence and bloodied protests on the television were firstly

⁸ The Springbok’s is the name given to the South African rugby team which since the First World War had been regarded as the All Blacks (The New Zealand rugby team) greatest rival until the eventual forced isolation of South Africa from the international sporting community between 1981 to 1991 due to its racial policy of apartheid.

one's of shock, followed by confusion, as I struggled to comprehend the connection between these two great iconic rugby nations and the conflicting views and attitudes that literally ripped through the heart of the nation. It was to be, however, the impetus for my early understandings of racism, albeit racism practised in a far away land. It was also to be an experience that would eventually shape my attitudes and beliefs about being Māori and our status in Aotearoa New Zealand. Shears and Gidley described this period as a nation's coming of age:

In a way, the shock and disbelief expressed by New Zealanders at what had happened stemmed from witnessing a loss of innocence. The country had faced social disruption before but the 1981 tour brought to the surface arguments of which New Zealand society assumed it was free - racism and bigotry. If anything, the nation has matured as a result of the tour. She has come of age. (Shears and Gidley, 1981: 154)

The Māori Protest Movement that emerged out of the 1970s, such as the Bastion Point Occupation and the 1975 Land March,⁹ were not made apparent to me as a child. In other words, the critical and social awareness brought about by the land protests of the 1970s didn't feature in our everyday conversations or around the dinner table. Looking back it seemed like we were denying any sense of historical injustice upon Māori or any issues of cultural identity. We had literally forgotten our past, content with the happy little world we lived in. This form of cultural amnesia possibly reflects the non-politicisation and subservient attitudes that neo-colonial¹⁰ institutions and ideologies wished to

⁹ The Bastion Point (1977-78) occupation and the 1975 Land March were significant protest events that came about due to the growing awareness in the 1960s of the impact of colonisation on Māori. Urban Māori protest movements such as Nga Tamatoa (the young warriors) and others spearheaded the protests of the 1970s which were mainly aimed at the loss of land and culture.

¹⁰ Neo-colonialism in postcolonial studies refers to and describes the continued domination (social, economic and cultural) of countries despite the decolonisation of developing countries after the Second World War. Neo-colonialism

engender in colonised peoples. The ultimate result of which was a socially and politically inept individual produced by the hegemony of mainstream society at the expense of his or her own culture and identity. This type of anti-colonial rhetoric was essential to the Māori Renaissance movements prevalent in the 1970s.

The next most significant period for me in terms of understanding the notion of identity in relation to others was during my secondary school years (1985-1989) at Lindisfarne College - a private Presbyterian boarding school in the Hawkes Bay town of Hastings. The school had a population of around 300. The majority of students were of European descent, approximately 10 percent were Māori and an even smaller proportion was made up of a mix of other ethnic minority groups. Most of the Māori students, who attended Lindisfarne at the time, including myself, were recipients of the *Te Whaiti-nui-a-toi* scholarship for Māori boys. Over the past four decades, the scholarship has given just under 100 Māori students the opportunity to attend Lindisfarne College. Many have gone on to be very successful members of society, such as, farmers, teachers, lawyers, Judges, and businessman, while others have gained prominence in sport, both at provincial and national level.

I have fond memories of my time at Lindisfarne. I developed good relationships with both students and teachers, which still endure to this day. Culturally it was different to what I was accustomed to, but the opportunities, resources and facilities that were available, enabled most students to thrive, develop important life-skills, learn independence and achieve academic success. The '*Te Whaiti* boys', as we were

critique specifically attacks the former colonial powers desire to apply existing and past economic arrangements with their former colony countries.

commonly referred to, had a distinct identity within the school. Although our distinction was prominent, it never felt as if we had to struggle to maintain this collective sense of identity. In fact, from my perspective, we were an openly accepted and unique part of the school culture. Again, on reflection, the so-called ‘them versus us’ attitudes associated with being Māori or Pākehā identity were not apparent, not to me at least, and even though we were the minority I never felt a sense of loss in terms of who we were collectively as Māori or as individuals. It would not be for another 10 years, when I began my teaching degree, that I would eventually question my own attitudes and worldview.

Raising a Critical Consciousness: Paulo Freire and Conscientisation

To reflect upon the memories and experiences I had growing up through an anti-colonial or postcolonial lens might seem natural as a student of Māori and Indigenous Studies. My first introduction to anti-colonial theory was through the Brazilian educational theorist Paulo Freire. In 2001, during the second to last year of my Physical Education degree I was given a copy of his most renowned text; *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1996). It would be this moment that would change my academic aspirations and lay the foundations for my theoretical knowledge base and research interests. It was also when I was first introduced to binary compilations such as oppressed-oppressor and coloniser-colonised. The application of Freire’s theory, concepts and ideas to a Māori-Pākehā historical and colonial context was immediate and profound. Freire’s notion of *conscientisation* unveiled itself to me with every turn of the page. His words and ideas affected me deeply and provided answers to my own questions regarding the status of Māori education, health and poverty in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The coloniser-colonised binary struck a chord with me; it exposed my own ignorance to the realities of our situation as Māori. I grabbed it with both hands and shook up the very foundations of my own cultural and political (un)consciousness. I was awakened by my newfound Indigenous and political awareness. As a result I became an empowered and politicised citizen, a critic of mainstream New Zealand and its prevailing Pākehā attitudes toward Māori and, in particular, toward Māori educational achievement.

This political agency manifested itself through an undergraduate research project I conducted in 2002. Titled ‘Do we Dare to Teach: Developing a Critical Pedagogy in Physical Education’, the project involved working with students at an alternative educational unit provided for under the auspices of an Urban Māori Trust.¹¹ The study attempted to apply a Freirean approach to teaching physical education by examining the notions of power and justice in varying sporting and physical contexts, and then reflecting upon similar situations in the lives and experiences of the students. It was an attempt to raise a critical awareness of particular attitudes, behaviours, structures and institutions that disempowered the students I was working with.¹² It was through this report that I was able to find my academic feet and develop my newly awakened social and political consciousness.

¹¹ Māori Urban Trusts or Authorities were first being established in the 1980s. They are Māori organisations that represent the interests of urban Māori. They are distinct from rural *iwi* (tribes) authorities in that their membership consists of Māori living in urban areas who were from diverse tribal backgrounds and who had, for various reasons, become disconnected from their *iwi*. Māori Urban Trusts and Authorities seek to develop the social, educational, political and health needs of their respective communities.

¹² Predominantly of Māori and Pacific descent these students were effectively expelled from mainstream schools due, in my opinion, to an ‘if you don’t fit you’re out’ punitive model of discipline.

The Other Māori: Cultural Stereotypes and Otherness in an Educational Context

If one understands dominant culture as a form of hegemony, it not only exposes but also describes how societies that are multicultural might perpetuate racial and cultural stereotypes and, thus, maintain the hegemonic conditions of the predominant culture. Cultural hegemony, according to Antonio Gramsci, imposes its authority through two types of consent. The first he describes as a coercive form of consent where violence is justified through political and economic motivations, while the other is a more insidious (but not less devastating) form of domination where the knowledge, beliefs, perceptions and values of the dominant culture are made normal and, thus, reinforces the authority that generates that knowledge. The continual circulation and re-circulation of (authoritative) knowledge lures the collective in to an understanding that the normalised perceptions (including cultural stereotypes) of mainstream are the truth. Instrumental to cultural hegemony within the colonial context is what Homi Bhabha (1994) terms as colonial *ambivalence* and *mimicry*.

Colonial *ambivalence*, according to Bhabha, is a type of double consciousness, vision or articulation where the coloniser and colonised simultaneously have conflicting feelings or attitudes (positive and negative) toward each other. As such, paradoxical (desire and disdain) representations of cultural and racial forms exist to rationalise the dominant discourse and legitimise its own truth regimes (Bhabha, 1994).

The colonial desire of the coloniser is to reform the colonised into their own image and likeness while the desire of the colonised is to be like, to copy, to imitate, and mimic the

coloniser. The desire of the colonised is insidiously produced through hegemonic consent and, thus, reveals the power of the dominant culture to convert the *Other* into the *Self*. However, this conversion can never be fully complete, for then the coloniser's central position of power would be threatened by the reformed *Other*. An essential part of the strategy of *mimicry* is that the colonised (*Other*) retains a semblance of otherness as it becomes the coloniser (*Self*), thus, preserving the hierarchy of the colonial (*Self-Other*) binary.¹³

Essential to asserting otherness upon the *Other* are the ambivalent attitudes and feelings produced within colonial discourse by the coloniser toward the colonised. *Ambivalence* in an Aotearoa New Zealand context would be reflected through attitudes that simultaneously affirm and disavow Māori culture and identity. For example, Māori culture, language and traditions are seen as an important aspect of New Zealand identity and national culture, while at the same time stereotypical representations of being Māori (such as violent, uneducated, lazy and so on) are used to preserve the virtuous and moral status of the dominant culture.

The beliefs, practices, values and attitudes of the coloniser must be naturalised (through cultural hegemony) for the colonial strategy to be effective, through the co-optation of the culture of the colonised into the culture of the coloniser. This tactic of assimilation, however, must maintain cultural distinction so as to preserve the coloniser's identity and culture while at the same time eliminating that of the colonised.

¹³ A more extensive and critical discussion of Bhabha's notions of *ambivalence*, *mimicry* and *hybridity* is carried out in Chapter Four.

I would like to share an example of *ambivalence* drawn from my own teaching experiences and demonstrate not only how cultural hegemony has the potential to disempower but also how schools can operate as propagators of mainstream culture and, as such, merely reflect the characteristics of the communities they serve. In saying that however, as a teacher, I also believe that schools can function as cultural sites for critical analysis, reflection and change.

In 2005 I accepted a teaching position at a large South Auckland co-educational secondary school. Culturally vibrant, the school was made up of pre-dominantly Pacific students that were a mix of Sāmoan, Tongan, and Niuean descent. Approximately 12 percent of the total school population was classified as being of Māori or part-Māori descent, while other minority ethnic groups consisted of Pākehā, African and Asian students. The 18 months I spent at the school provided me with some of the most memorable experiences of my brief teaching career. Although challenging at times, the students were respectable, energetic, and amusingly unpredictable. However, beneath the surface of this vibrant mix of diverse cultures there seemed to me, to be an underlying current perhaps reminiscent of persistent colonial stereotypes and attitudes.¹⁴

The *ambivalence* toward being Māori within this particular educational setting was made evident by the respect students had for Māori teachers compared to attitudes and perceptions that some students had toward Māori as being useless or inadequate. These

¹⁴ I would like to briefly stress the point that the critical reflections discussed in relation to the school mentioned above are purely anecdotal; merely subjective observations and reflections of one teacher's experiences at a particular time in his career. To make any sweeping judgements or generalisations about the school, its students, staff, *whānau* and community would be ethically irresponsible and personally disheartening, for I have the utmost respect and admiration for the teachers and students that I was privileged enough to have worked with during my time there. Instead, my observations and reflections are more indicative of where my thinking, attitudes and understandings about cultural identity and cultural hegemony were, at the time.

types of attitudes were made apparent to me when students in the classroom or on the sports field would utter things like ‘you bloody Māori’ to each other, if someone did or said something wrong or embarrassing.

As teachers and educators, the most destructive manifestation of cultural stereotyping and *ambivalence* that one must be wary of is when one’s own culture is denied through the assimilation and subsequent co-optation by another.

To me, this was reflected by some of the Māori students at this particular school and in the way they felt about themselves in regard to their Māoriness, their language and culture. Their sense of (Māori) identity was constantly being tested by the attitudes society (and in this case their peers) had of them. In order to gain some understanding based upon the observations I was making, I asked a simple question to one of my Year 9 Health classes. Amongst the class were two Māori students that I knew had come from *Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa*¹⁵ backgrounds. When addressing the class one morning I asked if there were any students who spoke *Te Reo* (Māori language). To my surprise neither of the students raised their hand and when asked privately why they chose not to, they explained that they were embarrassed about it and that they just wanted to fit in. It intrigued (and disappointed) me that these students who were steeped in Māori culture, language and values, were made to feel so inadequate about who they were and were willing to deny their own culture in order to fit into the dominant culture of the school.

¹⁵ *Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa* were Māori language-recovery programs initiated by Māori leaders in the 1980s. The *Kohanga Reo* movement immersed Māori pre-school children in the language, with the first being opened in *Wainuiomata* in 1982. *Kura Kaupapa* followed in the late 1980s and was a system of primary schooling in a Māori-language environment.

Although purely anecdotal, the brief observations I made suggested that dominant (Pākehā) cultural hegemony and its various forms of *ambivalence* were prevalent within this particular educational context. The self-sustaining power of hegemony is demonstrated when those being stereotyped (in this case Māori) not only subscribe to the negative labels being imposed upon them, but also perpetuate them. The assertion of Māori cultural identity (one not defined through stereotype), it seems, is not only a battle against a prevailing culture, but also against the co-optation of stereotypical attitudes by cultures other than the dominant one. In other words, cultural minority groups subscribe to the same stereotypes of the dominant culture, thus, adopting similar attitudes that perpetuate the stereotypical oppression of the *Other*, and in this case Māori.

Academic Discourse: A Critical Consciousness or Eternal Contradictions

Since my first introduction to the postcolonial condition in Aotearoa New Zealand, I have constantly felt a sense of being othered since first engaging in postcolonial studies; for every time the terms Māori and *Other* are used in conjunction with each other, I feel I am forever being re-othered and re-stereotyped. It's a label and frame that I can never escape and that sits uncomfortably with me. Ironically, my awakening consciousness became more Janus-faced than liberating. Although I have been made critically aware of the postcolonial condition, the continual remonstration of *Otherness* within the critical literature itself only serves to further alienate me; to remind me of my eternal otherness.

It has been these experiences, reflections and history that has led me down my present path as an emerging academic. The Masters of Indigenous Studies (MIndS) programme offered by Te Tumu, The School of Māori, Pacific and Indigenous Studies at the

University of Otago, was the conduit for my theoretical application, analysis and critique of Māori-Pākehā cultural relations and identity. I actively engaged with the eminent anti-colonial and post-colonial theories relevant to contemporary Indigenous local and global contexts. In particular, theories of cultural identity and representation provided explanations for how both individual and collective identities are socially constructed. Postmodern theory and post-structural perspectives provided the critical lens to examine the social realities of one's world by putting under scrutiny the role language, power relations and motivations have played in asserting universal truths or grand narratives that impose one particular reality. Michel Foucault, Gayatri Spivak, Jacques Derrida and, in particular, Bhabha (with his notion of *hybridity*) have become the 'go to' poststructural and postcolonial theoreticians for best understanding the postcolonial conditions of cultural identity in contrast to traditional essentialist (originary and fixed) understandings. They have provided the theoretical tools to deconstruct and challenge naturalised understandings of ontology, tradition and authenticity.

As a consequence, my own personal beliefs (whether logical, spiritual or emotional) are constantly being tested by the new systems of knowledge and understanding I have encountered in academia. In particular, social constructionist explanations of cultural identity contradict (at times) with what I feel and believe; a belief that is more of the spirit and soul than of the mind and intellect. On the other hand, however, social constructionism and its assumption that individual (and group) realities are socially constructed has been hugely influential to my intellectual development over the past 10 years and, thus, reveals the paradox of my own theoretical positioning; one that promotes intellectual freedom along with ontological understandings of the world. I take some

respite, however, from the words of Danish philosopher Søren Kierkegaard (1813 – 1855) who sees the paradox as an integral part of philosophical thought:

...one must not think ill of the paradox, for the paradox is the passion of thought, and the thinker without the paradox is like the lover without passion: a mediocre fellow. But the ultimate potentiation of every passion is always to will its own downfall, and so it is also the ultimate passion of the understanding to will the collision, although in one way or another the collision must become its downfall. This, then, is the ultimate paradox of thought: to want to discover something that thought itself cannot think. (Kierkegaard, 1985:37)

At times, I have found myself in a constant state of dissonance as I have been torn between two opposing knowledge systems and ways of understanding the world. In attempting to ameliorate the tensions between these two contrasting epistemologies, I propose the need for a critical space that allows for the possibility of articulating (or otherwise) ontological representations of the Indigenous *Self* within social constructionist theories of culture and representation. It could, and has been argued that within postcolonial theory the current criticisms (constructionist) of essentialised notions of identity have taken a central position within a familiar essentialist-constructionist polemic. A component of this thesis reflects the challenges and difficulties I have encountered in attempting to ameliorate the tensions between contemporary constructionist theories of identity and essentialised notions of Indigenous ontology. The critical analysis of the literature that informs this thesis looks to examine, re-interpret and re-inscribe not only typical *Self-Other* binary classifications, but also the binary and

dualistic distinctions between structures of understanding that to me have become so engrained in Western philosophical tradition.

Research Methodology and Contributing Literature

Chapter One outlines the theoretical and ethical underpinnings that inform the qualitative research method. *Kaupapa Māori* theory provides the cultural and ethical framework for the analysis. Māori researchers such as Graham Smith (1990), Russell Bishop (1996; 1998; 1999; 2003), Linda Smith (1999), Leonie Pihama (2001) and others, have systematically reconstructed traditional research methodologies to enable a Māori philosophy and approach to be incorporated with conventional Western research attitudes and practices.

In the academic community, Kaupapa Māori theory and research has been designed specifically in response to conventional (Western) research methodologies. The propensity for mainstream initiated research to reify rather than transform the social conditions and plight of Māori communities was heavily criticised by Māori academics. Bishop and Glynn (2003) suggest that post-structural perspectives and approaches have contributed extensively to Kaupapa Māori methodological reflections and analysis. Post-structural approaches to research are “critical of detached, distanced observations.” and prefer to utilise “dialogic forms of representation that emphasise the voice and perspective of the research participants in the narrative” (Bishop and Glynn, 2003: 58). Kaupapa Māori theory (armed with new post-structural perspectives) is, therefore, critical of traditional research outcomes that tended to be descriptive rather than prescriptive and that left Māori with a continued sense of mistrust, inadequacy and frustration.

Key principles of Kaupapa Māori research assert a Māori worldview and philosophy and promote an ethical approach to research. Bishop and Glynn (2003) propose five key elements to address the (ethical) power relationship between the researcher and those being researched. *Initiation* asks who initiates the research and whose interests and agenda is promoted; *Benefits* questions who the research will be of benefit (or detriment) to; *Representation* questions whose reality is being portrayed through the research; *Accountability* asks who the researcher is accountable to, while *Legitimation* questions what authority legitimates the research, its processes, outputs and so on (i.e., whose worldview is being legitimated by the research). Kaupapa Māori research methodology, therefore, contributes to the development of ethical and self-reflexive approaches to research conducted upon, not just Māori communities, but all cultures and peoples.

The qualitative analysis of the primary research knowledge (in-depth interviews) applies a thematic, co-constructive and collaborative approach to knowledge production and meaning. Through one-on-one interviewing knowledge and understandings regarding cultural identity and relations were elicited from each of the ten participants. The discussions and reflections sought to understand and bring meaning to how notions of *Self* formed in relation to the *Other* and vice versa?

In the analysis chapter of this thesis the dualistic tensions produced by the *Self-Other* model of identity provide the platform to critically analyse imaginary (or otherwise) binary conceptualisations, such as Māori and Pākehā, while the narratives provided the contextual space to test the theorisation of such dualistic and binary distinctions (and their subsequent deconstruction where possible). The premise for bringing together these two forms of knowledge (i.e. abstract theory and the lived realities of the participants)

was to examine the theoretical potential of unsettling and eventually destabilising the Māori-Pākehā binary.

The Origins and Implications of Binary Understandings

Using a genealogical approach Chapter Two traces the development of dualist and binary understandings throughout Western philosophical tradition. It seeks to better understand the underlying structures and politics that have maintained binary and dualist thinking since the Classical (Greek) times, through to the advent of Christianity and the development of Continental, early postmodern (existential) and Marxist philosophies of the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries. These traditions are critically examined not only in terms of their limiting and self-sustaining tendencies, but also in terms of the role binary and dualist thinking has had in maintaining these systems of authority.

The philosophical movement known as postmodernism provided intellectual criticisms of not only the Greek and religious traditions, but also of modernity itself. The criticisms and analysis of Chapter Two derive from this postmodernist perspective. As such, the prevailing cultural and intellectual movements of Western tradition (including postmodern theory) are critically analysed in terms of their dualistic and binary predispositions. The analysis focuses upon the following question: why has Western traditions of thought come to rely so heavily and without question, upon dualist and binary constructs to decipher the world? The main philosophical contributor to the critical analysis applied in this chapter is Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900). Arguably one of the most influential thinkers of postmodern and post-structural thought as we know it today,

Nietzsche's philosophy of anti-tradition provides the theoretical basis from which to critically analyse Western philosophical conventions.

Chapter Three discusses some of the extensive writings and ideas of the German existential philosopher Martin Heidegger and, in particular, his ideas about *Being* or becoming in the world. His key concepts of *world disclosure* and *Dasein* are discussed, especially the insights and reflexive possibilities they provide to critically analyse the ontological structures of thought that have influenced contemporary analytical discourses, and their propensity to rely on dualist and binary thinking. A post-structural critique of Western tradition is also carried out in this chapter as it attempts to reveal the binary positioning established between early postmodern criticisms and Western classical, religious and modern traditions. The remainder of this chapter attempts to trace the evolution of the *Self-Other* binary from early postmodern writings.

Chapter Four presents a critical discussion of contemporary Western critical discourses. In particular postmodern and postcolonial theories are taken to task in terms of the contradictions they face in critiquing the very structures and knowledge system (Western philosophy) that informs their exegesis. As a consequence, the utilisation of Indigenous epistemologies along with postmodern and postcolonial theory is espoused as essential to any deconstructive analysis of the *Self-Other* binary. Anti-essentialist rhetoric is also taken to task in this chapter and, in particular, Bhabha's notion of *hybridity* is critically examined in terms of the possible implications such a model (of trans-cultural formations) might have upon the articulation of Indigenous essentialised notions of *Being*. The chapter attempts to articulate a theoretical space that allows for the production of essentialised forms of *Being* - of the Indigenous ontological *Self*. The justification for

such a space is premised upon the fact that many Indigenous peoples who still align themselves with such essentialisations are being challenged by social constructionist perspectives of identity. While in contemporary times, some postcolonial writers, most notably Gayatri Spivak (1990), have promoted the use of Indigenous essentialisations strategically to challenge colonial and neo-colonial discourse, other Indigenous peoples who embody essentialised notions of identity have found, once again, themselves, their identities and their beliefs being subjugated.

Key Concepts, Theory and Contextual Analysis

Chapter Five gives an historical and critical analysis of identity politics and resistance in Aotearoa New Zealand. The discussion brings to the fore significant events and moments in history that have contributed to a bicultural politics of identity and resistance over the past four decades. It is an attempt to bring some historical analytical context to some of the ideas discussed in the previous chapters. The analysis includes writings from a range of Māori and Pākehā academics who have contributed to contemporary discussions and debates surrounding national and cultural identity. Key terms and concepts such as *violation*, *alienation*, *gaze of alterity*, and the *ethical-desire* are introduced in this chapter. The coining of such terms is a direct result of my attempts to theoretically destabilise the Māori-Pākehā binary.

Chapter Six introduces some of the key concepts and theory that will be utilised in the analysis of the participants' narratives. Introduced in this chapter also is a *Conceptual Model of Understanding* developed for this thesis. The model and its resulting analytical framework are premised upon Hans Georg Gadamer's seminal text *Truth and Method*

(1989). His treatise of philosophical hermeneutics (an expansion of Heidegger's theory of interpretation and the hermeneutic circle) sought to uncover the nature of human understanding and interpretation. The model proposes three levels of consciousness as the spaces that structure everyday thinking; interconnected; reciprocating; and dialogic. The conceptual model promotes self-reflexivity by assuming that historical traditions of thought are formed throughout life or through one's *Historical* consciousness and, as such, one's ability to critically reflect upon and change traditional attitudes and thinking can only be achieved through self-reflection or a *Critical* consciousness. The third space or *Concealed* consciousness encourages one to reflect upon the deeply embedded structures of thought; the assumptions and traditions of thinking that go unnoticed, unchecked because they are so deeply embedded within one's unconscious thoughts.

The *Historical*, *Critical* and *Concealed* spaces of consciousness provided a framework that temporarily allowed me to categorise the words, thoughts, and ideas from the narratives. At the centre of the model is the re-inscribed notion of the *Self* as the *Self*-ethical. In an attempt to theoretically reframe and destabilise the *Self-Other* binary, the *Conceptual Model of Understanding* purposefully removes the notion of *Other*. In attempting to ameliorate the power relations (imbalance) between the *Self* and the *Other*, the *Self*-ethical was conceptualised to challenge the oppressive desire one has for the central position of power and authority. While the notion of *Other* is not included in the model, its traces of otherness remain as a constant reminder of the role the dominant *Self* has played in asserting marginalised subjectivities.

Analysis and Interpretation: Telling Stories in the Reframing of Cultural Identity

The analysis chapter attempts to combine the theoretical analysis and concepts discussed in earlier chapters with the knowledge drawn from the participants' narratives. The synthesis of these ideas and concepts throughout provided opportunities for new understandings and interpretations to be formed. In particular, it gave an insight in to how the each participant mediated their own sense of *Self* in relation to an imaginary (or otherwise) Māori-Pākehā binary frame.

In analysing the narratives the analytical tool (Transcription Analysis Sheet)¹⁶ utilised the three spaces of consciousness (*Historical*, *Critical*, and *Concealed*) drawn from the *Conceptual Model of Understanding*. The model provided a reflexive framework for analysing and interpreting qualitative data of this kind. The approach enabled an opportunity to critically reflect upon how the participants' may have developed particular attitudes, values and beliefs regarding cultural identity and relations. By temporarily categorising aspects of each narrative within all, two or one of the three spaces of understanding the analytical framework provides an alternative approach to thematic and qualitative analysis. The method of interpretation/analysis utilised in this chapter is premised upon Gadamer's argument that all understanding is effectively historical (Gadamer, 1989). This type of approach encourages the researcher to reflect on each participants understanding of the present in relation to the past (*Historical* consciousness); to reflect on examples from the narratives where each participant has challenged traditional notions or assumptions (*Critical* consciousness), and lastly (and

¹⁶ See Appendix D

with most difficulty), to reflect on the deeply embedded structures of understanding (*Concealed* consciousness). The analytical approach and the resulting interpretations, therefore, are effectively historical, reflexive and cyclical. An approach that promotes an understanding of the present in relation to the past, of the individual in relation to the collective and of one's own story in relation to the stories of others.

In postulating the theoretical possibility of unsettling dualist and binary classifications of identity, the outcomes of this research propose the need to remove the notion of *Other* from postmodern (and postcolonial) literature and critique. The binary frame, oppositional and hierarchical, instead, has in its place a more inclusive and encompassing frame that asserts what I refer to as the *Self*-ethical. The *Self*-ethical within this frame is representative of all subjectivities. The notion of *Other*, therefore, is no longer positioned as the antithesis of the *Self*. Instead, the *Other* is now included as the *Self*, becomes the *Self*, so does not exist as a marginalised entity, as such, but provides a reflection of otherness through what I term as the *gaze of alterity*.¹⁷ The key findings of the research suggest that the systematic violation and deconstruction of binary formations may eventuate from the continued integration of distinct cultures through a temporal understanding of time, which has the potential to allow opportunities for unity and recognition. Although also setting the scene for instances of discrimination, misunderstanding and prejudice, the interweaving and interaction of cultures may also allow for the unsettling and eventual destabilisation of the colonial binary. In a Derridean sense the binary essentially deconstructs itself from within.

¹⁷ The gaze of alterity, along with other concepts are introduced and discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

Part One - Primary Research Methodology

Chapter One

Kaupapa Māori Research and Post-structuralism

This Chapter describes the primary research methodology and method within the present thesis. Through an in-depth interviewing process, knowledge was collected from willing participants in regard to the attitudes, values, and beliefs that have contributed to and formed their own sense of *Self* and/or a construction of identity. The primary research method attempts to understand how identity confers meaning in an Aotearoa New Zealand context, while the methodology provides the theoretical underpinnings that inform the research method and analysis. The exegesis I present in this chapter questions the assumptions implicit within postcolonial analysis of the so-called coloniser-colonised binary; a cultural framework that establishes a hierarchy of power and dominance between two racialised ontologies. In a sense the *Self-Other* binary has become a staple diet for postcolonial criticisms and, therefore, begs the question of where postcolonial theory would be without the *Other*. As such, in this chapter I suggest that the reflexivity and self-critique of post-structural approaches have much to offer Indigenous (Kaupapa Māori) methodological reflections.

Post-structuralism is critical of detached and distant observations and experiments with dialogic forms of representation that emphasise the voice of those being researched. Post-structuralism, therefore, is an internal critique of the practices and assumptions within a particular discourse (Bishop, 1999a).

The knowledge elicited from the 10 participants through a range of questions sought to understand and bring meaning to how notions of *Self* are formed in relation to an *Other*.

Thus, the research question asks: How do New Zealanders construct themselves in terms of an assumed (and perceived) Māori-Pākehā binary?

In light of the research question, it is important to acknowledge that I am aware of certain problems associated with making generalisations regarding Māori, Pākehā and New Zealand identities. I do not in this instance openly seek to exclude or deny differing conceptions of identity in an Aotearoa New Zealand context. Instead, I seek to examine the realities (of each participant) of a typified Māori-Pākehā binary so readily employed in postcolonial and postmodern contemporary critique.

The analysis of culture and identity in an Aotearoa New Zealand context is highly problematic when articulating totalising and abstract concepts such as Māori and Pākehā. Māori resistory politics over the past four decades has been framed within a typical coloniser-colonised colonial binary. In other words, Māori challenges against mainstream Pākehā ideologies and worldview have been propagated through the revitalisation of ‘traditional’ Māori conceptualisations and understandings. Language and culture therefore, it has been argued, is the conduit for resisting prevailing colonial attitudes and practices. Many Māori and non- Māori academics have utilised the colonial binary to expose the impositions and oppressive structures of colonisation, such as, Ranginui Walker (1990), Bishop and Glynn (1999), Smith (1999), Pihama (2001), Hirini Mead (2003), Ani Mikaere (2004), Avril Bell (2004) to name but a few. Pihama, for example, describes the assumption or immediate contrast between Western and Indigenous traditions.

Both Kaupapa Māori and Mana Wahine are conceptually based within Māori

cultural and philosophical traditions. Theory, however, may be said to be

conceptually based within European philosophical traditions. (Pihama, 2001: 84)

Culture is a popular yet commonly misunderstood notion. A critical understanding of culture requires one to think self-reflexively, for we are always embedded within our own cultural understandings of the world. The way one discerns meaning through culture, therefore, is a subconscious process. Thus, a person's understanding of those situated outside of their own cultural discourse does not necessarily reflect the nature of things. Instead, it merely reflects the cultural reality of the observer. Culture as a group phenomenon, therefore, establishes the framework for how we think, act and behave in the world (Lane *et al*, 2000). In an Aotearoa New Zealand context, the cultural relationship between Māori and Pākehā has been and continues to be framed in relation to the colonial binary.

In more recent postcolonial settings, social constructionism has been utilised to reveal the ways in which societal attitudes, structures, institutions, individuals and groups construct their perceived social reality, thus challenging the dominant discourses that placed others under subjection. Social construction critically looks at the way social practices and ways of thinking are normalised and, thus create the tradition of the time. Social constructs such as cultural identity, therefore, are objects of knowledge; they are not given to us by nature, but instead are constantly maintained and reaffirmed in order to persist.

The power of colonial discourse to totalise notions of cultural identity should not be underestimated, while the search for authentic conceptualisations of identity can also be

problematic due to an unawareness of certain traditions and assumptions that determine the understanding of ourselves and others.

The interviews and the knowledge generated throughout the process have humbled me immensely. I have treaded cautiously in my attempts to elicit and understand how each participant discerned meaning from contemporary constructions of Māori and Pākehā identity. However, even more important was my (in)ability to carry out such a potentially invasive process and successfully elicit complex ideas, views and thoughts regarding one's understanding of cultural identity. I was apprehensive in my analysis, interpretation and utilisation of the knowledge produced from the primary research. Prior to carrying out the in-depth interviews, I found myself deliberating over many concerns and questions with regard to the process, knowledge collection and my right and ability to interpret such knowledge. My main concern was respecting and maintaining the integrity and *mana*¹⁸ of not only the participants but also their stories. The knowledge imparted to me through the narratives reflected the openness and willingness of all the participants, not only to participate in the project, but also share some quite intimate accounts of their personal experiences.

As will be made apparent throughout this chapter my criticisms regarding the interview process are based upon concerns regarding cultural sensitivity, notions of power, questions of objectivity, and the modernistic pursuit of truth through representation. By engaging in such a process I endeavoured to inform my own research practices in hope of

¹⁸ The term '*mana*' is a Māori concept and commonly refers to one's dignity and pride. It can also represent one's status of prestige, authority, respect and power. In the context of Kaupapa Māori research, the maintenance and care of the *mana* of the participant(s) is paramount.

developing the skills and sensitivities to ensure safe and respectful environments for future qualitative research.

Ethical Considerations: Theoretical Underpinnings and Critical Reflections

We write on the ethics of responsibility because we don't want to write only for and with friends; we hope to write in ways that contribute to a reshaping of the "common sense" about poverty, the economy, and social and human relations. We consider, then, the ethics of writing research in the interest of social justice and the ethics of publishing what Richardson (1995) has called "writing stories".

(Fine et al, 2000:125)

Kaupapa Māori research methodology and principles guided the research and knowledge collection method of this thesis. Post-structuralist theory and, in particular, Jacques Derrida's strategy of deconstruction¹⁹ and Gadamer's *philosophical hermeneutics* provided the critical and reflexive lens for interpreting the narratives, while Freire and Lévinas provided useful considerations in regard to the ethical responsibilities of conducting this type of research.

The *Conceptual Model of Understanding* presented in this thesis (Chapter Six) is used to examine the conceptualisations of identity from the primary research. In framing the way one understands the world within three conceptual spaces of consciousness (*Historical*, *Critical* and the *Concealed*) the conceptual framework not only informed and attempted to articulate how each participant conceptualised meaning in terms of their identity, but

¹⁹ A more extensive discussion on post-structuralism and Derrida's deconstruction is carried in Chapter Four.

also attempts to apply a post-structural approach that reflects upon the process and knowledge produced from the narratives. This process became a critique of my own critical analysis and my own prejudices. The model assumes knowing or making sense of knowledge is not a convergent pursuit of a single truth but, instead, is an ever-expanding spiral, expanding outwardly into new forms of meaning and understanding.

The current binary logic that underpins postcolonial critique is a philosophical issue as much as it is a theoretical one and, thus, promotes the need for new and reflexive approaches (philosophical and theoretical) to qualitative analysis of this kind. The conceptual model, in part, attempts to do this by re-conceptualising the *Self* as the *Self*-ethical. In relation to cultural identity the notion of the *Self*-ethical, I suggest, is essential to the reframing of binary oppositions such as Māori and Pākehā. The *Self*-ethical constitutes a responsibility to the *Other*; a self-reflexive process and ethical desire to understand and recognise the constitution of oneself in relation to an *Other*.

In this thesis, the critical analysis of the binary is also underpinned by Lévinasian philosophy and theory and, in particular, his understanding of the notion of *alterity*, or otherness in the primary conception or understanding of the *Self*. Lévinas' thought insists, “that before there is any identity of any kind, there is an other who calls me forth, who constitutes me as that being who is responsible for the other” (Roffe, 2004: 40). Lévinas' theoretical position attempts to challenge the history of Western philosophy and reverse the traditional (*Self-Other*) hierarchies of power, by postulating the *Self* as the *Other*. Jonathan Roffe states that the fundamental problem with Western philosophical tradition “is not that it has casually decided to exclude otherness... [but] rather... [that it has failed to] glimpse the radical otherness that structures our existence” (2004: 40).

At the heart of Lévinasian theory is an attack upon the conception of identity as a causal relationship that determines not only authority as the dominant *Self*, but also as the (preferred) alternative to the *Other*. In other words, the *Self* exists as a self-sustaining, self-legitimizing consciousness, a Western philosophical construct of “identity, that grounds thinking by excluding everything that can be brought under the heading of *alterity* [or otherness]” (Roffe, 2004: 39). In this sense, any postcolonial analysis that continues to frame cultural identity within a *Self-Other* dichotomy has essentially already subordinated the *Other* within a hierarchy of power. By continually insisting to use a dualist hierarchy to expose the inequity in power relations between the *Self* and *Other*, those traditionally positioned at the margins are, from the very outset, already marginalised.

The ethical underpinnings that question contemporary conceptions of identity provide the theoretical basis for my critical and interpretive analysis of Māori-Pākehā cultural identity and relations. Although problematic, the theoretical discussion in this chapter serves two objectives. The first is an attempt to apply Lévinas' notion of radical alterity (otherness) through the re-inscription of the *Self* as the *Self*-ethical. Secondly, to reveal the insistent use of dualisms and binary oppositions in contemporary postcolonial literature and, in particular, the unethical, disempowering, and dehumanising potential of such constructs.

Freire's notion of *conscientisation* and his (re)humanising project of the oppressed through education also offers an ethical philosophy that attempts to address the issue of power within an oppressed-oppressor binary. Freire advocated that through literacy (education) oppressed peoples are able to raise a critical awareness of their place in the

world and how they came to be there. *Conscientisation* describes the moment where an oppressed (dehumanised) consciousness is liberated through its awareness of the systems, structures and practices that have sought to maintain the authority of the dominant *Self* (oppressor) over the *Other* (oppressed). However, the notion of *humanisation* also promotes an ethics of responsibility imposed not upon the oppressor, but the former oppressed. Freirean ethics can be understood as a dual project where the colonised is liberated from their psychological oppression and in turn re-humanised, but in doing so the former oppressed also re-humanise their oppressor.

The humanising task in Freirean terms, is the responsibility of the disempowered, for “[w]ho suffer[s] the effects of oppression more than the oppressed?” and, therefore, “[w]ho can better understand the necessity of liberation” (Freire, 1996: 27). Furthermore, in regaining their humanity, Freire argues that the oppressed must not “become in turn oppressors of the oppressors, but rather restorers of the humanity of both” (Freire, 1996: 26). This responsibility requires acts of love, benevolence and generosity on both parts.

My analysis of Freire’s ethical responsibility suggests that there is a need to be wary of the potential of the binary frame to reify power through the (re)workings of subversion. In other words, by subverting the centre-margin position one must be wary of asserting similar forms of oppression by merely replacing the previous dominant *Self* with another. For example Māori conceptualisations and worldviews in de-centering colonial attitudes and practices must not do so by taking some moral high ground over Pākehā worldviews and so on.

The responsibility espoused by Freire of the oppressed to re-humanise their former oppressors is problematic in that he continues to operate within an oppressor-oppressed binary frame. In other words, while asserting a humanising project through the love of the oppressed, he nonetheless reasserts the binary through his analysis.

In contrast, Lévinas' ethical philosophy of radical alterity challenges the conventional use of the *Self-Other* binary frame in the analysis and understanding of the *Self*. Instead, he advocates the inclusion of alterity in the constitution of the *Self*, where the understanding of the *Self* includes the *Other*. Otherness, therefore, is an inherent part of the *Self* that cannot be escaped, where the *Other* is also the *Self*. In the context of this thesis, Lévinas' notion of 'radical alterity' provides a theoretical space where the coloniser-colonised, oppressor-oppressed binary can ameliorate, enable reflection and power sharing. Freire's analysis, while providing the theoretical basis to expose the power of the oppressor, cannot remove itself from the tendencies of its binary and divisive frame. The following passage highlights the differences I see between Lévinas' philosophy in relation to anti-colonial or postcolonial theory, in that the oppressor-oppressed frame remains central to Freire's humanising project:

Thus, then, is the great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed: to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well. The oppressors, who oppress, exploit and rape by virtue of their power, cannot find in this power the strength to liberate either the oppressed or themselves. (Freire, 1996: 26)

Collaborative Storytelling and the Hermeneutic Circle of Understanding

As a result of the nature of the knowledge generated throughout the in-depth interview process, I chose to interpret the knowledge of the participants through collaborative storytelling. An interpretive method of in-depth interviewing enables the researcher and participant to mutually understand and co-construct meaning. Bishop (1996) uses the *koru* symbol, commonly used within Māori contexts to represent a spiralling metaphor, which seeks to revisit meaning and establish some greater clarity of narrative. What results from this reconstruction is a greater understanding of meaning for the interviewer, participants and readers of the research; “a position where the stories of the other research participants merge with that of the researcher in order to create new stories” (Bishop, 1996: 26).

The recent hermeneutic epistemological model, developed within Western philosophical thought provides, I suggest, a useful framework for interpreting and analysing the postcolonial condition. In *Being and Time* (1926) Heidegger developed what he termed the ‘hermeneutic circle of understanding’, which was then further developed upon by a student of his, Hans Georg Gadamer (1977; 1988; 1989). Traditionally, hermeneutics was known as the study or interpretation of texts. Throughout the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century, philosophers such as Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768 - 1834), Wilhelm Dilthey (1833 – 1911), Heidegger and Gadamer broadened its application to social and cultural contexts. Gadamer argues that within the hermeneutic approach to understanding and its cyclic evolving structure of meaning, “lies hidden the positive potentiality of the most original knowledge” (Gadamer in Connolly and Keutner, 1998: 71). This potentiality is made possible through key themes that Gadamer discloses as essential to uncovering

submerged meanings and interpretation. The notions of *effective history*, *tradition*, *prejudice* and *horizons*, introduced by Gadamer, articulate an approach to interpretation that attempts to reveal the historical and inherent structures of one's thinking.

Kaupapa Māori research and, in particular, Bishop's method of 'Collaborative Storytelling' allows this hermeneutic approach to be applied within the context of this research; an approach that, I believe, enhances the nature of qualitative knowledge analysis and interpretation. Bishop (1996) along with others (Smith, L., 1999: Smith, G., 1997: Pihama, 2001, Cram, 2001) developed an approach to research that validated Māori cultural values, beliefs, knowledge and worldviews. Although specifically developed as a response to traditional Western research methods that misrepresented Māori experiences and knowledge, Kaupapa Māori research theory and practices provide, in the context of this research at least, a more inclusive approach to knowledge production and meaning.

However, in continuing to remain self-reflexive, it is important to remember that Kaupapa Māori Research methodology arose in opposition to Pākehā led research; in resistance to a methodology that was seen as conducive of prevailing British-European research practices utilised to analyse, examine and describe the thoughts, ideas and lives of many Māori. In the context of this research and its attempt to work outside of the binary mode, I am aware of the ease by which my own assumptions and biases may in fact be reifying the binary logic that it seeks to critically examine. In light of this awareness and of the fact that Kaupapa Māori Research was conceived in opposition to an authoritative system of knowledge and practices, it would be unethical and problematic to assume a similar authority by claiming Indigenous methodology as

morally superior to say other European, Western, or American research methodologies. Instead, in this thesis I wish to move beyond the tendency to position Kaupapa Māori in response or opposition to conventional Western theories and toward a more reflexive and inclusive approach to researching.

The co-constructive nature of a collaborative storytelling methodology and its reliance upon subjective analysis has meant that the essence of this research, and what it may or may not tell us, is just as important as the outcomes.

A challenging and reflexive aspect of this project is the interviewing of Pākehā participants by a Māori researcher. A Kaupapa Māori research and theoretical paradigm, aligned with Lévinasian philosophy of ethics, Freirean *humanisation* and Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics, provides a self-reflexive and more appropriate approach to researching into the thoughts and lives, not only of Māori, but all participants. No research methodology can ensure all concerns are alleviated, however, the lessons learnt and the body of knowledge contributed to by Māori and non-Māori academics when researching Māori provides what I believe is a more respectful, inclusive and reflexive approach to in-depth interviewing.

Kia Tūpato - Treading Carefully: Preparation and the Interview Process

In preparing for the interviews my concerns and considerations rested mainly upon my past experiences as a participant in a doctoral thesis research project when attending teacher training college. More significantly, with my feelings of powerlessness and mis-interpretation predicated in the final product of the research process - the examined, approved and printed copy of the thesis. This is not to say that such an experience has had

a negative impact upon me personally. In fact, it has probably made me a more reflexive and effective researcher. However, it was significant enough that it has imprinted upon me a lasting and perhaps biased view toward research involving human participants. The primary issues that come to mind regarding the ethical and cultural responsibilities, as both a researcher and participant, are the notions of power, truth, representation, voice and cultural sensitivity.

In examining the acceptance and perpetuation of the *truths* of the *stolen generation's narrative*, Attwood (2001) proposes that in a broader societal context narratives can only be truthfully heard within an appropriate and supportive environment:

This narrative accrual could not have happened had there not been an appropriate cultural and political milieu for it. Any narrative that achieves such prominence depends upon a supportive environment; indeed, often this not only enables particular narratives to be told and heard but also demands that their 'truths' be uttered. (Attwood, 2001, p196)

Similarly, when interviewing or eliciting knowledge from interviews the researcher must develop an environment that allows participants not only to feel equal with the researcher but also have ownership of the knowledge produced. This approach is similar to that espoused through Bishop's (1999) *whakawhanaungatanga* framework that states the importance of establishing relationships with those being researched about:

...the process of establishing whānau relationships, literally by means of identifying, through culturally appropriate means, your bodily linkage, your

engagement, your connectedness, and therefore, an unspoken but implicit commitment to other people. (Bishop, 1999: 203)

Within a Kaupapa Māori paradigm and in some facets of the contemporary Māori world, certain *whakataukī* (Māori proverb) are used to ensure certain practices and beliefs are adhered to. In the context of this thesis the Māori proverb *kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata* (do not trample on the *mana* of other people) is essential to responsible and culturally sensitive research. A deep concern for the welfare and integrity of others is promoted through such proverbs and it is done so without asserting any authority or moral high ground. Māori concepts, values and beliefs provide a philosophy similar to Lévinas and Freire that have the concern of the individual as well as the collective at heart. Kaupapa Māori research not only offers the principal guidelines for more inclusive and responsible research practices, but also stress the care and welfare of the participants as essential to the integrity of the project.

In relation to this project I wish to use the Māori concepts (see below) of *tapu*, *mana*, *mauri* and *wairua* to describe how Kaupapa Māori research may contribute to a more inclusive and respectful approach to knowledge collection and production. I am again wary of positing a reactive Indigenous methodology against/in opposition to traditional Western research practices and, in the process, asserting my own binary. Instead, what I am proposing is that through reflexive (historical) thought one is able to move beyond these binary restrictions. This requires one not only to challenge their own traditions, but to also question the way one tends to structure those responses within binary frames, such as, traditional versus non-traditional, Māori versus Pākehā and so on.

It should also be noted at this time that I am aware that Indigenous concepts, and in this particular context Māori concepts, can sometimes be susceptible to over-simplification and misrepresentation. It is not my intention to do so within this project, however, I see them as important to maintaining the *mana* and integrity of the participants as well as this project.

Hirini Moko Mead (2003) refers to certain attributes that are essential to Māori customs and beliefs. He describes *tapu* as an individual's most important spiritual attribute. It is inherited from the parents and is built upon through their actions and achievements in life. The early Twentieth Century anthropologist, Elsdon Best suggests that traditionally (and this holds true for some Māori of today), *tapu* provided for the establishment of rules that sought to protect the people as well as punish: “[t]he system of tapu was a series of prohibitions, and its influence was far-reaching – so much so that it entered into all activities of native life.” He goes on to say that, in the past, those that disregarded these rules were punished with often disastrous outcomes that “was not inflicted by his fellow-tribesman – [but rather] it was imposed by the god” (Best cited in Reilly, 2004: 15). Mead suggests that in a contemporary setting, *tapu* essentially enables the individual to strive for a state of well-being, by carrying out everyday activities that contribute to this better state of *being*:

The protection of the self is closely linked to tapu and the attribute of mana, which is allied to tapu...If the level of one's tapu is at a steady state, the individual is well in both a physical and psychological state. Well-being means that the self is in a state of balance. (Mead, 2003: 45)

Mead (2003) discusses the relation between *mana* and *tapu* and that as *mana* rises, so too does the *tapu* of an individual. He suggests that *mana* “is much more open to extension than any other attribute. It can be described as the creative and dynamic force that motivates the individual to do better than others” (51). *Mana* is partly inherited from one’s parents. Mead also states that it “is always a social quality that requires other people to recognise one’s achievements and accord respect” (51). I extend the notion of *mana* beyond Mead’s statement that it motivates “the individual to do better than others” by suggesting that any subsequent actions that do so to the detriment of others, in fact, would work to lower the *mana* of that person. In essence *mana* self regulates its status through its own benevolence, again demonstrating the value of Māori concepts to promoting more inclusive and ethical approaches to research and analysis. Michael Shirres also highlights the connection between *mana* and *tapu*:

Mana is the power of being [that is alive or active], a power that is realized over time. On the other hand a thing has its full tapu as soon as it begins to exist...The child who is of chiefly line has not yet the mana, the power, of a chief, but has already the tapu of a chief. Tapu is being with potentiality for power [mana].
(Shirres cited in Reilly, 2004: 15)

In the context of this thesis, Māori concepts and Western philosophy (Levinas and Freire) can together be utilised to enable the emergence of a new critical space that allows for a multiplicity of meanings to be produced and an environment that maintains the *mana* and integrity of all those involved. It is an attempt to provide a process that enables authenticity and co-construction of meaning, dialogue and reciprocity.

The concept of *mauri* has been described as the life principle or life essence of all living things; it is what enables one's existence as an individual. Mead explains that “[m]auri is the spark of life, the active component that indicates the person is alive... *Tihei mauri ora* is the sneeze of life which signals the new independence of the child, breathing independent of the womb and its supporting life lines” (Mead, 2003: 53). The notion of *mauri* in the context of this research represents the coming together of researcher, participants and readers of this thesis, where we all bring life to the ideas, knowledge and meaning of the text, for without it the text would merely be words on a page. *Mauri* or life-force is used as a metaphor to underpin the key concern of this methodology, which seeks to address the historic issues of misrepresentation and cultural insensitivity associated with traditional Western research methods, and now, I suggest, reactive Indigenous methodologies. It is my belief that this approach is of benefit to all involved in this type of qualitative research, not just the Māori participants. It is the gift of *mauri* that gives the life-force essential to the possible meanings produced from this project.

The final concept referred to as *wairua* is representative of the ‘spirit’ or ‘soul’ one possesses, but “[u]nlike the mauri, which never leaves the human life it is part of, the wairua can detach but never strays too far away” (Mead, 2003: 54). *Wairua*, is also closely related to well-being and *tapu*, in that an individual's *wairua* can be affected by the actions of others and the everyday environment, both positively and negatively. As such, the notion of *wairua* makes one aware of the potential of research to either promote or (inadvertently) damage one's sense of well-being.

The definitions I have attempted to outline above, point to the complexity of Māori concepts and their interrelatedness. It is easy to understand, therefore, how they can be

oversimplified or misrepresented. However, for many Māori they represent the everyday context in which they live, and the non-reflexive embodiment of feelings, thoughts and practices. In the context of this thesis, they represent my attempt to weave into the essence of this project some of the values, ideas and concepts that are important to me.

Conclusion

I believe this research methodology, and the various theories that inform it, enables the possibility for co-constructed meaning through in-depth interviewing. The *Conceptual Model of Understanding* presented in Chapter Six informs the process and provides the analytical tool for interpreting the narratives. The model also attempts to examine conceptualisations of identity outside of typical binary frameworks. Essentially, the model of understanding encourages one not only to reflect on the way in which one establishes meaning, but also question the assumptions and prejudices that inform such understandings.

All research of this nature carried out using knowledge elicited from participants is highly subjective both on the part of the researcher and participants'. Attempts to objectify this type of knowledge gathering dilute the essence of what the information may or may not tell us. The methodology and its theoretical underpinnings, and the critical reflections offered in this chapter provides an approach to research that enables the researcher, participant and readers of this thesis to establish their own meanings from the knowledge produced. The benefit of this approach is that it enables all those willing to engage in this type of analysis to co-construct meaning from the primary research knowledge. There are no absolute truths or realities elicited through the analysis, for

fundamentally truths are open to multiple interpretations and re-interpretation as each and every one of us brings our own understanding and meaning to the text.

Part Two: Literature Review

Chapter Two

A Genealogy of Philosophical Thought: Tracing the Binary from Plato to Postmodernism

The practice of reflexive thought has spanned across almost every cultural divide where individuals have engaged in thinking about the nature of reality, truth, knowledge and human existence. Central to these questions of the human condition, is thought and reflection about *Being* in the world. The aim of this chapter is to trace the evolution of dualist and binary thinking and knowledge formations throughout Western history and culture. Since the time of the Classical Greek philosophers (Socrates, Plato and Aristotle), the Western philosophical tradition has established prevailing understandings of knowledge, truth, reality and existence. As I will make apparent, these time-honoured traditions have been in a constant flux of stability and instability, change and transformation, where traditions have not only been challenged and usurped by another, but have also been influenced by one another. Historically, therefore, we have seen the vacillation between traditions and frames of thought in a quest for cultural and intellectual supremacy.

This chapter critically examines Western traditions of thought and, in particular, how during this quest for power, contrasting assertions of truth, knowledge and understanding have been established. Binary articulations such as traditional versus non-traditional, objective versus subjective, religious faith versus reason and so on, have been

fundamental to the development of Western philosophical thinking. As such, the history of Western civilisation has consisted of numerous cultural and intellectual movements, all vying for a central position of authority and dominance. Furthermore, in disproving or negating the ideas of a particular tradition one generation essentially stands upon the shoulders of another, building upon old understandings that are enriched by previous discoveries and experiences. These complex cultural transitions throughout history reveal the contradiction of Western tradition. That is, the simultaneous development of both syncretic and opposed knowledge systems, where the dichotomy established at any particular time in history, is governed by the needs and motivations of the time. Central to understanding these needs and motivations, is the question of power.

The genealogical approach I make use of in this chapter is essentially an historical analysis and is drawn from Michel Foucault's (Nietzschean influenced) method of analysing knowledge and power through historical discourse. Less concerned with origins as such, Foucault's genealogy seeks to disclose alternative and sometimes contradictory readings of history. Genealogy works to reveal a desire for power and control through particular assertions of knowledge and truth. Historically, according to Foucault, underlying rules and conventions establish meaning in a particular time and assert specific regimes of truth. A genealogical method of inquiry seeks to examine the underlying structures that maintain a particular knowledge system and, thus, serves to expose political, social, cultural and economic motivations.

Foucault's genealogy exposes the agendas of power that have historically worked to invalidate other forms of knowing and understanding. As Michael Drolet (2004) explains, Foucault's genealogical method was most interested in and, subsequently, directed at

totalising discourses. A method that is critical of “[t]hose great systems, syntheses or ideologies that dominate the modern thought and practices... The aim of genealogy [therefore] was to expose the workings of power, to illuminate a society's 'will to truth' (Drolet, 2004: 20). Foucault’s genealogy analyses the conditions of existence of meaning. In uncovering the principles of meaning production a genealogical approach focuses upon the various discursive modes of understanding that enable truth claims to emerge throughout the various epochs of history.

In this chapter, I critically discuss the cultural and intellectual development of Western society over the last two millennia. The discussion looks at key cultural and intellectual movements (and thinkers) of Western philosophical tradition, beginning with the Greco-Roman period around 600 BC, through to the rise of Christianity in around 500 AD; followed by the *Renaissance* and the scientific and industrial revolution of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century, which led into what is conventionally known as the Eighteenth Century period of *Enlightenment* and, finally, the emergence of the highly influential Franco-German philosophies of the mid 1800s and early 1900s. In critically analysing each of these intellectual traditions this chapter seeks to reveal the unchanging and unchallenged use of dualisms and binary classifications and knowledge formations throughout Western philosophical tradition.

This critical and historical analysis is carried out in an attempt to better understand how these cultural and intellectual movements have influenced contemporary postmodern (humanist and emancipatory) discourses. In terms of this thesis and its primary objective - to destabilise the binary; it is important to understand the role that binary thinking has

played historically in the development of Western philosophical tradition. The analysis given throughout this chapter, therefore, will be from a postmodern perspective.

The term postmodernism has many definitions however, in terms of this thesis it is defined as the cultural and intellectual response to the ideologies, values and beliefs of modernism. Central to postmodernist arguments are the notions of subjective realities, language, texts and truth as forms of power that mask alternative realities of the world and, in so doing, disguising the “conditions-dynamic and erotic-of...[their] own production” (Halperin, 1993: 88).

As a critical discourse, however, postmodernism cannot escape its own rhetoric and, thus, must also be subjected to a critique of its own founding principles. Subsequently, this chapter also examines early postmodern and, in particular, what has become known conventionally as existential criticisms that first challenged the writings and ideas of Greek philosophy, the authority of the church and state, science and the modernistic beliefs of the late-Nineteenth and early-Twentieth centuries. In using a postmodern critique to analyse Western traditions, one is reminded of Audre Lorde’s axiom that “[t]he master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s house” (Lorde, 1979). Nietzsche was also aware of such a paradox. In examining the question of knowledge and power in philosophical tradition, he asked the question of how one ideology could de-centre an existing (dominant) ideology without becoming one itself. As Schacht explains,

[i]t is one of his [Nietzsche’s] more astute psychological insights that frustration in an attempt to achieve one sort of power commonly leads to the development of

another, or of alternative forms of competition in which power is both differently won and differently measured. (Schacht, 2003: 235)

In terms of this analysis, Nietzsche's critique of the great epochs of knowledge throughout Western tradition provides the basis for one to be critical and self-reflexive of one's own beliefs, knowledge systems and attitudes. This requires an approach that constantly questions one's own thinking, motivations and assumptions. It is this type of awareness that articulates the complexities, challenges and frustrations I have faced in navigating within such a critical and self-reflexive discourse.

An Historical Background: The Rise of Western Civilisation and Philosophy

The roots of Western philosophy date back more than 2,000 years. Conventionally, these two millennia have been divided into four distinct eras – the Ancient or Classical civilisation (Age of Antiquity), the Medieval (Age of Darkness), Modern (Age of Enlightenment) and Contemporary. The seminal period in Western history is considered to be around 900 BC when ancient Greek civilisation (and much later that of Rome) was seen as the pinnacle of Western culture. During this time, Greek and Roman literature and intellectualism flourished. This human-centric cultural dominance was to continue until the eventual decline of the Western Roman Empire around 500 AD. What followed was a period of nearly 1,000 years of so-called cultural and economic deterioration known as the Medieval or Dark Ages. Throughout this period, the void of power left by the fallen Western Roman Empire was replaced by the Christian church. The Dark Age is described in contrast to the earlier (Age of Antiquity) and later (Age of Enlightenment) periods of human-centric ideals as opposed to a God-centered view and understanding of

the world. Toward the end of the Dark Ages, during the period known as the *Renaissance* (from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century), classical human centered philosophy and art experienced a revival. Originating in Italy, the *Renaissance* bridged the close of the Middle Age and the rise of what we know as the Modern (enlightened) world.

Andrew Graham-Dixon (1999) explains what the *Renaissance* has come to represent in conventional understandings:

It was in Italy, surrounded by the ruins of the ancient world that men first dreamed of reviving the spirit of classical antiquity. Spurred by the melancholy conviction that their own era was a Dark Age, they sought the enlightenment in the grandeur of once mighty Greece and Rome. ‘Renaissance’... was the word coined to express their thrilling fantasy of rebirth, of a return to the first bright dawn of civilization. (12)

Graham-Dixon reminds us, however, that one must be careful in using such “blanket terms... [for] it conceals much truth [and can be] mingled deceptively with certain errors and false preconceptions” (12). He goes on to suggest the need to be wary of assuming that these particular periods in history were culturally distinct from each other. Instead, they should be seen as cultural movements that were implicitly connected. For example, “it makes more sense to think of the *Renaissance* as a culmination rather than a rebuttal of certain medieval tendencies” (13).

Furthermore, while it is convenient to separate these particular periods chronologically, like most phenomena in history it is perhaps wise to view them as occurring over a

somewhat broader and overlapping timescale where the transition between cultural epochs was never an immediate and distinct change from tradition.

More importantly, in terms of this thesis one needs to question the belief that the first golden-age of Western civilisation, the Greco-Roman period, is seen as the original source of higher civilization or, at the least, consider the implications of such an assumption to alternative epistemologies in contemporary understandings. Linda Smith (1999) describes how, according to Western convention, the Middle Age was seen as “the beginning of the end for primitive societies” that until the *Renaissance* had become separated by “more than a millennium of barbarism” (13).

...an era likened to a period of ‘darkness’ (‘the Age of Darkness’) which ‘coincided’ with the rise of power to the east. This era was followed by reformation within the Church of Rome. During these periods of time, which are social constructions of time, society was said to be feudal, belief systems were based on dogma, monarchs ruled by divine authority, and literacy was confined to the very few... Deeply embedded in these constructs are systems of classification and representation which lend themselves easily to binary oppositions, dualisms, and hierarchical orderings of the world. (55)

Smith goes on to suggest that the Dark Age came to represent all knowledge and understanding that was pre-modern or “prehistoric... where tradition breaks with modernism” (55). The resurgence of Greek philosophy, culture and traditions during the *Renaissance* brought forth again the study of the human condition, thus, making humanity (as opposed to God) the centre of any philosophical questions of existence,

knowledge and *Being*. The philosophy of humanism provided the foundations for, arguably, the most significant cultural and intellectual shift in Western history. The Eighteenth Century 'Age of Reason' or *Enlightenment*

The assumptions of Light versus Dark, traditional versus non-traditional, religion versus science, modern versus postmodern and so on, are examples of how the historiography of Western philosophical tradition tends to be classified and, thus, defined through binary and dualist distinctions, where competing knowledge systems are set in opposition to one another. Western philosophical tradition is, therefore, deeply embedded with dualist and binary thinking.

Tracing back the Binary: Socratic Conversations and Dialectical Reasoning

The early dialogues of Plato's corpus²⁰ portray a man who was an ironist and moral philosopher, but also a disturbing philosopher-critic, who truly believed in his cause; that is, to better his beloved Athenians through the understanding of virtue as knowledge, and to strive for what he believed was the most important thing in life - to improve the soul:

For know that this is the command of God; and I believe that no greater good has ever happened in the state than my service to the God. For I do nothing but go about persuading you all, old and young alike, not to take thought for your

²⁰ It is unfortunate that our willingness to unravel the secrets of Socratic philosophy over the past 2,500 years has been somewhat thwarted by the non-existence of literary works penned by his own hand. In attempting to write about Socrates - the three main sources - Aristophanes, Xenophon and Plato have painted radically different portraits of this great philosophical thinker. However, it is the early dialogues of Plato - *Apology*, *Crito*, *Charmides*, *Euthyphro*, *Protagoras* and the *Republic I*, to name but a few, that have become the more widely accepted accounts of Socrates' method and teaching. The middle dialogues of Plato have been brought into question due to their discrepancies with the earlier texts, and many contemporary scholars have suggested that the views espoused in the earlier dialogues are those of Socrates, while the middle dialogues are the views of Plato (Beverluis, 2003).

persons or your properties, but first and chiefly to care about the greatest improvement of the soul. (Plato, *Apology*: 29d - 30c)

In questioning individual understandings of truth, popular opinion, and doctrine, Socrates - through Plato's writing - was noted for his powerful intellect, and in particular his use of irony while interrogating, examining and re-examining the commonly held thoughts and beliefs of Athenians. Xenophon states that he “could do what he liked with any disputant” (*Memorabilia* 1.2. 14-16), and in *Meno*, Plato compares him to a stingray that rendered people's minds numb and helpless (79e7- 80b2). In what may be the greatest Socratic irony of all, his method of enquiry – intended to open the minds of his fellow Athenians - instead led to fear, misunderstanding and ultimately his execution in 399 BC.

At this point I wish to examine one particular Socratic dialogue of Plato's, *Euthyphro*, in an attempt firstly to demonstrate the method of dialectic that Socrates is so renowned for, but more importantly, to highlight how dualist and binary constructs were deeply embedded within classical philosophical thought and reasoning. *Euthyphro* is one of Plato's earlier dialogues. It features a conversation between Socrates and Euthyphro, a man known for being a 'religious expert', as they attempt to discuss the meaning of piety.

The two men are awaiting preliminary hearings for possible trials near the king-archon's court. Socrates has been accused by the young poet *Meletus* of being impious, for not paying respect to the Greek Gods, introducing other new deities and, thus, corrupting the youth of the city. *Euthyphro* was laying charges against his father for the murder of one of his workers who had killed a slave belonging to the family. The worker had been bound and gagged by the father and thrown into a ditch, but while awaiting instruction

from the authorities about what to do with him, the worker had died due to improper care and neglect. It is after hearing this that Socrates praises *Euthyphro* by stating that he must be so wise and of great knowledge to have such a clear understanding of what it is to be pious to have judged his father in such a way. Socrates asks *Euthyphro* to share this great wisdom so that he may defend the charge of impiety laid upon him in court and so begins the classic tale of Socrates and *Euthyphro*.

As the story unfolds we are introduced to Socrates' art of dialectical reasoning, argument and irony as he insists on *Euthyphro* putting forward definitions of holiness, and in turn what it means to be pious and impious. In *Euthyphro's* first definition of piety, he states that it is what he is doing, that is, prosecuting his father for murder that is pious. Socrates, however, argues that he has only given an example of a pious act. Through dialectical reasoning, Socrates attempts to expose his interlocutor's fundamental understandings of what it means to be pious or impious. As the conversation continues, Socrates demonstrates his ability to challenge his interlocutor's beliefs through questioning. In doing this, the somewhat frustrated *Euthyphro* comes to the self-realisation that he actually knows little of what it means to be pious and that in fact he is ignorant on such matters. An impressive irony of this dialogue is the fact that Socrates does not expect to learn from *Euthyphro*, but rather intends to lead *Euthyphro* to an understanding of and acknowledgment of his own ignorance.

Plato's brilliance is exemplified in *Euthyphro* through what might be considered the heart of the philosophical dimension of this story - *Euthyphro's Dilemma*. Plato poses the question, "Is what you're doing pious because it is loved by the gods, or do the gods love what you're doing because what you're doing is pious?" In attempting to define piety and,

therefore, its fundamental quality, or essence, *Euthyphro* has been led by Socrates into a debate about what is morally right or wrong, godly and ungodly, or good and evil. The three attempts by *Euthyphro* to define piety were futile, as he finds himself being lead by Socrates and coming full circle, only to be left with one of his earlier insufficient definitions. This moral dualism fails to enlighten us in regard to the essence of piety. However, perhaps this is the point that Socrates, or Plato for that matter, was attempting to make – that dialectical reasoning is not premised upon the search for an answer to a question, but instead is an approach that seeks to question the assumptions one may have about right and wrong, pious and impious.

In examining Plato's *Euthyphro*, it is apparent that the earliest Western philosophical traditions and ways of thinking were steeped in dualisms and binary oppositions that in relation to one another were used to form understanding or demonstrate the subjectivity of assumption. These dual formations, it could be argued, have become part of a taken for granted system of Western reasoning. The time of Antiquity was to dominate the Western world for over a thousand years. The time of Christianity, however, signalled in a paradigmatic transformation.

The Religious Traditions of Augustine and Aquinas: Rationalising Faith and Reason

The knowledge that is natural to us has its source in the senses and extends just so far as it can be led by sensible things; from these, however, our understanding cannot reach the divine essence. (Aquinas in Summa Theologica, I, q.12, a.12)

Religious philosophy and two of its major contributors, Augustine of Hippo (354–430) and Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), grappled with the difficulties of understanding the world from both theological and philosophical (through rationality and reason) perspectives. They were drawn into the philosophical and theological debates regarding truth about human existence, the existence of God, and of good and evil. Although separated by nearly 1,000 years the two were both key theological thinkers in Christian philosophy and were also connected through a keen interest in Aristotelian philosophy.

Peter Brown (2000), in his book *Augustine of Hippo: a Biography*, describes how in his early adult life, Augustine was a follower of the Manichaean religion until his eventual conversion to Christianity around 386. During the collapse of the Roman Empire in the late Ancient period, Manichaeism became the rival religion to Christianity, as they both competed to replace the classical pagan religions of Greek and Roman society. Manichaeans were “uncompromising rationalists... [and Augustine felt] that as a Manichee, he could uphold the fundamental tenets of his religion by reason alone” (Brown, 2000: 37). The revival of Aristotelian studies in the city of Carthage, and Augustine’s keen interest in Aristotle’s work and thinking, meant he was attracted to Manichaean religious doctrine.

The key principles of Manichaean religious beliefs were based upon the axiom of ‘Good and Evil’. Manichaeans proffered a clear and absolute distinction between God the creator of all things as good, and an opposite force of malevolence and evil. As Brown explains, the Manichaeans were dualists:

...so convinced were they that evil could not come from a Good God, that they believed that it came from the invasion of the good – the ‘Kingdom of Light’ – by a hostile force of evil, equal in power, eternal, totally separate – the ‘Kingdom of Darkness’. (Brown, 2000: 36)

Armed with a new-found intellectual freedom, Augustine was not content with relying on tradition and faith to defend his religion, instead, he chose to utilise a philosophical approach of rational thinking and reason to defend his beliefs:

To the amazement of his colleagues, he had mastered, on his own, a whole work of Aristotelian logic... The intelligentsia of a provincial city such as Carthage had been content to talk about this work of Aristotle, as ‘something great and godlike’; only the young Augustine took up the challenge single-handed. It is hardly surprising therefore, that Augustine should have adopted a religion which claimed to slough off any beliefs that threatened the independence of his very active mind. (Brown, 2000: 38)

Unfortunately, however, as a rationalist Augustine was unable to reconcile the contradiction of Manichaeism that asserted God as the creator of all things, yet not the creator of evil. As such, he formulated his own response to the Manichaean contradiction by simply stating that evil was not a thing, but was more an absence of goodness. In a sense ‘Good’ is only known through the presence of the goodness of God, through all things that God creates; while ‘Evil’ is represented through the absence of the goodness of God, a lack if you like, of presence in relation to absence, of light in relation to darkness. The Manichaean duality and Augustine’s mediation of this duality again

highlight the history of dualisms and binary thinking utilised in this instance, in the Western theological tradition. Similar to the Manichaeism binary between ‘Good and Evil’ and light and darkness, Augustine asserts a binary between presence and absence. The presence-absence binary in Western philosophy has been heavily criticised in contemporary postmodern and post-structural literature. In particular, Heidegger and Derrida were critical of the presence-absence binary associated with the Western metaphysical tradition (See Chapter Three for a more detailed discussion on this critique).

Thomas Aquinas was an important thinker of the medieval times and claimed that complete knowledge of the divine could only come to those who had been gifted with divine wisdom, or the insight of God himself. Aquinas, who was also an advocate of Aristotelian thinking, utilised some of Aristotle’s ideas to rationalise questions of existence, of *Being* and of God. He proclaimed that there were two rational faculties of the human mind. Reason was the faculty that used and processed sensory data to understand the world, while intellect was used to decipher non-empirical or a priori truths. Aquinas also claimed that while the ability to learn from sensory experience was a capability of all higher animals, only humans and angels possessed the faculty of intellect (Aquinas, 2006; Walberg, 1994).

A dualism of rationality (reason and intellect), similar to Augustine, is used by Aquinas on which to base his philosophical arguments. This demonstrates how dualisms have been utilised to mediate between faith and the powers of reason. Aquinas’s dualism of reason and intellect, Augustine’s presence and absence, and Manichaean ‘Good and Evil’ all expose the binary established within theological understandings and further

demonstrates the entrenchment of binary thinking in Western philosophical and theological traditions.

The Enlightenment: The Age of Science and Reason

The *Enlightenment* advocated the notion that humanity had a universal moral core and that all people were inherently free and equal. The concepts of religious and intellectual freedom, equality before the law and the supremacy of reason were advocated for by the heroes of the *Enlightenment* and, thus, proffered a direct challenge to the institutions of power at the time, namely the Catholic Church and the state (aristocracy). An important point to note in terms of this period of cultural and scholastic change is that many of the ‘heroes’ of the *Enlightenment* were believers in religion or in the concept of God at least. However, they were also free thinkers and, thus, embraced scientific progress and were dismayed at the corruption, hypocrisy and injustice of the church and state. The *Enlightenment* was seen as the period that could bring an end to poverty, racism, injustice and all other ills of society and, thus, has conventionally come to represent a specific set of Western notions that

...entails a new periodization of history (ancient, medieval, modern) in which the modern denotes the period when reason and science triumphed over Scripture, tradition, and custom. At the heart of modernity is the notion of the freely acting, freely knowing individual whose experiments can penetrate the secrets of nature

and whose work with other individuals can make a new and better world.
(Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob, 1994: 201)

The most important period prior to the *Enlightenment* was the Scientific Revolution of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century, which was propagated by the likes of John Locke, René Descartes, Isaac Newton, Galileo and others. The heroic model of science first advocated by Newton's notion of *Principia* presented for the Catholic Church a crisis of faith and power. Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob suggest that Newtonian science had "[become] the essential [and authoritative] intellectual ingredient, the mental capital, of the Industrial [and Scientific] Revolution" (1994: 23).

The French philosopher, mathematician and writer Descartes (1596-1650) who is perhaps most famous for his mind-body (Cartesian) dualism, argued that the mind and body were two distinct substances. Descartes understood the relationship between the material body and the immaterial mind as one of two separate entities. In contrast to monism - the theory that the mind and body are one - Cartesian dualism argues that the mind (or soul) can exist apart from its extended body and that although the immaterial mind and material body causally interact, they are also ontologically distinct substances (Rozemond, 1998).

Often referred to as the 'Father of Modern Philosophy', Descartes provided the basis for a new philosophy that broke from the tradition of the time, that is, a cultural and scholastic tradition that was founded on the ideas, principles and philosophy of Ancient Greece and, in particular, the philosophical ideals of Aristotle (Cottingham, 1992). Descartes also argued at the time of the emergence of modern science, that "any problem

might be analysed into basic elements and all human knowledge deduced from first principles” (Clarke, 2002: 13).

In a similar sense, dualist and binary formations might also be viewed as reductive structures that have been entrenched within Western philosophical tradition and, more recently, in contemporary analytical fields of study, such as, structuralism, postmodernism, critical theory, cultural theory and postcolonial studies. As such, in attempting to better understand the social and cultural conditioning of marginalised groups in society, postmodern (and postcolonial) analyses have tended to reduce these complex experiences (of the whole) down to the interaction between simpler or more fundamental binary categorisations. As such, these complex systems (postcolonial societies for example) tend to be understood by reduced accounts of the individual constituents of that system: in other words, through dualist and binary representations. For example, from a postcolonial perspective, New Zealand colonial history tends to be understood and analysed in relation to the Māori-Pākehā relationship, through a coloniser-colonised frame.

With the advent of science and reason, tensions within Christianity itself saw the doctrinal separation of various churches from the Roman Catholic Church, such as, Reformed Protestantism and reforms in the Church of England. These ensuing tensions meant that churches were struggling not only for power amongst themselves, but also against the advent of modernism.

During this period, what historians have referred to as the cultural war began, whereby, science and technology challenged religious understandings of the world. Science and

reason became the guarantors of progress and power. Appleby, Hunt and Jacob (1994) describe how these turbulent times coincided with the expansion of colonial empires. Consequently, in order to maintain authority and power, some religious institutions were forced to reconcile the differences between their own religious beliefs and that of the new scientific revolution: “English Protestants and the Puritans who went to the American colonies thought that they could have their Bible along with their science; both would be sticks they could use to beat the Roman Catholic or even the Anglican clergy” (Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob, 1994: 44). The unusual juxtaposition of science with religion highlights how the ascendancy of one cultural tradition over another is not always a simple process of conquer and rule. Instead, at times in order to survive two (or more) contrasting worldviews seek to mediate their differences and, thus, present arguments for co-existence.

The *Enlightenment*, however, was not to be the great cultural and intellectual revolution that it promised. The values of humanism and the idea that science and technology were to create a better world for all, would be challenged by world wars, oppression and atrocities of the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries. Subsequently, cultural and intellectual movements such as German Romanticism, phenomenology and existentialism provided the foundations for yet another intellectual assault upon the Western philosophical tradition and, in particular, the humanist ideals associated with modernity, science and reason. The cultural movement known as postmodernism provided the philosophical basis for anti-humanism. It could be argued, however, that science and reason since the Age of *Enlightenment* has remained THE authoritative tradition in contemporary Western society.

Continental Philosophy and the Advent of Nietzschean Thinking

The Eighteenth Century, however, also lays claim to the origins of postmodernism through the rise of German philosophy. The likes of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), Johann Georg Haman (1730-88), Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) lay the ground for existential criticisms of the Nineteenth Century. Kierkegaard (1813-1855), Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and Heidegger were the eminent philosophers who at the time challenged traditional Western philosophy. Their concerns were based upon the premise that Western (specifically Greek) philosophical traditions had not enabled the human mind to reach the heights of intellectual enlightenment, as was commonly espoused. As a consequence, an aggressive intellectual response to modernism, religion and traditional philosophical trains of thought occurred during this period. During what is now regarded as the counter-Enlightenment, Haman and Herder were the founders of anti-rationalism. The likes of Kant, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche (followed by Heidegger and Jean Paul Sartre in the mid-Twentieth Century) advocated the need to challenge philosophical traditions and, thus, to define a new age of modernity.

In terms of philosophy and its epistemological origins, Nietzsche was critical of the great ancient thinkers of Greek intellectual supremacy, such as Plato and his philosophical counterpart Socrates. He argues that they were instrumental in asserting optimistic rationalism and the claim that through reasoning one is lead to virtue-inducing objective wisdom (Tanner, 2003). This, Nietzsche espoused, was the beginning of a knowledge system that constrained a culture of its greatest insight. That is, when in search of the truth or a greater understanding of reality, one must be wary of one's own desires and motivations, or what Nietzsche refers to as a 'will to truth'. A frightening proposition,

even for philosophers of today, but for Nietzsche an imperative to a way of thinking that enables one to think freely, outside the confines of cultural and epistemological boundaries; toward more authentic understandings of others, themselves and the world. According to Schacht (2003), Nietzsche's early critical motivations toward philosophy grew out of a deepening concern with a problem he understood as being at the very core of Western culture and civilisation:

It seemed clear to him [Nietzsche] that that traditional ways of understanding ourselves, the world, and value were on the wane... by commanding truthfulness and valorizing a readiness to sacrifice other interests to it, they had sown the seeds of their own destruction. (231)

Through a Nietzschean lens, philosophy as an instrument to search for knowledge and truth through reasoning and logic was structurally flawed, for embedded within its own cultural and political origins, was a system that was value-laden. A system that historically, according to Nietzsche, philosophers had unashamedly subscribed to. Michael Tanner, in his introduction to Nietzsche's *Beyond Good and Evil* (2003), discusses the immediate difference Nietzsche had over his peers:

Nietzsche immediately raises a series of questions concerning values that we hold so deeply that we are not aware of having them as values at all. "*What* really is it in us that wants 'the truth'?" he asks, thereby immediately establishing a distance between himself and other philosophers. He is, as so often, interested in asking a question prior to any it would normally occur to us to ask. As philosophers, that is as 'lovers of wisdom', how could we want anything other than the truth? (11)

In critically examining the value of truth in Western philosophical tradition, Nietzsche poses a fundamental question that challenges the notion of truth. He states “[g]ranted we want truth: *why not rather* untruth? An uncertainty? Even ignorance?” (Nietzsche, 2003: 33). In posing this question, Nietzsche attacks the political, cultural and epistemological foundations of philosophical tradition, by exposing a given and perhaps the most concrete of notions, ‘truth’ - as now a value-laden assumption. The seeking of truth becomes a convention that looks suspiciously like a ‘will to power’. Nietzsche’s questioning destabilises the very core of Western traditional thought. Nietzsche’s philosophical response to the condition of modernity (and Christianity) was his notion of *nihilism* or what he referred to as “the radical repudiation of value, meaning and desirability” (Nietzsche, 1967:7).

Nietzsche, Nihilism and the Apollonian and Dionysian Duality

In Nietzsche’s view, modernity and the increasing secularisation of European societies had effectively destroyed Christianity and their Abrahamic God. According to Nietzsche, the *God Hypothesis* (the assertion that only through some divine insight can one understand the essence of God) that explained one’s existence, actually limited one’s ability to think freely. Nietzsche attacked Christianity as a dominant system that essentially imposed its will upon others and, thus, exposed its ‘will to power’. He emphasised how traditional Western knowledge systems, by asserting some sense of certainty or truth, were seeking to control one’s individual (and collective) meaning of the world. In response, he urged modern philosophers to reveal the motivations for power and authority in Western philosophical tradition. Moreover, Nietzsche challenged

the philosophy of his time to be wary of the traditions from whence they came. Schacht (2003) refers to this analytical approach as a strategy of genealogical subversion:

This strategy involves showing that they [philosophical traditions] and their appeal can very plausibly be accounted for in all-too-human terms, and arguing that there is no good reason to suppose there is anything more to them than that – thereby fatally undermining their credibility and viability. (232)

Schacht stresses, however, that all philosophy, including Nietzsche's, must be susceptible to this condition and that all philosophies need to be critical of the history and traditions from which they came. In this sense, what Nietzsche reveals is that Western philosophy and thinking can not speak from some transcendent point of view, outside of tradition or separated from its past.

In *Birth of Tragedy* (1872), Nietzsche introduces and begins to unearth his condition of *nihilism*. Influenced by Schopenhauer's 'will to live' Nietzsche traces back to the Apollonian and Dionysian duality found in Greek art and culture. According to Schopenhauer, the world was made up of two distinct facets. The first was the physical aspect of appearance, or what he referred to as the *surface*; the second he describes as the *interior*, which was superficial and possessed cubic content, depth and essence. Schopenhauer believed that the human mind operated through the dualist form of rational conscious thought and irrational unconscious thought. In an attack upon traditional philosophy, which at the time was dominated by phenomenology (the study of the structure of experience or consciousness), Schopenhauer asserted that a discourse of rationalism, reason and logic was concerned with the surface of reality as opposed to its

cubic content. He postulated that there was a fundamental human desire; a mere will to survive that would explain this philosophical crisis. As Schopenhauer explains the “individuals' higher faculty became subject to the immediate desires of the will, and knowledge became restricted to what served the fulfilment of those desires” (Drolet, 2003:14).

Inspired by Schopenhauer's doctrine, Nietzsche extended the ‘will to live’ into the ‘will to power’ as he attempted to explain the tragedy of modern philosophy and the history of cultural power relations throughout Western philosophical tradition. Like Schopenhauer, Nietzsche believed that all human knowledge and forms of understanding the world were the products of an unconscious and innate will to survive (Drolet, 2003). Nietzsche attempted to test this doctrine by applying it to classical Greek literature. In his analysis Nietzsche introduced his theory of Greek tragedy and, subsequently, highlighted the dualities present in Western tradition. Nietzsche begins his analysis by tracing back to the Apollonian and Dionysian duality.

Nietzsche suggests that this duality was first characterised in the arts (epitomised through the works of Aeschylus and Sophocles) and was representative of the Greek fascination with tragedy. In ancient Greek Culture, the world was understood through the mystical actions, beliefs, and virtues of the various gods of the time. Apollo, for example, represented order, appearance, individuality, the visual arts, beauty, clarity and the epic, while Dionysis represented chaos, intoxication, creativity, wholeness and the celebration of nature. Nietzsche argued that Greek passion for tragedy was evident in the love of the dramatic arts, and characterised by the interpretation of these values and virtues through the drama of tragedy:

The gods ordered the drama on the real stage of the world; the dramatist ordered the drama on the mimic stage of the theatre – and the latter attained credibility and verisimilitude in proportion as it approached an exact imitation or reproduction of the former. Nietzsche saw that this quality of realism was the essence of all stage plays. (Mencken, 2008: 66)

This Apollonian and Dionysian duality, according to Nietzsche, represented the contrasts between individuality and wholeness, light and darkness, civilisation and nature. He postulated that in attempting to find purpose and vitality in their existence Greek culture had been torn between these two deities. As such, like a pendulum Greek society swung back and forth between these two cultural impulses until eventually attaining the cultural heights of art, creativity and knowledge. He also suggests that the Greek culture was at its strongest when there was a balance between Apollo and Dionysis.

However, Greece and this creative partnership was about to be betrayed by, arguably, the most famous of her sons, Plato. Nietzsche suggests that Plato's ideas were to become a strategy or 'will to power' where form and beauty, individualism, and rationalism were to suppress such things as formlessness, a connection with nature, wholeness and the chaotic. As a result Platonic philosophy became aligned with the Apollonian way of life at the expense of Dionysian culture. Drolet (2004) explains in the following passage:

Plato's philosophy justified the illusion that form and beauty were the true reality. This, according to Nietzsche, was part of a strategy of human self-empowerment. It was a way of turning the blind and capricious forces of nature into something

incomprehensible... With philosophy dominating art, the raw emotional energy that gave vitality to Greek culture soon dissipated. (16)

Nietzsche contended that European society of his time could also be categorised by this same duality, where society was driven by either an impulse to establish boundaries, rationalise and conform (Apollonian), or to exploit, change and explore (Dionysian). It was the task of the former to live within particular rules and boundaries, such as those expressed through religion, moralities and laws. In contrast, the aim of the Dionysian followers was to express, create and adapt to the circumstances of their own existence.

Nietzsche's critique of the origins of traditional philosophy being created by a 'will to power' inspired intellectual thinkers, such as, Heidegger, Sartre, Foucault, Derrida and many others. As a result, Nietzsche's ideas spawned the evolution of a new form of analysis, one that challenged the notion of value and truth and examined the relationship between power, knowledge and meaning. It would be the key ideas and philosophies brought forward by these significant intellectuals, inspired by Nietzsche, who would call for a philosophical departure from modern science and reason; a departure that would lead to the development of the contemporary critical and reflexive intellectual movement known as postmodernism.

Nietzsche espoused an intellectual space free from humanistic values, rational limitations and objective truths, personified through the *Übermensch* (Overman or Superman). His concept of *nihilism* theorised a space that was value free, without morality and refuted truth as the essence of knowledge and understanding. Although a scathing attack upon both modernity and Christianity, *nihilism* challenged the fundamental assumptions and

structures that framed conventional understandings of the world. More significantly, it espoused an intellectual space of unbound thought, beyond so-called essentialist ideas of morality, virtue and truth - beyond good and evil. Schacht suggests that breaking the grip of such thinking requires more than just critique:

It also involves freeing ourselves of our addiction to absolutes, which prompts us to seek others in place of those we have formerly embraced but can no longer take seriously and which sets us up to be devastated by their absence when we finally comprehend that there are none to be found. Nihilism is the ultimate consequence of this addiction; and so Nietzsche contends, liberation from this addiction is essential to Nihilism's overcoming. (2003: 232)

The Will to Power and Truth: Dualisms and the Dialectical Dilemma

Nietzsche's critique and ideas are insightful and revolutionary and his analysis that the contingent, artificial, conventional, and perspectival nature of what passes for truth and knowledge provides not only a self-reflexive space for philosophical thinking, but also raises relevant questions regarding such notions as multiple truths, moral pluralism and perspectivism. In exposing the axiom of truth as a 'will to power', Nietzsche discerns an innate will of human nature (or more accurately Western metaphysics). That is, that any assertion of truth is premised upon the self-interest, upon the *Self*-ego. Again critical of Western metaphysics, he challenges the use of the thesis and antithesis dialectic to find truth, which conceals what he considers to be the driver for seeking truth itself - a will to power:

The fundamental faith of the metaphysician is the faith in the antithetical values. It has not occurred to even the most cautious of them to pause and doubt here on the threshold, where however it was most needful they should... With all the value that may adhere to the true, the genuine, the selfless, it could be possible that a higher and more fundamental value for all life might have been ascribed to appearance, to the will to deception, to selfishness and to appetite. (Nietzsche, 2003:34)

In attempting to unsettle the notion or futility of seeking truth, however, Nietzsche also uses the paradigmatic binary grounded within Western philosophical logic and reason. Nietzsche's intention to destabilise a fundamental core of Western philosophical doctrine, the seeking of truth, as a value-laden project, also reveals his dependence on the binary construct. Nietzsche's analysis and critique of Western tradition also uses dualist and binary constructs, such as thesis and antithesis, truth and untruth, and the Apollonian and Dionysian dichotomy.

The dialectical instinct, therefore, may be to dichotomise all theses into their antithesis, all truths against untruths and so on. If so, what value is placed upon dualist and binary constructs as a frame or structure that asserts some inherent and fundamental value or will to truth and power. Nietzsche's philosophical positioning does not escape its own contradictions and, thus, poses the question of how one does not assert his/her own metaphysics while attempting to challenge another.

How can the 'will to power' in truth be revealed by a system (dialectical dualisms and binary oppositions) that is itself governed by the very traditions it claims to expose, that

is, the tradition of seeking truth. Nietzsche's dilemma now provides a complex proposition that again rises out from the belly of dialectical dualisms. How does one search for the truth regarding truth, knowing that truth is a will to deception, and how can one not search for the truth knowing that truth is the will to power?

In striving to become a 'free thinking being' or *Overman*, one must be willing to let go of those things s/he holds true; to be made aware of such things that have been ignored or forgotten, have not thought to question or have been afraid to ask. Nietzsche has led this brave revolution, but as he suggests, his philosophy was for another era and beyond his own time.

...we have to await the arrival of a new species of philosopher, one which possesses tastes and inclinations opposite to and different from those of its predecessors – philosophers of the dangerous 'perhaps' in every sense – And to speak in all seriousness: I see such new philosophers arising. (Nietzsche, 2003:34)

As a student of philosophy my contention is not the validity of binary oppositions and dualisms as a structural mechanism of dialectical reasoning. My concern is what role does the binary and dualist constructs play in maintaining a system of knowledge, its conventions and power structures, and how do these structures limit one from reaching new intellectual spaces? Despite these limitations the search for *a priori* knowledge and the postulation of certain truth(s) through philosophical means have continued for centuries.

The Other Consciousness: A Hegelian Dialectic of Resistance or Oppression

The birth of the *Self-Other* dichotomy in postmodern theory and literature has (since the likes of Hegel, Husserl, Sartre, Lacan and Lévinas) provided a framework to theorise and examine what might be considered as an inevitable trait of the human condition, that is, the desire and will to impose oneself over an *Other*.

The theorisation of a *Self-Other* binary is premised upon Hegel's *Master-Slave* dialectic. First introduced in his seminal text, *Phenomenology of Spirit* (1977), Hegel's ideas of *Self-consciousness*, *sublation*, *totality*, *negation* and *dialectical thinking* have been hugely influential upon Twentieth Century Marxist and humanist philosophies. The work of Karl Marx, Lévinas, Fanon, and Freire can all be attributed, to some degree, to Hegel's treatise.²¹

Hegel describes the encounter between two *Self-conscious* beings as a struggle for recognition, place and control, until one eventually enslaves the other. This dichotomy assumes the conscious *Being* must experience a struggle for freedom before realising itself as *Self-conscious*. The struggle for mastership, however, is not an end to this dialectic, for the encounter requires continued recognition of the existence of the *Self* as Master by the *Other* as Slave. The Master (*Self*), therefore, requires recognition by the *Other* (Slave) to maintain its status while the Slave (*Other*) in search of its own *Self-consciousness* continually struggles against the Master.

An important aspect of Hegel's Master-Slave dichotomy is the realisation that within this dialectic, both subjects are interdependent of each other; where what occurs is an 'interpenetration' of opposites. As a result, Hegel distances himself from the

²¹ A more extensive discussion is carried out in Chapter Four in regard to the influence of the Marxist (Heglian influenced) tradition upon the emancipatory theorists, Fanon and Freire.

metaphysical axiom of thesis and antithesis by introducing a third condition known as synthesis, which represents the bringing together of two opposing ideas or forms to produce something new (Hegel, 1977). Hegel explains this phenomenon through his notion of *negation* and the idea that nature develops through a series of contradictions, which appear to annul or negate a previous idea, fact, theory or form of existence. Change and development in nature, according to Hegel, is merely a constant series of negations. *Negation*, however, does not signify the destruction of the previous stage, but is both an overcoming and preservation at the same time. In this sense, *negation* is both a positive and negative act.

Furthermore, Hegel goes on to explain that the dialectical struggle between the *Self* and *Other* and, thus, the achievement of a *Self*-conscious *Being* within the Master-Slave dialectic is, a complex process of constant transformation (Hegel, 1977). The Heglian dialectic is a process that exposes the contradictions of and in itself; the contradiction that the *Self* is itself and something else (*Other*) at one and the same time. Hegel's phenomenology of the *Self-Other* dichotomy asserts that, the “[s]elf-consciousness exists in and for itself when, and by the fact that, it so exists for another; that is, it exists only in being acknowledged” (111).

Philosophical Idealism and Materialism: The Rise of Marxism

Hegel like many philosophers before him was an idealist. His dialectical method was a revision of the great Greek philosophers, notably Plato, Aristotle and Heraclitus. Idealism is a school of thought that looks upon nature and history as a reflection of ideas or spirit.

The idea that men and women and the material world are created by a divine spirit, for example, is a basic concept of idealism.

Materialism, however, originated during the *Enlightenment* and challenged the ancient Greek idealist philosophies and, in particular, the essentialist forms of Aristotle. Furthermore, the materialist thinker espouses that the world is known through one's senses and can be explored and understood by science (Miekle, 1985). Armed with science and reason materialism provided the ammunition for the middle-class against the Roman Catholic Church, monarchy and feudal societies of the time. The French Bourgeois Revolution of 1789-93 took as its creed the materialist philosophy and cleared the path for the new Capitalist regime.

Karl Marx (1818 – 1883) was a modern materialist and, thus, challenged the principles of Aristotelian Idealism and maintained that the material world is primary, as opposed to a world of abstract and absolute ideas or spiritualism. Heglian dialectics, however, was adopted and developed upon by Marx and his philosophical counterpart Friedrich Engels (1820 – 1895). Together, their ideas form the basis of what is known today as Marxism, or Scientific Socialism, which was first laid out in their dual publication, the *Communist Manifesto* (1848).

Their ideas fundamentally provide the theoretical foundations for the struggle of the working class against the rise of the newly ruling middle-class (bourgeoisie). Marxism explains the development of history and human society as a complex process of economics, class struggle, and politics that centres upon a materialist interpretation of history, a dialectical view of social change and a critique of the development of

Capitalism. A Marxian analysis takes as its starting point the necessary activities required by human society to provide for its material needs. The mode of production within a Capitalist society is seen as the basis for the majority of social phenomena – social relations, values, morals, laws, political ideologies and so on.

Historical materialism, Dialectical materialism and Marxist economics are the three key aspects of Marxism that expose the contradictions within the free market ideals of Capitalism. The tensions manifested through these contradictions materialises in a struggle between the minority (bourgeoisie) who own the means of production, and the majority (proletariat) of the population who produce the goods and services, of which ultimately results in a proletarian revolution. The Heglian triad of thesis-antithesis-synthesis is utilised in Marxist theory to expose the contradictions of Capitalism and describe the eventual evolutionary development of a socialist society. The fundamental tenets of Heglian and Marxist dialectics challenge the essentialised, fixed, isolated and distinct forms of understanding of nature and society and, thus, the binary assumptions associated with the metaphysical axiom of thesis and antithesis.

The dialectical method in Marxist theory uses the materialist and historical conditions of the ‘real’ world to explain the development of Capitalist society and the, subsequent, exploitation of the working class. Interestingly, while Marxism does expose the contradictions of Capitalism, Greek idealism and its associated metaphysical understandings, it also establishes its own binary. That is, between Capitalism and Scientific Socialism and the working class and the bourgeoisie.

Conclusion

In an attempt to trace the binary throughout Western philosophical thought this chapter sought to expose how prevalent dualist and binary constructions have been to the Western intellectual tradition. As such, the binary paradigm has prevented alternative understandings and interpretations of the world. In this chapter trace I have attempted to analyse and trace the use of dualist and binary classifications and representations throughout Western philosophical tradition. Plato's Socratic dialogues and his use of the dialectical method, the cultural positioning of science and reason against religion, Nietzsche's axiom of truth and un-truth, and the Marxist tradition are some of the examples discussed in this chapter.

I have attempted to argue that historically the use of such dualisms and binaries have sustained the desire of Western philosophical tradition – that is, the perceived (authoritative) pursuit of objective knowledge and truth(s). In response, postmodern and, in particular, post-structural critiques have been formulated to challenge the tradition of Western metaphysics underpinned by binary thinking.

The philosophy and thinking of Friedrich Nietzsche was a major theoretical contributor to this chapter. As arguably the most influential writer of the postmodern intellectual movement, Nietzsche's writing and ideas have exposed Western philosophical traditions, and their 'will to power', and exposed the dualist and binary constructs that have asserted particular truths and knowledge throughout Western history and cultural tradition.

Conventional understandings of postmodern and post-structural criticisms of the role of language, power relations, and motivations are firmly directed against the use of binary

classifications such as traditional and non-traditional, objective and subjective, and so on. This chapter has attempted to argue that despite the efforts of modern and contemporary philosophical traditions to expose, unsettle and destabilise dualist and binary thinking; the limiting and subjugatory frame remains.

Subsequently, this chapter asserts the need to search for a more critical and self-reflexive space that critically looks back upon the fixed and concealed assumptions that may or may not be evident within tradition. It is a project that is filled with doubt and fear, where as a student of philosophy, one may find oneself staring into a void of nothingness, despair and uncertainty. However, self-reflexivity encourages one to question his/her origins of understanding, one's attitudes and values when striving for the pursuit of knowledge, wisdom and truth. This chapter represents my attempts to engage in such an analysis, its challenges, and at times its contradictions, as I seek to question the need to rely so readily upon dualist and binary constructions and knowledge formations.

Chapter Three

Martin Heidegger and Existentialism: Daesin, World Disclosure and Being in the World

Martin Heidegger, as perhaps the most influential of Twentieth Century existential thinkers, argued that Western philosophical thinking was dominated by a subjective train of thought or humanism where individuals defined, constructed and manipulated a reality according to their needs. This need was perpetuated through a will of modernity or a desire to prosper by searching for truth in regard to reality, *Being* and existence. Drolet (2004), in his introduction to *The Postmodernism Reader*, writes how Heidegger argued that “within the modern age 'knowing' is construed as 'representing'. [Heidegger] contends that we understand ourselves in 'picturing' the world, and understand the world as whatever can be pictured by us successfully” (17).

In this chapter I seek to examine the ontological structures that maintain binary thinking and in particular relation to marginalised conceptions of *Being* and identity. Heidegger defines *Being* as “that on the basis of which entities [subjects or concepts] are already understood” (1980: 25-6), and suggests that the theoretical understandings of Western philosophical tradition are made possible by a pre-theoretical relation to *Being*. In other words, Western understandings of *Being* are pre-understood, already established and known, thus, Heidegger’s treatise seeks to reveal the criteria and conditions by which any entity can exist or be in the world. As a consequence, some forms of interpretation become more valid than others due to a deep-seated structure of understanding and meaning.

According to Heidegger, thought is not possible without such ontological structures, a type of primordial consciousness (deep assumptions) that governs the way one interprets the world, themselves and those around them. Thus, reason, logic and rationale are all contingent on some prior form of consciousness that is constituted by an underlying ontology. In this sense without an ontological grounding, thought can not exist, for subjectivity is the necessary condition that makes thought possible. Understanding the nature of *Being* is essentially an ontological question and must always be the first philosophical question from Heidegger's perspective. Timothy Clark (2002) suggests that for Heidegger the modes of knowing and *Being* that are taken as obvious in the West are "inherently also a matter of domination and control, modes that have come to set up the world as a totalizable object for humanity conceived as the self-certain possessor of knowledge" (38). Heidegger's notion of *Daesin* is discussed in this chapter in terms of how it might be useful to critically analyse the taken-for-granted understandings and assumptions implicit within contemporary theoretical discourse.

Heidegger defines the concept of *Daesin* as "[t]hat entity which in its Being has this very Being as an issue" (Heidegger, 2005: 68). Steven Earnshaw (2006) interprets *Daesin* as a *Being* aware of its being-in-the-world:

Being is present to itself as Being and is aware of itself as Being... To put this in non-Heideggerian terms, humans are aware of themselves as 'existing' and ask themselves what it is to exist... so *Daesin* is a manner of being that questions Being. No other entity does this... (60)

Fundamentally, Heidegger through the concept of *Daesin* seeks to challenge the most basic assumptions we have as human beings that constitute reality. Furthermore, according to Heidegger human existence and time are inextricably linked, where *Being* is really more a process of becoming. *Being* is temporal, an insight which leads to Heidegger's existential rejection of a fixed human essence.

Another key concept discussed in this chapter is Heidegger's notion of *world disclosure*. Here he suggests that the world is disclosed through prior experience and the languages one uses to encounter it. The notions of *Daesin* and *world disclosure* are discussed in terms of the reflexive possibilities they offer in analysing how one interprets the world and, more importantly, how one might be able to re-interpret that world.

Heidegger's thought has been hugely influential to contemporary postmodern and post-structural analyses of Western metaphysical traditions. Clark explains that for Heidegger the term metaphysics

...bears a negative inflection. 'Metaphysical' are those deepest, inherited decisions about what things are within which Western people immediately live. These are all-pervading, finding their most explicit expression in philosophers' writings on metaphysics in the generic sense. In other words, Western humanity has lived within a certain understanding of fundamental questions since the ancient Greeks, assumptions it is now urgent to question. (2002:11)

This chapter questions how existentialism's compulsion to decentre traditional Western metaphysics does so without establishing its own metaphysics. It is this philosophical question that again reveals the binary within Western philosophical tradition, that is,

between early postmodern criticisms and the traditions of Western Christianity and modernity.

Being and Daesin: An Individual Project of Possibility and Authenticity

The *Being* of *Daesin* as Heidegger explains it, is an individual act, where each *Daesin* (the self-aware *Being*) chooses the manner in which they want to exist. It is these possibilities, rather than some universal form of *Being* that can only be worked and understood existentially, through existing, through everyday activities and practices. *Daesin* is then always being-in-the-world through one's own eyes, as one is (to be or become) through one's own existence. Clark (2002) explains that the essence of *Daesin* lies in its existence: "our lives do not express some pre-given, timeless human nature. We are, essentially, that nexus of practices, assumptions, prejudices, habits and traditions that make up the everyday experiences and actions in which we find ourselves" (27).

In this sense, *Daesin* represents an awareness of one's own possibilities, one's own uniqueness and authenticity of *Being* in the present. *Daesin* characterises a consciousness about of one's sense of *Being*. An awareness that challenges one's understanding of *Being* in the world and the pre-determined or pre-conditioned authority that establish normalised and conventional modes of meaning. *Daesin* is a primordial state of knowing. In the following passage Heidegger describes how *Daesin* constitutes the existential possibilities of an entity:

Daesin always understands itself in terms of its existence – in terms of a possibility of itself: to be itself or not itself. Daesin has either chosen these possibilities itself, or got itself into them, or grown up in them already. Only the

particular *Daesin* decides its existence, whether it does so by taking hold or by neglecting. The question of existence never gets straightened out except through existing itself. The understanding of oneself which leads *along this way* we call '*existentiell*'. (Heidegger, 1995: 33)

Thus, in order to fully understand *Daesin* or being-in-the-world one must do so with the realisation that one is already in the world with others and other things, and so how things become intelligible (make sense) to us as human beings is by virtue of being a part of an ontological structure. In other words, one's understanding of the world and one's *Being* in that world can never be understood outside of the condition of existing in that world. Instead, understanding is ontologically and holistically configured within that system (world). One's understanding of the world cannot be perceived from some transcendent or objective position. Instead, it is created from one's own subjective view, one's own reality, rather than an external world where truth of *Being* is constant and imposed. Furthermore, this subjective understanding of one's world is already pre-understood; given to us through our existence in that world. Heidegger (1980) refers to this phenomenon as *world disclosure*. A fundamental aspect of the human condition is that one already has a prior understanding of the world. As such, our initial understandings are disclosed to us through the experiences and language one uses as they encounter it.

Nikolas Kompridis (2006) asserts that the initial disclosure of the ontological world is pre-reflexive and is neither permanent nor fixed. Kompridis also describes a second form of disclosure which is reflexive. Unlike pre-reflexive disclosure which is largely implicit and unconscious, reflexive disclosure involves a conscious re-working of meaning and understanding of others, the world and ourselves (Kompridis, 2006):

...prior to confronting the world as though it were first and foremost a super object, or as though it were identical with nature, we operate ‘always already’ with a pre-reflective, holistically structured, and grammatically regulated *understanding* of the world... The notion of disclosure refers, in part, to this ontological “pre-understanding” of the world – or understanding of “being”. (Kompridis, 2006: 33)

Through the concepts of *Daesein* and *world disclosure* Heidegger argues that one must always see themselves as being thrown into these conditions of prior understanding (pre-interpreted background of meaning), for if not the world would be completely unintelligible to us. As such, these two concepts offer a reflexive proposition; one that encourages us to question the way in which we uncritically interpret our surroundings. This type of self-reflexivity challenges one’s assumptions and common understandings and, thus, opens the door to new possibilities of meaning. Kompridis suggests that reflective disclosure can further be distinguished according to whether the effect it produces de-centres or refocuses a prior understanding of one’s world:

A reflective disclosure can critically introduce meanings, perspectives, interpretive and evaluative vocabularies, modes of perception and action possibilities that stand in strikingly dissonant relations to already available meanings and familiar possibilities, to already existing ways of speaking, hearing, interpreting and acting. Such a dissonance cannot but disturb the unreflective, taken-for-granted flow of our self-understanding and social practices. (Kompridis, 2006: 35)

If one adopts the reflexive possibilities of *Daesin* and accepts that the world discloses itself to us, one will inevitably encounter these moments of dissonance. These moments of cognitive tension occur when conflicting ideas, contradictions and inconsistencies are mediated and where new possibilities of meaning can occur.

Ontological Reductionism and the Determination of Presence as Being

Reductionism is commonly associated with scientific reductionism and its attempt or tendency to explain complex systems, entities, phenomena or structures by breaking them down (to be more easily understood) into simpler and smaller sets of constituent parts. In its broadest sense, scientific reductionism upholds the idea that science can be used to explain everything and that nothing is unknowable. By looking at the individual constituent processes, scientists can gain an understanding of the system as a whole. However, according to Heidegger, in contrast to reductionist thinking the part and the whole can also be understood hermeneutically where the part is understood in relation to the whole and the whole is understood in relation to its constitutive parts.

Reductionism as a rationale for Heidegger was problematic because it dissociated context (the whole) from understanding a particular phenomenon. For Heidegger, one encounters the world in fundamentally human (contextual) terms. That is, objects, things or knowledge only make sense in terms of their use (readiness-to-hand) to us as human beings. John Cottingham uses the following analogy to explain Heidegger's thinking:

The being of objects is thus a function of what Heidegger calls their 'readiness-to-hand' (for example, a hammer exists not as an object with abstract physical

properties, but in the context of its use and function, in terms of our human concerns)... (Cottingham, 1996: 11)

Heidegger encourages us to consider and reflect upon the most obvious of things that we know and use to understand the world. *Daesin* and *world disclosure* are important concepts in the sense that they challenge the taken-for-granted thoughts and assumptions (and their corollary structures) of society and, thus, promote a self-reflexivity that is neither truth-preserving nor truth-asserting. A critical approach to thinking that creates new insights, perspectives and possibilities. The implication of such an approach, according to Kompridis, is that “any claim[s] justified today [such as the natural sciences for example] may need to be revised or withdrawn in light of new evidence, new arguments, and new experiences” (2006: 180).

The reflexive analysis that *Daesin* promotes is useful in that it urges one to reflect upon the way s/he conceptualises and accesses meaning in the world, not theoretically, but through one’s existence; one’s lived experiences. Clark explains how Heidegger argued against the tendency of Western thought to valorise theoretical understandings:

[Heidegger] homes in on what actually happens in the most ordinary everyday experience, demonstrating that our basic forms of knowledge are non-conceptual. Simply by existing a human being has a mode of access to the world that could never be rendered fully explicit in theory. (Clark, 2002: 24)

Daesin questions such things as explanation, theory, grand narratives, universals, and hypothesis. The notion of *Daesin* can be useful in questioning why dualist and binary

conceptualisations are so readily employed to analyse the postcolonial condition of marginalised groups.

Heidegger (following on from Nietzsche) suggests that a fundamental understanding of *Being* (i.e., metaphysics) has been imposed upon Western philosophical thought since the time of the early Greek philosophers. He refers to this metaphysics as a *determined presence as Being*; a Western cultural worldview that fundamentally understood things as present-at-hand (such as the hammer). Western metaphysics, therefore, is defined by presence as opposed to absence, where meaning is to be present at some moment in time and have some pre-determined function or purpose with it. Carol White explains in the following passage that Western metaphysical understandings of *Being* (in presence) were validated in opposition (in absence) to pre-modern mythological and cosmological understandings:

[t]he world of present-at-hand things is far removed from the world of myth and magic that uses tools and rituals to invoke a dimension beyond, one that is hidden from view in a very different way than the way our involved use of tools lies behind the appearance of things as present-at-hand, that is, as discrete objects with determinate, enduring properties... (1997: 151)

By pointing out that Western culture has taken *Being* as presence (present-at-hand), Heidegger suggests that Western understandings of the nature of *Being* (of what-is), is one of many possible ways of understanding *Being*. A Māori ontological understanding of Being in the world, for example, offers another episteme (through *whakapapa* for example) that speaks of a mythical past and that is an inherent link [for Māori] with the

material and spirit world. Through the notion of *whakapapa*, *Being* for some Māori is constitutive of the links (relationships) one has with others, the past and present, the land and all living things, and the spirit world (ancestors). Predominant epistemologies (science and reason for example) that reject these ways of *Being* or worldviews tend to regard them as superstition or myth, thus, exposing how prevailing systems of knowledge and their (present-at-hand) understanding of *Being* can be employed to invalidate alternative ways of understanding the world.

The existential attack upon dominant Western worldviews was taken up by two of the most influential anti-colonial theorists of the Twentieth Century. Fanon (1986) and Freire (1996) both used the tenets of existential humanism to argue against core beliefs that oppressed the consciousness of colonised peoples. Fanon, for example, speaks of a type of cognitive dissonance that causes the coloniser feelings of discomfort when presented with evidence that works against the coloniser's core beliefs. In order to protect the core belief and mediate the uncomfortable situation unfolding before them, the coloniser chooses to ignore and deny any alternatives to their existing belief system. Ontological reductionism and metaphysics (*determined presence as Being*) describe the underlying structures of thinking that naturalise Western metaphysical understandings of the world. As such, this type of awareness encourages one to critically reflect upon the deep assumptions and (binary) structures of thinking.

Tapping into the Unthought: Being and Consciousness

In *What is Called Thinking?* Heidegger brings to light his understanding of the unthought in thinking. He argues that the more original one's thinking is, the richer will be what is unthought in it (Heidegger, 1968):

[t]he greater the work of a thinker, the richer is what is unthought in the work, that is to say, what initially and exclusively through this work emerges as having not yet been thought. Of course, this unthought has nothing to do with what a thinker might have over-looked or not mastered and which his more knowledgeable successors have to make good on. (Heidegger cited in Macaan, 1992: 385)

My understanding of Heidegger's notion of the unthought relates to his central attack upon metaphysics and the presence and absence axiom he associates with the understanding of *Being*. In associating presence with metaphysical understandings of *Being*, he essentially seeks to give rise to the unthought, or the absence-of-thought that has not yet been revealed by the presence-of-thought generated through Western metaphysics. The unthought constitutes all that can be brought about and understood outside (not-present) of the norms, beliefs and conventions of Western thought.

In relation to *Daesin*, the unthought represents the unconscious thoughts that structure and give rise to one's conscious thoughts, as one encounters the world around them. In a collective sense, the unthought represents the subconscious regime (or metaphysics) that gives legitimacy to the conscious thinking of the time.

According to Heidegger, the more original one's thinking is, the more it must be derived from the 'unthought' (unconscious thought), or thought that is not derived from some previous metaphysics. In this sense, one's understanding of *Being* in the world is an unconscious rather than a conscious state and so can never fully be understood. This is why Heidegger's fundamental thesis "argues against a whole tendency of Western thought to valorize theoretical understanding as the only true mode of understanding" (Clarke, 2002: 24), because theory can fail to take in to account the fundamental structures that govern understanding.

The notion of the unthought is relevant to this thesis and the self-reflexive paradigm it attempts to espouse, because it gives an insight into the underlying structures that maintain a particular way of thinking.

However, the unthought is also problematic in that if one's conscious thoughts are structured by a deeper (un)consciousness, how does one then tap into this unthought consciousness in order to be able to reflect upon and change one's conscious thinking. Reflecting upon one's unthought consciousness sounds very much like a contradiction and an impossibility. However, if one understands the notion of the unthought as one's concealed or oppressed consciousness, then one can understand how the work and ideas of Fanon and Freire, for example, are important in terms of how they have sought to resist the historical oppressive conditions that oppress the consciousness of those who have been colonised.

Historicity: Constituting One's Being Through Tradition and History

Heidegger's question of *Being* takes into account one's traditions and history that constitutes one's sense of *Being* in the world. He refers to this ontological condition as one's *historicity*, which asserts that human beings are not isolated subjects cut off from the world and the realm of other objects, but instead are connected through being-in-the-world; a *Being* in the world that has its own history and traditions. In *Being and Time* (1926; 1999; 2005), Heidegger claims that all understanding is essentially ontological and that one's understanding of the world is revealed to them in basic, pragmatic and intuitive ways, not through theoretical, logical and reflexive thought:

If the question of Being is to have its own history made apparent, then this hardened tradition must be loosened up, and the concealments which it has brought about dissolved. We understand this task as one in which by taking the question of Being as our clue we are to destroy the traditional content of ancient ontology until we arrive at those primordial experiences in which we achieved those first ways of determining the nature of Being. (Heidegger, 1980: 44)

The hermeneutic and ontological approach to understanding challenges the very foundations of Western philosophical thinking. Thus, understanding and existing in the world is pre-reflexive and is only tacitly intelligible to us. Furthermore, the world, according to Heidegger, cannot be understood through reflexive consciousness until it has already been interpreted and understood. Interpretation, therefore, is what makes things in the world the way they are. There is no reality outside of interpretation.

Meaning or truth is either revealed or concealed through this interpretation which Heidegger refers to as the ‘hermeneutic circle of understanding’. Originally used as a method to interpret biblical texts, hermeneutics refers to the idea “that any part of a text must be understood in the context of the whole, while the whole must likewise be understood in terms of its constituent parts” (Stewart-Harawira, 2005: 46). Heidegger developed upon this method not as a way of understanding texts, but as a means of understanding how one interprets the world. The world according to Heidegger, is hermeneutically understood; a philosophical approach that was further developed by Gadamer – known more commonly today as philosophical hermeneutics. Gadamer and his philosophical approach is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

Existential Criticisms and the Existential Tradition: Being and Identity

According to existentialism, in Western history fundamental (and oppressive) systems of understanding have maintained a metaphysics (an immediate access to meaning) that asserts already understood meanings of *Being*. A metaphysics that asserted Western logic and reasoning over all previous (*Other*) forms of knowing. In the 1960s, however, structuralist critique of existentialism disagreed with the existentialist claims that man/woman are what they make themselves. Instead, according to structuralists, the individual is shaped by social and linguistic structures. Consequently, structuralism was to usurp existential philosophy which in turn, through the works of Derrida and Foucault, was to see the onset of poststructuralism and postmodern condition.²²

²² A more comprehensive discussion on structuralism and the origin of post-structuralism is carried out in Chapter Four, pages 118 – 125.

The Western philosophical tradition from which the existential cultural movement was to evolve (as well as criticise), has formed the basis for the dominant humanist and emancipatory intellectual movements of the Twentieth and Twenty-first centuries. Existentialism criticises knowledge systems that established themselves as THE tradition and authority of the time. Existentialism and the further development of post-structuralism argue that these traditions and their understandings of *Being* and identity are inadequate in describing and defining the human experience. As a consequence, the existential concern with the *Self* has been premised upon the primary notion of authenticity. *Self*-identity and the defining of the individual is constituted through one's freedom of choice, responsibility and commitment to finding one's own meaning and purpose in life.

The French existential philosopher, playwright, and novelist Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980) has been one of the key figures in Twentieth Century existentialism. He espoused that the notion of *Being* as *Self* is contested through the struggle for the subjective position within the *Self-Other* binary. Like Heidegger, he too challenged the fundamental assumptions regarding Western philosophical traditions of *Being*. However, as already stated in Chapter 2, it was Nietzsche who paved the way for Heidegger, Sartre and others in the existential tradition; a tradition that was a reaction against the philosophy of the Eighteenth Century, with its unbounded confidence in the ability of reason to make the world knowable and to resolve problems, whether they were philosophical, scientific or social. Not surprisingly, Nietzsche, Heidegger and Sartre are still the most influential thinkers to postmodern and post-structural thought today.

The existential mantra of freedom, choice, authenticity and responsibility, however, also comes with its own philosophical problems. For example, one might question how free one actually is, if one considers the impact of political, cultural, social and economic systems in society. Both Heidegger and Sartre gave considerable attention to this question and the implications for notions of authenticity, freedom and choice. Heidegger, for example, mediated this problem by suggesting that it is the individual's responsibility to 'choose their hero'. In other words, it is up to the individual (*Daesein*) to commit to a particular way of life so that they may understand themselves in terms of something. Iain Thomson (2007) explains how Heidegger recognised that "the heroes we choose focus our common sense of what is most important in life, shaping our feel for which battles we should fight as well as how we should go about fighting them" (100). These possibilities, however, must to a certain degree be derived from some pre-established tradition of which one belongs to.

Sartre too, acknowledges the difficulties associated with individual freedom and choice in *Being and Nothingness* (2001). According to Sartre, one's *Being* can be understood through being-in-itself, being-for-itself and being-for-others. As such, he draws conclusions about the nature of human freedom. He concludes that one is ontologically free, an inescapable condition of freedom that all humans have a capacity for (Marcuse, 1972). In other words, despite the fact that humans are thrown into situations which they do not choose, they do have a choice of how to relate to their situation. Sartre contrasts this difference through one's actions of being-in-itself (constrained by the situation one finds itself in) or being-for-itself (to exercise one's own freedom). Sartre's position is quite unique to other existential (anti-determinist) philosophers in that he argues one is

always free no matter what the situation. Sartre's idea of ontological freedom, however, raises the question of why there is still the continued oppression of others. Sartre attempts to mediate this question by looking at history through a Marxist lens, whereby social reality is contested, unstable and in perpetual conflict - the Capitalist *Self* over the socialist *Other*, for example. This social reality, according to Sartre, is constituted not only between human beings, but also within the social and historical institutions that determine who one is to be throughout history and that have become enshrined in relations of cultural power and dominance (Marx, Engels and Jones, 2002).

Dominant Modes of Knowledge Production: Subjectivity, Truth and Power

It could be argued that the world has become so entrenched in dominant productionist modes of understanding and knowing, that one is more often than not consumed by a desire or need to conform in a world bound by global consumerism, technology and Capitalist endeavour. The production of truth by those in power, therefore, also produces what is viewed as necessary or unnecessary, what is right or wrong and so forth.

Clare O'Farrell (2005) also discusses this proposition, in relation to the *Self* as a socially constructed concept, one that cannot avoid cultural and historical influence.

Thus the self that is created is a form that relies very much for its existence on its interaction with people, history and culture. This is opposed to the notion of a true self that needs to be 'discovered' in introspective isolation and can only be revealed once cultural and historical veils have been swept aside. (113)

According to O'Farrell, an individual constitutes himself/herself as a "subject of his or her own actions" and by using cultural and societal traditions.

Heidegger views these modes of knowing and understanding "as inherently also a matter of domination and control, modes that have come to set up the world as the totalizable object for a humanity conceived as the self-certain possessor of knowledge" (Clark, 2002: 38). The subjective positioning or the way in which individuals perceive themselves and the world from an existential viewpoint, poses questions of knowledge and power within the *Self-Other* dichotomy. Foucault, in his book *Ethics, Subjectivity and Truth* (1997, 2006) suggests that subjectivities are merely produced, and are an effect of knowledge, power and other influences within society. Foucault refuted the Nineteenth Century phenomenological idea of a universal and timeless subject, and argued that "it fixed the status quo and attached people to specific identities that could never be changed" (O'Farrell, 2005: 110). Instead, Foucault argues that subjectivities are fluid, forever changing and evolving throughout our historical and present experiences.

Foucault... emphasises, that like 'truth', the subject is not prior to history. Rather it is constantly dissolved and recreated in different configurations, along with other forms of knowledge and social practices... The subject [*Self*] is a form, not a thing and this form is not constant even when attached to the same individual. (O'Farrell, 2005: 113)

The production of subjectivities, however, does present with it, its own criticisms in regard to agency and change. That is, that if subjectivities are merely produced, then where is the space for agency and change, for people to better their worlds. Existentialism

and, in particular, the work and ideas of Heidegger provide the philosophical basis to question the assumptions regarding *Being* and identity in a contemporary context.

Conclusion

As has been discussed in this chapter the notion of *Being* in a traditional Western philosophical sense, has forgotten to interrogate adequately its own taken-for-granted assumptions of *Being*. As a consequence, ontology must lie “at the beginning of any inquiry... [and thus calls forth] a new ontology of social and political existence” (Cox, 1996: 44).

This chapter has highlighted the complexity of my situation as I attempt to critically engage with the ideas of Heidegger and other contributors to early and contemporary postmodern theory. This body of work seeks to inform my understandings of the *Self-Other* binary as I search for an alternative to interpreting the world through binary thinking. Key concepts introduced by Heidegger such as *Dasein* and *world disclosure* offer new insights into the way one makes sense of history and society. They encourage one to challenge the assumptions, beliefs and traditions that are taken for granted, including the intent/authority of dualist and binary structures and formations.

This type of analytical approach encourages one to question the nature of what it is to be the *Self* in relation to what it is to be the *Other*. An approach to questioning that attempts to unveil the ontological function (purpose) of the *Self-Other* binary in Western philosophical and theoretical thinking. A purpose that, I believe, must be questioned in order to theoretically unsettle and eventually destabilise the binary. Similarly, in critically examining the construction of identities within postcolonial societies, one might ask

fundamental questions about *Being* in relation to others, such as; who do I choose to be in this world? What actions constitute my *Being*? And how does one negotiate authenticity in relation to others? The very nature of how one understands oneself in relation to others, therefore, is under question due to the deep-seated assumptions of *Being* in the world.

In an Aotearoa New Zealand context and, in particular, in relation to the Māori and Pākehā binary this chapter provides the theoretical basis to examine the role in which the binary has played in re-asserting the Māori *Other* and the Pākehā *Self*. This interplay of power relations, although one-sided from a post-structural perspective – the *Self* over the *Other* - is what needs to be considered in one's search for a critical space that prevents the manipulating of the margins and, in doing so, re-othering the *Other*. More importantly, this body of knowledge or theory must in itself attempt to deconstruct Western philosophical thought in terms of the structures and traditions that have seen the binary paradigm entrenched within Western perception, analyses and episteme.

This chapter has provided the theoretical basis to critically examine (in the next chapter) the dualist and binary constructs so prevalent within postmodern and postcolonial literature. As a concept the *Self-Other* binary provides the theoretical frame to challenge the continued subjugation of minority groups and so has the potential to liberate those placed on the periphery. However, the hierarchical relationship between the two elements within the binary mode has, I believe, the potential also to re-impose traditional metaphysics. As a consequence, I am in search of a new critical space that attempts to work outside of dualist and binary thinking.

Chapter Four

Postmodern to Postcolonial Theory: The Search for a Discourse of Hope

I, the man of color, want only this: That the tool never possess the man. That the enslavement of man by man cease forever. That is, of one by another. That it be possible for me to discover and to love man, wherever he may be. (Fanon, 1967: 231)

This chapter attempts to critically analyse key historical ideas and theories that have contributed to postmodern and postcolonial literature over the past 50 years. More importantly, this chapter argues the need for alternative approaches to critical analysis that challenge what have now become conventional forms of critique. In attempting to examine how New Zealanders might construct themselves in terms of an imaginary (or otherwise) Māori-Pākehā binary, the *Self-Other* (coloniser-colonised) dichotomy needs to be critically examined in terms of how it might perpetuate the very hierarchy of power it has been used to purportedly subvert and destabilise.

Thus, this chapter follows on from the ideas established in Chapters Two and Three especially, by giving an in-depth analysis of the evolution of the binary in what might be considered theoretical antecedents to postmodern literature. In particular, the ideas of Hegel (Master-Slave dialectic) and Lévinas (philosophy as ethics) are discussed in relation to the influences they have had upon anti-colonial and postcolonial theories of liberation and freedom. The discussion includes a post-structural critique of postmodern and postcolonial theoretical positioning in an attempt to expose the underlying

assumptions and conventions which maintain what Derrida refers to as the *fixity* of the *metaphysics of presence*.

As already explained in relation to Heidegger (see Chapter Three), one is always already working within a conceptual tradition when s/he make sense of, or interprets his/her surroundings. One always interprets their environment in the context of received interpretations, moving back and forth, adjusting new interpretations to received understandings and adjusting received understandings in light of new interpretations and so forth. The hermeneutic tradition of interpretation elicits a cyclical process of understanding. In other words, one can only understand the part in relation to the whole and the whole in relation to its constitutive parts. It promotes a more holistic approach to understanding how one interprets the world.

Of particular interest also in this chapter, is Bhabha's notion of *hybridity*, a trans-cultural model of exchange central to postcolonial critique and analysis. Similar to Derrida, Bhabha asserts an attack upon the polarity of the coloniser-colonised binary within colonial cultural discourse. For Bhabha, *hybridity* is the process by which the colonial authority and culture commences to translate the identity of the colonised *Other* within a singular universal framework, but instead fails and produces something familiar but new. *Hybridity* theory fundamentally seeks to unsettle the dichotomous relationship that privileges the coloniser over the colonised. According to Bhabha, colonial discourse fails in its attempt to reproduce the culture of the coloniser and instead what is formed, is 'something familiar but new', neither coloniser nor colonised (Bhabha, 1994). Cultural *hybridity* allows for the emergence of new trans-cultural formations that challenge colonial binary representations such as the Māori (*Other*) and the Pākehā (*Self*). In this

section, I critically examine the notion of cultural *hybridity* in terms of the relevance and/or implications for ontological (essentialised) constructions of Māori identity. Paraphrasing Bhabha, Stuart Sim (2005) suggests that the only alternative to cultural *hybridity* is to fall back upon essentialised national stereotypes that are “constantly driven by a nostalgia for pure origins in an ‘attempt to hark back to a *true* national past, which is often represented in the reified forms of realism and stereotype’ (2005: 173).

As I have previously indicated, I am cautious of the anti-essentialist rhetoric associated with social constructionist theories, such as *hybridity*. While Indigenous ontological constructions have been utilised strategically to challenge colonial discourse (Spivak, 1988), there is no space, I suggest, within Bhabha’s model for essentialised articulations of being Māori or any subjectivity. The anti-essentialism attack is primarily due to essentialisms historical affinity to authoritative, traditional and oppressive knowledge systems. Contemporary conceptualisations of identity for many (but not all) Māori are based upon ontological understandings. While the fundamental task of *hybridity* is to break down the colonial binary - of which I agree it does within a social constructionist paradigm - I suggest that it also has the potential to marginalise ontological understandings of identity, which merely serves to re-establish a binary between hybrid and Indigenous ontological identities. The critique given in this section, therefore, is positioned at the margins of *hybridity* theory, from the essentialised minds and voices that *hybridity* theory might inadvertently silence.

Lévinas: The Emergence of the Radical Other

Emmanuel Lévinas is one of the key philosophers to introduce the concept of *Other* to postmodern critique. In particular, he was critical of the pre-occupation with self-identity, *ego* and *Being* in Western philosophy. Lévinas' *Autrement qu'être ou Au delà de l'essence* (Otherwise Than Being or Beyond Essence) published in 1974 describes his efforts to move beyond traditional Western metaphysics. According to Sim (2005) Lévinas endeavoured to renew and revise more thoroughly the methods of philosophy after Heidegger:

The revisionary core of Lévinas has been approached from many perspectives as part of the climate of postmodern thought. But these perspectives converge on Lévinas' account of the relation between the other and oneself, elaborating his concern with the external authority that relates the other to the same [*Self*], without, however, uniting them. (304–5)

Lévinas seeks to analyse the notion of *Other* or otherness through a fundamental project of ethics. In his first major work, *Totality and Infinity*, Lévinas defines ethics as “the putting into question of my spontaneity by the presence of the Other” (Lévinas, 1969: 43). Ethics for Lévinas first occurs by putting into question the *Self*, *ego* or knowing subject in relation to a primordial otherness that precedes the *Self*. His understanding of the history of Western philosophy since the Greeks is one where identity grounds thinking by excluding everything regarded as otherness or the various forms of *alterity*. Johnathan Roffe explains:

[it] is not that [Western philosophy]... has casually decided to exclude otherness, a choice that Lévinas is now retrospectively criticizing; rather, the failure to glimpse the radical otherness that structures our existence is precisely co-extensive with the success of theoretical knowledge in general. In other words, philosophy exists only insofar as alterity is marginalized. (2004: 40)

Lévinas' philosophical position poses the question of failure of Western theoretical knowledge to grasp the primordial centrality of otherness to the *Self*, thus, rendering it problematic. Does the authority and presence of the dominant *Self* constitute the power of the binary mode, or does the binary structure itself maintain the hierarchy of dominance between the *Self* and *Other*? Furthermore, is it possible for the two to co-exist without the contestation of power and could the *Self* exist, outside of the binary frame? Where would its reference of power be situated otherwise, outside of the binary, dislocated from the *Other*? Furthermore, does the exclusion of *alterity* or otherness create order, truth, subjectivity, and value within the Western philosophical tradition? The *Other*, therefore, is essential to not only maintaining the *Self* but also the hierarchy that legitimises its central position. In other words, Western philosophy as it is understood conventionally exists and is validated only through its relationship to an *Other*.

Anti-Humanist Discourse: Criticisms of Postmodern Theory

As already described in Chapter Two, Nietzsche paved the way for postmodern and post-structural thinkers such as Heidegger, Lyotard, Derrida, Foucault and others. Generally, postmodernism as a philosophical movement has been described as a form of scepticism: “scepticism about authority, received wisdom, cultural and political norms... that puts it

into a long-running tradition in Western thought that stretches back to the classical Greek philosophy” (Sim, 2001: 3).

Since the advent of postmodern thinking, the response to this body of work has been excessive to say the least. Some of postmodernisms critics suggest that its arrival has been utilised at the expense of what they considered philosophical theory and fails to provide any hope for the future. To some it is seen as having a pessimistic approach to the world and is, therefore, ineffective and has, subsequently, moved people away from the liberating humanist discourses associated with Marxist and anti-colonial philosophies of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century. Christopher Norris and Terry Eagleton have both published books (two and one respectively) criticising postmodernism. Eagleton (1996) argues that although postmodernism as a discourse challenges the power situations associated within binary oppositions, it is also guilty of establishing its own binaries where notions such as *difference* and *plurality* are asserted over possible antitheses such as *unity* and *identity*. Norris (1990) challenges the notion of *relativism* and its undermining of any notions of truth within postmodern critique. In particular, he is critical of the French postmodern theorist Jean Baudrillard's *The Masses*, and his use of the opposition between truth and falsehood (Sim, 2001).

Others, such as Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob have challenged postmodern critiques upon modernity and, in particular, the inability of postmodern theorists to identify and acknowledge the traditions and biases that shape their own beliefs: “[a]lthough they tend to believe that all knowledge is deeply political, their own politics are only obliquely expressed” (1994: 206). American literary critic Fredric Jameson (1991) is also critical of postmodernism. Sim suggests that “[w]hat his work adds to the arguments against

postmodernism is a rejection of a tendency to dogmatize [sic] on the basis of some false oppositions” (2001: 25).

Defenders of postmodern theory, however, may argue that postmodernism challenges the perceived notions of truth and any foundational basis for a particular body of knowledge to assert its right or power over another. Putting this debate aside, what is obviously apparent regarding postmodernism is its propensity to expose contradictions and a deep scepticism in regard to the modern assumptions and the reliance upon reason to find objective truth and universal knowledge. It is this problematic notion that perplexes me in my attempts to apply a post-structural (deconstructive) critique of postmodern and postcolonial theories. I am aware of some, but not all, of my own biases in my critique and I am also aware of the fact that while immersed within a critical and self-reflexive discourse, I too need to be wary of the assumptions and predispositions that influence the way I think about and interpret the texts I engage with.

Structuralism and the Emergence of the Cultural Binary

Semiotics (or Semiology) can briefly be defined as the study of signs and processes that a society uses to communicate and bring meaning to the cultural and social contexts of which they live in. The Swiss linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure (1857 – 1913) first developed his method of structural linguistics. According to Saussure language was made up of signs and signs consisted of both a signifier (word) and signified (concept) which together combined in an act to form understanding and meaning. Furthermore, the system of signs had general rules (codes) that enabled meaning within that system. Signs include words, images, gestures, sounds, symbols and so on, that represent a particular meaning

within a particular system or text. According to structural linguists, reality is only intelligible to us through the network of relationships between the sign (signifier/signified) and the system (or structure) in which the sign is embedded.

In textual analysis semiotics suggests that every text can be understood (enables meaning) because of a typical system or structure that is coherent and unambiguous (Hawkes, 1977). The relationship between the signs within a particular language system is an oppositional one, where each sign (unit of meaning) can only be understood in relation to what it is not. For example, the concept of life can only be understood in relation to the concept of death; presence can only be understood in relation to absence; the concept of God can only be known in relation to man and so on. It was, according to Saussure, the binary oppositional structure of language that permitted meaningful thinking. Structuralism essentially offered insights into the underlying structures of language that gave rise to social and cultural meaning.

Semiology then moved on from structural analysis of texts and language to explore signs within social and cultural contexts and in order to understand how systems of cultural signs (modelled on language) gave meaning and, thus, constructed and maintained a particular reality.

It was the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908 – 2009) that applied Saussure's semiotics to the analysis and study of human cultures. According to Lévi-Strauss, these fundamental structures assume a unity in the way the human mind functions. Cultural phenomena such as myth, rituals, rites or lores, for example, had the same cognitive patterns across different cultures. Cultural structuralism, as a

universalising theory suggests there are unitary structures and basic systems that all members of a given society operate within (Levi-Strauss, 2001).

In attempting to discover the regularities of the human mind, structuralism espouses that human behaviour is classified through binary oppositions such as culture-nature, right-wrong, life-death and so on. In understanding the deep structures of myth, Lévi-Strauss analysed such narratives in terms of these binary oppositions and the resultant mediation of such binaries. For example, the culture-nature binary is mediated through the transcendence of culture over nature, whereby one always asserts a hierarchy over another. Sim (2001) describes how such thinking is essentially divisive and exclusive: “[t]hus...‘nature’ and ‘culture’ are set in opposition to each other as mutually exclusive categories, such that given examples of human behaviour must belong to one or other category – but not both” (Sim, 2001: 174).

The intellectual movement known as structuralism was to eventually usurp the more popular existential (humanist) theories of the post-war era.

The Post-structuralist Turn: Derrida and Deconstruction

Structuralism was heavily criticised by the onset of yet another intellectual movement that came to prominence in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Led by a group of French philosophers (Roland Barthes, Derrida, Foucault, Gilles Deleuze), and others via thinking that was to become known as ‘post-structuralism’. Post-structuralists were suspicious of structuralism’s neat system of rules that governed meaning and assumed that language and meaning was stable. It was the work of Barthes and his use of semiotics as an approach to cultural studies in the 1960s, along with Derrida’s method of deconstruction

influenced by Heidegger and Nietzsche that assisted with the emergence of post-structuralism. Derrida's deconstruction, for example, became one of the most powerful expressions of the post-structuralist ethos. Foucault has also been hugely influential upon post-structuralism. In particular, his historical analysis of discursive practices or acts of speech that established specific regimes of truth lead to the development of what he refers to as an attempt to do an 'archaeology' of knowledge. Foucault's method of archaeology was developed into a genealogical approach of historical inquiry in *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of Prison* (1977).

Derrida's deconstruction attempts to subvert the various binaries that underpin dominant Western philosophical thinking. In dealing with the conundrum of asserting his own metaphysics, Derrida claims that his strategy of deconstruction comes from the margins of Western philosophy and as such attempts to disavow any metaphysical claims (Derrida, 1988). Western philosophical tradition through metaphysical concepts such as presence-absence, speech-writing, subject-object and so on, creates dualistic oppositions. These binary conceptions consequently install a hierarchy that privileges one term over another. Deconstruction as described by Jim Powell is "a tactic of decentering, which makes us aware of the centrality of the central term. Then it attempts to subvert the central term so that the marginalised term can become central. The marginalised term temporarily overthrows the hierarchy" (Powell, 2003: 26).

Post-structuralism, in regard to this thesis, is useful in the sense that it provides a critical lens in which to examine the con(text)ual nature of signs and sense-making in relation to cultural identity and relations in Aotearoa New Zealand. Structuralism and its structural (binary) framework is where Derridean (deconstructive) and Foucauldian (discourse and

power/knowledge) analyses are directed at. A Foucauldian analysis of the nature of ‘signs’ (outlined below) within a societal context, exposes the complex workings of communication, language and meaning within cultural systems, of which Foucault more often refers to as discourse.

If the medium of language (i.e., spoken words, gestures, sounds, metaphors, symbols and so on) represents the various ways in which societies (as individuals) communicate and establish meaning, it could be assumed that conventional codes (rules) and systems of signs established are produced by the dominant discourse (language/culture) or specific traditions and conventions of a particular time. One might also argue that while this predominant system of meaning-making (signs, codes of tradition and convention) gives rise to one particular perspective, interpretation or representation of meaning, other discourses (such as localised and informal language) or cultural systems are also operating, intersecting and constantly mediating between differences in signification and meaning.

As a consequence each system (discourse) brings forth its own interpretations and understandings. These interpreters within each cultural discourse might be referred to as readers of signs. The individuals and groups (readers of signs) are, thus, categorised by the language they use, their cultural background, ethnicity, gender, age, sexuality, and so on. These categorisations represent the different ways in which members of society can interpret and, thus, make sense of their surroundings. Teenagers, for example, as some parents might argue, develop their own unique perspectives, beliefs and language(s) based upon their own sub-cultural (cultures within a greater culture) group interactions and have quite different interpretations of the surroundings to their parents. The system of

signs one uses to interpret and represent oneself, others and their environment provides only the text from which contextual meaning (through discourse) is articulated. Ultimately, the structuralist view that language is stable and that structure governs meaning is insufficient and, thus, has been repudiated by many post-structuralist thinkers.

Derrida asserted that the instability of language eventually results in what he refers to as a slippage in meaning (Sim, 2001). Through the context of language, therefore, meaning is open to multiple interpretations. Deconstruction works to expose the contradictions within these contexts, expose the traditions and conventions that maintain a particular truth. The deconstructive project seeks to attack the system-building nature of structuralism, its binary assertions of reality and its reductive approach to explaining phenomena. Sim explains that from Derrida's perspective,

... there was never any perfect conjunction of signifier and signified to guarantee unproblematic communication. Some 'slippage' of meaning always occurred. For one thing, words always contained echoes or traces of other words, with their sound quality, for example, invariably putting one in mind of a range of similar sounding words. Derrida provided evidence of this slippage in action by means of a concept called '**différance**', a neologism derived from the French word *différance* (meaning both difference and deferral). (Sim, 2005: 5)

Meaning is found, therefore, within language, not through some transcendent position outside of human discourse. As such, post-structural approaches in regard to this thesis have been the most useful theoretical applications in attempting to unsettle the colonial binary. According to post-structuralism human understanding is limited by human

discourse. In other words, one is not able to have direct transcendent access to reality for it is governed by the traditions, language and cultural discourse one is immersed within.

Over time, grand narratives and universalising theories whether religious, philosophical, scientific or structural (the binary for example) are limited by their own tradition. This by no means suggests one should dispose of the philosophical traditions that have contributed to critical and analytical discourses of contemporary thought, but rather we should revive and include the silenced traditions of thought that have been disregarded throughout history.

Post-structuralism, Feminism and Indigenous Theory: Alternative Discourses

The post-structuralist project urges academics and intellectuals to reflect upon, interrogate and dismantle the Western forms of thinking and knowing deeply embedded in their own political, historical and cultural consciousness. This involves the development and utilisation of alternative methods of critique that challenge the way one understands oneself, their environment and others in relation to binary thinking.

Accordingly, this thesis attempts to synthesise Māori epistemological thought and Gadamer's *philosophical hermeneutics* through the development of a conceptual model (see Chapter Six) that works to critically understand (through self-reflexivity, dialogue and reciprocity) how one interprets and mediates their understanding of themselves in relations to others and their environment. The model challenges traditional Western representations of the so called *Other* by asserting a centering and unified notion of *Being* of which I refer to as the *Self*-ethical. Stewart-Harawira suggests that the recent hermeneutic epistemological model developed within Western philosophical thought "is

an articulation, albeit in reduced form, of concepts and understandings that have always existed in Indigenous epistemological and ontological thought” (2005:46). I am conscious of how such statements may be viewed as problematic when Indigenous responses to the colonial binary establish a similar hierarchy and impose an Indigenous moral high ground over oppressive Western traditions. However, this thesis, rather than suggesting Indigenous epistemologies as superior to so-called Western traditional forms of knowing, searches for the possible synergies between commonly perceived opposing worldviews. The combining of Māori epistemology with *philosophical hermeneutics* provides a critical space to engage differently with binary articulations; a space that attempts to mediate the power-relations apparent within such binary frames and, thus, find the synergies between two traditionally opposed and hierarchical knowledge systems.

The need for new forms of postcolonial critique and analysis that includes Indigenous world views to this particular body of knowledge is integral, I suggest, to any attempts to destabilise the colonial binary. The critical space I am in search of seeks to include the voices (silenced) from those at the margins and provides the possibility of new and critical insights into the understanding of oneself and others in the present, and in particular relation to the past. Historian Greg Denning briefly alludes to this notion in the (re)understanding of history:

If the texts of the past are mountainously high, the silences in them are unfathomably deep: silences of pain, and of happiness for that matter; silences of guilt, silences of fear; silences of exclusion; silences of forgetting. (Denning, 1998: 208)

Foucault too suggests the need for the silenced or subjugated voices to be utilised alongside contemporary critical discourses in the quest to challenge the “centralising powers which are linked to the institution and functioning of an organised scientific discourse within a society such as ours” (Foucault, 1980: 84). According to Foucault, it is through the “insurrection of subjugated knowledges” (1980: 81) that triumphs over reason, science and oppression are possible. He explains further that it is through the notions of discourse and power/knowledge that particular rules, conventions and norms are maintained and establish what is self-evident, meaningful and, therefore, truthful at a particular time in history – a truth that is formed at the exclusion of the truth of an *Other*.

As a consequence, a Foucauldian critique of knowledge/power assumes a need for subjugated epistemologies to be included alongside dominant (central) theoretical explanations of the world.

Feminist theorists, such as Luce Irigaray and renowned existentialist Simone de Beauvoir, have also argued against and critiqued Western philosophy in general and the need to liberate the feminine from masculine philosophical thought. Irigaray offered a critique of Lacan and Freudian psychoanalysis and espoused the non-subjectification of women, through the destabilisation of the masculine symbolic order. Stuart Sim explains:

...Irigaray argues that women as subject is excluded from Western philosophy and that this mode of thought allows full subjectivity to only one sex: male. Stemming from the primacy accorded the phallus, women is characterized by absence, lack, negativity. Cast merely as the mirror in which man sees himself reflected, we are only allowed to know woman as man sees her. (2005:285)

Despite the rise of feminist philosophical critique since the mid-Twentieth Century, the subjective male authority, norms and conventions have, arguably, continued to maintain its own metaphysics. Furthermore, this authority and power is self-reifying by the absence, or silenced voice of women.

American author and feminist Gloria Jean Watkins who is better known by her *nom de plume* bell hooks, writes how feminism has a lot to offer the struggle against cultural and group oppression; a focus that inevitably comes from the margin, from where feminism always ultimately speaks:

...the struggle to end sexist oppression that focuses on destroying the cultural basis for such domination strengthens other liberation struggles. Individuals who fight for the eradication of sexism without struggles to end racism or classism undermine their own efforts. Individuals who fight for the eradication of racism or classism while supporting sexist oppression are helping to maintain the cultural basis of all forms of group oppression. (2000: 40)

hooks and other feminists remind us that the same metaphysics that has imposed its understanding of *Being* (White European and patriarchal) since the time of the Greeks is still being translated across the varying dualist notions of man-woman, *Self-Other*, coloniser-colonised, whereby the authority that asserts one's *Being* as the *Other* is maintained and reinforced by the dominant (normalised) Western culture.

Feminist critique makes problematic the idea of emancipatory (humanist) theories of transformation for oppressed groups. Historically, this claim is easily validated by the continued inability of certain groups within society to remove themselves from their

oppressive situations. As such, any genuine attempts of transformation and change can only be possible by having an awareness of the deeply embedded assumptions that structure one's thinking. The marginalised conditions espoused by Heidegger (culture over nature, science over religion) and Irigaray (man over woman), remind us of the pervading Western cultural traditions that have simultaneously silenced the voice of particular groups. At the same time, these traditions through an inherent and primary disregard of *alterity* (difference and otherness), have maintained their own understandings and representations of truth in relation to *Being*. As bell hooks reminds us, these metaphysical conditions can only be intervened by those positioned at the margins:

This is an intervention. A message from that space in the margin that is a site of creativity and power, that inclusive space where we recover ourselves, where we meet in solidarity to erase the category colonized/colonizer. Marginality is the space [site] of resistance. Enter that space. Let us meet there. Enter that space. We greet you as liberators. (1996: 54)

It is this challenge of synergising contrasting (Western and Indigenous) epistemologies and allowing the voices from the margins to speak that this chapter attempts to contend with. Although not free of its obvious complexities, this task creates a space where possibly, the future of critical and emancipatory discourse may lie; a critical space that allows one to speak from the outside, but not from some transcendent or objective position, but instead from the margins of difference and exclusion.

Traces of the Marxist Tradition: Anti-colonial and Postcolonial Theories

Various anti-colonial and postcolonial theorists have developed upon Hegel's *Self-Other* dialectic and Marxist theory, in an attempt to articulate and transform those adversely affected by the colonial and imperial projects of the 18th Eighteenth and 19th Nineteenth centuries. Frantz Fanon in his book *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967) described and gave a candid account of the psychological impact of the colonising experience upon himself as a black intellectual in a French colony. The French occupied country of Algeria in 1830 and the colonisation of its predominantly Muslim population (until its eventual independence in 1962) provided the backdrop for Fanon's literary critique. He elaborates about the coloniser-colonised relationship and, in particular, the cultural and psychological imposition of colonial discourse; a psychology that was imposed through (the French) language. Language for Fanon and, in particular the French language, was the discourse through which the colonial subject (coloniser) internalised the success of his own civility, modernisation and its corollary whiteness, in opposition to the uncivil and inferior savagery of the black Algerian (colonised):

A man who has a language consequently possesses the world expressed and implied by that language... Mastery of language affords remarkable power... Every colonised people - in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by death and burial of its local cultural originality - finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is, with the

culture of the mother country... He becomes whiter as he renounces his blackness, his jungle. (Fanon, 1986: 18)

In resistance to colonialism, Fanon advocated the need for the black man to regain his blackness, his history and culture through the notion of *négritude*.²³ Assigned as a new theory of consciousness *négritude* became a means to achieve equality and revive and maintain one's (black) identity despite the assimilatory conditions and practices of colonial French rule. Fanon describes this awakening in the following passage:

I defined myself as an absolute intensity of beginning. So I took up my negritude, and with tears in my eyes I put its machinery together again. What had been broken to pieces was rebuilt, reconstructed by the intuitive lianas of my hands. (Fanon, 1967: 138)

Towards his later years Fanon advocated for violence against the colonial machine in order to effect social and historical change and liberation (1990). His work had a major impact on civil-rights and anti-colonial movements around the world.

The Brazilian educational theorist Paulo Freire also advocated that marginalised peoples must remove themselves from their own oppressive consciousness. His concept of *conscientization* described the need for the oppressed to become critically conscious of their world, their place in that world and how they came to be there. His seminal work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), offered to the oppressed the philosophical and pedagogical tools to critically analyse and transform their oppressive reality. Freirean

²³ The term *négritude* has its origins from the Francophone black writers, politicians and intellectuals of France in the 1930s. First used by Aimé Césaire, he used the term as a strategy of resistance against assimilation and sought to reclaim and re-describe the notion of Negro in its positive rather than pejorative sense.

theory advocated the importance of education and literacy to the oppressed in the formation of a critical consciousness, a consciousness that he suggests is necessary in regaining one's humanity and transforming their oppressive social conditions. Freire's emancipatory project, in contrast to Fanon, is one of love and hope, where the oppressed in re-humanising themselves also has the responsibility of re-humanising their oppressor. Freire asserts that it is essential to the humanising project that the oppressed also liberates the oppressor, thus, taking away the oppressors power to dominate and in turn restoring the oppressor of his humanity (Freire, 1996).

The similarities between Fanon and Freire are concerned with the social psychology and consciousness of oppression. Both are concerned with the awakening of one's mind to the colonial structures, institutions and worldviews that work to sustain the position of oppressed peoples within society. The battle against such an oppressive consciousness is not easy and is a constant struggle for those who are marginalised. As Freire states: "[o]ne of the gravest obstacles to the achievement of liberation is that the oppressive reality absorbs those within it and thereby acts to submerge human beings' consciousness (Freire, 1996: 33).

The Heglian dialectic and Marxist theory were central to humanist and emancipatory ideas of Fanon and Freire. Although providing a frame to critically analyse and deconstruct the ideological structures, institutions and practices within colonial and global Capitalist discourse, I suggest that the notion of *Other* within postcolonial critique is problematic. While it has provided a mechanism in which to identify and analyse those placed on the periphery, its theoretical usefulness in changing the psychological and social positioning of marginalised subjectivities is limited due in large to its constant

referral and reification of the *Self/Other* hierarchy. Simply stated, the constant referral to the *Other* in the examination of the *Self-Other* dichotomy fails in its attempts to unsettle the binary. Postcolonial studies, for instance, merely serves to reify the power differential implicit to the binary. In my view, as long as the binary frame continually refers to a subjugated *Other* as used within postcolonial studies, the critical discourse is destined to fail in its task to unsettle the hierarchy because the position (of the *Other*) will always be inferior to the *Self*. Although the colonial binary does expose the covert and oppressive agendas of colonisation and imperialism, it also maintains the power and hierarchical structures it claims to destabilise by continually operating within that binary frame.

The context, in which this critique applies, is that of my own condition and experiences as a Māori academic engaging with and within postcolonial studies. At an intellectual level I constantly engage with texts and ideas that attempt to explain the postcolonial condition or, more specifically, the world of the *Other*. However, in doing so I can not help but posit myself as the inferior subject (or object) of inquiry, for I am the *Other* - the subjugated and the oppressed. I have been convinced of my own marginalisation and I have become a focal point of a celebratory discourse that claims to free me from my self-imposed psychological and cultural oppression.

Ironically, it is the very systems of knowledge responsible for this subjugation (Western theory, philosophy and traditions) that claims to free me. Once again, my own ambivalence is revealed in that I cannot deny I have been colonised, I am a part of the very system of which I openly choose to critique. However, I am also defined by an alternative history, another tradition; a version of events that traces back to a time I cannot comprehend and that connects me to a place and people. It is this complex

negotiation as coloniser-colonised that reveals my double articulation (consciousness), my ambivalence as both the *Self* and the *Other*. It is the tensions between these two contrasting worldviews, between order and chaos, individualism and unity, rationalism and the mystical that provides the backdrop for my analysis and its apparent contradictions.

Hybridity and the Third Space: The Essentialist Question

Postcolonial theory as an intellectual discourse generally consists of analysis and reactions to the legacy of colonisation that combat the lingering effects of colonialism and its prevailing racist and imperial nature. As a critical discourse it seeks to provide a space that allows for the silenced voices to be heard. The cultural implications for marginalised peoples post (or after) the effects of colonial and neo-colonial imposition are historical and deep. The development of *hybridity* theory within postcolonial studies has become an important model in challenging the oppressive structures and ideologies of contemporary colonial discourse. Key theorists who have contributed to this notion include Stuart Hall (1990; 1996), Paul Gilroy (1993), and Bhabha and Spivak of course. However, it was Bhabha's *The Location of Culture* (1994) that arguably has been the most influential, as well as controversial text on *hybridity* theory. Marwan Kraidy (2002) outlines the impact Bhabha's notion of *hybridity* has had upon the field of postcolonial studies:

While some see hybridity as a site of democratic struggle and resistance against empire, others have attacked it as a neo-colonial discourse complicit with transnational capitalism, cloaked in the garb of cultural theory. Hybridity has also

been the target of attacks alleging that the concept reflects the life of its theorists more than the sites and communities these theorists write about. (Kraidy, 2002: 316)

Bhabha's notion of *hybridity* and the key concepts he uses such as *ambivalence*, *fixity*, *difference*, *mimicry* and the third space have been hugely influential, especially in the fields of postcolonial studies, and social and cultural theory. In claiming to operate beyond the binary and outside a cultural politics of polarity, *hybridity*, challenges the authority of cultural imperial structures and, thus, has much to offer the emerging Indigenous field of scholarship.

In this chapter, however, I make problematic Bhabha's hybrid cultural space, particularly in an attempt to highlight the possible political and cultural implications such a model may have by de-essentialising notions of and their inferences to Indigenous cultural identity within the colonial and neo-colonial political landscape. Here, I question its legitimacy in altering the authority of colonial power, in alignment with feminist theorist, Diana Fuss, who is also one who is somewhat critical of social constructionist (anti-essentialist) models such as *hybridity*:

...in our well-intentioned efforts to unmask and denounce essentialism as a dangerous conceptual fallacy, we may have too quickly and perhaps too uncritically embraced constructionism as the necessary or only corrective. Constructionism is not quite the unproblematic, 'safe' critical position we have so often taken it to be; indeed, constructionism creates certain methodological, epistemological, and political problems of its own, and these need to be discussed

with the same vigor, intelligence and healthy skepticism that feminists in the past have directed towards questions of essentialism. (Fuss, 1989: 39)

In a bicultural context in Aotearoa New Zealand, Simone Drichel (2008) in her article ‘The Time of Hybridity’ draws a renewed attention to Bhabha’s cultural theory of *hybridity* and to postcolonial politics of identity and representation. She discusses the need to ensure the temporality of *hybridity* in preventing what she believes as a commonly misunderstood essentialising and metaphysical assertion being made upon *hybridity* theory within postcolonial critique. She elicits that Bhabha’s non-originary, de-centred understandings of *hybridity* have now been positioned “into an essentialising binary opposition between hybridity and essentialism” (Drichel, 2008: 605). Despite the differences of opinion, what can not be denied is that Bhabha’s model of *hybridity* is currently an important concept (if not the most important) in the field of postcolonial studies.

However, I too am critical of the lack of attention social constructionist theory has received in postcolonial studies. As such, I am interested in interrogating the position *hybridity* holds over Indigenous essentialised notions of *Being* and identity. My criticism is based upon two considerations. The first is in regard to how the concept of *hybridity* might again be re-othering Indigenous ontological understandings of cultural identity. Secondly, I attempt to critically understand the implications such rhetoric (hybrid/social constructionist) may have upon ontological conceptualisations of being Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand (both traditional and contemporary).

Firstly, however I want to draw the reader's attention to Aotearoa New Zealand's so-called 'bicultural context', via Drichel's (2008) article. She discusses the need to ensure the temporality of *hybridity* in preventing what she believes as a commonly misunderstood essentialising and metaphysical assertion being made upon *hybridity* theory. Drichel's argument is valid in that it makes one aware of the potential to impose one's own binary between *hybridity* and essentialism, and I openly accept that, yet my concern is aimed at all (so-called) anti-essentialist perspectives and their charge upon essentialism and, in particular, the possibility of anti-essentialist rhetoric effectively imposing its own essentialising (metaphysical) attack upon essentialism.

In making problematic the notion of *hybridity* I apply a Foucauldian analysis to its claim of the emergence of new cultural formations. I critically examine the notions of *mimicry* and *ambivalence* and, in particular the latter, as Bhabha suggests that it is *ambivalence* that is the key to altering the authority or *fixity* of essentialised binary identities within colonial discourse.

In his essay 'Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse' Bhabha states that "mimicry emerges as one of the most elusive and effective strategies of colonial power and knowledge" (Bhabha, 1994: 122).), He goes on to say in the following passage:

...colonial mimicry is a desire for a reformed, recognisable Other, *as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite*. Which is to say, that the discourse of mimicry is constructed around an *ambivalence*; in order to be effective mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference?

The authority of that mode of colonial discourse that I have called mimicry is therefore stricken by indeterminacy: mimicry emerges as a representation of difference that is itself a process of disavowal. Mimicry is thus, the sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation, and discipline, which ‘appropriates’ the Other as it visualizes power. Mimicry is also the sign of the inappropriate, however, a difference or recalcitrance which coheres the dominant strategic function of colonial power, intensifies surveillance, and poses an immanent threat to both “normalized” knowledges and disciplinary powers. (Bhabha, 1994: 123)

In other words, through the discourse of mimicry the *Other* is to be reformed to assume qualities of the *Self*, by becoming (for the better) the dominant subject *Self*, but in doing so experiences moments of slippage as the *Other* can never fully become the *Self*, and is thus always inappropriate. Mimicry explains how the *Other* can be both the same and different within colonial discourse. It is through colonial ambivalence and stereotype that this inappropriateness is maintained. In a postcolonial context this slippage might equate to a Māori politician never quite reaching the same cultural status and/or recognition as their Pākehā counterpart, women never quite gaining the equal standing as men in social, political, cultural and economic settings, or the traditions of the East never quite measuring up to that of the West.

In order to maintain its authority colonial discourse requires repetition, repeatability of the dominant colonial *Self*, its *logocentric* ideal or presence, (an original presence that in its most perfect representation re-presents the original presence with minimal distortion). Ironically, however, this strategy in order to be effective must never be complete; the

Other must never become the *Self* but remain merely “the appropriate objects of a colonialist chain of command, authorized versions of otherness” (Bhabha, 1994:126).

Furthermore, according to Bhabha, what is experienced by the colonial object (*Other*) is a double vision or articulation - “almost the same, but not quite” – that exposes the oppressive structures “[from] which they [have] emerge[d] as ‘inappropriate’ colonial subjects” and which “[threatens] the narcissistic demand of colonial authority [desire]” (Bhabha, 1994:126). The desire by the colonial *Other* to become the *Self* produces what he refers to as the gaze of otherness: “[a] partial vision of the colonizer’s presence... that shares the acuity of the genealogical gaze which, as Foucault describes it, liberates marginal elements and shatters the unity of man’s being through which he extends his sovereignty” (Bhabha, 1994:126-127).

Mimicry results in Indigenous populations (or migrating groups) abandoning their customs, cultural heritage and beliefs, in order to assimilate (though not fully) into the wider dominant culture of the coloniser. The *Other* subject must be naturalised enough for the colonial machinery to be effective, while at the same time culturally distant enough to maintain the stability of the coloniser’s identity as the *Self*. Aotearoa New Zealand provides perhaps a good example of how the strategy of *mimicry* as a part of the colonial machine has never fully achieved its goal. If one considers, for example, that the assimilationist policies and tactics of the 1960s and 1970s were used as a strategy to entice Māori to copy, imitate, and mimic their Pākehā counterparts, then Bhabha’s idea that *mimicry* and its *ambivalence* will affect its own destructive demise might explain the political gains Māori have made over the past fifty years. The gains made, although

minor to some Māori, are significant I feel if one contemplates what the alternative could have been if the colonial machine had succeeded.

In an historical context, Bhabha's notions of *mimicry* and *ambivalence* can be used to explain the advent of Māori responses to assimilationist policies of the latter part of the Twentieth Century in Aotearoa New Zealand. The idea of being defined as a bicultural nation in Aotearoa New Zealand first appeared in the 1980s and was due largely, in part, to the Māori resistance movements of the 1960s and 70s. A policy of assimilation was propagated by the 1960 Hunn Report. In the report it suggested (and subsequently recommended) that New Zealand society was shifting from integration to assimilation - where the nation was becoming one people through the mixing of two cultures.²⁴ Fifty odd years later, the reality is somewhat different to that forecasted by the Hunn Report. The failure of assimilationist policies to achieve complete integration may in part be explained by the self-reproducing (*mimicry*) and self-destructive (*ambivalent*) nature of colonial discourse.

However, Bhabha's theory fails to explain why Māori and Pākehā identity and cultural relations to this day, continue to be framed within binary and resistant/counter-resistant modes. In postcolonial studies the historical relationship between Māori and Pākehā is regularly perceived as a dichotomous one. The understanding of Māori and Pākehā cultural identity, relations and politics is repeatedly framed within a coloniser-colonised relationship. This is evident through the works of Walker (1990); G Smith (1997); Bishop

²⁴ 'The New Zealanders – Bicultural New Zealand', Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 4-Mar-09
URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/the-new-zealanders/12>

(1998, 1999); L Smith (1999) and others, when Māori perspectives and worldviews are used to challenge mainstream institutions and their prevailing ideologies and practices.

Although, I do not deny the possibility of such liberating and enlightening moments brought about by a theoretical *third space*, Foucault's understanding of discourse and power/ knowledge relations, poses some critical questions when examining the validity of *hybridity* theory in an Aotearoa New Zealand context. As such, my critical analysis seeks to examine the historical relationship between the binary mode of power, culture as discourse and Bhabha's cultural third space of *hybridity*.

Brendan Hokowhitu (2004) in his writings on Māori masculinity also uses the same binary frame to elicit the stereotypical constructions of Māori men by mainstream society. He uses Foucault's power/knowledge relation and discourse to explain the oppressive limitations of colonial stereotypical constructions of Māori men in Aotearoa New Zealand:

Yet it is also true that the dominant discourse, through many institutions, pervasively limits Māori men, and Māori men swallow these constructions, affirming Michael Foucault's conception of the power/knowledge nexus. Such is the power of the dominant discourse – to create the reality it represents.
(Hokowhitu, 2004: 262)

In critically examining the historical and socially constructed nature of the concept of Māori masculinity, Hokowhitu describes how this notion has been produced and re-presented by the dominant discourse, to legitimise and assert power as *Self* the Pākehā male over the *Other*, the subjugated Māori male. These symbolic representations of the

Pākehā male ideal speak of these moments of slippage Bhabha refers to in the process of colonial *mimicry*. In the example above, the attempt to convert representations of Māori male to that of the Pākehā male *Self* is never complete since the Māori male *Other* can never fully become the Pākehā male *Self*. As Hokowhitu explains: “The depiction of male savagery is, thus, a tactic in the sense that it holds certain [stereotypical] truths over time (e.g. it is biologically determined), but will be employed, largely, to describe what the dominant Pākehā masculine ideal is not” (2003:186).

Conflicting representations of cultural and racial forms exist to rationalise a natural Pākehā male ideal. The colonial *ambivalence* toward Māori men, for example, is demonstrated through the colonialist desire to reform the *Other* into the ideal *Self*. However, in order to hold the central view, this reformation can never be fulfilled as the *Other* must remain at the margin, otherwise the *Self* will become the *Other* and, thus, threaten the central position of power. Again, what is evident in Hokowhitu’s analysis, similar to other contemporary Indigenous critiques of colonial and neo-colonial thinking and practices, is that such criticisms tend to utilise social constructionist perspectives to better understand and expose the continued subjugation of Indigenous perspectives and worldviews through binary logic.

Again, I acknowledge that I too am susceptible to the same tradition of binary thinking and, thus, my analysis reflects the binaries upheld in my own labours and the difficulties associated with attempting to move beyond them. In my analysis, for example, I utilise the social constructionist-essentialist binary and, thus, find myself having to work within such machinations, and revealing the difficulties with working within larger incarcerating binary logics and practices in order to undermine them.

Ambivalence: Expressions of Colonial Discourse

Again using a Foucauldian approach, I present an analysis of how the notion of *ambivalence* can also reinforce the power of colonial discourse through the reification of the *Other*. In contemporary New Zealand society stereotypical formations of being Māori are not only prevalent, but in some instances utilised politically against Māori. The critique that follows is premised upon the idea that both the coloniser and colonised are navigating within the same culturally hybrid space. In other words, Māori and Pākehā are living and interacting together in a highly integrated (in most cases) society. The basis for my criticism based on the idea that the dominant culture in society as a discourse is founded upon commonly held knowledge, values, attitudes and belief systems that establish particular norms and conventions of the time. Although sub-cultures exist within such societies and new cultures can emerge, it is the dominant culture that establishes the ground from which social and cultural rules, norms and traditions are legitimised.

A contemporary example of where colonial *ambivalence* worked to reify the binary mode of Māori-Pākehā opposition occurred in a recent sport debate that has been played out in the mainstream institution of sport. The debate stemmed from the banning of the performance of *haka*²⁵ (posture dance) by schoolboy rugby sides prior to games by the governing body of a national provincial schoolboy rugby competition. In pre-colonial time's *haka* were performed by Māori warriors to unite and prepare them both physically

²⁵ There are several forms of *haka* including 'war dances' but the word merely means dance – there is a common misrepresentation that the word *haka* represents violence and intimidation. See Timoti Karetu's book *Haka: The Dance of a Noble People*, for further reading.

and mentally before battle. In modern times, this traditional dance along with other forms of Māori song and dance has been revived by Māori through *Kapa Haka* or traditional performing arts. The *haka* has arguably become one of the most revered aspects of our national culture and is performed regularly by many New Zealanders (Māori and non-Māori) both here and overseas. Given international prominence by the national men's rugby team (All Blacks), the *haka* is performed before every test match. It has become a tradition within schoolboy, club and national rugby teams throughout the country. It has become a way of not only affirming Māori identity, but also New Zealand identity on the world stage.

In 2010 the Under-13 boys Roller Mills Rugby competition²⁶ was banned from performing pre-match *haka* for fears that it would lead to acts of violence and intimidation. The banning caused significant public debate, which eventually led to responses both on the streets and at the political commentary level. The Minister of Māori Affairs and co-leader of the Māori Party, Dr Pita Sharples stated:

It is an absolute travesty to equate the haka with violence. Violence does occur during rugby games, and other contact sports, but to blame the haka is ridiculous... The haka is performed to inspire enthusiasm and pride, to build team unity and to lift the players' mental alertness before the game... (NZ Herald, 2010 August 12 Edition)

Allegorically speaking, the *haka* incident of 2010 indicates how colonial discourse has rationalised its own conceptualisation of *haka* by aligning its performance with

²⁶ The Roller Mills is an annual regional competition that brings the best Under-13 male rugby players from the top half of the North Island together in a week long tournament.

stereotypical notions of violence and intimidation. The banning of the *haka*, thereby, demonstrates how the authority of the Pākehā male *Self* through *ambivalence* toward the Māori male *Other* legitimises one reality, its own. In other words, the *haka* in this instance is accepted and made positive by the dominant discourse through the All Blacks performance of it, and on the other maligned as a violent and intimidatory act. This example demonstrates, I believe, how the Māori *Other* is still bound by the dominant discourse and, in this case, through the (re)production of the ideal Pākehā male *Self* in contrast to the violent Māori male *Other*.

Foucault's notion of cultural discourse describes how hegemonic and practical conditions can (re)produce and, thus, normalise truth and meaning within society. The dominant culture within a society, therefore, produces both the coloniser and colonised subjectivities based upon its own truth making regime.

In a contemporary setting and especially within some sectors of postcolonial studies, this hybrid notion and cultural space that Bhabha espouses; "is celebrated and privileged as a kind of superior cultural intelligence owing to the advantage of in-betweenness, the straddling of two cultures and the consequent ability to negotiate the difference" (Hoogvelt cited in Meredith, 1997: 158). The notion of *hybridity* from this perspective enables the emergence of new identities and/or multiple subjective positioning(s). This interweaving of coloniser and colonised elements also challenges the so-called authentic and essentialised notions of cultural identity and the fixation associated with traditional Indigenous forms of identity.

In regard to Indigenous articulations and resistance within postcolonial studies, the enticement and seduction of such a space, I suggest, requires further critique. Although I agree that *hybridity* allows for a possible way out of binary constructions through trans-cultural thinking by inscribing the agency of the colonised/oppressed, the emergence of these ‘familiar but new’ representations poses also a direct threat to existing ontological conceptualisations of identity, such as those accepted by many (but not all) Māori today. I question the fixated condition imposed upon, in particular, Indigenous essentialised identities and critique the vilification of Indigenous essentialisms in order to re-inscribe their importance.

I am aware of the complexity of the issue I am attempting to argue in relation to anti-essentialist critique. However, my concern is with the implications such rhetoric may have upon Indigenous peoples and, in particular, those who align and embody such essentialisations that are merely being told again that they are not okay.

Advocates of Bhabha’s third space may argue that it is the potentiality of *hybridity* and the emergence of new cultural formations that is the key. I pose the argument, however, that while new identities may emerge, old (stereotypical) formations are also (re)articulated through the dominant discourse of the colonial binary. Again, essentially leaving the *Other* susceptible to the same old adage of being re-othered.

Conclusion

Postmodern (and postcolonial) criticisms must be critical of the underlying assumptions and beliefs implicit within the discourse itself. It could (and has) been argued by Heidegger, Derrida, Foucault and others that postmodern and post-structural theorists in

analysing such notions as the *Self* and *Other*, in order to illuminate the plight of the marginalised and tools of the coloniser, have in fact, further legitimised the binary. As a consequence, the body of postcolonial theoretical knowledge may re-establish the hierarchical power relationship it is trying to unsettle. This then leads to the question of whether a theoretical position, underpinned by the very forms and structures it claims to critique (i.e., Western thought) can be truly emancipatory to epistemologies (such as Indigenous knowledge systems) unintelligible to Occidental reason? It is the ideas and concepts made apparent by this group of intellectual thinkers (Heidegger, Gadamer, Bhabha and Derrida), juxtaposed with Indigenous theory and conceptualisations, that provides the possible synergies for the theoretical critique within this thesis. In espousing a more self-reflexive discourse, the discourse itself must also be open to critique and be constantly reflexive of its own assumptions, conventions and traditions.

In this chapter I have attempted to illustrate my frustrations with the continued use of dualist oppositional thinking within postmodern and postcolonial literature. One of the primary postmodern critiques of postmodernism against Western tradition is its tendency to assert binary classifications upon the world. As a product of structuralism, binary oppositions were seen as fundamental distinctions of all language and thought. The origins of binary oppositional thinking were traced from the structuralist to postmodern movements and through to its theoretical applications in anti-colonial and postcolonial critique. This analysis has been critical of the ability of traditional Western discourses to adequately address the current issues associated with dualist and binary distinctions and especially in regard to the notion of *Other*.

In response, this chapter asserts that Indigenous ontological knowledge and understandings need to be acknowledged and utilised alongside postmodern and post-structural discourses in analysing the notions of *Self* and *Other*. This is essential, I suggest if we are to challenge the Western metaphysical assumptions and binary constructs that determine meaning.

To dismantle the binary oppositions so engrained within Western philosophical thought requires amelioration of dualist notions, such as, man-woman, coloniser-colonised, good-evil and so on. Such a discourse, I believe, will be fraught with difficulty if it continues to articulate itself within the same binary structures that have maintained the Western philosophical traditions.

The combining of Indigenous and Western concepts, ideas and theories is not unproblematic. The perceived diametric opposition, as well as the ontological and essentialised notions associated with Indigenous concepts, beliefs and worldviews are contrary to the possible synergies I am proposing. However, although difficult, this thesis attempts to find both the syncretic possibilities between Indigenous and Western epistemologies and also a space that allows for Indigenous knowledge to stand in its own right. This thesis asserts the need to search and develop upon the integrative potential of two apparent contrasting knowledge systems.

Part Three: Contextual Analysis, Key Concepts and Theory

Chapter Five

A Genealogy of Identity Politics and Resistance: Reconciling the Māori-Pākehā Binary

This chapter attempts to give an historical and critical analysis of identity politics and resistance in Aotearoa New Zealand and, thus, bring some historical context to the ideas already discussed in previous chapters. As well, this historical analysis provides the basis for the introduction of new concepts in relation to the objective of this thesis, that is, the theoretical destabilisation of the Māori and Pākehā binary in the reframing of cultural identity. Combined with the concepts and ideas introduced and discussed in Chapter Six, this chapter provides the contextual grounding for the analysis of the participants' narratives in Chapter Eight.

To merely be cognisant of colonial history and the contemporary implications for Māori and Pākehā is not enough. The premise of this chapter suggests any (new) understandings of the colonial past must be open to (re)interpretation and critique when examining the assumptions and pre-judgments in the re-readings of colonial relationship-making history. This chapter, therefore, seeks to bring to light the complexity of identity construction, its cultural politics and implications. Cultural politics examines how those marginalised by colonial discourse understand and subvert their position on the periphery. Peter Jackson (1991) describes cultural politics as “the domain in which meanings are constructed and negotiated, where relations of dominance and subordination are defined and contested” (200). In terms of this thesis, cultural politics asks how sub-cultural narratives of identity can present critiques of the dominant relations of exclusion, fragmentation and power implicit with colonial discourse.

The body of literature used to interpret how identities have been constructed, (re)produced and challenged includes a range of New Zealand writers and academics both Indigenous and non-indigenous, such as Michael King, James Belich, Avril Bell, Donna Awatere, Linda Smith, Michael Reilly and others. They have all contributed to contemporary discussions and debates, although some more extensively than others, around national and ethnic identity over the past four decades.

The mediation and negotiation of two traditionally opposed conceptualisations, framed within colonial discourse, requires an acceptance by Pākehā and Māori, of the contested historical relationship that has shaped the present and will, therefore, shape the future. The analysis offered in this chapter is carried out from an historical and critical perspective. In an attempt to reveal the origin and implications of a bicultural politics of identity and resistance, this chapter critically examines the production of Māori and Pākehā subjectivities. It is important to note at this time, however, that throughout this analysis my intention is not to vilify the coloniser and assert the same old arguments that impose the dominant Pākehā (coloniser) *Self* over an oppressed Māori (colonised) *Other*. Instead, it is the various structures (in a phenomenological sense) that maintain binary oppositional thinking that concern me.

As a consequence, in the promotion of an alternative critical and reflexive space this chapter argues the need for postcolonial analyses to move to a new form of critique, one that is post (or past) the era of the *Other* and so potentially resistant to imperial binary thinking. This postcolonial space assumes the indeterminacy of the *Self* and the fluidity, production and exchange of subjectivities, while also at the same time advocating a space that allows for essentialised Indigenous identity formations. The need for such a space,

while ever wary of the binary mode and its desire to fixate, categorise, and dominate, is done so under the premise that historically Indigenous (and other minority) peoples have had to resist the continued impositions of colonisation.

As I outline in Chapter Four, I am wary that in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand cultural politics and colonial history, the theorisation of a cultural hybridity must not disempower the meagre gains of recent strategic cultural essentialisations made by Māori. Regardless, in this chapter I suggest the possibility of the co-existence and integration of Māori and Pākehā cultures has been instrumental to confronting (and dismantling) the binary mode that continues to reify notions of *Other*(ness). Again, I am aware of the contradiction of my position in relation to the critique of Bhabha's concept of *hybridity* in the previous chapter. However, this contradiction is the result of my attempt to engage in a critical space that includes both cultural essentialisms and *hybridity* and, thus, move beyond the essentialist and hybrid binary itself. Like the Heglian dialectic discussed in Chapter Two, the critical space I am in search of effectively exposes the contradiction of and in itself and, in doing so, reveal the possible contradiction that *hybridity* theory at one and the same time, is itself (social constructionist) and something else (essentialist). In other words, the *negation* of essentialism by *hybridity* is both an overcoming and preservation of essentialism at the same time – both a positive and negative act.

The postcolonial experiences and colonial history of this country have created a politically and ethically motivated project that seeks to move beyond binary constructs such as Māori and Pākehā. Such a political and ethical space is reminiscent of what Kevin Bruyneel (2007) refers to as the *third space of sovereignty*. Bruyneel's *third space*, which will be discussed later in this chapter, enables the articulation of Indigenous

culture, politics and identity within a neo-colonial and postcolonial context. Similar to the principles of *hybridity* and its idea of cross-cultural formations, the *third space of sovereignty* articulates a critical space that allows for both (or multiple) cultures to exist.

The cultural space I am advocating for, I will argue, is the product of a history of (bi)cultural politics and relations that has evolved between Māori and Pākehā over the last 50 years. Liu, McCreanor, McIntosh and Teaiwa (2005) allude to the significance of shared beliefs and collective identities to political agency in Aotearoa New Zealand:

Identity is a process. It is constructed out of a dynamic interaction between people [in this case two peoples] and the aims they are trying to achieve in various situations. Often identities are understood as much by what is excluded from them as is included. While few of these exclusions are as absolute as in previous eras, the wonderful irony of modern society is that while we conceive ourselves as individuals, political and economic power flows from our shared beliefs as members of groups and societies. (Liu, McCreanor, McIntosh and Teaiwa, 2005: 14)

As I have argued previously, constructivist theories that describe the reality of one's lived experiences, must take into account the history and politics implicit within the neo-colonial and postcolonial experience, while also being conscious that they may in fact continue, rather than reject colonial practices of assimilation. As a consequence, the analysis I present in this chapter attempts to argue that the history of identity politics and resistance in Aotearoa New Zealand has forced many Māori and Pākehā to confront the binary. As a result of these encounters the dissonant relations caused through the framing

of a Māori-Pākehā cultural binary has forced both Māori and Pākehā to better understand their subjectivities and how they have been produced in relation to one another. This confrontation creates, I suggest, a possible dialectic between such categorisations and, subsequently, a space for both essentialised identities and alternative (hybrid) representations.

I begin my analysis by giving examples of accounts (academic and non-academic) that speak both to the ‘colonial gaze’ and what I refer to as the *gaze of alterity*. The intention is to elicit how historical and contemporary constructions of Māori and Pākehā cultural identity have been formed through a politics of resistance and counter-resistance. The ‘look’ of the coloniser reflected back through the (scrutinising) *gaze of alterity* or otherness has created not only moments of conflict and tension, but also created potential moments for reconciliation as Māori and Pākehā have navigated through a colonial relationship-making history.

The Rise of a Nation: Liberalism and the Treaty of Waitangi

The terms Māori and Pākehā have become synonymous not only with the colonial history of Aotearoa New Zealand, but also with shaping the future of a nation that prides itself upon its purported reputation for social justice and racial equity. New Zealand’s women’s suffrage movement of the late-Nineteenth Century was instrumental in bringing to the fore not only the rights of women, but also the rights and treatment of colonised peoples. This position was representative of a new liberalist ideology pervading British colonial politics of the time that was being taken up by many of its fledgling colonies (King, 2003; Grimshaw, 2000). As a result, the colonial history and Māori and Pākehā

relationship as it played out throughout the Twentieth Century was, and has been ever since, instrumental to the way cultural formations and identity politics have been shaped. We are, therefore, as a nation of people inheritors of a contested political and cultural history that has contributed to a ‘so-called’ consciousness of democratic equality and emancipation.

Many significant historical events have testified to claims of democracy, justice and liberation, including the right for Māori to vote in 1853, the *Māori Representation Act* of 1867 that offered four special parliamentary seats for Māori,²⁷ and the successful passage of women’s suffrage in 1893. However, the most significant and commonly acknowledged event that symbolised the liberal politics of equality and justice born out of the Nineteenth Century in Aotearoa New Zealand was the Treaty of Waitangi²⁸ (hereafter referred to as ‘the Treaty’). Signed in 1840 between Crown representatives and over 500 Māori Leaders the treaty was initiated in haste by the British in response to perceived fears of the annexation (by the French and possibly Americans) of their most distant and potentially newest colony. Captain William Hobson was sent on behalf of the British government to negotiate the treaty between Māori and the Crown. The New Zealand government website “*Waitangi Tribunal Te Rōpū Whakamana I Te Tiriti o*

²⁷ Although this Act was seen as a product of British liberal politics, it has been suggested that it also reflected the colonialist’s desire to maintain its legislative power and control. (See Grimshaw, 2000: 562)

²⁸ The Treaty of Waitangi is New Zealand’s founding document. It takes its name from the place in the Bay of Islands where it was first signed, on 6 February 1840. The Treaty is a broad statement of principles on which the British and Māori made a political compact to found a nation state and build a government in New Zealand. Different understandings of the Treaty have long been the subject of debate. From the 1970s especially, many Māori have called for the terms of the Treaty to be honoured.

Waitangi” cites the following extract from the brief given by Lord Normanby, the Colonial Secretary of the time, to Hobson:

All dealings with the Aborigines for their Lands must be conducted on the same principles of sincerity, justice, and good faith... They must not be permitted to enter into any Contracts in which they might be the ignorant and unintentional authors of injuries to themselves. You will not, for example, purchase from them any Territory the retention of which by them would be essential, or highly conducive, to their own comfort, safety or subsistence. The acquisition of Land by the Crown for the future Settlement of British Subjects must be confined to such Districts as the Natives can alienate without distress or serious inconvenience to themselves. To secure the observance of this rule will be one of the first duties of their official protector.²⁹

Generally accepted (but disputed by some New Zealanders) as the founding document of our nation, the treaty has come to symbolise not only the colonial partnership between Māori and Pākehā, but in more recent times, the historical injustices of colonisation, thus, rendering a social consciousness that questioned and exposed other forms of institutional inequity and discrimination. According to Liu (2005), in terms of liberal democracy the Treaty symbolises ‘(in)justice’ and calls,

²⁹ To find use the following URL <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/treaty/> - Accessed March 2011

...the nation to account for failures to live up to its own ideals. It is ironic that during the great era of Liberalism in New Zealand... huge gains for Pakeha/New Zealand Europeans in such areas as economic prosperity and universal suffrage often excluded or came at the expense of Māori... Disenfranchised groups from women to ethnic minorities have had to fight for their rights to achieve the dream of democracy for all. (74)

The social, political and cultural implications of such a contested history, and its liberalist-humanist politics cannot be underestimated, in particular, how it has influenced the way in which Māori and Pākehā look upon themselves and each other in contemporary society. In light of postcolonial criticisms of the humanist and liberalist ideals propagated throughout Aotearoa New Zealand history, the treaty and Māori resistance has played a central, if contested, role in mediating the bicultural relationship between Māori and Pākehā. Drichel argues ‘liberal humanism’,

...is notorious for *not* shifting discriminatory practices. Humanism, in seeking to define an underlying sameness connecting all humans across their obvious (phenomenological) differences, simply reinstates a sense of European superiority... In New Zealand, this liberal-humanist logic has played itself out in the long history of assimilation policies... Asking Maori to define their identities in terms of an abstract humanity (that is, the humanity as defined and embodied by Pakeha), stripped of their cultural markers, this logic effectively requires Maori to become ‘brown Pakeha’. (Drichel, 2008: 594)

A Politics of Identity and Resistance: Biculturalism and the Construction of Māori and Pākehā Identity

Bell (2004) in ‘The Politics of Māori-Pākehā Hybrid Identities’ contends with the difficulty of hybrid accounts of cultural identity, and the unease with accommodating biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand due primarily to the historical Pākehā desire to assimilate Māori:

A related factor working against the hybridisation of Māori and Pākehā identities is the official espousal of biculturalism in this country since the 1980s... Māori challenges to the racism of Pākehā society led to an increasing demand for separation between two peoples, in recognition of the need to uphold Māori culture and identity against the old colonial practices of assimilation. Biculturalism, the idea of Māori and Pākehā being two parallel and equal cultures, grew out of this politics and became institutionalised in the state during the 1980s.
(126)

In 1984, Māori activist Donna Awatere published an argument for Māori sovereignty that not only sought to promote Māori traditions and values, but also, demanded the reclamation of the language, history and lands of Māori people that had been decimated by colonisation despite the promises laid out in the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi. Sovereignty, according to Awatere, was not just about allowing Māori to be free of the external control of a government that failed to meet its obligations, it was also about bringing Māori out from the depths of socio-economic and colonial oppression. Awatere states that sovereignty for Māori is the ability:

...to determine our destiny and to do so from the basis of our land and fisheries. In essence, Maori sovereignty seeks nothing less than the acknowledgement that New Zealand is Maori land and further seeks the return of that land. (Awatere, 1984: 10)

Awatere's polemic and politics caused many Pākehā to recoil. It was this type of political rhetoric that was to launch the Māori resistance and Pākehā counter-resistance politics of contemporary bicultural relations in Aotearoa New Zealand. A contested history of identity and cultural politics framed the neo-colonial and postcolonial experience between Māori and Pākehā. The concept of biculturalism was meant to represent a new era in colonial history, whereby the principles of the treaty established the ground for developing a more inclusive and just relationship between Māori and Pākehā. In reality, however, biculturalism was to become more divisive than inclusive. While essentially setting up the distinction and recognition of historical injustices against Māori, biculturalism also created a political space that culturally and historically vilified Pākehā.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Māori reclamation of cultural identity and demands for political and economic autonomy were seen as a response to the oppressive structures and institutions of government. At the same time it also revealed Pākehā cultural ethnicity as indistinct and dislocated. During the 1980s and 1990s the Māori political and cultural movement was gaining momentum, due in large part to a new breed of Māori protagonists armed with academic clout (such Walker, Mead, Royal, Bishop, and Graham and Linda Smith) who were fast becoming respected authorities, not only within the Māori community, but also in mainstream society. As a result, a Māori worldview and approaches were promoted within mainstream culture and institutions more than ever

before. Juxtaposed with a burgeoning treaty claims process, being Māori was now representative of a politics that not only demanded a newfound cultural recognition and identity, but in doing so, also exposed for Pākehā a vacancy in terms of ethnic and cultural identity.

King, a renowned biographer, author and historian of Aotearoa New Zealand history, has been credited with raising the debate about Pākehā identity in the 1980s. In the wake of his book *Being Pākehā* (1985), many New Zealanders (Māori and Pākehā) were compelled to discuss and debate his treatise that argued for and defined a stronger sense of what it means to be Pākehā in Aotearoa New Zealand. Subtitled *An Encounter with New Zealand and the Māori Renaissance*, King's book was seen as a response to newfound Māori assertions of identity and culture, especially in light of Awatere's polemic, and other Māori writers, activists and academics whose ideas were becoming more prolific (contestable or not) in the 1980s. Consequently, King's seminal text was born out of a politics of biculturalism and the resurgence of Māori activism (since the renaissance of the 1970s) and in response to the new liberal politics of a Labour government throughout the 1980s. Evan Te Ahu Poata-Smith states that following the elections in 1984, "the fourth Labour government attempted to appease the rising tide of Māori protest by enhancing the status of Māori culture, attracting the commitment of Māori to state institutions and satisfying demands for self-determination in their own affairs" (1996: 108).

In this political time of uncertainty and after more than a decade of debate and (re)understanding of what it meant to be a bicultural nation, King republished his 1985 classic in 1999, aptly titled *Being Pakeha Now: Reflections of a White Native*. In it he

made claim to the idea of Pākehā as a ‘second indigenous people’ of Aotearoa New Zealand. He argued that although Pākehā were migrants, they should be entitled to the same status as Māori - as *tangata whenua*, people of the land:

My own people, descendants in the main of displaced Irish, had as much a moral and legal right to be here as Māori. Like the ancestors of Māori they came as immigrants; like Māori too, we became indigenous at the point where our focus of identity and commitment shifted to this country and away from our countries of origin... (King, 1999: 253)

King and his notion of Pākehā indigeneity is constituted through a connection to land rather than a political landscape. Pākehā identity in this sense, therefore, had been justified through (a geographical) ‘place’ rather than (a political) ‘space’. In other words, the conventional political and cultural space utilised to validate Pākehā identity, as it was being played out in the halls of parliament and mainstream media, was now being vindicated through a direct connection to the material concept of land or *whenua*. This shift in cultural and political rhetoric (place rather than space), provided the justification for Pākehā indigeneity. In a country he felt strongly affiliated to, King counter-argued (resisted) exclusive Māori assertions to land and culture, by claiming that Pākehā had just as strong a spiritual connection to the land of Aotearoa New Zealand as *tangata whenua*.

King rebuked claims of multi-generational representations of Pākehā as conduits of the old colonial regimes, in contrast to representations of Māori as environmentally and culturally benevolent when he stated, “[i]t is simply not valid to make sweeping

judgements that identify Pākehā as rapacious exploiters of natural resources and Māori as Kaitiaki committed to protect them” (1999: 235-6).

The anxiety Pākehā were feeling throughout the 1990s with regard to their identity, was apparent yet subdued, mainly due in large to the overpowering claims of unity, recognition and call for recompense by Māori. Suffering from a deep-rooted sense of insecurity about their identity and being subjected to a long standing vilification of past injustices had, in a sense, maligned many Pākehā by simultaneously accusing them of being the dominant colonial oppressor as well as the shamed progenitor of past injustices – guilty by ancestral association. Biculturalism for many Pākehā, therefore, with its resulting political, social and cultural implications had become not only a cultural and political space for discussion and reflection, but also for fear and contestation. The perceived fear of loss being drawn out of a bicultural politics for Pākehā was real. The loss of power and control one experiences when normalised understandings, knowledge and practices are challenged, produces numerous responses. For many Pākehā, these anxieties were manifested through positions of denial, defensiveness and victimhood, while some prompted an acceptance and willingness to address historical injustices. However, throughout the 1990s, there were increasing signs that Pākehā had had enough, and that this thing called biculturalism had gone too far.

In 1998 New Zealand First MP Tau Henare had proposed a name change for the North and South Island, suggesting that they be given their Māori names ‘*Te Ika a Maui*’ and ‘*Te Wai Pounamu*’ respectively. This suggestion was strenuously opposed by legal academic David Round as the debate was played out on national television. It was becoming evident that the frustration that Round was expressing may have cut deeper

into the fabric of mainstream society and its prevailing psyche than was at first presumed, challenging the presumption of New Zealand as a liberal and racially just nation. The foundations of liberalist and treaty politics that promised mutual recognition and partnership between Māori and Pākehā were now beginning to disintegrate as Pākehā became threatened by the loss of power and control that was being fuelled by Māori assertions of *tino rangatiratanga* (Māori sovereignty and control). Karl Du Fresne of *The Evening Post* (1998) in response to the Round and Henare debate ran a story ‘When Biculturalism Goes Too Far’. In it Du Fresne highlighted what may have been an underlying feeling of dissent many Pākehā were experiencing at the time:

It was one of those rare moments when someone had the courage to articulate what a lot of New Zealanders privately think, but are either too polite or timid to say... Like David Round they [Pākehā] resent the feeling that this thing called biculturalism is increasingly being imposed upon them, and their own cultural heritage devalued and pushed aside in the process, with very little regard for the will of the majority. (Du Fresne, 1998)

The murmurings of unrest reflected by the Du Fresne article were to be given full voice a little over five years later. At a gathering in Orewa in January 2004, Don Brash, leader of the ‘National Party’,³⁰ also in response to the politics of biculturalism and, in particular, to the Foreshore and Seabed controversy, garnered political leverage from the anxiety many Pākehā were experiencing as a result of this Māori-Pākehā identity complex.

³⁰ The National Party is one of the two major political parties in Aotearoa New Zealand, the other being the Labour Party. On the political spectrum National has traditionally been situated as right and centre-right in its policies and agenda, while Labour has been centre-left.

The Foreshore and Seabed controversy,³¹ which continues to be a major source of political contention to this day, is concerned with the ownership of the country's foreshore and seabed. Māori groups argued that they had a rightful claim to title. In response to fears amongst the New Zealand (Pākehā) public that Māori would own (and deny access) to the foreshore and seabed, the government enacted the *Foreshore and Seabed Act* in November 2004. This act effectively ensured Crown ownership of the Foreshore and Seabed, while at the same time denying Māori their legal claim to property rights. This act of legislation, unprecedented in modern New Zealand political history, nullified not only the rights of Māori to seek land ownership, but also due process and any legal redress against the legislation itself.³²

The counter-resistance Brash affected was flamed by increasing Pākehā frustration over perceived Māori 'special treatment', and feelings of blame Pākehā felt for the acts of their colonial forbears. In his controversial speech, Brash claims that "[n]one of us was around at the time of the New Zealand wars. None of us had anything to do with the confiscations. There is a limit to how much any generation can apologise for the sins of its great grandparents" (Brash, 2004). Brash's rhetoric was premised upon a 'one nation, one people' slogan and an insistence not to dwell on past events and to move on. The

³¹ The Foreshore and Seabed controversy is a political debate concerning the ownership of the foreshore and seabed in Aotearoa New Zealand. Several Māori groups claimed a right to title and ownership, which were based around historical dispossession and the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. Māori at the time were entitled, within the bounds of legal process, to make claim of ownership. On the 18 November 2004, in response to public outcries fuelled by misinformation and hysteria propagated by the idea that public access to beaches would be ceased, the New Zealand Parliament led by the Labour Party passed a law which deemed title to be held by the Crown. This law, the Foreshore and Seabed Act was enacted on the 24 November 2004. Due to political and public pressure the Act was repealed and replaced by the Marine and Coastal Area (Takutai Moana) Act 2011.

³² See the United Nations High Commissioner Report on the Foreshore and Seabed Act (2004) at URL: [http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/\(Symbol\)/CERD.C.DEC.NZL.1.En?Opendocument](http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/(Symbol)/CERD.C.DEC.NZL.1.En?Opendocument)

implications of the Orewa speech were dramatic, as major political and public debate ensued both through the media and in the bars and lunchrooms all around the country. Arguably, it was this hysteria and hype, generated by the likes of Brash and others, that ultimately forced the Labour government to pass the *Foreshore and Seabed Act* as they lost significant support in the polls to National – a rise of around 17% which was unprecedented in polling history.

Other Histories: Revisioning the Colonial Past

Michael Reilly (1996) in attempting a ‘revisioning of New Zealand history’ outlined the impact the call for Māori sovereignty and, in particular, Awatere’s treatise had upon traditional Western (Pākehā) accounts of Māori and New Zealand history. His analysis reflects an Edward Said influenced (re)reading of the history of empires ‘contrapuntally’. He describes this as “being aware simultaneously of the history of the metropolis and the ‘other histories’ located in the dominions and territories of the rule” (Reilly, 1996: 81). Such an approach toward history reflects the principles of ‘counterpoint theory’ where in Western musical tradition two (or more) distinct melodic lines combined in such a way that they established a harmonic relationship. In writing contrapuntally Reilly plays off against one another ‘differing bodies of theory’ and various readings of history (both Māori and Pākehā),³³ in an attempt to challenge the way historians interpreted the past. This (re)reading of history and its juxtaposition of descriptive texts (written and *hapū* based oral accounts of history) calls for “historians to cross the borders [both ways] between ethnic or culturally defined polarities” (94-5), in order to displace the old

³³ See Reilly (1996: 83-93) for a comparative analysis of both Māori and Pākehā accounts of history from the 1980s through to the mid 90s.

colonial (binaristic) modes of interpreting history(s) for more hybridised spaces of interpretation. Reilly goes on to say that:

[t]he need to maintain a polarised or dual stranded view, both in regard to the nature of Māori history and the ethnicity of its practitioners, shows how far New Zealand institutions, like the wider society, remain caught up in the repetitions of the old colonial [binary] relationships. (Reilly, 1996: 95)

These new visions of history, according to Reilly, require not only the juxtaposition of differing accounts of the same event, but also mutual recognition and dialogue between the past and present, between conventional history and alternative (*Other*) histories. It is with a similar revisionist sentiment that this chapter hopes to find some reconciliation between Māori and Pākehā desires for cultural and ethnic recognition, formed through a history of identity politics, resistance and counter-resistance.

Schroeder (1986), who also contributed to the debate raised by King in the 1980s, suggests like Reilly that Pākehā should include, rather than exclude, Māori accounts of colonial history in the (re)defining of Pākehā identity. He explains the importance of recognising a shared history and colonial relationship of power between Māori and Pākehā. More importantly, he speaks of the need for Pākehā to embrace their colonial history in the redefining of Pākehā identity, an identity that essentially has been shaped by an historical and colonial relationship with Māori:

...being prepared to acknowledge that the colonising values, procedures, priorities and structures were and in many respects still are, unashamedly monocultural. To be Pakeha in Aotearoa in 1986 means to begin taking seriously the possibility of

sharing power and inevitably giving up power and looking to a future which must involve a more equitable use of power. Threatening for many perhaps, but for those who are culturally disadvantaged, there is a vision here of a richer, more mutual and certainly unique kind of society. (Schroeder cited in Spoonley, 1986: 2)

The desire to deny any sense of accountability for past ancestral actions is understandable because of the threat it poses to one's status quo. However, the call to move on from the past and focus upon the future (as one people) as Brash proposed, and to assume Indigenous status as King espoused, effectively disassociates responsibility and acknowledgement of the injustices of the past in Aotearoa New Zealand. As Jeremy Waldron points out:

Those who as a matter of fact benefited from their ancestors' injustice will persuade themselves readily enough that their good fortune is due to the virtue of their race, while the descendants of their victims may too easily accept the story that they and their kind were always good for nothing. (Waldron, 1992: 142)

It is important that both Māori and Pākehā take heed of the colonial history of this country. In particular, however, those Pākehā landowners who have for generations assumed their right to land and subsequent wealth, must also accept that the privileges they take for granted today, were more than likely the result of the unjust dispossession of Māori land. As a consequence, only those dispossessed can provide the continual reminder and reflexive responsibility for ensuring a better future of all our children and their children. In order to do this, we must not look upon the past with fear, or upon the

acts of our descendants with shame; nor should we vilify and alienate each other in the name of retribution or justice. Instead, we must stand side-by-side together on the boundaries of injustice and limitation, to ensure that the historical structures and institutions that continue to marginalise certain peoples at the expense of others are exposed and eventually dismantled.

Disrupting the Boundaries of the Colonial Binary: A Third Space of Cultural Politics and Resistance

Bruyneel (2007) in *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of US-Indigenous Relations*, writes of the temporal and spatial boundaries imposed by colonial rule on the Indigenous peoples (Native Americans) of the United States and defines this complex political relationship by the “confluence of colonial imposition, colonial ambivalence, and postcolonial resistance...” (25). Bruyneel also refers to the dualistic distinctions implicit within the colonial binary, whereby (Western) institutional, political, cultural and social thinking work to restrain the Indigenous right and desire for autonomy and self-determination. In a United States context Bruyneel discusses how colonial rule equated to what Bill Ashcroft calls the ‘imperial binary’:

Such impositions presuppose a worldview built around a binaristic epistemology, a way of knowing the world through dualisms... the impulse to see our world through such dualities draws on the ‘most profound principles of Western epistemology: its passion for boundaries, its cultural and imaginative habits of enclosure.’ If we look at the deeper function of binaries, we see that they feed the habit of ‘enclosure’ in order to make sense of a contingent world. In this way,

boundary impositions ‘are crucial because they explicitly defer the “will to truth” which dominates Western discourse’. This is accomplished by dividing the world into bounded entities that can be easily known and measured against one another. (Bruyneel, 2007: 7)

In articulating what he refers to as the *third space of sovereignty*, Bruyneel theorises how Indigenous postcolonial identity politics problematises (but does not erase) the boundaries established by colonial rule by residing beyond its corollary binaries and dualisms. This postcolonial resistance elicits a colonised political agency “which seeks to express a supplementary, inassimilable form of resistance to colonial imposition” (Bruyneel, 2007: 18-19), as opposed to Indigenous resistance replicating the same logic of the imperial binary and imposing the same politics of domination, but under a different guise.³⁴

Colonial imposition and its ambivalence (a type of disgust and fetish relationship) toward Indigenous peoples is an expression of the failure of colonial discourse and, according to Bruyneel, is essential to a postcolonial resistance and politics that sits neither inside nor outside the boundaries established by colonial rule. Regarded as a “supplementary strategy” the third space “is not a product of dialectical engagement or effort to synthesize competing visions of sovereignty... [and yet] it refuses to conform to the binaries and boundaries that frame dualistic choices for indigenous politics [and identity]” (Bruyneel, 2007: 21). It does so by interrogating the colonial project and

³⁴ Indigenous resistance has traditionally been framed around inverting the hierarchy of power imposed by colonial rule, and while it enables political Indigenous agency, it has also been argued that it essentially maintains a hierarchical discourse by repositioning Indigenous culture as morally superior. (See Hokowhitu, 2010: 207-225)

“withholding its intent”, which is to impose colonial culture politics and upon Indigenous peoples. The third space, therefore, constitutes a politics that sits at the boundaries of colonial rule, at the in-between space that is neither here nor there, and so works to unsettle the binary formations and boundaries that frame Indigenous-settler politics, identity and relationships.

If one is to assume that subjectivities are (re)produced, both dominant and subordinate, this thesis suggests that a dialectic approach is required to unsettle and destabilise the authority and hierarchical structures of the binary mode of power. Such a dialectic operates by critically engaging back and forth between the discursive modes that determine the ways in which one articulates and defines the *Self* (Māori or Pākehā) in relation to the *Other*. These discursive boundaries, such as those created by colonial ambivalence, need to be examined in terms of their propensity to re-other the *Other*. Such ambivalent and discursive practices are made explicit through the intermixture of two competing discourses. In the formation of a national identity, for example, Māori culture is both framed within a narrative of uniqueness and authenticity abroad, while at home it is seen in contrast, or as a threat to Pākehā identity. As Ani Mikaere states:

When travelling overseas, Pākehā leap forward to perform bastardised versions of the haka and “Pōkarekare Ana”, and adorn themselves with Māori pendants in an attempt to identify themselves as New Zealanders: when in Aotearoa it is often those same people who decry any assertion of Māori language and culture as a threat to their identity. Their cultural insecurity appears to know no bounds. (Makere, 2004: 5)

Similarly, it could also be argued that narratives of resistance (by Māori for example) perform a similar task, by utilising Western critical and emancipatory theory on the one hand, while simultaneously vilifying it on the other. Ambivalence, therefore, within the colonial ‘imperial binary’ is a two way street. These over-arching narratives of colonially ambivalent otherness, I suggest, provide the nexus for self-examination and critique; the in-between space that distorts the boundaries of limitation and, thus, seeks to unsettle the binary mode of power. This analysis, therefore, seeks not only to resist the internal workings of the colonial binary, but also to disrupt (deconstruct) its authority. In providing a self-reflexive and dialectical paradigm that makes explicit the boundaries of limitation, while at the same time blurring its borders, this critical space works to distort the ‘habits of enclosure’, where two opposing elements merge to form something ‘familiar but new’.

Although similar to Bhabha’s model of *hybridity*, this project questions the un-critical attack upon essentialism and, in particular, essentialised identities produced through a colonial history of bicultural politics in Aotearoa New Zealand. This project attempts to make more explicit the role collective and individual agency can play in the representations of the *Self* at the expense of the *Other*. Bell explains how many alternative ways of thinking about identities have been developed against essentialised forms that:

...generally get lumped together under the label ‘social constructionism’... In the postcolonial and Cultural Studies literatures in particular the concept of hybridity has been reappropriated from racial discourse to represent this social

constructionist turn and, as such, has been championed as the ‘answer’ to essentialism in the theorisation of cultural identities. (Bell, 2004: 125)

The desire for collective identities such as Māori, in colonial contexts, has been utilised to resist the impact of colonial discourse, and regain a lost sense of an Indigenous *Self* that is premised upon ontological knowledge and traditions. However, as Pnina Werbner states, “[i]ncreasingly, the tendency [in current criticism] has been to label all collective representations – whether of ethnic and religious groups, or classes and nations – as misplaced essentialisms” (1997: 228). Werbner seeks to recall a certain form of essentialism that distinguishes between ‘modes of objectification’ and ‘modes of reification’. Jeffery Partridge explains, that Werbner’s notion of essentialised objectification is an act that is “rightfully performed by a person of ethnicity as a means of social and political identification” (2007: 112). Partridge elaborates:

In the political realities of representational government, a system that necessitates a unified articulation of need, hybrid, fluid and individualized identities seem powerless and pointless... How, one might rightly ask, can economically disadvantaged individuals and oppressed groups make themselves heard as political constituents when all that unites them is an experience of fluidity and change? (2007: 112)

It is this problematic that concerns me in regard to anti-essentialist rhetoric and social constructionist theories such as *hybridity* that deny such totalisations (collective identities), and instead, advocate a cultural and social reality of cross-cultural transmission, individualism, and freedom. As I have previously discussed, I am

suspicious of the impact anti-essentialist approaches may have upon Indigenous identity formations and their resulting political and socio-cultural implications, especially in Aotearoa New Zealand. At the same time, one must also be wary of how essentialist rhetoric when utilised in the cultural politics of Indigenous resistance is carried out in the name of ‘objectified’ rather than ‘reified’ essentialisms.

Colonial ‘catch cries’ of assimilation and ‘integration’ have been criticised for their impact upon minority groups. To integrate primarily means to impose one’s culture over another (or others) under a veil of ‘one nation, one people’. The following extract, for example, from the New Zealand Government website *Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand* describes how legislature based upon principles of integration have come to be seen as a reification of a colonial agenda.

The Hunn Report (1960) recommended that New Zealand move beyond ‘assimilation’ to ‘integration’, whereby New Zealanders would become one people through mixing the two cultures. In practice, because Māori were a minority, this tended to mean the swallowing of the smaller fish by the bigger.³⁵

There is a need to be wary of dominant essentialised realities and the historical lessons that can be learnt from such rhetoric and its power to oppress, subjugate and marginalise. However, in accepting my own contradiction, it is perhaps appropriate for me to recognise that theories which challenge or offer new possibilities to fixed understandings of essentialised forms, can and have been, unfairly labelled as anti, against or in

³⁵ Retrieved from the following URL: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/the-new-zealanders/12>

opposition to. A more appropriate prefix in terms of this thesis and its positioning may be described as de-essentialist or de-essentialising.

As a consequence, with this complex in mind this analysis leaves open the possibility for ‘objective’ as opposed to ‘reified’ modes of essentialisation in the unsettling of the boundaries of limitation within the Māori-Pākehā binary. In doing so, the *Self* (Māori or Pākehā) is self-representing and is always under self-examination as it desires the *Self*-ethical, while doing so under the gaze of the *Other* (Māori or Pākehā). Furthermore, this ethical project aims to de-power binary authority and deconstruct the notion of *Other*, as it desires more ethical representations of the *Self*. The deconstruction of otherness, through what I refer to as the simultaneous *gaze of alterity*, is essential to the unsettling of the binary and the distortion of its boundaries. This then leaves us with the difficult proposition of how one can move into a new space beyond a postcolonial paradigm without exercising the same stereotypical and limiting assertions of the *Other*? In other words, how do we move beyond the *Other*?

Deconstruction and Erasure (*Sous Rature*): Moving Beyond the Other

Derrida’s *sous rature* offers some respite to this complexity as it places terms and concepts under erasure. Originating from the works of Heidegger, the practices of placing words under erasure was adopted and developed by Derrida in the wider setting of deconstructive theory. Concerned with the problem of presence and absence in language, *sous rature* tries to return absent meaning to the present meaning and so by placing such terms as *Other* under erasure it “simultaneously recognised and questioned the term’s meaning and accepted use” (Taylor, 2001: 113).

Drichel (2008) discusses in her article ‘The Time of Hybridity’, how *sous rature* or putting concepts under erasure, enables the notion of *Other* to still be utilised as a postcolonial concept, while not reifying its associated stereotypes.³⁶ Essential to the process of placing terms and concepts under erasure, is Derrida’s theory of iterability, which Drichel outlines in the following passage:

[t]he logic at the heart of the *sous rature* is that of iterability. What iterability offers is a disruption to the logic of representation. It provides the conditions of possibility for those ‘different forms of representation’... Putting ‘the other’ under erasure thus means that we can continue to draw on it as an analytical category while being aware that it does not have an ontological foundation, that it attains the impression of ontological foundedness only because it disavows, as the condition for its enunciation, alternative interpretations/performances. In the strategic doubling of the *sous rature*, ‘the other’ emerges not as a simple mechanical repetition of a colonial concept but as a complex (or ‘covered’) rearticulation of this concept: a new concept under an old name. (Drichel, 2008: 599)

Iterability as a deconstructive structure of *hybridity* theory challenges the mimetic repetition of the ideal (logocentric) presence. Derrida does not inscribe the (re)iteration of a *metaphysics of presence* but instead, through iterability, the ideal presence in its attempt

³⁶ Bhabha describes stereotypes within colonial discourse as “constructed within an apparatus of power which contains, in both senses of the word, an ‘other’ knowledge – a knowledge that is arrested and fetishistic and circulates through colonial discourse as that limited form of otherness that I have called the stereotype” (Bhabha, 1994: 77–8).

for perfect re-presentation, for the same, in fact creates something different: “Iterability thus captures the strange double logic whereby identity is both self-identical and forever different from itself; identity emerges from (identical) repetition, but in that repetition identity is no longer self-identical” (Drichel, 2008: 601). Iterability challenges the *fixity* of terms by denying their ontological (originary) foundations. In placing the notion of *Other* under erasure, its social constructedness is exposed, and its *fixity* revealed through the act of repetition. As Drichel explains in the following passage:

In repetition, identity loses its attachment to a metaphysics of presence which reduces everything to the same and opens itself up to the radical newness that comes with temporality. In these terms, the citation, or iteration, of collective otherness thus offers the possibility to reintroduce, quite literally, the sense of alterity that had been disavowed in the stereotype as a fixed form of otherness.
(Drichel, 2008: 601)

An example of this iteration could be how Māori have challenged stereotypical fixations of otherness upon the Māori *Self* by claiming *hapū* (sub-tribe) tribal membership. Throughout colonial history the notion of Māori has been defined in relation to Pākehā. In other words, the binary opposition of Māori- Pākehā essentially works a double logic, to simultaneously denigrate (Māori) difference in the repetition of the (Pākehā) *Self*. However, over time the intent of the original iterant is redefined, whereby, the terms original intent is subverted and unsettled. In this instance, the subversion of the term Māori through membership to *hapū* identity essentially reintroduces it as a representation that opposes colonial stereotypical otherness.

Bhabha's *hybridity* theory was heavily influenced by Derrida's notion of iterability and inflects the production of what he terms as "new and hybrid agencies and articulations" of cultural identity. In an Aotearoa New Zealand context the repetition of colonial discourse, *mimicry*, becomes a double articulation, a strategy of 'reform, regulation and discipline' in an attempt to appropriate the (Māori) *Other* as the same (Pākehā ideal presence). In doing so, however, this repetition also reveals a difference, inappropriateness, "which coheres the dominant strategic function of colonial power, intensifies surveillance, and poses an immanent threat to both 'normalized' knowledge's and disciplinary powers" (Bhabha, 1994: 123). It is the intense surveillance, the examination and scrutiny that Bhabha refers to here that is the key to dismantling the normalised disciplinary powers of the colonial binary. It is the surveillance through the eyes of alterity that enables the reinscription of colonial stereotypes imposed upon subjugated terms within the colonial binary.

Cultural Essentialism and Hybridity: Temporality and the Traces of Alterity

In attempting to find a critical space that operates beyond the *Other*, I again would like to draw from Drichel's insightful article. In particular, I make reference to her solution in dealing with the binary coupling of *hybridity* and essentialism, specially, in regard to its implications for a bicultural politics of identity in Aotearoa New Zealand. Drichel suggests that "[a]s 'single new form', hybridity falls prey to the metaphysics of presence and becomes yet another ontological fixture... becoming locked into an irresolvable opposition between (ontological) otherness and (ontological) hybridity" (Drichel, 2008: 606).

Drichel argues that the misplaced postcolonial criticisms of *hybridity* are caused through the loss of what she terms as ‘disjunctive temporality’, whereby, through the loss of time, *hybridity* has been dichotomised by its ontological misrepresentation and, as such, a *performative* (fluid) *hybridity* has turned into an ontological (fixed) *hybridity*. The mixing of Christian beliefs with Māori culture is an example here, where such *hybridity*, over time, has come to be ontological – that is – it has informed a ‘traditional’ sense of being Māori.

According to Drichel, the loss of time of *hybridity* and the “dichotomous mapping of post-colonialisms field of discourse” has resulted in an ontological *hybridity* being privileged (centre) over an ontological otherness (margin). In returning to the performative disjunctive temporality of *hybridity*, Drichel, calls forth its ‘*trace of alterity*’, the ‘strategic doubling’ - reversal and displacement - or the de-centering of ontological *hybridity* by the valorisation of ontological otherness: “Once displaced, (ontological) otherness gives way to (performative) otherness, thus revealing the forgotten time of hybridity” (2008, 606).

What is significant in relation to Drichel’s analysis and in regard to this thesis is the inclusion of ontological otherness in the reinscription of a performative *hybridity*. Through a bicultural politics of identity (Māori and Pākehā) that is ontological (essentialist) in its duality, Drichel persuades us to affirm the otherness of the *Other* in the deconstruction of ontological *hybridity*. By theorising an “enabling sense of otherness within the parameters of the binary frame provided by biculturalism” (607) she has distorted the boundaries of limitation through a ‘willing embrace of otherness’. In a further reinscription of the principles of *hybridity*, Drichel attends to an enabling sense of

collective otherness, as she carefully negotiates the boundary between identity politics (essentialism) and *hybridity*. Here, she surmises, that the traditional idea of collective identity and its inevitable ascription to political unity can be mediated through a temporal understanding of *hybridity* and its “trace of alterity”. Furthermore, as she states, the mediation of a collective otherness posits both political and ethical implications:

The citation of ‘the other’ achieves a unique assemblage of political and ethical concerns: not only does it maintain the political unity required for effective intervention in postcolonial societies that are still organised along discriminatory lines; through its doubling of a-temporal (essential) presence, it also prevents the stereotypical fixture of that unity – and does so, I want to suggest, precisely in the name of irreducible (ethical) alterity. Crucially, it is the *time* of hybridity that allows for this assemblage. (Drichel, 2008: 608)

In the context of this thesis it is the notions of *alterity* and temporality that I suggest, as an alternative to Drichel’s reclamation of the *Other* to the field of postcolonial studies. As I have made clear in the introduction to this chapter, I am in search of a post-*Other* paradigm. While Drichel’s argument to maintain the notion of *Other* within postcolonial critique and analysis is convincing, I am still wary of the stereotypical baggage and historical repetition that has fixated meaning upon the ‘*Other*’ as a term and concept. *Alterity* by definition is obscure and at times ambiguous, yet it holds a relation to the *Other* or otherness that is not necessarily sustained by a history of cultural permanence and fixity. As Drichel explains:

Since the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* in 1978 (at least), it has been a well-established fact in the field [of postcolonial studies] that 'the other', as constructed by the colonial gaze, circulates in colonial discourse through the easily recognizable currency of stereotypes. (Drichel, 2008: 587)

I would like to suggest that *alterity* is not bound in time like the stereotypical *Other*, but instead can be temporally defined and redefined, thus, providing a mechanism to re-inscribe, transform and (re)appropriate notions of *Other(ness)* away from its colonial (and postcolonial) stereotypical recirculation's. If the *colonial gaze* is instrumental in the perpetuation of otherness, as Bhabha suggests, then it is only through the eyes of alterity that it can be recognised. Without the reflection of otherness the *colonial gaze* becomes reflection-less (non-reflexive) and so, incognisant of its unethical existence and, therefore, incapable of transformation.

The Reflection of Otherness: Alienation, Violation and the Gaze of Alterity

The reflection of otherness or alterity has an affinity to *alienation* in the context of post-*Other* examination. If the *colonial gaze* has been instrumental in the construction of stereotypical assertions upon *Other(ness)*, we must, in order to 'reverse and displace' continued acts of psychological violence, turn the gaze back upon it*Self*. A look that unsettles and uneases the dominant subject position through the *gaze of alterity*. Furthermore, as the *Self* is constitutive of all subjectivities, Māori and Pākehā for example, *alterity* unveils its ethics of possibility, of transformation and agency. However, to alienate oneself or others has historically become representative of a colonial agenda that sought to exploit, dominate and assimilate the peoples and lands that were

conquered. *Alienation* and, more significantly, the act of disalienation have become synonymous with anti-colonial and postcolonial resistance. Fanon, for example, describes the significance of disalienating oneself in the ever present violent struggle between the coloniser and colonised. He describes this struggle as an “[a]lterity of rupture, of conflict, of battle” (1967: 222) and, emphasised the need for oppressed peoples to resist the oppressive reality being imposed upon them by the coloniser. He describes the importance of disalienation to the rupturing of otherness within the colonial schema:

Those Negroes and white men will be disalienated who refuse to let themselves be sealed away in the materialized Tower of the Past. For many other Negroes, in other ways, disalienation will come into being through their refusal to accept the present as definitive. (1967: 226)

In other words, to disalienate is to decolonise, or to free oneself from the historical and traditional shackles of colonial oppression. However, in the context of this thesis, to alienate now becomes a mechanism to free oneself, to rupture the limitations of otherness through the *gaze of alterity*. To recognise the limitations of *Otherness* requires one to take a step back, to go beyond oneself, to teeter on the cusp of neither here nor there. In a sense, the notion of *alienation* has been violated, and now been put under erasure, as a new understanding is brought forth.

The term *violation* calls forth both the indeterminacy of language and the prejudices, or pre-judgments used to make the world intelligible through that language. It is this instability or slippage in meaning that enables the reinscription of terms and concepts. The notion of *violation* for example, naturally (or prejudicially) implies notions of

violence, desecration, dispossession and destruction. It is a term that can infer instances of negation, assault or injustice over the will of others. In this particular context, however, my intention is to invoke or re-inscribe the notion of *violation* as one of liberation. To violate something or someone is naturally assumed to be an act of non-conformity and/or resistance through a disregard of the rules, laws and conventions of the time. The term *violation*, demonstrates how the strategy of placing terms under erasure can be beneficial. In a sense, *violation* essentially violates itself in its production of new meaning. By invoking the notion of *violation* the natural prejudices (pre-judgements) imposed upon such notions as alienation can be utilised to re-inscribe, resist and dismantle the power of binary thinking. Vassallo and Cook in their introduction to *Alterity and Alienation* (2009) describe the link between the two terms:

Alienation and alterity, are, evidently two states that can co-exist in the same subject... the link between the two is the implicit notion of otherness, and whether this ‘othered’ subjectivity is defined initially by ‘alienation’ or by ‘alterity’, embedded in both states is always already the condition of ‘being other’. For example, alienation may come about as a consequence of alterity, in that a ‘subjects’ otherness *results* in rejection or isolation. However, alienation may also, from its apparently disaffected position on the margins, engender a deliberate or chosen alterity, a desire to be ‘other’ and a rejection of the ‘reference group’. (17)

Interestingly, this statement describes the dialectical dependency between alterity, *alienation* and otherness. Common to both alienation and *alterity* is the notion otherness. *Alienation* in its determinancy and pre-determined signification of being foreign, on the

outside, on/from the periphery, demonstrates the ‘place or space’ that agency can occur through the *gaze of alterity*. In alienating oneself the subject can ‘reject or reflect’ upon its subject position, where the *gaze of alterity* unsettles the boundaries of limitation imposed by otherness. It is the dialectic between *alterity*, *alienation* and otherness that works to de-power, deconstruct and destabilise the binary frame by re-describing and transforming stereotypical and oppressive identity formations. An ethics of *alterity* rejects the notion of *Other* while still rendering *Other(ness)* in its ethical project: a project of deconstruction, agency and transformation. In other words the notion of *Other* only exists in its role to raise one’s consciousness of itself, as the mediator between dominant and marginalised subjectivities. Similar to Sartre’s notion of the ‘Look’³⁷ the *gaze of alterity* sees the *Other* as in fact to be seen, to be aware of the *Self* in relation to the *Other*.

This project and its *gaze of alterity* are both dialectical and temporal in nature. In other words, reconstructing the oppressive forms of otherness implicit within colonial discourse requires us to re-examine the ways in which we have reified notions of *Other*. However, in so doing, one must continually be wary of the power of the binary mode to re-assert itself upon new articulations of *Self* and *Otherness*. If deconstruction requires the reversal and displacement of the dominant *Self*, how then do we ensure that we are not inverting the power dichotomy and essentially just changing the picture within the same old picture frame, and thereby, merely placing a new face (or name) within the same binary frame of dominance? It is the *gaze of alterity* that provides the surveillance and self-examination required to prevent the continued domination of the binary mode,

³⁷ Sartre’s notion of the look he presented in contrast to Heidegger’s explanation of *Being*, as being-in-the-world with others to being-in-the-world for others.

and the lens by which to examine historical and cultural accounts of Māori and Pākehā identity formations and politics.

The Derridean concepts of *sous rature* and *différance* offer the theoretical strategy for the reinscription of words and concepts. The notion of *différance* and its assertion of language as unstable and ambiguous, along with *sous rature*' questioning of the meaning of terms, allows for new meanings and interpretations to emerge. The notions of *alienation*, *violation* and *gaze of alterity* introduced in this chapter provide the conceptual tools (and deconstructive potential) to not only expose the internal workings of the binary, but also to unsettle the dualist hierarchical modes of power that assert meaning and truth.

It is through the reflection of otherness that one truly finds oneself, one's history and one's future. No longer can the *colonial gaze* use the *Other* as a mirror to reflect the colonialist self-image (presence), for the *gaze of alterity* now reflects its inappropriateness, its difference through the image of *Otherness* (absence). More importantly, the look of otherness is always a two-way process as it seeks to bridge the divide between them and us, between Māori and Pākehā, toward more syncretic possibilities. Reconciliation, therefore, is only possible through the deconstruction of the internal structures of the binary. It is the tension between two opposing terms within the binary that provides the self-reflexive space for the unsettling of the binary itself. These boundaries of limitation and enclosure, however, can only be mediated through the *gaze of alterity* as one temporarily alienates oneself in the *violation* of dualistic and binary distinctions.

On reflection, I suggest that Brash and King both fail to recognise alterity. While they seek to remove the ‘them and us’ mentality through their respective politics of cultural identity, articulated in both space (one nation, one people) and place (white Native), they do so, without recognition of (by removing) the *Other* (Māori) history in their representations of the Pākehā *Self*. Concomitantly, Māori resistance to oppressive regimes such as that espoused by Awatere, must also be wary of colonial type impositions, through the valorisation of ontological (essentialist) traditions within a subverted colonial imperial binary. ‘Reified essentialist’ tactics as opposed to ‘objective essentialist’ strategies only serve to maintain the very structures the oppressed sought to remove. In order to move to a more liberating space that refuses to operate within typical binary oppositional thinking, Māori and Pākehā can only do so together, through the *gaze of alterity* or otherness.

Our Identity Complex: Reconciling the Colonial Past

The Waitangi Tribunal's vision is that, having reconciled ourselves with the past and possessing a full understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi, Māori and non-Māori New Zealanders will be equipped to create a future for two peoples as one nation. (Waitangi Tribunal Te Rōpū Whakamana I Te Tiriti o Waitangi website)

While the above passage is problematic in terms of those New Zealanders who might feel excluded by the categorisation of Māori and non-Māori, the vision of the Waitangi Tribunal must be understood in the context of its inception and role. That is, as a response to the continued imposition of colonisation on Māori and to recognise the cultural and political injustices of the past. In finding some reconciliation between Māori and Pākehā

histories, the Waitangi Tribunal promotes a vision of the future based upon the principles and a clear and balanced understanding of the Treaty of Waitangi. Established in 1975 the tribunal was commissioned on a permanent basis to make recommendations “on claims brought by Māori relating to actions or omissions of the Crown, which breach the promises made in the Treaty of Waitangi” (Waitangi Tribunal Te Rōpū Whakamana I Te Tiriti o Waitangi website)

The key here in promoting ‘the Treaty’ as a mechanism to reconcile the Māori-Pākehā (bicultural) relationship is to reformulate its original intent (whatever that may have been). That is, as a partnership of respect, dialogue, mutual recognition and reciprocity. This involves at various times, and between both parties, the relinquishing of power. Admittedly, it is the dominant proponent of any dichotomy of power that must first abandon their position; however, in gaining any newfound autonomy and sovereignty the oppressed must also be wary of their susceptibility to the power of the binary mode. It is this fine balance between power and liberation, and renewed oppression that both parties need to navigate through together. Bell (2004) gives a brief account of the inception of Māori and Pākehā identities and the relationship we have negotiated since the beginning of colonial history and the implications for Māori-Pākehā relations today:

‘Māori’ and ‘Pākehā’ came into being as identities with colonisation. Prior to that Māori identified according to whānau, hapū, and iwi and Pākehā identified according to their diverse European backgrounds. Thus the present-day Māori and Pākehā carry with them the history of the colonial relationship that is still very powerful in structuring and colouring our contemporary interactions. This means that old [colonial] ideas about race and about the superiority of Europeans over

‘Natives’ are still discernible in the way Māori and Pākehā identities are talked about and thought out by many New Zealanders. (122)

The colonial hangover that resonates throughout history still ripples through the political, social and cultural landscape. In order to be freed from this postcolonial condition, Māori and Pākehā must confront it rather than push it aside. As Bruce Jesson reminds us, “New Zealand had such a shallow culture that most New Zealanders knew little about their country’s history. Amnesia is not a recent development, but is part of the colonial condition” (1999: 70-1).

In order to confront our colonial history, Māori and Pākehā must do so by acknowledging the ‘habits of enclosure’ and ‘colonial impositions’ that have maintained the colonial binary and the production of Māori subjectivity, that is, of the Māori *Other*. While many Māori still bear the scars of colonisation and continue to resist new forms of colonial imposition, the otherness of being Māori provides the mirror of self-reflexivity and transformation. The desire for the ethical *Self* requires a critical and self-reflexive consciousness that continually engages in the politics of identity construction and cultural and political representation. The *gaze of alterity* is what provides the ethical and self-reflexive space for the syncretic possibilities of Māori and Pākehā. Furthermore, this negotiation must take place at the borders of limitation, neither here nor there, neither as Pākehā nor Māori but *something else*. It is the *something else*, the ‘familiar but new’ that allows for possibilities, as envisioned by the Waitangi Tribunal, to create a future for all peoples that maintains cultural distinction.

Degrees of Connection: Bridging the Cultural Divide

As I have made apparent in this chapter it is the connection between Māori and Pākehā as colonial navigators within a history of resistance and counter-resistance that unites rather than divides us. In eliciting a space beyond or that redefines a postcolonial paradigm, such analysis must move beyond the notion of *Other*; past stereotypical assertions of colonial (Pākehā) oppressor and the victimized oppressed (Māori) indigene. Although one is constituted in contrast to an opposing *Other*, it is this very relationship that enables us to reflect upon history together both as Māori and Pākehā. Our history is our history; we are the architects of our future and together through the eyes of alterity we can begin to remove the colonial binary thinking that has for the last 170 years prevented us from moving to a more just and liberating political space. This project requires one to expose themselves to the *Other*, to see themselves in the *Other*, not through the ‘colonial gaze’, but through the eyes of alterity. Bell sheds some light on this possibility for those who acknowledge Pākehā identity and its relationship to Māori colonial otherness:

In the 1980s’... it was generally felt by those supportive of Pakeha as an ethnic identity that what was particularly significant about the term was its expression of a relationship to Māori and of an acknowledgement of the history of colonisation. (1996: 146)

Spoonley (1988) also pays reference to Pākehā identity and its colonial historical significance when he describes it as “New Zealanders of a European background, whose cultural values and behaviour have been primarily formed from the experience of being a member of the dominant group of New Zealand” (63-4).

Pākehā writers/academics such as Bell, Spoonley, Drichel and Reilly openly relinquish their positions of power in their writing, while it can also be argued that they too can gain power through it, academic circles for example - an empowerment perhaps, through the initial relinquishing of power. Through the acknowledgement of Māori otherness they pursue the syncretic possibilities between Māori and Pākehā histories. Concomitantly, Māori writers/academics of today must also teeter on the boundaries of power and reflect and challenge the commonly held assumptions that are implicit within Indigenous identity politics and resistance. Hokowhitu (2010) exemplifies this type of critical reflection when he makes problematic the common discourses that underpin Indigenous resistance and, therefore, identity. Using an existential lens he suggests the need for Indigenous resistance and identity to be framed within the existentialism of the Indigenous subject rather than “in relation to an eternal defiance to an omnipresent coloniser” (2010: 210).

The tethering of Indigenous identities to a coloniser/colonised dialectic of resistance becomes dubious when Indigenous forms of self-governance are produced only in relation to liberation from colonisation... Indigenous resistance has internalized the colonial and neocolonial state, the past and continued trauma of colonisation and hence, the ‘psychology of colonisation’... The assertion of Indigenous self-determination in constant referral to the colonising other merely serves to re-establish the neo-imperial colonial power structure themselves. (Hokowhitu, 2010: 210)

Challenging fundamental concepts of Indigenous resistance such as ‘hegemony’ and ‘false consciousness’ Hokowhitu proposes the need to remove ourselves from the

coloniser/colonised power dichotomy and its external project, to one of self-empowerment (power from within) through the existential Indigenous subject.

Premised upon existentialist notions of freedom, responsibility and choice Hokowhitu's critique offers new insights and discussion in regard to how one may look upon the colonial past and postcolonial present. To repeat the same arguments as initiated by Awatere and others in the 1980s, would only serve to antagonise the old regimes of colonial discourse. The need for a more critical and liberating space encourages writers/academics, both Indigenous and non-indigenous, to challenge and create new spaces of articulation; spaces that articulate our unique history and relationship.

One space of articulation that already exists in Aotearoa New Zealand, and that is perhaps a representation of many New Zealanders, is that of mixed Māori and Pākehā ethnicity or hybrid identities. As artist Alan Wehipeihana from Paekakariki describes, being a product of mixed heritage within a politics of biculturalism can be confusing at times, and at its worst can alienate others: "of mixed heritage who stand in this space scratching our skulls, not sure whether to tick the 'Māori', 'Non Māori' or 'Other' box on official forms, feeling like we leak through any definition of race and culture. (*Kapiti Observer*, January 19 2004: 23)

Paul Meredith (1999a) who was critical of the current politics of biculturalism and the split it causes between Māori and Pākehā argued for the need to acknowledge affinities and connections, rather than focusing on differences. Bell (2004) explains Meredith's position:

Meredith does not want to do away with biculturalism or with the distinct cultures of Māori and Pākehā, but aims to balance these distinctions with connections between the two cultures. His focus is the relationship between Māori and Pākehā and here he sees hybrid/bicultural individuals, ‘half-castes’, as perfectly placed to act as negotiators and mediators of that relationship. (128)

Seen as ‘cultural lubricants’ Meredith asserts that ‘half-castes’ have the advantage of being able to straddle both cultures, which in effect enables them to “translate, negotiate and mediate affinities and differences in a dynamic of exchange and inclusion” (Meredith cited in Bell, 2004: 128). If it is the straddling of both cultures that hybrid identities offer in terms of bridging the cultural divide between Māori and Pākehā, then what allows for this mediation and negotiation must be the affinity the individual has to both cultures. How then does such an individual navigate and negotiate themselves through a politics of biculturalism? Again, I re-emphasise the key as being a connection to otherness. Māori, Pākehā and hybrid identities must have an affinity to some *Other* in order to be exposed to the *gaze of alterity*. It is the look of otherness that reflects the subject *Self* and, therefore, promotes its ethical project of agency and change.

Conclusion

This chapter has traced a genealogy of identity politics and resistance in Aotearoa New Zealand in an attempt to find some reconciliation between the Māori-Pākehā binary. In bringing to the fore critical discussions of our contested colonial relationship since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi (1840), this chapter has sketched out a connected history of resistance and counter-resistance.

This bicultural politics has provided the backdrop for an analysis of contemporary literature (both Indigenous and non-indigenous) that has contributed to the understanding of Māori and Pākehā identity politics and resistance. In an attempt to break free from binary oppositional thinking a critical space is advocated that promotes a Hegelian dialectic that essentially works to unsettle and ultimately destabilise Māori and Pākehā binary and dualist constructions.

A Bhabha influenced ‘third space’ is articulated in this destabilising project and, although it does depict the social reality of cultural hybrid formations, it also allows for another reality experienced in Aotearoa New Zealand to exist. That is, a bicultural politics of identity and resistance. The ‘third space’ allows for the collective unity of object-essentialised identities to emerge as opposed to reified essentialised forms in the politics of identity construction and resistance. This project is an ethical one that aims to de-power binary authority and deconstruct the notion of *Other* as it desires more ethical representations of the *Self*. The deconstruction of otherness and the *gaze of alterity* are essential to the unsettling of the binary and the distortion of its boundaries. The gaze, as reflected through alterity, is revealed through numerous literary and scholarly accounts of identity politics and resistance, in an attempt to elicit how historical and contemporary constructions of Māori and Pākehā identity have been formed through a politics of resistance and counter-resistance. The *gaze of alterity* is what provides the ethical and self-reflexive space for the syncretic possibilities of Māori and Pākehā. There is a need to promote a move to a new form of postcolonial critique, one that is post (or past) the era of the *Other* and so potentially resistant to imperial binary thinking. This space beyond the postcolonial assumes the indeterminacy of the *Self* and the fluidity, production and

exchange of subjectivities, while also acknowledging the need for object essentialised identity formations as opposed to reified essentialist identities. It is this continued politics of resistance and counter-resistance between Māori and Pākehā that will bridge the cultural divide in the mediation, negotiation and eventual reconciliation of the Māori-Pākehā binary.

Chapter Six

Indigenous Epistemology and Philosophical Hermeneutics: Synergies of Tradition

In the previous chapters, it is clear that postcolonial studies has provided the setting for this thesis, while post-structuralist critique provides the critical and self-reflexive space in which to examine the binary. This chapter attempts to articulate a conceptual framework that critically reflects upon the way the world is interpreted in relation to binary logic. Derrida's deconstruction, Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics, and Māori epistemological understandings are the arbitrators of this genesis, as I seek to reconcile Western and Indigenous understandings, concepts and ideas. According to Chris Lawn the hermeneutical tradition rejects any idea that a unitary world gives us access to a definitive kind of knowledge:

[s]ince the time of the ancients this has been the dream of philosophers, and it is nowhere more evident than with the enlightenment, but hermeneutics reveals that all human understanding is ultimately interpretation... we must never forget that we are always part of what it is we seek to understand... (2006: 39)

In an attempt to synthesise theory, I introduce a conceptual model that employs a process of *self-reflexivity*, *reciprocity*, and *dialogue*. The framework fundamentally attempts to unsettle dualist and binary articulations between terms, concepts, ideas and identities so prevalent within colonial and postcolonial discourse. Thus, it espouses the need for new approaches to analysing the articulations and constructions of identity in contemporary cultural settings. The model implies that new identities will be formed and reformed,

living and evolving, through a process that assumes dialogue, negotiation and authenticity. The authentic conceptualisation of the *Self* requires a critical awareness of the beliefs, values, biases, and prejudices that assert taken-for-granted truths about others, the world and ourselves.

The conceptual model and its subsequent framework assert the *Self* as a representation of all subjectivities. Binary conceptual pairs such as *Self-Other*, man-woman, Māori-Pākehā and so on, are not examined in terms of their hierarchical opposition to each other, but instead as subjectivities that have been produced in relation to alterity or otherness. It is the process of *othering* in the production of subjectivities that is questioned in the reinterpretation and reinscription of the *Self*. In this critical and self-reflexive space, new articulations of identity emerge through the systematic deconstruction and reconstruction of conceptual meaning. The framework challenges what is a fundamental characteristic of Western-derived thought, culture and language. That is, the tendency to categorise the world into binary oppositions, a “categorisation [that] is often value-laden and ethnocentric” (Goody, 1997: 36).

In assuming a self-reflexive paradigm, the *Self* in the conceptual framework of understanding is also referred to as the *Self-as-present* to emphasise the history and traditions that determine conceptual meaning in the present. In the utilisation of the conceptual model, the *Self-as-present* is re-inscribed as the *Self-ethical*. In an attempt to re-imagine the *Self* as the *Self-ethical* the framework challenges the culturally laden representations within the *Self-Other* binary; representations that assert a dominant/vilified *Self* and an oppressed/valorised *Other*. Conventional Western cultural understandings are critically examined in terms of the assumptions that impose meaning

upon each element of the binary frame. The question of meaning within hierarchical structures now becomes an ethical one, where the dominant *Self* is made aware of its production through its concomitant *Other*, thus, exposing its unethical authority. The *Other* is also made aware of its subordinate position and, thus, challenges the authority of the dominant *Self* and, in particular, its role in the (re)production of inauthentic and marginalised subjectivities.

Key aspects of this self-reflexive and deconstructive paradigm are the concepts of *violation* and the *gaze of alterity* introduced in Chapter Five. An ethical desire to unsettle the authority of the binary frame requires a continual process of dialectical analysis and reflection, back and forth between the *Self* and *Other*. The *gaze of alterity* or the look of otherness constantly places the dominant *Self* under surveillance, exposing its unethical intent and, thus, providing the theoretical basis in which to violate the hierarchy of the binary mode. In a Derridean sense, the binary essentially deconstructs itself from within, through the *gaze of alterity* and the systematic *violation* of the dominant *Self* and the marginalised *Other*.

The notion of *violation* I invoke here connects to Gadamer's understanding of prejudice in the interpretation of the world. Gadamer (1989) sees both tradition and prejudice as constitutive of what he terms as an *effective history*, which pre-determines perspectives. In other words, reality is formed "[l]ong before we understand ourselves through the process of self-examination... we understand ourselves in a self-evident way in the family, society, and state in which we live in" (Gadamer, 1989: 276-7). The notion of prejudice, for Gadamer, is not to be understood in the negative modernistic and scientific sense, but instead as an essential element to understanding how one brings meaning to the

world. Gadamer questions the bias conventional understandings place upon prejudice itself within the circle of understanding.

This chapter presents a *Conceptual Model of Understanding* as an alternative to analysing the binary mode within postcolonial studies. In accepting that Western philosophical traditions have framed an understanding of the world in relation to a binary logic, the conceptual model seeks to destabilise the dualist and oppositional thinking endemic to postmodern and postcolonial theory. Through a process of *dialogue*, *self-reflexivity*, and *reciprocity* this model espouses a unifying centre as *Self-as-present* that continually reflects upon itself through a desire for the *Self-ethical*. In order to be achieved, this desire requires a high degree of self-reflexivity, due to the necessary reconciliation between the historical forms of knowledge and power that structure one's understandings of the *Self-as-present*. The *Self* is a dynamic construct that is constantly changing and, thus, allows multiple interpretations and meanings to emerge.

Hermeneutic Reflection and Violation: Reviving Tradition and Prejudice

As historical beings that are part of some tradition, how is agency and change effected within that tradition? Undeniably, everything one knows and does is prejudiced by past experiences and events. This can be quite easily understood by the way in which people accept commonly held views, and conform to and maintain particular attitudes towards others and, thus, make judgments and assumptions without question. The so called 'truth statements' societies take for granted and the everyday practices carried out have been presented to them over time, historically revealed and normalised through experiences in the world and have become traditions and prejudices. These prejudices, however, do not

produce slaves to historical tradition, but on the contrary, allows one to reflect more critically upon the world. As Lawn explains:

...although we cannot escape the co-ordinates of 'historical life' we are not the puppets of history pulled down by inherited prejudice. If we see prejudice as the condition of judgment some measure of self-awareness is possible when prejudices are confronted with the new and the unexpected. Of course, it is not possible to get a completely unclouded perspective on our own prejudice because... prejudices are part of the way we understand, they are the pre-judgments that precede judgment. (2006: 65)

The notion of *violation* helps to better understand Gadamer's appreciation of prejudice and tradition in interpretations of the world. Firstly, however, the concept of *world disclosure* is important to understanding Gadamer's hermeneutic approach. *World disclosure*, as previously discussed in Chapter Three, suggests that understanding is first disclosed to us through the interaction with others, the world and the language one uses to interpret that world. Consequently, in order to better understand the way one comprehends the world, one must also be aware of how the world discloses itself or becomes intelligible. Human beings can never fully remove themselves from the world or the language used to interpret that world. However, by being aware of the prejudices and traditions that inform one's understanding, one is in a better position, Gadamer would argue, to (re)interpret and bring about new meaning. This process requires people, at times, to challenge, question and eventually violate common understandings, meanings and assumptions. The language, words, terms and concepts used must also be susceptible to the same type of *violation*.

In Gadamer's principal work *Truth and Method* (1960) he set out to examine the nature of human understanding and present a philosophy that rejects a world of absolutes and objectivity. Classically drawn as a 'theory of interpretation', hermeneutics sought to expose the concealed meaning of biblical texts and the intended meaning of the author. Through a cyclic process of understanding, the hermeneutic approach created a dialectic between part and whole, whereby the smaller parts of a text were given meaning in relation to the whole and vice versa. Gadamer extends the approach by applying it to the way thinking and understanding takes place in the human mind. In developing his philosophical hermeneutics, Gadamer explains that "this circle is constantly expanding, since the concept of the whole is relative, and being integrated in ever larger contexts always affects the understanding of the individual part" (1989: 190).

The hermeneutic circle of reflection acknowledges and includes history, traditions and prejudices in the understanding of the present. It examines the assumptions that become normalised in everyday thinking by attempting to reveal their origins and historical validity, for it is this validity that asserts the prejudices or pre-judgements of traditional and conventional understanding. Prejudice and tradition must not be understood as biases; instead, they must be included in the interpretation of the present. Lawn maintains the idea of making tradition an object of investigation also, when he argues that there exists a false assumption of "a conceptual critical space to be found outside of tradition, an Archimedean point from which to assess the rationality or otherwise of traditional activities. We can never escape tradition as we are already within it" (2006: 36).

The way in which the world is understood, according to Gadamer and Heidegger, is not an isolated or individual event. Human beings are but a small part of a greater context.

Relevance and meaning can only be found within a greater context of family, culture and society. For example, words on a page only find their meaning in the wider context of the page, chapter and book of which they are a part. Meaning is embedded in tradition from a philosophical hermeneutic perspective. New interpretations are only understood in the context of received interpretations, and received understandings are only adjusted in light of new interpretations.

Hermeneutics and Whakapapa: Relocating Temporality

Māori epistemological perspectives can be utilised alongside philosophical hermeneutics in the development of an alternative form of analytical critique. The syncretic possibilities here enables, I believe, a more critical and self-reflexive space to emerge. An example of how this might be possible is through Māori understandings of time and space. Firstly, however, it is important to note that ‘traditional’ Māori epistemologies in the context of this thesis, refers to the commonly accepted understandings many Māori have with regard to ontological and cosmological origins.

The ease with which Māori as a homogenous construct is articulated, especially within academic literature, tends to ignore the fact that traditional (in the Gadamerian sense of the word) understandings for Māori, although melded through over-arching beliefs, concepts, and practices, are also articulated within specific sub-tribal contexts. Furthermore, the fact that tribal genealogies (*whakapapa*) in pre-colonial times were passed on through oral tradition, suggests that past events are subject to specific tribal interpretations. For some Māori, the acceptance of multiple interpretations of historical events has never been an issue, as differing tribal accounts of the past have come to

acknowledge and represent metaphorical meanings within specific *hapū* or *iwi* contexts. Today, many tribal histories are kept by the *kaumātua* or elders of the local community. In early colonial and pre-colonial times *tohunga* (experts in sacred lore, traditions and genealogies) were the gatekeepers of knowledge and history. As Te Maire Tau explains:

Tohunga took great care to ensure that the past was retained in an accurate manner through chant, recitation of whakapapa or other oral media. Yet there is no indication that our tohunga were concerned with reassessing their views simply because someone in the other village had another view. (Tau in Sharp and McHugh, 2001: 64)

Or, in other words, there was no will to universalise knowledge. For some Māori, epistemological understandings of the world are steeped within traditions that have been passed on by *tupuna*. These traditions determine the way one thinks, feels and interacts with others and the world. A similar comparison could be made with all cultures and societies, however, the difference I see apparent between Māori cultural traditions and the generic cultural traditions of Aotearoa New Zealand society is that Māori traditions are explicitly recognised and lived out through cultural practice and performance as opposed to the less discrete and marked practices and traditions of everyday life. For example, I perform a cultural practice each day when I get up in the morning, do the normal things before breakfast, drive to the university, turn my computer on and continue writing this thesis. The institutional traditions within this daily routine and practice serve to preserve the wide ranging ideas, modes of thinking, practices and methods that are assumed and made apparent within the field of academia and typical university life. Although normalised and, thus, not specifically referred to as a ‘Pākehā’ or ‘Western’, a tradition it

remains and it will inevitably have, if one looks deeply enough, its own cultural and historical significance and origins. Alternatively, cultural practices conducted on the *marae* by Māori, are also based upon time-honoured traditions that have become normalised in everyday life for many Māori.

Gadamer reminds us, however, these traditions are not static, for they evolve and change depending upon multiple things:

Tradition is not simply a permanent precondition; rather, we produce it ourselves inasmuch as we understand, participate in the evolution of tradition, and hence further determine it ourselves. Thus the circle of understanding is not a ‘methodological’ circle, but describes an element of the ontological structure of understanding. (1999: 293)

Traditional Māori understandings of time and space throughout colonial history have had to contend with contrasting Western understandings. The tensions between Western and Indigenous traditions have generally resulted in the dominant discourse supplanting the other, while in some cases cultural *hybridity* has occurred, like the adoption of Christianity as a part of Māori (polytheistic) spiritual beliefs for example.

Moreover, Māori epistemology has not completely been overrun by dominant ideas, and many key cultural concepts remain. Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck), for example, suggests that for some Māori, *whakapapa* are the “means we possess of arriving at approximate dates in Maori history” (Hiroa, 1929: 8). *Whakapapa*, for many Māori, is considered as the inherent link between time, space, ancestors, the land and the spirit world. *Whakapapa*, in this sense, is essentially tradition, whereby space and time are

connected through a network of people, thoughts, practices, ideas and events that are inextricably linked, not as fixed points in time to be analysed chronologically and independently of each other, but instead as interconnected elements or parts of the whole. Furthermore, this whole (*whakapapa*) is only given relevance through its constitutive parts (thoughts, expressions, feelings, beliefs and so on) and the parts can only find relevance in their constitution of the whole.

Tradition and *whakapapa* in a contemporary setting could be seen as the thread that connects the past, present and future. From a Gadamerian perspective, tradition is a spatial and temporal nexus that locates the *Self* as now with the prior, the living with the deceased and the old with the new. However, problems can occur when traditions collide and when one asserts authority over the other. Throughout colonisation, for example, Western tradition has defined what is history and what is not, which has meant that Indigenous conceptualisations of time and space have been misconstrued and labelled as myth. The key difference being that conventional Western modes of temporality are seen as linear and that the past is behind you and the future ahead, while Indigenous modes of temporality are sometimes interpreted in other ways. Particular Western understandings suggest that the observer of history can attain some form of objectivism, but only from historical distance. Gadamer explains:

In historical studies this experience has led to the idea that objective knowledge can be achieved only if there has been a certain historical distance... The positive conditions of historical understanding include the relative closure of a historical event, which allows us to view it as a whole, and its distance from contemporary opinions concerning its import. The implicit presupposition of historical method,

then, is that the permanent significance of something can first be known objectively only when it belongs to a closed context—in other words, when it is dead enough to have only historical interest. (1999: 298)

Conventional understandings of history assume that there is a space or distance through time (i.e. a distant past compared to the near present). A linear procession of past, present and future is premised upon the illusion that history and tradition are somehow detached from the present, removed from the closed circuit of time and space.

The notion of *whakapapa* as a concept represents both this closed circuit of time and space, as well as tradition. For those who embrace *whakapapa*, it links Māori to the founding parents of creation, *Papatuanuku* (earth mother) and *Ranginui* (sky father). As a result epistemological views steeped in these traditions of *Being* and knowing are inextricably linked with the past, present and inevitably the future. Furthermore, “[w]ithin [these] Māori ontological and cosmological paradigms it is impossible to conceive of the present and the future as separate and distinct from the past” (Stewart-Harawira, 2005: 42). *Whakapapa*, therefore, is ontological and temporal. In other words, for some, being Māori is bound in temporality (the circle of time and space) through an intimate relationship between the past, present and future. *Whakapapa* in this sense connects Māori to time, space, the world and the universe.

Gadamer’s notion of tradition and his hermeneutic approach to comprehending the world provides a possible synergy between Western philosophical thought and Māori epistemological understandings. In an attempt to relocate (or violate) Western conventional understandings of time, space and tradition, the model below describes

whakapapa as tradition through Gadamer's notion of *historicity*. To Māori who embrace *whakapapa*, it not only represents human genealogies and connections, but also is a metaphor for the act of creation; the evolution of the universe and all living things.

Conventional use of the term 'ancestral descent' assumes that one's relationship with the past is handed down from generation to generation, linearly defined, where the present is chronologically distinct and separated from the past and future. *Whakapapa*, however, is ontologically and temporally bound within the circle of time. For Heidegger and Gadamer, the notion of *historicity* asserts that human beings are not isolated subjects cut off from the past, but instead are connected through being-in-the-world; a *Being* in the world that has its own history and traditions. *Historicity* and *whakapapa* assume that one's existence in the world is hermeneutically understood. In other words, one can only understand the present in relation to the past and vice versa, the past can only be understood in relation to the present.

The 'hermeneutic circle of understanding' is both a means for self-understanding and a temporal model for how Māori relate to the past and present through *whakapapa*. Both *historicity* and *whakapapa* include the traditions of the past in the understanding of the present. The visualisation of building layer by layer upon the past towards the present does not make one distant through time but instead makes one connected through the circle of time. This cyclic mode of temporality promotes a dialectic that allows for differing understandings of the past, present and future. Reality does not exist as one may know it from a positivist perspective, for it only exists in its particular moment in time as it becomes intelligible, and in relation to the context or traditions from where it has stemmed. Highly problematic in a world that is driven by western scientific thinking and

objective truth, Indigenous epistemological understandings and Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics provide a paradigm that enables multiple realities and meanings to emerge:

Time is no longer primarily a gulf to be bridged because it separates; it is actually the supportive ground of the course of events in which the present is rooted... In fact the important thing to recognize temporal distance as a positive and productive condition enabling understanding. It is not a yawning abyss but is filled with the continuity of custom and tradition. In the light of which everything handed down presents itself to us. (Gadamer, 1999: 297)

The following diagram attempts to illustrate such a paradigm as it connects spatial and temporal understandings in an ever-expanding dialectic – a dialogue between the past, present and future. As the *Self* forms new understandings of the past it in turn affects the understanding of the present. Subsequently, the *Self* moves to a new understanding of the past and, thus, a new understanding of the present and so on. Expanding outwardly in a three-dimensional fashion, the *Self* continuously reaches new understandings of the past and present.

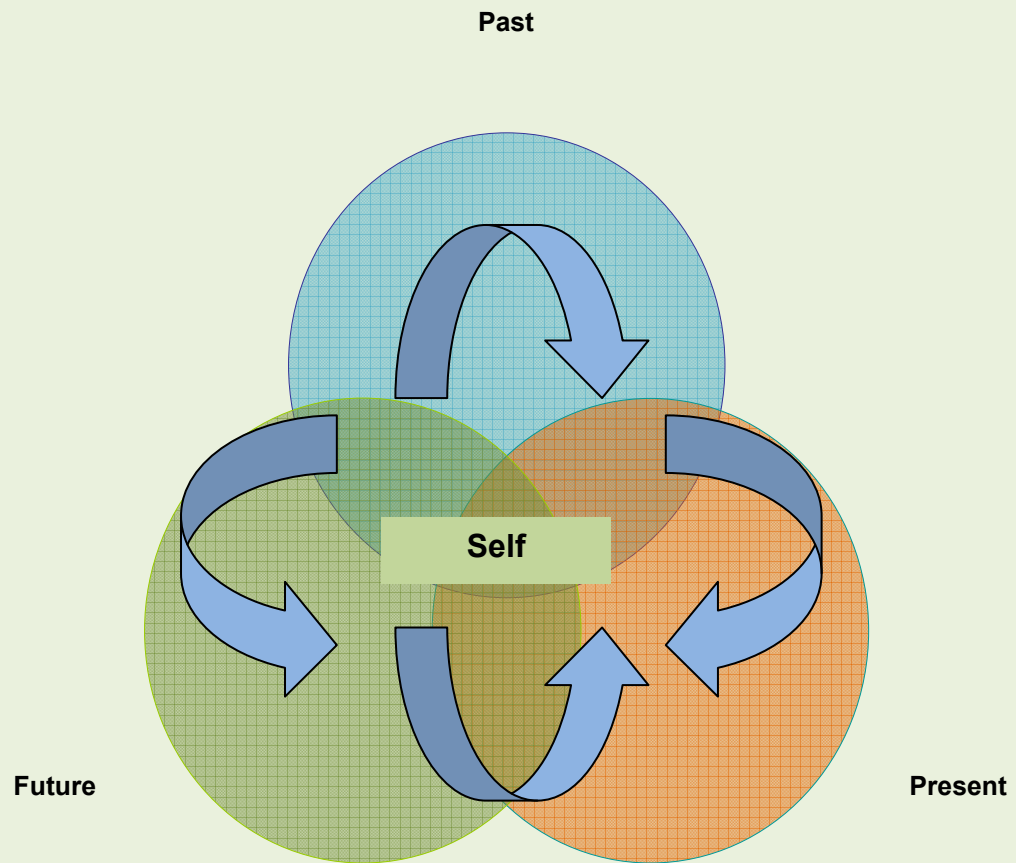


Figure 1

Fusion of Horizons: An Historical Dialogue

To better understand the way in which one comprehends the world and others requires an historical consciousness. There are limitations to what one can know because as historical beings there are pre-given historical elements to one's consciousness of which one can never be fully aware. Gadamer refers to this as the consciousness of the hermeneutical situation or "the situation in which we find ourselves with regard to the tradition that we are trying to understand" (Gadamer, 1999: 302). Gadamer goes on to say:

The illumination of this situation-reflection on effective history-can never be completely achieved; yet the fact that it cannot be completed is not due to deficiency in reflection but to the essence of the historical being that we are. To be historical means that knowledge of oneself can never be complete. (Gadamer, 1999: 302)

Using Hegel's phenomenology Gadamer suggests that the ultimate task of philosophical hermeneutics is to retrace the origin of all subjective meaning. However, rather than an end, the hermeneutical circle describes a means or a process of interpretation that although ever expanding, is also limited by the finitude of the human mind or what Gadamer refers to as its *horizon*.

The notion of *horizon* refers to a particular standpoint or perspective that is limited by the range of vision one has and the physical curvature of the earth. That is, one cannot view beyond the horizon because the physical curvature of the earth is incongruous to the linearity of vision, yet this does not mean that what lies beyond the horizon does not exist, for one step towards the horizon allows one to view one step further. Both of these

physical limitations, thus, have important symbolic meaning in Gadamer's theory. In looking to the *horizon* one would see it relative to the position (situation) of where one is positioned at that time. However, this does not prevent someone seeing it from a different perspective or *horizon*, because, although a horizon marks the sight at any given moment, by moving to another position a new perspective allows one to see beyond the previous *horizon*. Although Gadamer's notion of *horizon* might represent the limit of what one sees and understands at any given time, there is always the possibility of something beyond, something new, through the willingness to shift one's own point of view. Gadamer explains this idea in relation to understanding and (re)understanding the past:

...the horizon of the past, out of which all human life lives and which exists in the form of tradition, is always in motion. The surrounding horizon is not set in motion by historical consciousness. But in it this motion becomes aware of itself.
(1999: 304)

Thus, the hermeneutical task involves the *Self* becoming aware of the need to change or shift one's view of the *horizon* it is trying to understand in order to gain a different perspective or point of view. For example, in order to understand tradition in relation to the notion of *whakapapa*, as explained earlier, one must attempt to see the *Other* perspective; from a point of view that has meaning and relevance to the *Other*. In order to achieve this one must "become aware of the otherness, the indissoluble individuality of the other person-by putting ourselves in his [sic] position." (Gadamer, 1999: 305) This does not mean, however, that one must ignore their own historical *horizon*, but instead be aware of the traditions and prejudices that foreground this historical consciousness in relation to alterity:

...a truly historical consciousness always sees its own present in such a way that it sees itself, as well as the historically other, within the right relationships. It requires a special effort to acquire a historical horizon. We are always affected, in hope and fear, by what is nearest to us, and hence we approach the testimony of the past under its influence. (Gadamer, 1999: 305)

Examining the past requires a dialogue between the *Self*-as-present and the historical consciousness, traditions and pre-judgments that foreground the thought and consciousness of the *Self*-as-present. It is this foregrounding that reflects the particular *horizon* of the present *Self*, and although the *Self* may not be totally aware of all its foregrounding traditions and prejudices, this self-reflexivity enables those traditions to be recognised in their own terms, from their own *horizon*: “[t]hus it is constantly necessary to guard against over-hastily assimilating the past to our own expectations of meaning. Only then can we listen to tradition in a way that permits it to make its own meaning heard” (Gadamer, 1999: 305). This act requires the *violation* of common understandings, terms, concepts and ideas. It requires a willingness to be open to new possibilities and, at times, disregard for common assumptions and conventional understandings. According to Gadamer, a continual dialogue between past and present horizons requires a mutual and reciprocating relationship:

Hence the horizon of the present cannot be formed without the past. There is no more an isolated horizon of the present in itself than there are historical horizons which have to be acquired. *Rather, understanding is always the fusion of these horizons supposedly existing by themselves.* (Gadamer, 1999: 306)

Any dialogue or conversation between past and present, or an interpreter and a text, is bound by prejudice and bias. The *fusion of horizons* becomes a dialectical process that mediates the tension between past and present, *Self* and *Other*, traditional and non-traditional. It rejects objectivism, absolutes and any interpretation or understanding that encloses itself within its unique horizon. Gadamer states that “[a] person who has no horizon is a man [sic] who does not see far enough and hence overvalues what is nearest to him [sic]. Contrariwise, to have a horizon means not to be limited to what is nearest, but to be able to see beyond it” (1988: 269).

The discourse created between individual speakers, or between a text and its interpreter, according to Gadamer, allows for the fusion of these horizons, where new and alternative understandings of ideas and concepts can emerge. This hermeneutical reflection allows for new interpretations by questioning notions that are fixated within the present consciousness and concealed by an unwillingness to include prejudice and traditions as a part of the circle of understanding:

The hermeneutical task consists in not covering up this tension by attempting a naïve assimilation of the two but in consciously bringing it out... Historical consciousness is aware of its own otherness and hence foregrounds the horizon of the past from its own. (Gadamer, 1999: 306)

Binary thinking imposes limitations that establish closed and fixed understandings of the world and others, where the vision to see past what is nearest to us (what is normal and comfortable) is blurred and, thus, the possibility of expanding one’s *horizon* is reduced. Binary frames such as *Self-Other*, man-women, Māori-Pākehā and so on maintain a

consciousness that is unaware of its own *historicity*. Binary categorisations fail to reflect upon the prejudices and biases that maintain these modes of power and, thus, limit the possibility of a broader and wider vision. It is the binary and its hierarchy of power that the *fusion of horizons* attempts to unsettle as it seeks to mediate between opposing terms, concepts and ideas. The fusion and subsequent broadening of one's horizon requires a reflexive process where one seeks to see through the eyes of an *Other*.

Tikanga as Ethics of the Other: Reimagining the Self-as-present as the Self-ethical

The model and its framework is an analytical and theoretical tool that works to deconstruct and reconstruct positive notions of otherness through its desire to transform the *Self-as-present* to the *Self-ethical*. In relation to this thesis the *Self* is also referred to as the *Self-as-present*. The *Self-as-present* acknowledges the history, traditions, common understandings and assumptions that determine the meaning of the *Self* in the present. In other words, the concept of the *Self* is interpreted through its present meaning, as it is perceived prior to any self-reflection; it is a pre-reflexive understanding of the *Self*. In attempting to re-imagine the *Self-as-present* as the *Self-ethical*, I am aware of the problematic nature of the notion of *ethics*. As discussed earlier in Chapter One the notion of the *Self-ethical* is premised upon Emmanuel Lévinas' philosophy of ethics and his primary concern that examines the ethics of the *Other*. To this day the notion of ethics is difficult to define as it attempts to deal with questions regarding morality, good and evil, or right and wrong. I would like to offer an insight into how again Indigenous concepts and ideas can have synergies with Western philosophical thinking. In describing the notion of ethics, the Māori concepts of *tikanga*, *manaaki*, *mana* and *tapu* have

contributed to the re-defining of the notion of ethics from a Māori values and knowledge base. As Hirini Mead explains:

One may choose to look at tikanga from the Māori point of view of ethics. Tikanga Māori might be described as the Māori ethic, referring in particular to a 'system or philosophy or conduct and principles practiced by a person or group'... The word 'tikanga' itself provides the clue that tikanga Māori deals with right and wrong. 'Tika' means to be right and thus tikanga Māori focuses on the correct way of doing something. This involves moral judgements about appropriate ways of behaving and acting in everyday life. (2003: 6)

Charles Royal (2000) describes *tikanga Māori* as ethical behaviour based upon fundamental principles and values. I would like to discuss how *tikanga* relates to the issues of ethics in my advocacy of an ethical desire.

The concepts of *manaaki*, *tapu*, *mauri* and *mana* all play a part in establishing the *tikanga* of a specific time and place. *Manaaki* is commonly associated with the act of hospitality, and is premised upon the respect, care and support of others. Its intent to nurture and respect others and all things becomes a basic principle in maintaining the *mana* of oneself and others. Tom Roa and Jackie Tuaupike explain the relationship between the terms *manaaki*, *mana* and *tikanga*:

The basis of all well-intentioned human interaction is what Māori term 'manaakitanga', i.e. the respecting of the other (living, dead, non-human...), nurturing relationships and treating the other with care and respect. The meaning of 'manaaki' lies in its root words - 'mana' and 'aki'. Mana refers to one's power,

influence, authority and control. To ‘aki’ is to encourage and support one’s mana regardless of their status. At the basis of this is ‘tikanga’ – the correct and proper ways of behaving founded on centuries of practice, but always with the flexibility to return to the base – ‘manaakitanga’. (Roa and Tuaupiki, 2005: 3-4)

Tapu and *mana* are attributes of an individual that are inherited, but can also be built upon through one’s actions and achievements in life (Mead, 2003), while *mauri* is the ‘life essence or principle’ that allows all living things to exist. In a sense these notions provide a philosophy of ethics (*tikanga*) based upon a willingness and desire to think, feel and act in a way that promotes the betterment of the *Self* and others. *Manaaki* places the individual concern for others above all else, *tapu* acknowledges the uniqueness of all things in the Māori world, and protects the well-being of communities, the *whenua* (land), knowledge, practices and people, while *mana* provides the continual desire to do what is right through acts of benevolence.

The Three Spaces of Consciousness: Presenting a Conceptual Model of Understanding

In reflecting upon the notions of *tradition*, *effective history*, *prejudice* and *fusion of horizons*, I would now like to present a Conceptual Model of Understanding that seeks to operate outside of the dualist and binary formations that I see as prevalent in the way in which the West and the colonised West, at least, understand and interpret the world. The contradiction of course is that I can never be aware of all the prejudices and traditions that influence my understanding of the ideas I seek to examine. However, as Gadamer points out, it is the process of interpretation that is important. Becoming more self-aware

and self-reflexive about one's thinking creates a more critical space; a space that allows for multiple meanings and new interpretations to emerge.

In this chapter I have suggested that Indigenous temporality and philosophical hermeneutics have synergies that allow a different view of time and space. The Conceptual Model of Understanding presented below, draws upon Heidegger's 'hermeneutic circle of understanding'. In the model presented earlier the three compartments of past, present and future are now replaced by three conceptual spaces of understanding. The *Historical*, *Critical* and *Concealed* consciousnesses are the conceptual spaces where ideas and terms are interpreted, mediated and re-interpreted. By applying a hermeneutic approach that acknowledges one's *historicity*, the model does not accept objective truths or fixed notions but, instead, promotes a critical space of *self-reflexivity*, *dialogue* and *reciprocity*. The three spaces of consciousness acknowledge and seek to interrogate the traditions and prejudices apparent at a particular time, and seek to expand upon conventional perspectives and interpretations (*horizons*).

The first conceptual space of understanding is the *Historical* consciousness, and includes all that has contributed to how one understands and interprets the *Self*-as-present. The *Historical* consciousness is non-reflexive and, thus, contains the common everyday assumptions and beliefs one uses to interact with others and to interpret the world. It is in this space where terms, concepts and ideas such as *Self*, *Other*, man, woman, *Māori*, *Pākehā* and so on are given meaning. The *Historical* consciousness elicits questions like why do I give a particular meaning to an identity or concept? What prejudice (pre-judgements) am I placing upon such notions? The historical conceptual space of

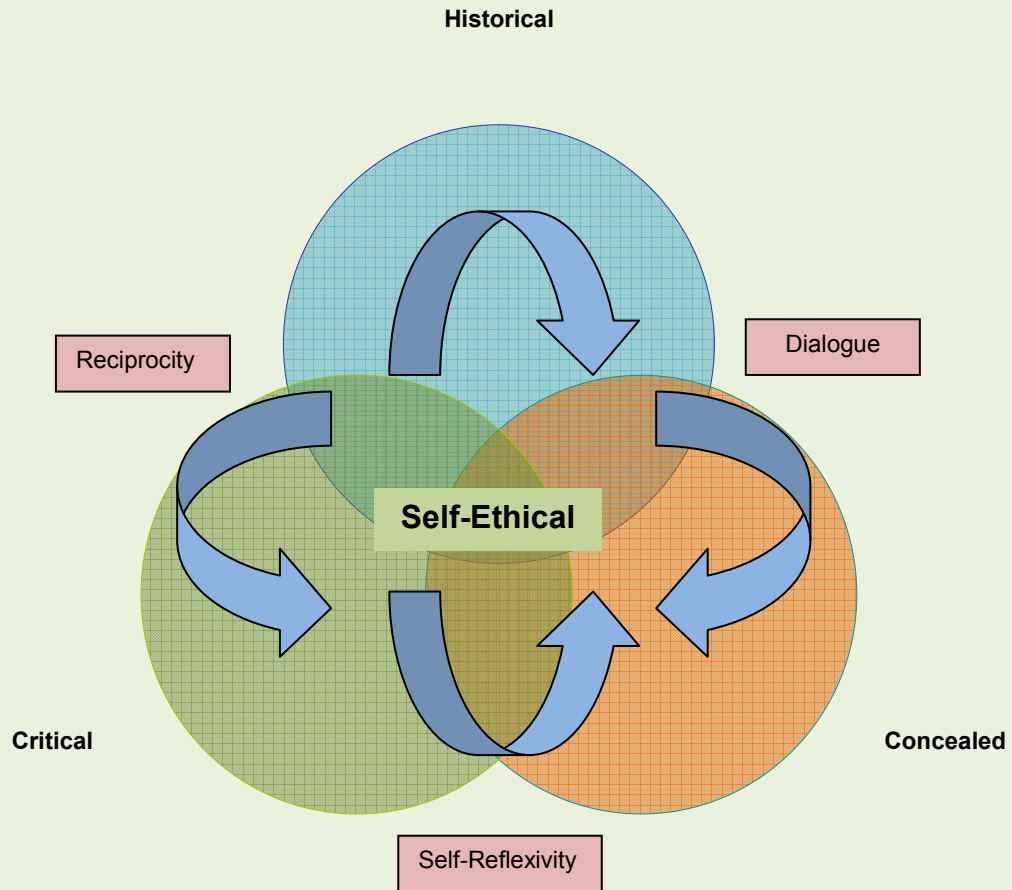
understanding includes one's traditions in the understanding of the now, of the *Self*-as-present.

The *Critical* consciousness represents the conceptual space where new interpretations are formed and where questions are raised about the authority that legitimises meaning within the *Historical* consciousness. In this space, prejudices are critically analysed and filtered to enable new meanings and interpretations to emerge. Questioning is an essential element of shifting one's present understandings and hermeneutic task of reflection. As Gadamer reminds us, it is vital to ask questions and "bring out the undetermined possibilities of a thing... There can be no tentative or potential attitude to questioning, for questioning is not the positing but the testing of possibilities. A person who thinks must ask himself questions" (1999: 375).

The third and final space, however, is the most difficult to utilise within the conceptual framework. The *Concealed* consciousness is the conceptual space that represents the most deeply embedded structures of thought. The binary, it could be argued, is a structure that resides in such a space, sitting unassumingly and indiscriminately, asserting its power over one's conscious thoughts, actions and beliefs. The binary has been exposed and critically examined in contemporary analytical discourses. Despite this, however, the conscious act of self-reflexive thought and subsequent attempts to remove binary thinking have been unsuccessful, especially in postcolonial literature. The model promotes a self-reflexive process that continually looks back upon its own assumptions and taken-for-granted truths. This is a necessity, I suggest, because the fundamental structures of one's thinking that determine conscious thoughts are concealed within the *third space of consciousness* where, I suggest, the binary asserts its greatest influence.

The model provides a subsequent framework to assist in this self-reflexive process. It attempts to reflect upon the historical conditions, experiences and thoughts that govern the way one interprets and brings meaning to the world. It also attempts to reflect on the critical understandings that give rise to new interpretations of that world. A continued dialectic between the *Historical*, *Critical* and *Concealed* consciousness is essential in this process of self-reflexivity. By acknowledging the existence of the *third space of consciousness* that establishes particular prejudices, one can now work toward examining dualist and binary concepts through a more critical lens. This examination is not an attempt to assert a particular truth or reality but rather to enable the process and expansion of understanding and meaning to evolve, thus, paving the way for multiple interpretations and realities. *Dialogue* assumes the need to continually converse and interact between the three spaces of consciousness, while the notion of *reciprocity* assumes each space is interconnected and mutually dependent upon the other. It is these two elements and the practice of *Self-reflexivity* that enable the circle of understanding to achieve its potential.

Conceptual Model of Understanding



The Hermeneutic Circle of Reflection

Figure 2

A Conceptual Framework of Hermeneutic Reflection

Within the hermeneutic circle of understanding, the notions of *dialogue*, *reciprocity* and *self-reflexivity* are essential to the potentiality of new understandings. Hermeneutical reflection best describes the process that allows for the emergence of new interpretations and meanings. The conceptual framework presented below attempts to provide a systematic process of dialectical hermeneutic reflection; a process of thinking and analysis that reflects upon the three spaces of consciousness. Gadamer sees the dialectic as an integral part of the hermeneutic experience:

The dialectic of question and answer disclosed in the structure of hermeneutical experience now permits us to state more exactly what kind of consciousness historically effected consciousness is. For the dialectic of question and answer... makes understanding appear to be a reciprocal relationship of the same kind as conversation. (1999: 377)

When one engages in the task of hermeneutical reflection, one understands that the dialectic of question and answer is essential to the (re)interpretation of conceptual meaning. One must also be reminded that the circle of understanding does not impose fixed meanings upon terms or concepts, for meaning (or understanding) is merely an interpretation, from a hermeneuticist perspective. As discussed in Chapter Three (Martin Heidegger: *Dasein*, World Disclosure and Being in the World) the “initial disclosure of the ontological world is pre-reflexive and is neither permanent nor fixed”. Present meaning, therefore, is always based upon present understandings and is, therefore, susceptible to reinterpretation and change. Concepts, ideas, or terms that are first

presented within the framework are already understood in terms of their pre-reflexive and present meaning. As one engages in the hermeneutical task of reflection, however, one engages in a process that works to disrupt and deconstruct traditional and present interpretations. At the beginning of the hermeneutical task a concept, idea or term is made sense of through one's present understanding. At this pre-reflexive stage the *Self* is understood as the *Self-as-present*. This pre-reflexive disclosure makes one aware of the "conditions of prior understanding (pre-interpreted background of meaning)", but is neither transformational nor reflexive. Although the *Self-as-present* may acknowledge one's own traditions in the production of present meaning, it will not lead to reinterpretation or change until the *Self-as-present* experiences moments of dissonance when confronted with alternative possibilities of meaning.

It is at this point in the hermeneutic circle that the *gaze of alterity* becomes important as it continually questions the interpretations of the *Self-as-present*. In regard to the term *Other*, for example, this type of reflection raises questions of authority, authenticity, motivation and power through the reflection of otherness. In particular, it exposes the understanding of the *Self-as-present* in relation to the *Other*. As Kompridis (2006) suggests, this reflexive disclosure is "distinguished according to whether the effect it produces de-centres or refocuses a prior understanding of one's world". Dissonance is created when a disclosure "cannot but disturb the unreflective, taken-for-granted flow of our self-understanding and social practices" (Kompridis, 2006: 35). It is the dissonance created through the *gaze of alterity* that brings forth an ethical desire, a desire that produces a transformation; the transformation of the *Self-as-present* to the *Self-ethical*.

Conceptual Framework of Hermeneutic Reflection

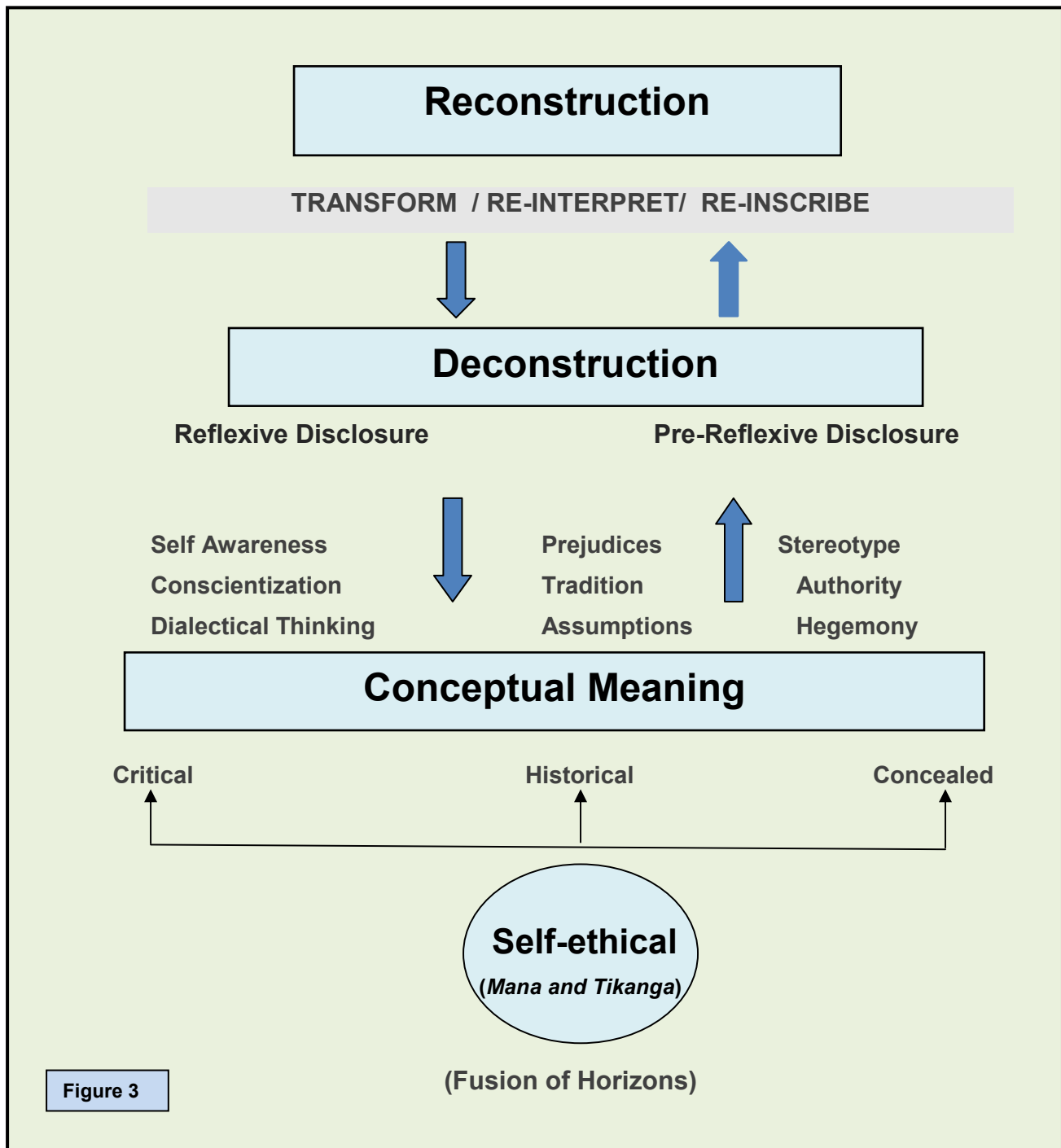


Figure 3

The conceptual and analytical framework I have presented above offers an approach to analysing concepts and ideas by considering the three spaces of consciousness as influential upon the construction of meaning as the *Self-as-present*. The framework reflects upon the traditions and prejudices that tend to be disregarded when interpreting the world. It also proposes the need for the notion of *Self-as-present* to be re-described as the *Self-ethical*.

This new critical space calls forth the indeterminacy of language and seeks to operate outside of a binary logic. Such a space allows multiple meanings and identities to emerge not in relation to dualist notions or oppositional logic, but instead through new conceptualisations of meaning that allow for the complexity of new identity formations to appear. These conceptualisations are not fixed notions, but are ever evolving through the ethical desire to transform the *Self-as-present* into the *Self-ethical*. The *Self-ethical* now becomes a reflexive authority that deconstructs, reconstructs and re-describes subjugated notions of otherness.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to describe how Western philosophical theory and Indigenous conceptualisations can be used to develop a framework that seeks to articulate a self-reflexive space that challenges the way in which one describes, explains and understands the world in terms of dualist and binary constructs.

The Conceptual Model of Understanding has been formulated as a response to the criticisms I have made apparent throughout the literature review, and that trace back to the origins of binary logic and dualist thinking. This chapter is critical of the underlying

structures that maintain a particular system of knowledge and seeks to expose political, cultural, and philosophical underpinnings that determine not only the way a society understands the world, but also how these underpinnings limit other forms of seeing and understanding the world.

In attempting to synthesise theory, the conceptual model and subsequent framework promotes a process of *reciprocity*, *dialogue* and *self-reflexivity*. A new space is articulated that critically examines binary constructs so readily utilised in postcolonial analysis. It attempts to provide a framework that essentially dismantles the polarisation, and power dichotomy associated with terms such as subject-object, man-woman, coloniser-colonised and so on. This chapter espouses the need for new approaches to analysing the articulations and constructions of identity in post-colonial societies that allow identities to be formed and reformed, in the search for more authentic representations of *Self* and through a desire for the *Self-ethical*.

This critical space enables new meanings of identity to emerge within varying contexts, promoting a multiplicity of meanings, understandings and representation. The representation of *Self* now becomes an ever-expanding and continual process of *Self-reflexivity*, *dialogue* and *reciprocity*. It promotes the emergence of not only more authentic representations of *Self*, but also espouses the need to expose and dismantle the historical modes of knowledge and power that produce and maintain oppressed subjectivities within binary cultural representations.

The theoretical framework presented in this chapter offers a self-reflexive approach to analysing conventional understandings of the world in relation to binary and oppositional

thinking. It does so by suggesting three spaces of consciousness, the *historical*, *critical* and *concealed*, as spaces which can critically examine the assumptions, traditions and norms that structure conventional modes of thinking. In this space the *Self* engages in a dialectic between the dualist and binary constructs so readily imagined and employed. In accepting (as historically effected beings) that the world is disclosed to us through language, history, prejudices and traditions, a critical space is created that promotes a process of thinking and understanding that is more self-reflexive. This process enables new conceptualisations to emerge that in turn form new understandings of the *Self*-as-present, as the *Self*-ethical.

Part Four: Interview Method, Analysis and Interpretation

Chapter Seven

A Method of Structured Storytelling: Utilising the Conceptual Framework of Hermeneutic Reflection

Stories are true. They are true to our common experience, actual or imagined; they are statements that concern the human tradition... Stories are told not merely to entertain or to instruct; they are told to be believed. Stories are not subject to the imposition of such questions as true or false, fact or fiction. Stories are realities lived and believed. They are true. (Shea, 1988: 11)

Storytelling as an age-old tradition conjures up notions of myth, superstition, creativity, and imagination. Storytellers and narratives enable cultures not only an insight into the way the world is represented and interpreted, but also the centrality of others to self-construction. Stories are powerful and creative methods to describe and explain the world. Whether it is through art, music, symbols, song or writing, each narrative tells its own story and, therefore, gives its own version of events. It is through the notion of storytelling that this chapter promotes alternative ways to analysing and understanding Māori and Pākehā identity construction in Aotearoa New Zealand

The way one interprets the world, the anecdotes and, therefore, the attitudes one develops towards others is hugely dependent upon one's individual experiences. Stories are sometimes used to describe those experiences; however, a story does not exist in isolation, on its own within the human experience, for stories are always intertwined with the stories of others. Personal narratives, therefore, not only bring forth meaning in their

own right, but also within a greater context, within a compilation of stories and experiences that connect the past and the present, the individual and the collective.

The primary research and analysis of this thesis had two main objectives. The first was to ascertain the relevancy of the theorisation of abstract binary constructs, such as Māori and Pākehā, to the lived realities and experiences articulated by the participants and secondly, to understand how (if at all) participants have been able to move beyond such binary constructions.

In this chapter I outline the method used in the collection, analysis, and interpretation of the narratives in the chapter that follows. The method I used to analyse the participant narratives sought to examine how the participants constructed identity in an Aotearoa New Zealand context. A primary concern of the analysis was to examine how participant representations of *Self* were constructed in relation to other subjectivities. In other words, how were the Māori participants' conceptualisations of themselves influenced by their notion of Pākehā and vice versa? As such, the analysis sought to understand the affect of colonisation and contemporary bicultural relations upon Māori and Pākehā identity construction. In attempting to unsettle the colonial binary, this thesis espouses that the answer does not only lie in the theories that challenge binaristic thinking, but also in the lived realities of those that have experienced these moments of cultural uncertainty, violence and exchange.

The *Conceptual Model of Understanding* introduced in the previous chapter provided the framework to engage in a hermeneutical analysis of the participants' narratives. To assist

with this task the Participant Transcript Analysis Sheet³⁸ was created. It was used to carry out the initial analysis of each of the narratives where key themes and ideas were identified. As an analytical tool the analysis sheet enabled me to reflect upon each of the narratives in relation to the three conceptual spaces (*Historical*, *Critical* and *Concealed*) of understanding. The analysis sheet provided the basis for the resulting discussions and critical reflections. At times, as each analysis progressed, common themes were identified across the narratives and discussed briefly. However, the final chapter, the Discussion, of this thesis provides a more comprehensive and critical discussion of the overarching themes drawn from the narratives.

The Interviews and Questions

The 10 participants were asked a series of questions which attempted to elicit how the notions of Māori and Pākehā conferred meaning to them and how the conceptualisation of identity was constructed in relation to their everyday experiences and upbringing. An Interview Schedule³⁹ was given to each of the participants prior to the interviews, which allowed them to reflect upon the questions and upcoming discussion. The schedule was used to help guide but not dictate the discussions. By allowing the participants to reflect on the questions beforehand, my intention was to make the interview process less intimidating and, thus, enable a more open and meaningful discussion to eventuate.

The discussions focused primarily on the participants' experiences in relation to how they perceived self-identity either individually and/or as a collective. The discussions sought to understand how the participants comprehended their identity and how that identity was

³⁸ See Appendix D.

³⁹ See Appendix C.

meaningful or not for them. Although not conclusive or generalisable by any means, this small group of participants offered a snapshot of how Māori and Pākehā mediated their own conceptualisations of cultural identity in relation to perceived understandings of an imaginary (or otherwise) Māori-Pākehā binary. Participants who identified themselves as of mixed-descent (a combination of both Māori and Pākehā) were also asked the same series of questions and, as a consequence, were able to offer unique insights into the mediation of their own identity complex. This approach to questioning sought to elicit and examine the power dichotomy associated with the Māori-Pākehā binary. This meant not only looking at how these representations had been constructed, but also, how they might have been (re)produced to reinforce historic and current power relations.

The Participants: Collaboration and Co-constructive Meaning

It is perhaps my biases from past experiences that have fixed my opinion that varying forms of information collection, making sense of that information and interpreting meaning from it, is not an individualistic act. Instead, it involves continual dialogue between researcher and participant(s) where together a collaborative sense of understanding and co-constructed meaning is developed. By promoting and developing collaborative forms of meaning the researcher can begin to remove the power situations that seem to be prevalent within academic research and that often elicit cultural insensitivity and misunderstanding.

A collaborative approach also gives more autonomy to participants by enabling opportunities to revisit each narrative at various stages. Firstly, transcripts were offered back to the participants prior to being analysed to ensure accuracy of the transfer of the

spoken word to the written word. Secondly, the researcher's thematic analysis of the text and ideas drawn from the page was given validation (or not) through another opportunity for further discussion and clarification between the researcher and participant.

The Participants were selected based upon how their experiences and beliefs formed through their own constructions of identity in relation to the Māori-Pākehā binary. Some were previously known to the author, while others were introduced by participants who believed their unique experiences and life situations would contribute to the thesis. Although the selection process was not random, participants ranged from those who strongly identified to being either Māori or Pākehā, through to those who challenged such racialised ontologies.

In preparation for each interview, I discussed with each participant the nature and requirements of the interview, and participants were given a schedule of questions, as discussed above. These were not intended to dictate the discussion, but rather guide and initiate dialogue. John Johnson states that, “digressions or diversions are likely to be very productive, so the interviewer should be prepared to depart from his or her prepared plan and... go with the flow” (2001: 111). In terms of establishing relationships with each participant, the fact that six of the participants were already known to the author meant a rapport was already established. Johnson (2001) discusses how the notion of *intimacy* is important to ensuring trust and to enable a free and open process of self-disclosure throughout the interview: “[t]o be effective and useful, in-depth interviews develop and build on intimacy; in this respect, they resemble the forms of talking one finds among close friends. They resemble friendship, and they may even lead to long-term friendship” (104).

It was important to me that the participants who I did not know felt comfortable and happy with the entire process. As such, I attempted to provide an environment that enabled them to relax and feel comfortable throughout the interview. I explained that the narratives and knowledge generated from the interviews would be anonymous, and that at no time would any single statements and/or views be referenced to individuals by name.

In terms of *truth* and representation I explained that my interpretation of the narratives would be through a thematic approach. A thematic approach provides a mechanism for both the researcher and participant to co-construct meaning from the conversations as well as a process of basic accuracy checking. I also explained to each participant that I was not seeking a definitive explanation of identity, or sense of *Self*. The notions of *voice* and *truth*, therefore, became a complex negotiation between spoken words and subjective meaning, where *truth* was not constructed as convergent and singular, but instead was acknowledged as a series of truths or meanings in process. Kohler-Riessman (2002) considers this approach to be working from a social constructionist perspective where issues of truth are treated differently to modernist approaches:

Verification of the ‘facts’ of lives is less salient than understanding the changing meanings of events for the individuals involved, and how these, in turn, are located in history and culture. Personal narratives are, at core, meaning-making units of discourse. (Kohler-Riessman, 2002: 705)

Key Concepts Used Throughout the Analysis

In the following chapter, a Transcript Analysis Sheet is provided at the beginning of each analysis of the participants' narratives. The sheet provides an overview of the key themes, ideas and concepts identified during each analysis, and a brief outline of the upcoming discussion and analysis. The conceptual framework provides the theoretical basis for hermeneutic reflection and analysis. Essential to this process is engagement with a Hegelian dialectic of thinking and Heidegger's hermeneutic circle of understanding. The task of hermeneutic reflection involves the following two processes:

Dialectical Thinking: Premised upon Hegel's Master-Slave dialectic this process seeks to find some mediation between two opposing forms. In the analysis of the participants' narratives, to mediate represents a desire to share power, reconcile and to settle differences. In particular, mediation attempts to find the synergies between the *Self* and *Other*. The *Self-Other* relationship in this context is inherently relational. In other words, one can only know oneself in relation to another or others and, thus, the *Self*-conscious being is a social rather than an individual phenomenon (see Chapter Four: 107).

Hermeneutic Circle of Understanding: This involves a circular process that engages between part and whole, past and present, subject and object, *Self* and *Other* and so on. Meaning within the circle of understanding, therefore, is always found in relation to a greater context, and is constantly expanding, bringing new and different ways of knowing and interpretation (see Chapter Six: 162).

Enclosed within the process of hermeneutic reflection is the dialectic of question and answer, which creates the opportunity to deconstruct and reconstruct present meaning. As

a strategy, deconstruction attempts to work beyond binary logic and thinking by temporarily subverting the central and marginalised term and displacing its hierarchy. Deconstruction, therefore, attempts to unsettle existing meta-narratives by revealing the dualistic hierarchies they conceal, reversing them and eventually destabilising the very dichotomies of power they maintain. Key concepts and ideas introduced in earlier chapters attempt to describe the internal workings of the deconstructive strategy within the conceptual framework of hermeneutic reflection. They include the following:

Violation: The notion of violation introduced in Chapter Four invokes a process of self-reflexivity and reinscription. It challenges, questions and eventually violates common understandings and assumptions of terms, concepts and ideas. The term *violation* simultaneously defines and redefines itself and, thus, promotes the need to question the meaning of terms (see Chapter Five: 148-149).

The Desire for the Self-ethical: The criticism associated with the colonial binary is that the dominant *Self* seeks recognition by the *Other* in order to maintain its central position of power. The possibility of the *Self-ethical* unsettles this authoritative position by questioning the intent, that is, the desire to assert its position of power through the process of othering. The *Self-ethical* desire represents the self-reflexive process when and if the *Self* questions its central (dominant) position in relation to an-*Other* (see Chapter Six: 173-174).

Gaze of Alterity: Introduced in Chapter Five, this concept reveals a response to the *colonial gaze* and the perpetuation of otherness within the colonial binary. The *gaze of alterity* exposes the unethical and oppressive intent of a dominant *Self* over the *Other*. It

is a reflection of otherness that seeks to unsettle and cease further acts of othering (see Chapter Five: 147-148, 150, 152).

Alienation: The concept of *alienation* and the *gaze of alterity* work in conjunction with each other in the theoretical unsettling and destabilisation of the colonial binary. It enables the self-reflexive process one undertakes when becoming aware of his/her own unethical intent, that is, the imposition of one's will as the dominant *Self* over the *Other*. In order to expose this intent, one must temporarily distance or alienate oneself, and so be situated on the cusp of neither *Self* nor *Other* in order to recognise and expose the process of othering (Chapter Five: 147-149).

Utilising the Conceptual Framework and Three Spaces of Consciousness

The Conceptual Framework of Hermeneutic Reflection⁴⁰ provided a critical and reflexive process to assist in the analysis of the participants' narratives. The three conceptual spaces (*Historical*, *Critical* or *Concealed*) of understanding enabled me to reflect upon particular ideas, understandings and concepts from the narratives. The framework, therefore, became the mechanism to reflect not only upon the thoughts and understandings of the participants in relation to identity, but also to reflect on how these understandings had been formed, negotiated and mediated.

The conceptual analytic framework enabled a process of hermeneutic reflection, whereby narratives were analysed in relation to a greater historical context and vice versa. For example, notions of Māori and Pākehā were analysed in terms of participant histories, including upbringing, personal experiences, events and people. An understanding of

⁴⁰ See Chapter Six, page 215 of this thesis.

effective history, or one's *historicity*, is the key to creating an awareness of interpretive understandings. This self-reflexive practice requires engagement in a dialogue between the past and the present, where historical context is utilised in the comprehension of the present. Here, such self-awareness is meant to promote openness to new understandings and interpretations, and further the broadening of a closed *horizon* or perspective.

The *Historical* consciousness acknowledges one's *historicity* and assumes that as a historically effected being, one understands the world through their experiences and, thus, has been shaped by particular experiences, events and history. In qualitative analysis of this kind the *Historical* reflexive space enables the researcher to reflect upon and identify past experiences, practices and beliefs that may have influenced present understandings of the participants. For instance, excerpts from one particular narrative temporarily classified under the *Historical* consciousness, demonstrated that language, religion, heritage, and a connection to land or place were significant elements that conveyed a sense of meaning in regard to cultural identity. Participant Two, for example, who is a New Zealander of Scottish heritage, chose to classify herself as a New Zealander rather than a Pākehā New Zealander. Below are some examples of the notes listed under the *Historical* consciousness as she attempted to define her identity through a connection to Aotearoa New Zealand; finding out about Scottish heritage and similarities between New Zealand and Scotland; religious influence – giving service to others; English impact upon Scottish life and culture.

Sometimes supporting these notes were excerpts that enabled particular themes to be drawn from the narratives. For example, the themes drawn from the above notes were 'Connection, belonging to land, people, places' and 'Claiming Identity'. The *Historical*

consciousness attempts to reveal and understand the production of cultural meaning over time, which determines everyday understandings and interpretations. In the context of the analysis, therefore, the *Historical* consciousness enabled me to reflect on how the participants may have formed their views, beliefs and opinions.

When considering the *Critical* consciousness, I looked to the narratives in search for instances where the participants critically challenged their own commonly accepted (*Historical*) understandings. In the example described below, the participant is the Head of Department of a Bilingual (Māori and English) Unit within a mainstream school. The curriculum within this department is underpinned by a Māori philosophy and approach to teaching which included three core subjects English, History and Social Studies, as well as *Te Reo*, Māori culture, *whakairo* (Māori carving) and *whaikorero* (Māori oratory). Participant One classified himself both as Māori and as a New Zealander. The following are two examples of the notes listed in the *Critical* category; the questioning of being either New Zealander (National Identity) or Māori; the misunderstanding of Pākehā or Māori concepts, knowledge and practices.

The third space used within the conceptual framework and which was the most difficult to utilise, was *Concealed* consciousness. This conceptual space attempts to identify and analyse the deep and inherent structures of thought that govern taken-for-granted beliefs and understandings, as already described in Chapter Six. For all participants, the most common concepts listed within this category were the notions of Māori and Pākehā. The *Concealed* consciousness, therefore, is where one's conscious thoughts and assumptions are naturalised and, thus, become unknowingly removed from critical reflection and

thought. It is this concealed space that naturalises parts of one's consciousness, that is, those parts where critical reflection is removed.

In the context of this type of qualitative analysis, the *Concealed* conceptual space of understanding encourages the researcher to reflect upon the participants' presupposed understandings. In terms of the participants' narratives, *historicity* obviously played a factor in their conceptualisation of Māori and Pākehā identity. The *Concealed* consciousness, therefore, acted as a prompt to reflect upon the deepest and most commonly accepted assertions, and the value systems and moral judgements that govern understanding. In each of the participants' narratives, terms and/or concepts were temporarily categorised to enable an opportunity to reflect and, if necessary, re-interpret, re-describe and transform meaning.

The conceptual framework and its corresponding process of *hermeneutic reflection* provided, therefore, a reflexive and systematic approach to analysing primary research of this kind. It promotes dialogue between part and whole, between past and present, between the individual and the collective, in an attempt to generate new and different understandings of the way in which people look at others, the world and themselves.

Conclusion

The conceptual framework presented in Chapter Six was used to examine the conceptualisations of identity from the primary research. As a qualitative method of analysis the framework provided three conceptual spaces of inquiry (*Historical*, *Critical* and the *Concealed*) that not only informed and attempted to articulate the conceptualisation of meaning in terms of identity, but also provided an opportunity to

reflect upon the process and knowledge produced from the narratives, my own analysis and my own prejudices.

While the narratives provided the contextual space to test the realities of dualistic and binary distinctions (and their subsequent deconstruction where possible), the ideas and concepts introduced in earlier chapters provided the theoretical basis for the analysis in Chapter Eight. In bringing together these two forms of knowledge (i.e. abstract theory and the lived realities of the participants) the method described in this chapter outlines my attempt to develop upon the current methods of qualitative analysis and inquiry.

Chapter Eight

Participant Narratives and Reflections

Participant Transcription Analysis Sheet – Participant One

<p>Historical Consciousness (Traditions/ Prejudices/ Assumptions)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tracing back through <i>whakapapa</i> to ancestors. - Passing down of information, knowledge, protocols and practices - Connections and relationships – Marae as a site to allow relationships, <i>whakapapa</i>, knowledge to appear and be legitimated. - <i>Wānanga</i> as an institution to keep this history and knowledge alive. - European heritage/ Māori heritage given relevance within a particular context i.e. Māori history through <i>whakapapa</i> given greater relevance within Māori context of marae, <i>wānanga</i> and <i>whakapapa</i>...European heritage. - Relationship to Pākehā as seen within a common context i.e. sport/education. - Commonalities between Māori and Pākehā through shared vision, aspirations and goals. - Misunderstanding of Pākehā or Māori concepts, knowledge and practices - Treaty as part of healing relationship between Māori and Pākehā. 	<p>Citations/Notes/ Theme</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "I'm alive here today and I just trace myself back to my, ancestors, right up to my <i>waka</i>." (p1, paragraph 2) - "The <i>wānanga</i> was based around keeping our [Ngāti He] taonga alive" (p1) - Acknowledgement and acceptance of [European heritage], but predominantly Māori?" A. "Yeah...because we were at the marae." (p4) <p>Tracing back our connections to people, land, knowledge</p>
<p>Critical Consciousness (Self-awareness/ Critical thinking/ Dialectic)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Impact of loss of land upon these connections to land, people, knowledge etc. - Influence of renaissance of 1980s to reconnection. - Māori student issues a Māori problem? Reflecting on why Pākehā teachers come to him when having problems with Māori kids. - Recognition of Māori as indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand based upon 'the Treaty' partnership. - Relationship to Pākehā as seen within a common context i.e. sport/education. - Questioning being either New Zealander (National Identity) or Māori...why not both? - Dominance of mainstream of how things should be done. - Misunderstanding of Pākehā or Māori concepts, knowledge and practices. - Including the 'voice' of Pākehā in Māori things to counter Pākehā reaction. - Questioning why Māori are targeted by media, newspapers – Do they feel threatened? - 'The Treaty' as part of healing relationship between Māori and Pākehā division. 	<p>Citations/Notes/ Theme</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "I get along with my Pākehā mates, because we're in the same environment, we've all got the same goals to achieve" (p3) - "Is it because they haven't had a voice in it, they haven't been a part of it" (p6) - "...its part of the healing process...it's just misunderstanding of the culture that's all, of the Māori culture, that's what's dividing us." (p7) <p>Shared aspirations and goals provide a context for bringing Māori-Pākehā together.</p>
<p>Concealed Consciousness (Self-reflexivity/ Authority/ Hegemony)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Recognition of Indigenous people in regard to contemporary setting/relationship with the Crown. - Notion of Pākehā? Notion of Māori? - Bringing up own children a combination of Māori and Pākehā practices in relation to living standards and everyday practices. - Questioning the notion of national identity in terms of having to make a choice of being Māori or New Zealander. Conception of New Zealander. 	<p>Citations/Notes/ Theme</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "I don't think it's a Māori way...the way I bring up my kids, it's not a Māori way, it's just a combination I think" (p4) <p>Categorisations and labels Unity of Cultures</p>
<p>Concepts/Terms – (Placed under Violation)</p> <p>(Transform/ Re-interpret/ Re-describe)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Defining what it is to be Māori - Being New Zealander - Everyday practices as being Māori practices 	<p>Conceptualisation of Self</p> <p>(Transform/ Re-interpret/ Re-describe)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Māori and a New Zealander - Identity determined through <i>whakapapa</i>, connections to land, marae and people.

Key Themes

1. Connections to people, land and knowledge
2. Bringing together through shared aspirations and goals
3. Categorisations and labels

Key Concepts

1. Self-reflexivity
2. Violation
3. Dialectical Thinking

Concepts/Terms placed under Violation

- Defining what it is to be Māori
- Defining what it is to be a New Zealander
- Everyday practices as being Māori practices

Participant One identified himself as Māori and as a New Zealander. His connection to being Māori is conceptualised through *whakapapa*, which relates to a connection to the land and people of his *hapū*. The most powerful symbol of this connection is represented by the *marae* which he affiliates to. The following passage highlighted the importance of knowing one's past and where one comes from:

To me identity is knowing where I'm from, in terms of my *whakapapa*, my ancestors. So I just trace myself. I'm alive here today and I just trace myself back to my ancestors, right up to my *waka*.⁴¹ Knowing who my ancestors were and which *waka* I belong to. (See Appendix E: 11)

⁴¹ *Waka* in this context refers to one of the canoe that *hapū* descended from during the migration of the first Polynesians to Aotearoa New Zealand.

The acknowledgement of one's *whakapapa* represented the unique place one has in the world. As Participant One explained, "it's saying this is who we are on the map, in New Zealand, Aotearoa" (1). *Whakapapa* also engendered a responsibility toward the passing down of knowledge from generation to generation. He stated "it's important to know who we are and be able to pass it down to our own, to my children" (11).

The theme of connections and, in particular, relationships emerged strongly at the beginning of this narrative, not only internally within *whānau* and wider-*whānau* contexts, but also in the way he related to others. For example, when discussing how he, as a Māori teacher, relates to his Pākehā work colleagues, he suggests what is important is the need to have similar goals and aspirations. Participant One felt that there were many institutions in which Māori and Pākehā worked together in this way, including sporting and educational contexts. Thus, he revealed an identity politics that sought to acknowledge the unique relationship between Māori and Pākehā and one that acknowledges difference and affinity; that is inclusive rather than divisive. It is a politics of recognition and unity. It is the everyday interactions, the bringing together of Māori and Pākehā that affirms this connection:

...playing rugby, interacting with our Pākehā mates during the rugby game and socialising with them, just talking with them. We're on the same wave length, in those situations, and here at the college, teaching... Even just living together. (14)

In many cases institutions like sport and education, have become sites of continued subjugation for many minority and Indigenous groups. However, in this instance, Participant One sees them as spaces where Māori and Pākehā are connected under a

common purpose, with shared goals and aspirations. This does not mean, however, that he is not aware or critical of the continued struggle that Māori have with mainstream institutions, but rather, he elicits a politics that seeks a common purpose and is more conducive to positive Māori and Pākehā cultural relations.

The question that might be asked, therefore, is how an identity politics of recognition and unity has influenced the way he conceptualised his own notion of *Self* and, in particular, how it might be constructed in relation to Pākehā? In other words, what role (if any) does the Māori-Pākehā binary play in his articulations of a self-identity. The answer may lie in Participant Two's suggestion that certain everyday practices, such as bringing up his children, are a reflection of both Māori and Pākehā worlds: "I don't think it's a Māori way... The way I bring up my kids, it's not a Māori way; it's just a combination [of Māori and Pākehā] I think" (14).

The inclusion of European or Pākehā in his everyday practices is significant in that it immediately challenged the boundaries of limitation commonly associated with the colonial binary, whilst also reminiscent of Bhabha's notion of *cultural hybridity*. Participant One acknowledged his European heritage (French and Scottish connections) when learning *whakapapa*, but it is his Māori ancestry that is prominent in the conceptualisation of his identity. He again challenged the binary concept associated with Māori and Pākehā by disputing the idea that issues with Māori students are a concern for just Māori. For instance, he asked why mainstream teachers came to him when having problems with Māori students?

...sometimes they [Māori students] have problems with the mainstream teachers and what interests me is that they come and see me about those boys who are playing up in their class, thinking I can fix their problem. So I think to myself, what is that, what is that all about? Are they thinking, is it a Māori thing? (15)

Participant One demonstrated many instances of reflexive and critical thought throughout the narrative. However, what I found most intriguing was his assertion that everyday practices he carried out in raising his children was not considered ‘a Māori way’ but rather a combination of both Māori and Pākehā. It seems he was able to switch back and forth between the idea of being Māori and/or Pākehā depending upon the context (school or *marae* for example) which he was situated in. This to me demonstrated an attempt to not only cross the cultural boundaries between Māori and Pākehā, but also to bring them together; a practice that may possibly work to unsettle the typical colonial binary. By blurring its borders of cultural limitation he in effect was creating - to use Bhabha’s phrase - something familiar but new; a new cultural space of recognition and inclusion. A willingness to work with Pākehā, aligned with a willingness and belief in shared common interests and goals, is powerful in that it promotes a collective vision as a way forward for Māori and Pākehā cultural relations and identity.

Concluding Statement and Reflections

Within a postcolonial context, marginalised groups are the dispossessed, which is undeniable, whether it is of land, language, cultural heritage and so on. However, no matter how justified the claims are for more equitable access to resources or to positions of power that influence policy-making, the aspirations of the few will never be accepted

by the many unless there is some collective beneficial outcome. Participant One, from my perspective, demonstrates a politics that seeks to work together (unity and recognition), rather than against.

Participant One acknowledged the significance of tribal *whakapapa*, *marae*, customs and knowledge in the conceptualisation of his identity as Māori. This connection engendered a sense of belonging and responsibility to his ancestors, people and the land. The responsibility to ensure these traditions and knowledge are carried on (protected) for future generations. The connection represented through *whakapapa* established their place in the world. The mediation of identity in relation to the Māori-Pākehā binary for Participant One consisted of recognising both subjectivities, and acknowledging the differences and affinities of both. The context in which he was situated determined the way in which his conceptualisation of *Self* was framed. For example, on the *marae*, his strong *hapū* and Māori connections were prominent, while outside of this context identity became more fluid and open to connection with others. This did not mean that he denied being Māori outside of this context; on the contrary, for being Māori now took on new meaning – in a cultural space interconnected through a worldview that represents both Māori and Pākehā. This represented an identity politics of unity and recognition that blurred the boundaries of cultural limitation and division associated with the colonial binary and, thus, enables the possibility for new cultural formations and identities.

Participant Transcription Analysis Sheet – Participant Two

<p><u>Historical Consciousness</u> (Traditions/ Prejudices/ Assumptions)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Finding out about Scottish heritage and similarities between NZ and Scotland. - Religious influence – giving service to others. - English impact upon Scottish life and culture - Reference to clan, river, mountains. - Emotional and historical connection to land and past events. - Reference to teachings of Dalai Lama. - Conceptualisations of being Māori (fixed notions) - Claiming/recognizing identity during the Māori renaissance 1970s - Sense of belonging in relation to conceptualisation of identity - Ancestral memory in relation to feeling homesick while overseas - "Cause i think you've got to be open to that stuff" (p14) 	<p>Citations/Notes/ Theme</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "its just living your life according to your own truth" (p9) - "I get <i>tūrangawaewae</i>, I get it." (p12) <p>Re-connection, Belonging to Land, People, Places, Claiming One's Identity</p>
<p><u>Critical Consciousness</u> (Self-awareness/ Critical thinking/ Dialectic)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - An awareness/commonality with "those events" rather than "settler mentality" - Resistance to "being collectively lumped" or stereotyped. Pākehā categorises - Reading the landlines (Aboriginal context) - Sense-making – things making sense to me – my reality. - Always questioning myself/ self-reflexive through observing human behaviour. - Relinquishing power - Positives of Māori culture – ambivalent modes of representation (p15) - Self-ethical reflection in relation to others, power and position. - "It's not on ethical grounds right, because to get there, somebody else had to do without and that's probably not a good life to live" (P 17) 	<p>Citations/Notes/ Theme</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Positioning all others in relation to Māori. - "That completely blew me away...you just have to be open to it" (p3) - I'm always questioning myself... I'm constantly checking up with myself that I'm not complacent with my views. And I'm testing them (p8) <p>Resistance to Representations of Self</p>
<p><u>Concealed Consciousness</u> (Self-reflexivity/ Authority/ Hegemony)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Non-Māori in relation to Māori - Emotional and historical connection to past events. - Polarisation of Māori and Pākehā - Eurocentric processes - Notions of power Māori and Pākehā - White association with racism - Conceptualisations of being Māori (What is being Māori?) - "Cause i think you've got to be open to that stuff" (p14.) 	<p>Citations/Notes/ Theme</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I don't analyse it, I don't think about it, I just let it happen" (p2) - Asserting power of the binary "Yeah it is and didn't colonialism do a good job" (p6) <p>Ethics and Power Sharing</p>
<p>Concepts/Terms – (Placed under Violation)</p> <p>(Transform/ Re-interpret/ Re-describe)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pākehā settler generation. "to me it shrieks colonialism" (p3) - Categorisation of notion of Pākehā - White associated with racism - Colonial in relation to post-colonial. Pākehā Eurocentric old processes (p6) - Polarisation of notions of Māori and Pākehā looking for another in the middle. 	<p>Conceptualisation of Self</p> <p>(Transform/ Re-interpret/ Re-describe)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Scottish born New Zealander as opposed to Pākehā New Zealander.

Participant Two – Themes and Analysis

Key Themes	Key Concepts
1. Reconnection/Reclaiming Identity	1. Self-Reflexivity
2. Resisting Representations of Self	2. Self-Ethical Desire
3. Ethics and Power Sharing	3. Gaze of Alterity

Concepts/Terms placed under Violation

- The association of white with racism
- The association of Pākehā with colonialism

Participant Two identified herself as a New Zealander of Scottish descent. She also explained how being in the Pacific was an important aspect of her connection to her Scottish ancestry and being a New Zealander. Geography, a connection to land, people, and places was a strong theme throughout. This connection was symbolised vividly by her tattoos that she spoke of openly. They included aspects of her Celtic heritage and her appreciation and adoption of Pacific artwork. What I found intriguing was the participant's willingness to adopt Pacific artistic representations through tattoo as opposed to Māori representations to associate her geographic connection to the Pacific. She described her reasoning for this when she stated,

I mean that Celtic symbol of unity and I put it on a Pacific band, because I live here now [in the Pacific]. And I wouldn't put a Māori, the guy said, do you want a Māori and I went, no, no. (See Appendix F: 47)

She went on to explain that she didn't feel she could use a Māori design because she was not Māori, but living in the Pacific gave validity for the Pacific band to be incorporated in her tattoos. There also seemed to be a very strong sense of connection and commitment from other family members to their Scottish heritage. Her son, for instance, had the family crest tattooed on his right arm, whilst her nephew desired to wear a kilt at formal occasions. She also spoke about her son and his journey back to their Scottish homeland and her own emotional (re)connection with Edinburgh.

The theme, '[re]connection, belonging to land, people and place' was powerful in that it represented the reclamation of one's identity. What is significant, however, is that this reclamation of identity was initiated by the participant's experience abroad, by reconnecting with the homelands of birth and ancestry. By reclaiming her Scottish heritage she also found her connection with being a New Zealander, this was evident when she stated, "[m]y homeland is Scotland, but [Aotearoa New Zealand] is where I have a living connection, as well as with Scotland" (27). Participant Two spoke of her Scottish heritage to disassociate any connection with the term Pākehā. She described her disdain for the term and its colonial resonance:

It has to do with the colonial past of this country, which I don't relate to. It [the term Pākehā] doesn't speak to me and if it did, I would, but it doesn't. I think because the more I found out about my Scottish heritage and realised the

similarities between what happened in Scotland, particularly in the Highlands, where my family is from and what happened here [in Aotearoa New Zealand]... with land settlement, I realise I had more in common with those events, than to a colonial settler mentality, which Pākehā to me means a settler mentality, which I don't feel I have. So it doesn't sit with me. (26)

Since the 1980s being Pākehā has become increasingly associated with the violence of colonisation and through Māori protest many Pākehā have refused it as a term to describe their identity, instead, taking up the nationalised discourse of 'Kiwi' or 'New Zealander'.

The categorisation and labelling associated with the term Pākehā made it difficult for Participant Two to embrace it, for according her it "shrieks colonialism, it shrieks settler and a settler in another country is a possessor of somebody else's something" (3). She was also very sure to mention, however, that this was only her understanding of what the term Pākehā means, and she suggested that each of us must make our own sense of these things by "just living your life according to your own truth" (9).

I found the recurrent theme of connection strong throughout this particular narrative, whether it was a connection to place, people, or past events. This connection was at times more an emotional and spiritual connect rather than a physical one and, at times, it was used to bring together the feelings of belonging not only with her homeland of Scotland but also with Aotearoa New Zealand:

...when I went back to Scotland I found, when I went to Culloden and Glencoe I couldn't stop crying...tears falling out of my eyes crying, that I just kind of went, well this is what's happening and I'm just going to let it happen and I get that in

different parts of the country. In [Aotearoa New Zealand] certain parts of Taranaki it happens, in certain parts of Northland it happens... it's a connection to past events, that something's speaking to me of those past events and I just let it happen. (27)

Participant Two attempts to find some connect between Māori understandings and concepts of belonging. She referred to the Māori concept of *tūrangawaewae* and the emotional and spiritual connection one has to the land. For Participant Two, *tūrangawaewae* was significant because it represented connection to a place in the act of *Being*, in this case, being New Zealander of Scottish descent. This was evident when she stated, "I don't analyse it, I don't think about it, I just let it happen... the only two places that it's ever happened, is New Zealand and Scotland" (2). Participant Two also demonstrated a self-awareness of her beliefs and assumptions, when she admitted that her thinking, although reflexive at times, was still susceptible to certain forms of racism

...because I'm aware that embedded in me there is a touch of racism because I'm white. There has to be in there and I don't like it, but it's there and I acknowledge it's there. If I'm going down a dark alleyway, with no light and a brown person comes towards me, am I any more frightened than if he's a white person, I don't know, I don't know, I wouldn't like to say. (33)

Interestingly, although this statement demonstrates self-awareness, it also raises questions in regard to aspects of thought that could be categorised within the *Concealed* conceptual space. For example, the association of white with racism and Pākehā with colonial settler mentality asserted an already pre-conceived understanding and meaning of these terms

based upon her own *historicity*. This example best demonstrates how any of the three spaces within the conceptual framework of hermeneutic reflection can be utilised analytically. In this instance, it enabled me to reflect upon the way she brought meaning to certain concepts and ideas, in order to reflect upon any deep-seated assumptions she may have had. Participant Two stated that she always questioned herself and believed that an inclusive and positive future for Māori and Pākehā was dependent upon an ability to be self-reflexive and self-aware.

I don't have it all sorted out really, I sound I like have, I haven't...I'm constantly checking up with myself that I'm not complacent with my views... I talk about cross-cultural communication... it's putting yourself out there out there all the time and I think for Māori and Pākehā that's the only way to go. (39)

Participant Two had a critical perspective of power in relation to the Māori-Pākehā binary. For instance, she suggested the colonial binary self-imposed its power through a dominant Western European worldview. She went on to suggest that in order for Māori and Pākehā to move forward there needed to be a willingness to relinquish power:

There's no way forward and it won't happen when you've got political parties that refuse to compromise anything to do with what they see as giving up power and to me it's not giving up power, it's increasing your power that's the only way to go. (39)

The most intriguing aspect here for me, is the notion that by giving up power, one's power is actually increased. Thus, how does one become empowered by relinquishing it? Those who have been disempowered seek to find ways to re-instate this power or control

over their lives, as opposed to those who traditionally held and sought to maintain it by imposing their will upon others. The act of empowerment in terms of this narrative, not only included the dispossessed but also those that are inflicting the act of dispossession and subjugation upon others. The colonial binary creates what becomes a continual fight over the central position of power and authority between the *Self* and *Other*. This assertion, I believe, is contrary to moving past binary thinking and counter-productive to finding forms of reconciliation that move towards what I refer to as a ‘post-postcolonial paradigm’. Merely subverting the position of power is insufficient in unsettling the binary because it essentially still imposes one will over another. For example, in placing Māori at the centre and Pākehā on the periphery, one needs to be wary of asserting the same forms of oppression and domination.

Concluding Statement and Reflections

The answer to unsettling the binary and its hierarchical mode of power lies with those who have been disempowered and dispossessed. Not by assuming the moral high-ground or by asserting anew, essentialised (dominant) authorities, but instead by continuously being reflexive of how all knowledge systems, institutions and social structures have the potential to marginalise if operating within a typical binary frame. As a consequence, the question of power becomes an ethical one for the oppressed especially.

Freire’s notions of *conscientisation* and *dehumanisation* best describes this phenomenon when he suggests that it is the responsibility of the oppressed to not only awaken one’s own consciousness in the act of reclaiming their humanity, but also to awaken that of the oppressor (Freire, 1996). The marginalised, therefore, have a responsibility to not only

free themselves and their oppressor, but also, to unsettle and disrupt the dominant and oppressive structures that continue to marginalise and subjugate other peoples. In temporarily acquiring the central position, Māori must not only challenge the dominant regime and its subsequent knowledge systems and truths, they must also challenge and unsettle the resistant and counter-resistant politics typical of the colonial binary. For example, contemporary Māori political resistance movements like the Māori Party and recently formed Mana Party⁴² must be wary of the tendency for politics to perpetuate polarising views between Māori and Pākehā and, thus, to be counter-productive to Māori aspirations of equity and self-determination.

While these movements are essential to subverting the central dominant authority, strategically it also makes sense to find ways to ameliorate the tensions between Māori resistance movements and mainstream counter-resistant politics. The Mana Party engages in more resistant and polarising politics, whereas, the Māori Party works more toward negotiation and reconciliation. Both parties have been criticised for their respective positions by different factions within the Māori community, but in the context of this analysis, they highlight the complexities involved regarding the issue of power for colonised peoples and the amelioration of the colonial binary.

Participant Two demonstrated a genuine desire to move beyond binary articulations of Māori and Pākehā. This was most evident by her decision not to classify herself as Pākehā but, instead, as a New Zealander of Scottish heritage. It could be argued that these

⁴² The Māori Party was formed in 2004 when Māori Cabinet Minister, Tariana Turia resigned from the fifth Labour-led Government as a direct result of the Foreshore and Seabed controversy. Turia and Pita Sharples, a high profile academic, became co-leaders in 2008. The Mana Party was formed in 2011, when Hone Harawira a member of the Māori Party resigned when the party's disciplinary committee recommended his expulsion after he had been vocal in his opposition to the Māori Party's position on the Foreshore and Seabed issue. Both parties are advocates for Indigenous rights with the Mana Party being considered as Left in its ideals, while the Māori Party is Centre-left.

types of acts could be seen as a way to deny accountability for past injustices, or that the ‘Pākehā’ nomenclature invoked too many negative connotations for New Zealanders of European descent to accept as an appropriate identity marker. In this particular case, however, it was clear that the politics of Participant Two aspired to move past traditional colonial attitudes and beliefs and toward power sharing. She also demonstrated an awareness of the relationship between positions of power and the systems and structures that maintain dominance and authority over others. Most intriguing, however, was her suggestion of the dominant position relinquishing its power.

Participant Transcription Analysis Sheet – Participant Three

Historical Consciousness (Traditions/ Prejudices/ Assumptions)

- Not accepting the notion of Pākehā as a perceived label of who you are.
- Feeling judged by notion of Pākehā, prefer European or New Zealander.
- Feeling comfortable with who I am
- Influence of life, past experiences upon constructions of Self – family, education.
- Core values, upbringing.
- Been immersed in different communities.
- Experiences working with Māori and Pacific students.
- Historical contexts affect the way we think, act and feel.
- Who you are or turn out to be is based upon your past and present experiences.

Citations/Notes/ Theme

- “I personally don't like the term Pākehā. I feel judged by that term” (p1)
- Identity for me is how I see myself and how I feel comfortable portraying myself in the society I'm in and what makes me feel comfortable as a person” (p1)
- “So for me, growing up and forming my own notion of myself, those experiences were, I guess at a crucial time where I was moulding me and finding myself and trying to understand me” (p5)

Who am I in the world? The Self is evolving and forever changing through our experiences.

Critical Consciousness (Self-awareness/ Critical thinking/ Dialectic)

- Not accepting the notion of Pākehā as a perceived label of who you are.
- Identity continually being moulded and evolving.
- Part of evolving identity – “when you get older and can think and process and question what's around you, then you begin to form and develop your own values and beliefs or adjust one's that you had or adopt new one's” (p3)
- Accepting of difference. We are all independent thinkers – right to be, think.
- Buy in of notion of nationhood – national identity.
- Notion of TIME as enabling unity – “Allow different groups the time to grow and...to live alongside each other” (p6) “Time gives people the chance to understand themselves...their own thoughts...what's around them” (p7)
- Awareness that we see the world through our own lens.
“...you look at people, whether they're Māori or Pākehā or whatever and in some shape or form that has an influence on the thoughts and the feelings that go through your mind, whether they change or not, doesn't matter, but that thinking process has to be there at some level” (p9)
- Who you are or turn out to be is based upon “...its your everyday experiences...you embrace the experiences and the connections and things that you have with people...that will shape you in some form” (p)

Citations/Notes/ Theme

- “I think everyone's identity, including my own is forever being developed and moulded based on life and the experiences that you go through and the people you meet along the way” (p2)
- “There's always going to be people like that and there's always going to be people who won't accept moving forward, but that's their uniqueness” (p4)

The non-acceptance of labels and fixed notions of Self.

Concealed Consciousness (Self-reflexivity/ Authority/ Hegemony)

- Notions of Pākehā and Māori.
- Difference as opposition
- Biculturalism and multiculturalism - biculturalism as a process
- Core values – respect elders, honesty, hard work, courteous and respectful.

Citations/Notes/ Theme

- “both of those [Māori and Pākehā] have shaped and moulded New Zealand and what we are today and it will continue to do that” (p8)

**Categorisations and labels
Acceptance of Difference**

Concepts/Terms – (Placed under Violation) (Transform/ Re-interpret/ Re-describe)

- Historical notion of Pākehā and Māori
- Difference as opposition
- Biculturalism and multiculturalism
- Pākehā and Māori stereotypes

Conceptualisation of Self (Transform/ Re-interpret/ Re-describe)

- New Zealander
- My uniqueness is my identity.
- Being comfortable with who I am and my place in society.

Participant Three – Themes and Analysis

Key Themes

1. An Evolving Self
2. Non-acceptance of labels in and the categorisation of identity
3. Notion of TIME as enabling unity

Key Concepts

2. Self-reflexivity
3. Violation
4. Dialectical Thinking

Concepts/Terms placed under Violation

- Notions of Māori and Pākehā
- Defining what it is to be a New Zealander
- Everyday practices as being Māori practices

Identity for me is how I see myself and how I feel comfortable portraying myself in the society I'm in and what makes me feel comfortable as a person... for me that might be unique and to a certain extent it is really important for me...it's what makes me what I am... how people perceive me, may not necessarily be how I identify myself, but um how I feel comfortable is definitely important to me. (See Appendix G: 57)

Participant three described herself as a New Zealander and for her identity was based on how she felt 'comfortable' as a person. The term 'comfortable' points towards a certain unease about her identity, especially toward how others may perceive her. The key difference between Participant Three and the two previous participants is that identity for

is more of an internalised and constructive process. In other words, what is most significant in the construction of her identity is the acceptance of who she is as an individual, that is unique to her, rather than by some given or pre-determined markers of identity. This is evident by the non-acceptance of the term Pākehā as an expression of her identity when she stated, “I personally don’t like the term Pākehā; I feel judged by that term” (57). This statement may reflect the view of many New Zealanders of European descent who perhaps feel vilified or labelled by the term Pākehā. The contested historical relationship that has shaped identity politics in Aotearoa New Zealand has far reaching implications not only for Māori, but also for Pākehā. Like Participant Two, the notion of Pākehā carries with it a burden. For Participant Three, it does not allow her to feel comfortable with who she is and how she wishes to portray herself.

The significant influences that helped shape her identity included her family and upbringing, her education and experiences as a teacher working with Māori and Pacific students. However, Participant Three makes the point that her identity is constantly being shaped by her life and everyday experiences:

...I think everyone’s identity, including my own, is forever being developed and moulded based on life, the experiences that you go through, and the people you meet along the way. So being young [26 years old], my whole identity is still being moulded, but obviously...my parents have a huge impact on that... my friends, where I’ve been brought up, my education, people that I respect and learn from...just everyday life, people I come across, things that I’ve been through continue to shape and mould who I am and what I want to be... (58)

It is this type of reflexivity and internalisation that enabled her identity to evolve and it is the term ‘New Zealander’ that best allowed for this evolution. Participant Three demonstrated a self-awareness and critical understanding of how identities are formed and influenced by the experiences one has in life. She explained that although identity might be shaped by the attitudes and perceptions of society and, in particular, by one’s parents; as one becomes older and more aware of their individuality they also become more independent thinkers: “when you get older and can think and process and question what’s around you, then you begin to form and develop your own values and beliefs or adjust one’s that you had or adopt new one’s” (60).

The non-acceptance of labels (such as Pākehā) and/or a fixed notion of the *Self* were recurrent themes throughout this narrative and demonstrated again an unsettling of the colonial binary. Although Participant Three acknowledged the perceived reality of an imaginary (or not) binary relationship between Māori and Pākehā conceptualisations, it was apparent that she was attempting to resist such tendencies. When asked how one might prevent further polarisations in the future as Māori and Pākehā she responded by using the notion of time. Through the notion of time she laid out what I refer to as a cultural and historical mapping of unity and connection:

Time, I think has had a big impact... being able to allow different groups the time to grow and to live in a country where they have to live alongside each other and foster what both groups have and their ways of life and not necessarily agree with each, but learn to give and take a little and try to gain a better understanding of each other. So time I think has probably been the biggest impact on moving us closer. (67-68)

The notion of time related here could be seen as problematic for it infers that postcolonial cultural and political conflict will eventually and naturally correct itself, as opposed to agency driven change. The Māori renaissance period of the 1970s, for example, did not just happen because of time but was due to the actions of individuals and minority groups who chose to fight against oppressive regimes, systems and structures. However, I interpret the notion of time in the context of this analysis differently, through a temporal distinction that unites the past and present in a cultural politics of connection and unity.

I would like to call upon the ideas of Bhabha to explain the significance of the notion of temporality to a cultural politics of connection and unity. Bhabha's notions of stereotype and *hybridity* are used to discern the internal workings (reification and deconstruction) of the colonial binary. Bhabha suggests that the stereotype is an "arrested, fixated form of representation" (1994: 75) that is essentially timeless or unchanging throughout history, while *hybridity* is the third space where colonial binary representations like the *Self-Other*, coloniser-colonised, and Māori-Pākehā are challenged and transformed producing 'something familiar but new'. I suggest (in the discussion below) that fixated (timeless and unchanging) forms of stereotype could possibly be disrupted through a temporal understanding, where the past and present are inherently connected and where present meaning is understood in relation to the past.

The cultural and political mapping elucidated from this narrative calls to account the significance of temporality in the mediation of Māori-Pākehā cultural relations and the production of oppositional and hierarchical subjectivities. It is in this temporal context that the cultural and political navigation of Māori-Pākehā subject-positions is possibly being played out, contested and transformed. It is through temporality (a unity of past and

present) that change occurs; the type and degree of transformation, however, varies depending upon one's individual experiences, as well as other contributing factors like gender, generation, political and sexual orientation, geographical locale and human agency. In this instance geographic locale refers not only to where you might be located (geographically) in relation to others, but also to the degree in which you interact with those culturally different from yourself.

The bringing together of two (or more) cultures inevitably brings tension, misunderstanding, exploitation and division, but it may also enable an opportunity to breakdown cultural barriers that tend to categorise and stereotype. However, if one considers the temporal conditioning of subject-positions, one is able to reflect upon and challenge fixated notions of identity and, thus, allow the possibility for new constructions and representations to emerge.

In attempting to unsettle the colonial binary the navigation of Māori-Pākehā cultural identities is not only dependent upon the degree of interactions between the two cultures, but also by disrupting the historical *fixity* of postcolonial discourse and the perpetuation of labels, categorisations and stereotypes. The notion of temporality suggests a possible space that may disrupt (alongside contemporary Indigenous modes of resistance) the colonial binary; a space where the (forced or otherwise) integration of many Māori and Pākehā has found them confronting and, in some instances, unsettling the binary. Although highly problematic, the notion of temporality is not meant to deny human agency in the continued fight for the rights of disenfranchised groups. Instead, the notions

of temporality and integration describe a possible space where Māori and Pākehā are possibly challenging conventional attitudes and social mores.⁴³

Like the two previous narratives, the notions of Māori and Pākehā were temporarily categorised within the concealed space of the analytical framework. The participants, thus far, have not as yet challenged the fixed assertions and assumptions they seem to have placed upon these particular terms. For example, for both Participant Two and Three, the notion of Pākehā carried with it negative connotations. Interestingly, although Participant Three advocated the idea of a fluid and evolving identity, the re-description or reinterpretation of the term Pākehā was not evident. The colonial stereotypes associated with both Māori and Pākehā have been the most difficult categorisations to critically question so far.

Concluding Statement and Reflections

The key themes apparent within this narrative were the notion of an evolving *Self* or fluid identity and the non-acceptance of labels and categorisations. The conceptualisation of identity differed from the previous two narratives in that it was not hugely influenced by a connection to land or *whakapapa*. Instead, her conceptualisation of identity related to finding one's place in the world via experiences, in relation to the attitudes and values developed, and critical engagement with others and the world.

Although acknowledging the reality of the Māori-Pākehā binary, Participant Three seemed reluctant to accept Pākehā as a representation of her identity and, as a result,

⁴³ A more extensive discussion outlining the idea of temporality and integration providing a possible space to unsettle the binary is carried out in Chapter Nine, the final chapter of this thesis.

chose to classify herself as a New Zealander. This positioning, however, may also associate more with individualism and progress. A modernist tendency perhaps that for Participant Three seemed to invoke the notion of Pākehā as one with its own stereotypical baggage and the colonial residue, meaning its inappropriateness as an identity marker. This could be interpreted in different ways. It could be seen as a way to deny the implications associated with the colonial history of bicultural politics, identity and resistance in Aotearoa New Zealand or alternatively, it could demonstrate a desire to work past colonial binary oppositional thinking and more toward a politics of reconciliation, unity and recognition.

The narrative postulated an alternative space where Māori-Pākehā relations might be transformed through cultural integration and a temporal understanding of time. Although also setting the scene for instances of discrimination, misunderstanding and prejudice, the interweaving of cultures throughout these particular periods means that many Māori and Pākehā have been forced to confront the colonial binary. As a result, this confrontation has meant that present understandings of Māori and Pākehā cultural relations and identity have had to be (re)interpreted in relation to the colonial past. It is the cross-cultural interaction and integration over time that, I suggest, has in some sectors of the community disrupted the binary and enabled opportunities for unity and recognition.

Participant Transcription Analysis Sheet – Participant Four

<p><u>Historical Consciousness</u> (Traditions/ Pre-judgements/ Assumptions)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mother, who was Pākehā had influenced and encouraged her to learn Māori language. Learnt through the medium of total immersion Māori Language schools e.g. Kohanga reo and Kura Kaupapa. - Difference between learning through language (immersed) and learning a language (educationally for example) - "...suppose my identity with being Māori is through, yeah having a close relationship with my dad's family and also having learnt the language, that's the biggest part of..." (1) - Kapa haka through father when growing up was another connection with identity as being Māori. 	<p>Citations/Notes/ Theme</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "...she was the one who always put me into, yeah wanted me to learn Māori and I would often resent and not want to." (p1) - I used to often get asked if I was in the wrong class when I first walked in there. (p4) <p>Navigating between two worlds Finding one's place</p>
<p><u>Critical Consciousness</u> (Self-awareness/ Critical thinking/ Dialectic)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Awareness of multiple identities, changing with the context one finds oneself in. - Navigating between Māori and Pākehā...the tensions between learning English and Māori...Shifting from total immersion to mainstream. Transitioning between different discourses. - Cross-assimilation between Māori and Pākehā. Working both ways. - The interaction between Māori and Pākehā and the effect upon both cultures and people. "Yeah, they're both influenced by the other I think... [however] in Tuhoe...there's less influence from the outside, like the Pākehā world there, it's a lot more untouched than other parts of New Zealand are." (p7) - Students responses to their world based upon the self-perceived reality of them as Māori, as Other. - Interaction...destabilising the binary by the interactions between Māori and Pākehā. "I think that Pākehā people, depending on where they live I suppose, in New Zealand and how much they are around Māori culture or experience it... they find it easier to accept or change their world view." 	<p>Citations/Notes/ Theme</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "I always wondered actually, where that comes from and she became the person she is, but I think who you mix with socially has a lot to do with that." (p5) - "...the whole argument of tikanga and should it change as you know as with new generations, should it, not be watered down, but should we change things to fit the way society is now..." (p6). <p>Finding some connect between Māori and Pākehā Straddling both cultures</p>
<p><u>Concealed Consciousness</u> (Self-reflexivity/ Authority/ Hegemony)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The power of a name (either Rochelle or Anahera) in articulating (transitioning) identity e.g. - "Or maybe I was at the age where I felt I wasn't to question and change things. Just go with the flow." (p4) - Having to prove yourself "I reckon you have to prove yourself ten times harder and I think that Māori people are often the worst discriminators... I think definitely the appearance has a strong influence on identity." (p5) - Interaction...destabilising the binary by the interactions between Māori and Pākehā. (p6) - Being fair[skinned] and having to justify yourself as being Māori. That justification came through language. - The association of a name with being Māori or Pākehā. "Yeah I do do it to fit into what the outside is looking at, yeah so that's been quite interesting" (p10) 	<p>Citations/Notes/ Theme</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "I always wondered actually, where that comes from and she became the person she is, but I think who you mix with socially has a lot to do with that." (p5) <p>Various modes that articulate identity (name, appearance, language)</p>
<p>Concepts/Terms – (Placed under Violation)</p> <p>(Transform/ Re-interpret/ Re-describe)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Physical characteristics as a representation of identity. - Biculturalism 	<p>Conceptualisation of Self</p> <p>(Transform/ Re-interpret/ Re-describe)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Māori - Half-caste (Māori and Pākehā)

Participant Four – Themes and Analysis

Key Themes

1. Navigating two worlds:
finding my place
2. Bi-cultural connections:
straddling both cultures
3. Modes of recognition:
articulating identity

Key Concepts

1. Self-reflexivity
2. Dialectical Thinking
3. Hybridity

Concepts/Terms placed under Violation

- Physical Characteristics as a Representation of Identity
- Biculturalism

Participant Four has mixed ethnicity with a Māori father and Pākehā mother. However, she felt a stronger connection to her Māori side and, as a result, identified as Māori rather than Pākehā:

I always identify myself as being Māori and um, half-caste or part, my mother's Pākehā and my father's Māori, but yeah, I've never said, I've never leaned to the Pākehā side as much as I do to the Māori side. (See Appendix H: 75)

The following discussion is drawn from excerpts temporarily categorised within the *Historical Consciousness* of the analytical framework. She stated that a stronger connection to one than the other is due to her upbringing and her close relationship with her father's family and, in particular, to the fact that she attended *Kohanga Reo* and *Kura*

*Kaupapa*⁴⁴ during her pre-school and primary school years. Significant influences upon how she identified herself during this time were learning the Māori language and *Kapa Haka*.

In contrast to Participant Two who stated that an intimate connection to his *marae* was important in establishing a sense of connection, belonging and identity, Participant Four does not have the same affiliations to a *marae*, yet still demonstrates a strong connection to being Māori. The key elements of this connection were her family and learning the Māori language:

...we weren't a family that was always on the *marae* as such. You know, we weren't there every weekend and didn't go to *tangi* all the time, but my dad was in a *kapa haka* group and so we spent a lot of time at *marae* for that reason. Yeah, so I don't feel like I have a definite connection to one specific *marae*, because I've actually only been to my *marae* that I use in my *pepeha*⁴⁵ twice. So um, yeah, I suppose my identity with being Māori is through, yeah having a close relationship with my dad's family and also having learnt the language... I think it would be different if I hadn't grown up speaking Māori. (76)

Participant Four was encouraged to learn the Māori language, and yet little of the language was spoken at home. School, therefore, became the main medium for the

⁴⁴ *Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa* were Māori language-recovery programs initiated by Māori leaders in the 1980s. The *Kohanga Reo* movement immersed Māori pre-schoolers in the language, with the first being opened in Wainuiomata in 1982. *Kura Kaupapa* followed in the late 1980s and was a system of primary schooling in a Māori-language environment.

⁴⁵ A *Pepeha* is a way that Māori introduce themselves, particularly in semi-formal/formal settings such as on *marae*, or when speaking and meeting with people for the first time at various functions or meetings. It briefly tells the story of how you came to be here and basically states the mountain, river, sea, waka (canoe), region and *marae* from which you descended.

retention and learning of Māori language. The context was pre-dominantly an educational one rather than from a lived cultural context at home or on the *marae*:

...it was something I learnt at school, yeah not something that we used at home and that I heard on the *marae* all the time, because we didn't, yeah we weren't at the *marae* every weekend and things like that. (78)

The school and, in particular, secondary school became a site for moments of apprehension as she attempted to navigate the difficulties of shifting from a pre-dominantly Māori language learning environment to an English one:

When I went into, was removed from being in a total immersion class in a mainstream school at primary school, in to total mainstream in Form One [Year 7] and I was, that was really scary. My spelling was terrible... So I suppose because I knew that, that was what it was gonna be like for the rest of school, it just seemed easier to focus on that side of things. Yeah and then so the Māori starts slipping away, rather than if I was at a *Kura Kaupapa* right through, it would have been easier to keep. I suppose you've just got to find that balance. (78)

The tensions between learning Māori and/or English are apparent and have been a common issue for many parents with children of Māori descent. The balance Participant Four speaks of, demonstrates not only her attempts to mediate between both languages and the relevance of each within varying contexts (from a pre-dominantly Māori context to a Pākehā one for example), but also the mediation of complex questions regarding her identity; a proposition she never really reflected upon until her late schooling years. She goes on to say that identity was essentially:

...about who you are and where your place in the world is... but it's not something I've really thought about a lot [laughs], but I also think that identity changes depending on which situations you're in. 'Cause I know for myself, being quite fair skinned, but being Māori has its advantages and disadvantages. I've learnt that over the years through going into Māori schools or Catholic schools and also at university, that was a big eye opener for me. Yeah and just depending on which worlds I'm in... (75)

The notion of a fluid identity was presented in this narrative. Although similar to Participant Three's idea of an evolving identity, Participant Four described the challenges faced when asserting her identity under the pressures of society that define or reduce individuals into cultural categories or labels. She spoke of self-perception as being influenced by the context or environment. Identity in this sense, is not only evolving, but is constantly morphing through everyday experiences and activities. The reference to 'fair skin' represents the challenges that Participant Four faced in asserting a Māori identity. Māori language for her became the medium for her to assert her Māoriness:

... I've always known deep down that I've had to keep it [the Māori language] to justify being Māori. Because when you're a fair Māori, I keep coming back to that, but it's got a lot to do with how I've had to keep my language, cause if I don't have that, then how can I yeah, really prove that I'm Māori? So um, yeah that's a big thing... I suppose that's why I've always stayed connected with it in some way or another; because I know I am lucky to have learnt it ... (79)

Interestingly, the greatest challenges she faced with justifying her identity in contrast to her physical appearance were from the very ethnic group she felt most connected to. This perhaps explains why being able to speak the language was a significant aspect of validating and asserting her identity as Māori:

...I reckon you have to prove yourself ten times harder and I think that Māori people are often the worst discriminators... It's like when somebody says a word wrong or pronounces words wrong, you can often be quite harsh on them. Why did I even have to justify being in that class, they should be like, oh people are here to learn our language, that's important; but I think so, I think definitely the appearance has a strong influence on identity, I suppose. (83)

This highlights the complexities that many people may face when their connection to a particular identity contrasts the perceived physical attributes of that particular ethnic group. In this sense binary conceptualisations of identity, are not only responsible for maintaining a cultural barrier between Māori and Pākehā, but also for establishing distinct criteria for what essentialised physical traits characterise each ethnic group. Participant Four's experiences suggest that particular attitudes (including her own), despite the history of integration and inter-marriage in Aotearoa New Zealand, are still influenced by binary cultural distinctions.

The solution to overcoming the binary may lie in one of the key themes drawn from this narrative which describes the need or ability to navigate multiple contexts, namely that of Māori and Pākehā. I am conscious here, that by proclaiming the differences between Māori and Pākehā constructions in relation to identity, I may unconsciously be

perpetuating the very binary distinctions of cultural identity that I am looking to unsettle. However, it is the experiences and thoughts of the participants and their connections (or not) to particular ethnic labels that give new insights into the theorisation of (bi)cultural identities in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Although Participant Four, felt strongly enough about her own identity as Māori, she also felt a need to justify this through language because of the perceptions others may have had of her due to her physical characteristics. The most poignant example of how she mediated this complexity was in the use of her name(s). Born with the first name Rochelle⁴⁶, the name Anahera⁴⁷ wasn't used until she attended *Kura Kaupapa*. The interchangeability between names was a way for her to 'belong' to a particular place at a particular time:

My real name is Rochelle, but when I went to primary school, when I was at a Māori school it was Anahera... then I went to... [a private Catholic girls school] for three years and I was Rochelle....I fitted in that world more, because of that name, that use of that name and it's the same here,⁴⁸ I feel like because I've got a Māori name, people automatically know, oh yeah she must be Māori, whereas if you're called Rochelle, it's different, you've gotta prove it even more...same with university, I came back to school here for two years, went back to Anahera, went to university and used Rochelle. (79)

⁴⁶ Pseudonym used

⁴⁷ Pseudonym used

⁴⁸ The reference to 'here' is the small rural community town in which Participant Four lives. It has a district population of approximately 9,000. It has a population that is predominantly Maori sitting at around 60% compared to the national Maori demographic of

The above statement gives an insight into how Participant Four dealt with the challenges faced when trying to assert her identity. She is positive in her Māori identity while also acknowledging her Pākehā side. The pressures of society, however, to adopt particular labels, such as Māori, Pākehā or half-caste, have caused moments of uncertainty. However, these experiences also enabled her time to reflect and (re)assert her identity. At a subconscious level and, in particular, during her pre-school and primary school years she was not faced with the same identity (fitting in) issues. In later (non-Maori) educational settings, the combination of physical characteristics and the preferred use of a name enabled her to shift between being (or ‘passing’ for) Pākehā or Māori. Her attempts to mediate between being Māori and/or Pākehā could arguably reflect, not only, an affinity with both cultures but also her ability to shift back and forth between either.

In this sense, identity became a fluid and situated phenomenon, dependent upon the circumstances and environment she encountered. However, this strategy was not always effective:

...I always wanted to change it [her name at university] because when I went into a Māori lecture, yeah it was Rochelle and it felt weird being in that situation and not being able to stand up and say, oh my name’s actually Anahera. (79-80)

The questions about her identity she had growing up does not necessarily mean an issue of identity crisis, which is commonly experienced by those positioned as ‘in-between’, or of mixed descent (Meredith, 1999a). Instead, it represents what Meredith describes as the hybrid potential of ‘half-castes’, that is, to become cultural lubricants between Pākehā and Māori cultures. Māori and Pākehā in a hybridian sense become unified, two

perceived cultures with both affinities and differences, presenting something that is the same yet different. Both elements maintain their own distinctiveness, yet both also constitute aspects of the other. Allegorically, this interconnectedness can be compared with the combining of European melodies with *waiata-ā-ringā* or Māori action songs. The joining of these two components from distinctly different cultures provides unique contemporary forms of Māori performing arts. Although different to pre-colonial forms of *waiata-ā-ringā*, by combining European styles of musical arrangement, melody and harmony with the expressive actions of Māori performing arts, we are presented with new (modernised) versions of *Kapa Haka*. Both aspects contribute and influence each other to combine and create something new.

It is the culturally hybrid space that individuals, like Participant Four, are positioned in that enables new insights into the construction of Māori-Pākehā binary identity formations. While I have been critical of cultural *hybridity*, the key premise of trans-cultural formations is relevant here. What is also relevant is the position Participant Four contends with when trying to assert both Māori and Pākehā identity, as a valid representation of who she is. Participant Four demonstrates that two identity constructs can remain if what underpins them is fluidity. In other words, fluidity allows each element to maintain its own, yet evolving, identity rather than being bound by fixed and rigid classifications. The preservation of cultural identity and distinctiveness is not without tension and misunderstanding, however, it also provides an opportunity to mediate, empathise and reconcile. For example, by accepting the hybrid nature of Māori and Pākehā cultural identities, one can negotiate the cultural boundaries of limitation more easily and more readily. Representations of identity that are not bound by the

cultural distinctions of binary models, acknowledge their *hybridity* while simultaneously choosing to assign to one pre-dominant identity. Participant Four alludes to this idea of hybrid cultures and suggests similar to Participant Three that this is a result of greater ‘cultural interaction’ and that it promotes the development of more accepting and tolerant attitudes: [T]hey’re both [Māori and Pākehā] influenced by the other I think, you can’t say that Māori culture isn’t influenced by a Pākehā world view as well (87).

In establishing this connection, those positioned ‘in-between’, like Participant Four, seem to accept more readily that they are both, yet can also be one or the other. On the surface, the bicultural politics of identity engrained within the national psyche may not be supportive of hybrid and fluid articulations of identity and, arguably, any attempt to do so might seem nonsensical. However, the themes generated from the participant narratives, thus far, seem to suggest otherwise.

Concluding Statement and Reflections

The key themes drawn from this narrative suggested the need to find some connect between Māori and Pākehā. While self-assured in her Māori identity as an adult and while also acknowledging her Pākehā side, Participant Four faced many challenges growing up while attempting to assert who she was in the world. Her physical appearance of being ‘fair-skinned’ meant that being able to speak Māori was an important factor in asserting who she was. Accordingly, in her late-teenage and early-adult years she was confronted with situations that questioned her identity. As a result, the use of a particular name (Rochelle or Anahera) became a mechanism to mediate between being either Māori or Pākehā.

The construction of identity was demonstrated through a fluid and constantly morphing process as she attempted to navigate between being Māori and Pākehā. It represented a desire to acknowledge the affinities as well as differences between cultures and a capacity to shift back and forth. The most significant insight drawn from this ability to be either or, is that one is not limited by the cultural, physical and ethnic distinctions that society defines for them. In this sense the traditional labels that continue to define and confine are merely cultural sites of transition, mediation and fluidity. In other words, the notions of Māori and Pākehā are constantly evolving, not fixed in some historical vacuum, and unchanging over time. All peoples exist to varying degrees in culturally hybrid spaces, however, these spaces are not merely reduced to just the mixing of two (or more) cultures that present something ‘familiar but new’. In the context of this analysis the two elements themselves are constantly evolving within this greater social and cultural context, as they define and re-define themselves. This culturally hybrid space enables possibly the co-existence of two distinct yet connected cultures that continuously interact and, inevitably, effect one another and, therefore, contribute to moulding the attitudes, values and beliefs of both.

Participant Transcription Analysis Sheet – Participant Five

Historical Consciousness (Traditions/ Pre-judgements/ Assumptions)

- Interacting with her *marae*, people and the land over time. Engaging with the language.
- Keeping aspects of your culture alive that define who you are; language, traditions and customs.
- Through marriage the interconnection of two different *iwi* meant a greater sense of maintaining her side, while also acknowledging the need to balance between the two for her children.
- Influence of multicultural environment upon the acceptance of difference.
- Polarising worldviews while in other instances these differing worldviews have been combined or the same e.g. Christianity with Māori spiritual beliefs.

Citations/Notes/ Theme

- "...I connect to my *marae*, therefore, I connect to the *whenua* of the *marae* and I connect to the people around me and I keep it alive by interacting continuously with them." (p1)
- "...it was more accepting up there (Auckland), it was normal to be different..." (p4)
- "...Pākehā aren't able to grasp the way that a Māori feels, because they have a different point of view of the world..." (p5)

Maintaining One's Identity and Uniqueness

Critical Consciousness (Self-awareness/ Critical thinking/ Dialectic)

- Defining what it is to be Māori; what constitutes being Māori.
- Notion of Māori a colonial term used to homogenise all the different Māori tribes, but also became a unifying notion in response to colonisation.
- The notion of Māori as being one, or unifying yet enabling difference between *hapū* and *iwi*.
- Change in attitude/perspective toward others who were different. Seeing the world through someone else's eyes.
- Multiculturalism vs Biculturalism and influences upon a politics of recognition, difference, and resistance. Significance of living and integrating together (does this enable distinction of cultures or assimilation in to one).
- Questioning why Māori issues are highlighted as opposed Pākehā attitudes and behaviours are kept behind closed doors. Postcolonial paradox in an Indigenous politics of identity and resistance.
- Not accepting notion of National Identity as its degrading. It removes the politicisation one has when being distinct and different to mainstream. National Identity becomes a tool for continued subjugation. Also a mechanism for immigrants to find some common sense of identity and belonging. (p6)
- Questioning why there are still some negative Pākehā attitudes toward Māori, why perhaps they feel threatened.

Citations/Notes/ Theme

- "...we were never one people, to me, in my eyes; we were only unified by thoughts of a Pākehā trying to deal with us in those times." (p1)
- "I don't think that um, we're Māori by choice, we're Māori because we have to be, because we need to be strong and unified." (p2)
- "...I don't think Māori adopted a Christian point of view, I think we always has it, it just wasn't in a book...we've got Io Matua Kore, and they've got God...Maybe it's just always been there...just different names...we haven't been Christianised..." (p5)
- "...I think it's a fear of Māori getting to a point where they're empowering themselves..."
- "So it's about embracing and understanding as opposed to trying to become." (p8)

Resistance, Recognition and Political consciousness

Concealed Consciousness (Self-reflexivity/ Authority/ Hegemony)

- Pākehā as having differing worldviews to Māori.
- The notion of Māori not seen as an appropriate representation but merely a colonial (Pākehā) label for many different *hapū* (sub-tribe) and *iwi* (tribe).
- Strong view of Pākehā injustices and attitudes historically toward Māori.

Citations/Notes/ Theme

- "...Pākehā aren't able to grasp the way that a Māori feels, because they have a different point of view of the world..." (p5)
- "...we were never one people, to me, in my eyes; we were only unified by thoughts of a Pākehā trying to deal with us in those times." (p1)

Reconciling Difference

Conceptual Meanings (Transform/ Re-interpret/ Re-describe)

- Notion of National Identity
- Re-examining the Māori and Pākehā relationship
- Re-defining Māori and Pākehā.

Conceptualisation of Self (Transform/ Re-interpret/ Re-describe)

- Family first (name '*Heke*' and married name '*Ririnui*') then *hapū* (subtribe) and *iwi* (tribe) and Māori last.
- Connections to *Whānau* first then *whenua* (land)

Participant Five – Themes and Analysis

Key Themes

1. Maintaining one's Identity and Uniqueness
2. Resistance, Recognition and Political Consciousness
3. Reconciling Difference

Key Concepts

1. Self-reflexivity
2. Gaze of Alterity
3. Violation

Concepts/Terms placed under Violation

- Notion of National Identity
- Maori and Pākehā

Participant Five proffered a strong sense of who she was and her identity. She acknowledged being Māori, however, she was reluctant to categorise herself completely under this all encompassing marker of identity, instead, it was her connection to her *whānau*, *whenua* and *hapū* that were the most important factors in terms of her individual and collective identity. Her *marae*, therefore, gave an inherent connection to both the land and the people: “I connect to my *marae*, therefore, I connect to the *whenua* of the *marae* and I connect to the people around me and I keep it alive by interacting continuously with them” (See Appendix I: 95).

Like Participant One, the notion of *whakapapa* was significant in terms of validating who she was and her place in the world, for it is *whakapapa* that connects her with the *whenua*, with extended family, and her *tūpuna*:

...through *whenua* you connect... it gives you a belonging to that place, it gives you a sense of belonging and those ancestors who were there before you, you have a connection to them too. The blood that lies on that ground or their bone's that are in that ground, that's you too, well that's how I see it... my connection to that land is where my *whare tūpuna*⁴⁹ has been, so I'll always belong there. (99)

Participant Five referred to the importance of keeping one's identity alive. When asked what she meant by this, she posed the question, what does it mean to be Māori or to live as Māori? Is it the language, traditions, customs that define you as Māori, "or is it just the blood that's inside you?" (95). In terms of Participant Five's strong connection to her *whānau* and *hapū*, it was important to her that *tikanga* was still practised in order to maintain connections with the past. What was significant also, was how those connections brought meaning to the present.

This mode of thinking sees the past and the present as inherently linked, interconnected and living. Although Participant Five promoted the need to maintain (keep alive) the traditions of her ancestors and the past, this did not necessarily refer to a fixed notion of tradition. Traditions are constantly evolving or being reaffirmed and contested, reiterated and challenged over time. It is time that enables the adaptation and changes to traditions based upon how they bring meaning (or not) to life. Identity, for Participant Five was, thus, innately historical for it reflected who she was or who she had become because of those connections. Participant Five's affinity to *whānau* and *hapū* were more powerful (influential) markers of identity than the notion of Māori.

⁴⁹ *Whare tupuna* and *tupuna whare* are expressions of the ancestral meeting house located on all *marae*.

The notion of Māori, however, does play an important role in her own politicisation, understandings and beliefs toward mainstream (Pākehā) attitudes. This is evident when she stated that:

I see Māori as a need to be unified, to fight or to be strong against what we have been forced to be or what we've been suppressed from, all those kinds of things. I don't think that um, we're Māori by choice; we're Māori because we have to be, because we need to be strong and unified. (97)

This political consciousness was premised upon a politics of recognition (or difference) and resistance through the acknowledgement of individual and collective identity. Historically, Māori was a term constructed by the colonialists to homogenise *iwi* and *hapū*. While it has been recognised as a limiting discourse, Participant Five suggests that some only recognise it as a concept in terms of its strategic function, in that it can mobilise and unify Māori against colonial systems and structures of oppression.

Participant Five indicated that some recent experiences have enabled her to critically reflect upon her attitude and perspectives toward other cultures and, in particular, that of dominant Pākehā stances toward Māori.

Participant Five spoke about growing up in Auckland, which at the time (and even more so today) was a multicultural society, including Pākehā, Māori, Pacific, and Asian communities. She stated that in her community “it was more accepting... it was normal to be different, because you weren't different, because there were so many” (101). It wasn't until she moved to a community that was predominantly Pākehā that she first experienced instances of racism. She made the point, however, that racism in this context

was more about the underlying attitudes and practices that people have toward each other (both Māori and Pākehā for example) rather than individuals themselves. This revealed an understanding of the societal and hegemonic conditions that perpetuated certain cultural stereotypes and demonstrated a desire to reflect upon her own beliefs toward Māori and Pākehā cultural relations and identity. She explained instances of racism from her own experiences as:

...the things that were said and thought to be funny... rather than a specific event or happening. It was more of gradual climb to a, it came to a point where it was a bit of a hate thing for me... not that I hate Pākehā now, but I hate the attitudes that some have or some of the practices that they have. Even the cheek of them to use comments like, 'it's a Māori day off' or something, I think that's really rude and derogatory; so that's where I'm sitting at now. (102)

This excerpt indicates a resistive and reflexive space where Participant Five challenged not only what she perceived as dominant hegemonic attitudes toward Māori, but also her own attitude and thinking toward others. It also showed that racism is an everyday occurrence for Participant Five and that she was constantly grappling with how it made her feel as a result.

The role of multiculturalism and biculturalism in the cultural and racial development of New Zealand as a nation highlights the complexity of the issue of cultural relations and identity for Participant Five. Multiculturalism, may arguably offer a more de-centering model that recognises the multivalent nature of culture, as opposed to biculturalism. The important question would be, whether minority ethnic groups within multicultural

societies are able to embrace ‘multiculturalism’, while New Zealand’s cultural diversity is restrained by the confluence of discrete Māori and Pākehā identities. In some cases, multiculturalism and its associated rhetoric has been looked upon with suspicion (Spoonley and Pearson, 1988; Mead 1997; Walker, 1990) as a way of de-politicising the rights of Māori. However, Participant Five’s experiences indicated that she experienced more instances of racism in a bicultural (Māori and Pākehā) rather than multicultural context.

Participant Five does not see the notion of a national identity as conducive to enabling the recognition of multiple cultures and ethnicities. In her opinion it is ‘degrading’ and removes the political power one has in being distinct and different to mainstream, especially for Indigenous peoples. She does accept, however, that a national identity can be a mechanism for immigrant groups to find some common sense of identity and belonging.

Participant Five was searching for a space that recognised not only her own identity, but also that of her ancestors, her *whānau* and *hapū*. The struggles she encountered in terms of this recognition were premised mostly upon what she described as differing worldviews and misunderstandings:

I think some views are the same, but I think the understanding of them and the compassion to what has happened is very different... Pākehā aren’t able to grasp the way that a Māori feels, because they have a different point of view of the world... they don’t see the *wairuatunga* or the spiritual side to other things that influences a person to be the way that they are. (103)

Although deterministic this passage suggests that there is a distinct difference between Māori and Pākehā worldviews. However, despite this, she also demonstrated a sensibility toward finding a more inclusive frame from which to base Māori and Pākehā relations. She did this for example, when attempting to make connections between Māori spiritual beliefs and Christianity. Even though she elicited a need for Pākehā to embrace Māori culture in order to gain a better understanding of it, she also indicated this was a two way process. This was made evident when she talked about a discussion she had with a Pākehā colleague in regard to *pōhiri* or formal Māori welcome:

...I said that Pākehā don't have any protocols or they don't have any customs and this was in relation to a *pōhiri* or something... oh well, what do Pākehā do? Pākehā don't do nothing, they've got no *pōhiri* process and somebody said to us, yes we do, we knock on the door first and then we say... welcome, come in, would you like a cup of tea and all that stuff. Although it wasn't as much as what a Māori *pōhiri* would be, they still had their customs it was just very much downplayed to what we would do. (105)

It was evident that the attitude and politics Participant Five had toward mainstream societal perspectives and practices was in response (resistance) to what she saw as an “underlying current that kind of stirs up within everybody and although they might give a face value, I'm fine your fine, no we're fine, we're fine, in reality it's not” (107). Participant Five referred to the perception held by many New Zealanders that the relationship between Māori and Pākehā is devoid of racial issues. She made reference to the use of negative statistics by politicians, the media and mainstream against Māori to emphasise this underlying perception.

When asked why she thought these types of prevailing attitudes existed, she stated:

...I think it's fear of Māori getting to a point where they're empowering themselves, where they don't always need Pākehā to supplement their *pūtea* [funds or resources] or anything... I suppose it's more of a fear of missing out and a fear that Māori are becoming a more empowered people. (108)

A powerful theme that emerged from this narrative was one of resistance and recognition. It represented the development of a critical consciousness regarding the institutions, ideologies and beliefs that define and construct. Highly political, this type of consciousness was roused as a response to mainstream ways of thinking that have historically asserted their own attitudes and worldviews upon others. Participant Five called for the acknowledgement and recognition of Māori knowledge systems and beliefs as a challenge to the prevailing attitudes. She also believed that those non-Māori New Zealanders who embrace Māori culture would be empowered through (re)defining their own unique sense of identity:

...I think it's important that Pākehā or any culture for that matter that come to New Zealand, embrace the Māori culture, the *tikanga* and the language. I think to do that is to empower themselves, because then they get an actual understanding...of where Māori come from... It gives you a deeper understanding of the people... (110)

According to Participant Five, learning through language about a culture was one way to better understand a particular group. It also reflected an understanding of one's historical

background and, thus, a consciousness that is historically located. Participant Five suggested that this was vital to improving Māori and Pākehā relations in the future:

...knowledge is enlightenment really and to understand where the Māori people come from, you can have more of a compassion and an understanding of that. So I think, for me it's about understanding and knowing where this country comes from. (114)

The notion of power can be articulated through empowerment (to self-determine, reveal and transform) or its antithesis to disempower (to subjugate, invalidate and silence) and, thus, is problematic if the quest for power (control) is articulated within a typical binary frame. Power to those who are disenfranchised simply means the rights and privileges to perform their own culture, to define themselves away from other subjectivities. In egalitarian societies like Aotearoa New Zealand this is seen as an impingement upon the general rights of all citizens. Participant Five is advocating for these same rights and privileges.

How do Indigenous quests for autonomy and inclusion, however, contend with the issue of asserting (centering) your position without decentering another? Participant Two (who identified herself as a 'Scottish born New Zealander') also espoused the idea that by embracing Māori culture and language, both Māori and Pākehā cultures become empowered. However, key to any discussions of power sharing within a typical colonial binary frame, is understanding how power and control might unknowingly establish new structures and new knowledge formations, rules and practices that continue to place others on the periphery.

Historically, Māori have challenged the effects of colonisation, by reasserting cultural practices [*tikanga*], language and identity and effectively (re)validating Māori epistemic knowledge. This narrative typifies the resistory political space in which many Māori are situated and their attitudes toward mainstream institutional practices and policies. However, Participant Five also demonstrated how changes in attitudes and perspectives (including her own) can occur through continual interaction and dialogue between Māori and Pākehā. However, this dialogue is fraught with tension and it is this very tension implicit within the colonial binary that is, I propose, essential to unsettling and destabilising the binary cultural frame.

The term tension, in this context, refers to the different attitudes, perspectives and beliefs that establish the social and cultural boundaries (cultural hegemony) that maintain particular stereotypes within the colonial binary. The polarising cultural tensions between Māori and Pākehā, however, are neither rigid nor fixed; but instead, are susceptible to change through, ironically, the very cultural interactions that establish them. For example, the politics of resistance and revitalisation experienced since the 1970s in Aotearoa New Zealand, underpinned by the principles of ‘the Treaty’, has inevitably challenged mainstream attitudes and perspectives toward historical Māori issues and concerns. Although there have been (and still is) strong criticisms by some toward the extent that treaty ideals, principles and politics have been integrated into mainstream policies and institutions (Christie, 1999). The increased acceptance of Māori culture and language by mainstream society has had a significant impact upon Māori-Pākehā relations and may offer some new insights into reconciling the colonial binary.

Summary and Critical Reflections

Of the narratives outlined thus far, Participant Five's discussion is easily the most politically conscious and demonstrated a strong desire to maintain (keep alive) her individual and collective identities. This has not been an easy task as she has constantly challenged mainstream societal attitudes and practices that continue to describe and define Māori. Her own politics in regard to Māori-Pākehā relations and her own identity is premised upon resisting prevailing perceptions and worldviews in order to gain recognition and acknowledgement. Her political consciousness is descended from a geographic and spiritual locale that acknowledges the need to retain strong connections to *whānau*, *whakapapa*, *whenua* and *hapū*. The tensions complicit with the colonial binary frame provided the historical and political context in which to validate her position against mainstream (Pākehā) subjugation of her cultural identity.

In terms of this thesis and its objectives, the narrative provided insight into how the disruption of mainstream discourses framed within a binary colonial relationship may enable the binary. The political positioning of Participant Five identifies Pākehā in opposition to Māori and is strategically useful in politicising the unequal rights and privileges of the disenfranchised. At the same time, however, it is important to be aware that this type of strategic response may reaffirm the binary mode by repositioning a new centre of dominance. Participant Five has offered a unique insight into the frustrations and difficulties faced by marginalised groups, and the complexity of negotiating and asserting a strong sense of identity within an imaginary (or not) binary cultural frame.

Although Participant Five held strong views regarding mainstream Pākehā attitudes of Māori she openly acknowledged a shift in her thinking over time towards empathy and affinity. However, the potential to reconcile differences first requires, from her perspective, an embracing of Māori culture, language and perspectives by Pākehā. The tensions complicit within a binary frame, I propose, are essential to the destabilisation of the cultural (and divisive) boundaries of thinking that assert stereotypical notions of the *Other* in the valorisation of the *Self*. Participant Five is effectively trying to dismantle and breakdown these boundaries that assert dominant stereotypical notions of Māori by re-affirming her own identity, while at the same time reflecting upon and challenging her own attitudes and perspectives. The shift in thinking she openly acknowledged was due to the tensions generated between polarising attitudes and thinking. In other words, it is not until one encounters differing perspectives and attitudes, that one has the opportunity to reflect upon and change current thinking.

The complexity of this narrative is highlighted by the desire (attitude) to bring together and assert a type of *hybridity* between Māori and Pākehā. However, in doing so it also polarises and produces a tension between *hybridity* and the binary through a political voice that Participant Five espouses.

Participant Transcription Analysis Sheet – Participant Six

<p><u>Historical Consciousness</u> (Traditions/ Pre-judgements/ Assumptions)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Defines culturally what it is to be a New Zealander – easy going, love of the outdoors, love of sport (supporting the All Blacks), innovative. - The defining of Pākehā as all non-Māori New Zealanders. - Stories of Scottish heritage that connects him to a place and people and, therefore, contributes to how he defines himself today. - The term New Zealander being used more than Pākehā while growing up in Christchurch during the 1980s and 1990s. - Acceptance of being classified as Pākehā in another context i.e. when placed in relation to a predominantly Māori community. - Being embraced by a Māori community has enabled him to find new understandings about who he is. "I've been able to relate to myself as a New Zealander better. I've come over to a better understanding of what being a New Zealander is." (12) 	<p>Citations/Notes/ Theme</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Well it's that culture of being a New Zealander...we're All Black supporters, we're pretty easy going, we're outdoorsy people, we're good with our hands, you know, we're innovative... (1) - "...having people assume that I am a Pākehā or calling me one and in truth, I am one, it really is, well in my definition it was okay so I'm not Māori, so I must be a white New Zealand, so I am also a Pākehā." (5) <p>Contextual and Fluid Identity – Shifting Perception of Oneself</p>
<p><u>Critical Consciousness</u> (Self-awareness/ Critical thinking/ Dialectic)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identity is unique to your own meaning. - Challenging mainstream thinking and not being influenced by common stereotypes. "...they've got their own sort of stereotype of Māori that I see differently. So I've got to sort of act on that, but being sort of, you know, try and reason with them..." (9) - Reflecting upon the politics involved between Māori-Pākehā resistance and counter-resistance "...anything sort of race based politically, will polarise and bring out those differences I think...so anything that's pro-Māori is anti-New Zealander." (8) - Understanding or being aware of the contradiction (hypocrisy) being shown toward Māori culture and practices within institutions. - Being a part of generation that was experiencing changes in our society. Changes for correct pronunciations of Māori words on television, Māori programming. "...was it just that things were changing in New Zealand... It's changing. Another generation, you know of starting young of acceptance and I guess it's you know just changing." (9) 	<p>Citations/Notes/ Theme</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "...it was up to the individual and that just reminded me, yeah of course is it. I mean you can't ...only I can say what I am..." (2) - "...I didn't think there was really much of a difference between being a Pākehā and being a European New Zealander. Is there much of a difference? - I mean is there a danger in me saying it's hypocritical that we are a secular school, except for Māori things, even though it's still a Christian, same religion, same god. (8) <p>Accepting of Difference and Change</p>
<p><u>Concealed Consciousness</u> (Self-reflexivity/ Authority/ Hegemony)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The defining of Pākehā as all non-Māori New Zealanders. "Yeah I definitely feel like a New Zealander. I don't feel very Scottish..." (3) - Considering the historical relationship between Māori and Pākehā in defining the meaning between the two. - "Yeah I guess I did feel like a white person, in Christchurch, I felt kind of like a Pākehā." (5) - Seeing Māori culture and language as "...an essential part of being a New Zealander...does that lessen it for Māori? Or is that a step toward assimilation, having a sort of combined culture?" (10) - The question of combining cultures and becoming something different. "that Māori-Pākehā relationship offers something; it's just what that looks like I guess." (10) 	<p>Citations/Notes/ Theme</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "Yeah, I didn't really consider it [being Pākehā] to be just a white thing..." - "...my definition that I've gotten from a university lecturer was that Māori was the same and Pākehā was different... so initially, from that definition, I thought that Pākehā was everybody who was not Māori." (1) <p>Reconciling the Māori-Pākehā binary through National Identity</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Concepts/Terms – (Placed under Violation)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Transform/ Re-interpret/ Re-describe)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - National Identity - Pākehā - Māori 	<p style="text-align: center;">Conceptualisation of Self</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Transform/ Re-interpret/ Re-describe)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A Scottish born New Zealander (50/50) - European New Zealander (4)

Participant Six – Themes and Analysis

Key Themes

1. Contextual and Fluid
Identity: Shifting One's
Perception of Oneself
2. Contending with Difference
and Change
3. Reconciliation Through
National Identity

Key Concepts

1. Self-reflexivity
2. Self-ethical Desire
3. Violation

Concepts/Terms placed under Violation

- New Zealander
- Māori and Pākehā

Participant Six described himself as 50 percent New Zealander and 50 percent Scottish. He still had a strong connection to his Scottish ancestry even though leaving there as a young child in the late 1970s to live in Aotearoa New Zealand.

...I'm definitely a New Zealander, because this is what has influenced me growing up. But I can't deny my Scottish heritage, because I still, even though I don't know that much about it, I still consider that half of me. (See Appendix J: 115)

The notion of Pākehā as an expression of his identity was never prominent in his formative years growing up in the South Island city of Christchurch. He stated that “[t]he

majority was white in the area I grew up. I notice it now, when I go back. Entire suburbs and there are only white in them. I guess that's the identity of that group is New Zealander" (121).

The term New Zealander became the dominant marker of his identity as it enabled the acknowledgement of both his Scottish heritage and his place in society. For Participant Six, his understanding of who he was, especially as an adult, was premised upon a nationalistic sense of identity, as opposed to one being constructed in relation a Māori-Pākehā binary frame. He used typical clichés that many New Zealanders tend to use to define a sense of nationhood or nationalistic pride:

...the culture of being a New Zealander... we're All Black supporters, we're pretty easy going, we're outdoorsy people, we're good with our hands, you know, we're innovative... it's definitely what I feel like a lot of the times, you know, it's that unexplainable feeling when the All Blacks run out on the field and you know that you're a New Zealander. (115)

Participant Six never contended with the idea of being classified as Pākehā until he moved to a community that was predominantly Māori and where Māori cultural practices and thinking were prevalent. He explained how the shift in categorisation of who he was (from New Zealander to Pākehā) was primarily due to how people perceived or described him within this new setting. What is intriguing, from my perspective, is how Participant Six mediated this situation, particularly, in terms of how it challenged the way he perceived himself at that particular time. The terms white New Zealander and Pākehā represented the same categorisation according to Participant Six. He easily accepted the

term Pākehā as a definition of who he was within the community he lived and, thus, his understanding of others and himself within this context was arbitrated within a Māori-Pākehā cultural frame rather than a nationalistic one:

...having people assume that I am a Pākehā or calling me one and in truth, I am one, it really is, well in my definition it was okay cause I'm not Māori, so I must be a white New Zealander, so I am also a Pākehā. So yeah, by definition, so by the definition of the people up here, it's more that I'm a Pākehā than a New Zealand European.⁵⁰ (122)

In contrast to participants Two and Three, the notion of Pākehā had no negative connotations for Participant Six in terms of his identity and place within the community. In fact, he didn't see "much difference between being Pākehā and being European New Zealander." It was, as he suggests "just a different word for being a white New Zealander" (123). When questioned about whether these labels signified particular attitudes or practices, Participant Six admitted that when growing up he never accepted the typical societal expectations imposed upon him, as a typical New Zealand boy, like playing rugby or demonstrating the typical pioneering myths: "No I rejected that sort of thing, when I realised I was much more inclined towards art and poetry, than building a fence out of 'Number 8' wire" (6)⁵¹. This indicated that his understanding of a nationalistic sense of being a New Zealander as an adult was different to when he was a child.

⁵⁰ The term 'European' was the common formal nomenclature for New Zealanders who were of European descent. In contemporary society either Pākehā or New Zealand European are the most commonly accepted terms.

⁵¹ 'Number 8 fencing wire' refers to a commonly used national cliché, which holds that New Zealanders have a can-do pioneering attitude and that essentially anything can be made or fixed with basic or everyday materials.

The denial of expected attitudes and practices possibly explains his ease in moving between being classified as either a New Zealander or Pākehā. Accordingly, for Participant Six the notion of Pākehā sat comfortably within an all-inclusive nationalistic frame of identity as opposed to a contested Māori-Pākehā binary frame. This overarching nationalistic frame allows for two (or more) cultures together under a single banner, whereas, within a typical Māori-Pākehā frame the relationship becomes based upon a colonial history of resistance and counter-resistance. Any claims of an all-encompassing national frame, however, need to be considered critically, for they may simply mean assimilation of the lesser culture into the dominant one. Thus, removing the political footing Māori have fought to regain over the past forty years. A nationalistic cultural frame is one that many New Zealanders, it seems, think is important. Is it possible, then, to assert a strong sense of national identity (as the dominant culture) while simultaneously allowing others to maintain and perform their own culture, and without discrete cultures being framed as ‘separatist’. It is this consideration that needs to be taken into account in any reframing of cultural relations and identity in an Aotearoa New Zealand.

Participant Six’s understanding of the notion of Pākehā was not determined through traditional binary conceptualisations and, possibly, why he found it less problematic than others. Instead, his experiences and his narrative gave an insight into how he, as a Pākehā New Zealander, navigated within a Māori-Pākehā binary frame. He demonstrated a genuine desire to understand other cultures, and to accept others and their differences:

[a]s a human being you are just sort of growing up learning the difference between good and bad and that it was bad to be racist, so I try not to be racist, try

to be sensitive to people's cultures and at the same time not judging them on that.
(130)

When reflecting on the origins of such thinking and attitudes, he referred to the changes that have occurred over time. He specifically referred to the acknowledgement and increased use of Māori language and culture in mainstream institutions, such as, education and media. He spoke about how things changed over time and with that came changes in people's attitudes and perceptions. For example, he spoke of his niece, "who is growing up in Christchurch and is learning *Te Reo* (Māori language) in pre-school. It's changing. Another generation, you know of starting young, of acceptance and I guess it's you know just changing" (131).

Participant Six also experienced a similar change when he moved to a small rural community that was predominantly Māori. Despite feeling intimidated at times by the cultural shift, his upbringing and subsequent attitude toward Māori culture and practices was more embracing and inclusive rather than divisive. This sentiment was also reciprocated through the experiences and relationships he developed with Māori in the community. He stated that he was never subjected to any forms of racism:

Coming up here, I'm a minority, living here, but I've never felt a victim of racism, never felt like an outsider. I mean sure, for the first time on a *marae*, it is intimidating. Like you are always a bit worried, am I doing the right thing and am I saying the right thing. I've been called on to speak as well, it's pretty scary. But I've never felt a victim of any sort of racism... I guess we all are New Zealanders.
(133)

This narrative offered some insight into the possibilities of a nationalistic frame that works beyond the Māori-Pākehā binary. Participant Six had very rarely been subjected to racism between Māori and Pākehā growing up, his attitudes and perspectives toward his own identity and toward Māori were not constructed within a typical binary cultural frame. Further, Participant Six was more embracing of Māori culture and more accepting of the term Pākehā as a representation of his identity. The narrative also tells of the possible fear of Pākehā to understand Māori culture and the putting up of barriers to learning Māori culture for fear of racism. The notion of nation or national identity therefore, may provide a opportunities to re-explore and redefine Māori-Pākehā relations and, in doing so, offer new interpretations and insights to the debate and criticisms around national identity that suggest national identity as, merely, a colonising tool (Byrnes, 2007; Gibbons, 2003; Smith, 1999, Walker, 1990). The notion of a nationalistic frame drawn from this narrative suggests that Māori and Pākehā cultural relations and identity be redefined and not subjected to the negative connotations associated within a typical colonial binary. This would also mean, therefore, redefining the historical relationship between Māori and Pākehā that not only acknowledges the historical conflicts and tensions, but also the connections and affinities between both. The implications of an all-encompassing nationalistic frame may include the re-articulation of symbols and representations that define New Zealanders as two (or more) peoples under a single cloak of nationhood, which allows the bringing together of two cultures, while still enabling cultural distinctiveness. While the narrative suggests the idea of nation as an inclusive frame, there are obvious problematics surrounding nationalistic discourses,

especially as they have, in the past at least, tended to subjugate Indigenous cultures, and tokenise Indigenous culture as part of ‘the nation’.

Summary and Critical Reflections

Comfortable with identifying as New Zealander or Pākehā, Participant Six offers insight into how a nationalistic frame of identity may possibly allow for two (or more) distinct cultures to co-exist. The ease at which Participant Six was able to shift between being identified as either New Zealander or Pākehā, might suggest that his understanding and acceptance of his own sense of identity was not constituted within a Māori-Pākehā binary frame. Prior to the 1980s and the Māori renaissance for example, being Pākehā did not carry the connotations associated with the colonial binary that Māori resistance movements of the time were responsible for making apparent. Since this period, Māori have gained a political foothold through terms such as *tangata whenua* and Indigenous, which refer to the power of Māori as the first peoples of these lands. In response, notions like ‘white native’ (King, 1999), ‘one people, one nation’ (Brash, 2004) and being ‘all New Zealanders’ have become prominent reactionary catch-cries used by some Pākehā.

For Participant Six, the manner in which he mediated between an imaginary (or otherwise) Māori-Pākehā binary was less antagonistic and resistant. This narrative, I propose, encourages the re-imagining of a binary cultural frame. If identities are understood as social constructs, they therefore reflect the way individuals and society perceive themselves. Communities in this sense are imagined, envisaged and visualised constructs. Furthermore, these imagined communities are premised upon not only an imagined ideal of what a community should be, but also upon other less commonly

accepted ideals of fragmented (minority) groups and individuals. These ideas constitute a reality both common and marginalised, where the dominant reality becomes reified as representing what is best for all, while the ideas of the minority are set in opposition to this. The key themes drawn from this narrative suggest the possibility of reframing Māori-Pākehā cultural identity within an all-encompassing nationalistic frame. One that imagines a relationship that is inclusive, accepting and empowering.

Participant Transcription Analysis Sheet – Participant Seven

<p><u>Historical Consciousness</u> (Traditions/ Pre-judgements/ Assumptions)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Raised predominantly by her mum who was Pākehā. - Kapa haka seen as a powerful symbol or representation of her being Maori or Maoriness. - Comfortable with being in Pākehā situations and institutions. - Negative experiences that contributed to the way she perceived herself. (2-3) - Our connections to land and place are what connects Māori and Pākehā, "we all do have a connection to land, to this place..." (4) - Ease in which to define what it is to be Māori as opposed to Pākehā. "I think this is when it falls back on the New Zealander, the commonality thing, because Pākehā are unique to New Zealand, you will not find a Pākehā anywhere else in the world." (5) - The treaty as a mechanism to potentially bring Māori and Pākehā together, to share power and our political and social consciousness developed as a nation over time (history). - Influence of media upon the perpetuation of polarising attitudes between Māori and Pākehā. (7-8). "So yeah, became more and more aware of societal attitudes towards Māori and then media." (3) - Being united through sport and tragedy. - Historical ignorance is what perpetuates polarising attitudes and education is the key to changing these types of attitudes toward each other. (Self-awareness and self-reflection through education) 	<p>Citations/Notes/ Theme</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "having Māori friends, things like kapa haka...helped me develop an understanding of my own Māoriness..." (1) - "it's just something that's always been there and when I say I acknowledge being Pākehā as well, I think it's an acknowledgement of my mother(2) - "partnership in the true sense of the word and I think in that becomes power um, because we don't have power sharing and we don't have, we as a nation, yeah so we don't have that" (7) - "I can see some changes, but yeah, no I think there will still be that underlying ignorance which leads to that sort of polarised, things can easily boil down to us and them." (9) <p>Connection, Unity and Recognition</p>
<p><u>Critical Consciousness</u> (Self-awareness/ Critical thinking/ Dialectic)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Her own identity manifested through engagement with academic writing that pertained to Māori-Pākehā identities, in particular, the tendency by Māori academics to not acknowledge Pākehā inclusion to her perceived sense of identity. - How might she bring the two together? How does she ameliorate the tensions between recognising one over the other? - Operating outside of a binary frame: "do I have the ability to just say, I am a woman of Māori and Pākehā descent and for that not to mean that they're in opposition or that they are polarised. I guess that's the way that people, how people interpret it. But I probably don't, I can't think of anyone that wouldn't think of them not being that way, as two separate things, rather than being merged." (4) - The desire for more inclusive and better world framed under ideals of nationhood. "Um and I think you know the nation, a contestable term, but we all sort of desire the same thing." (5) - Redefining the treaty and the notion of partnership. "I think Māori have the tendency to look at the Treaty as something that only makes guarantees to Māori and yeah, I think if we looked at it in the true sense of what was, well how we interpret it now, then it's more about sharing and making a space that's good for all New Zealanders." (7) 	<p>Citations/Notes/ Theme</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "...whakapapa is very important, yet it seemed it is Māori whakapapa that's important and I thought..." (2) - I would question these discourses that were saying, we Māori, 'because I found them to be essentialising to the detriment of being Pākehā and I think as New Zealanders, we need to acknowledge that, we have a lot of commonalities as well. (2) - To imagine that there's no diversity, that's probably the most annoying thing for me, I think. As far as being identified as Māori goes. (3) - "do we have the capacity to just talk about ourselves without comparison?" (4) <p>Mediating the tensions between Māori and Pākehā Identity</p>
<p><u>Concealed Consciousness</u> (Self-reflexivity/ Authority/ Hegemony)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A key understanding of essentialised identity (one that marginalises another) - To be categorised by physicality (i.e. looking Māori). Societies perceptions of what it is to be Māori or Pākehā and the resulting stereotypes 	<p>Citations/Notes/ Theme</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "...we Māori, cause I found them to be essentialising to the detriment of being Pākehā..." (2) <p>Changing Attitudes and Perceptions: Educating through Self-awareness</p>
<p>Concepts/Terms – (Placed under Violation) (Transform/ Re-interpret/ Re-describe)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Re-articulating Māori and Pākehā as a unified representation of identity. - Therefore, must redefine the notion of Māori. - And the notion of Pākehā. 	<p>Conceptualisation of Self (Transform/ Re-interpret/ Re-describe)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Described herself as both Māori and Pākehā - Connection to parentage (Māori dad and Pākehā mum)

Participant Seven – Themes and Analysis

Key Themes

1. Connection, Unity and Recognition
2. Mediating the Tensions between Māori and Pākehā
3. Changing Attitudes and Perceptions

Key Concepts

1. Self-reflexivity
2. Dialectical Thinking
3. Violation

Concepts/Terms placed under Violation

- Rearticulating the merging of Māori and Pākehā as a representation of Identity
- Māori
- Pākehā

...do I have the ability to just say, I am a woman of Māori and Pākehā descent and for that not to mean that they're in opposition or that they are polarised. I guess that's the way that people, how people interpret it. But I probably don't, I can't think of anyone that wouldn't think of them not being that way, as two separate things, rather than being merged. (See Appendix K: 146)

In describing herself as both Māori and Pākehā Participant Seven desired to not only recognise the ethnicity of both her parents, but also to articulate a marker of identity that enables the bringing together of both cultures. She stated that there is no term that sits

comfortably for her in terms of defining her identity. This does not suggest, however, that she has difficulty portraying her identity to others. In fact, she demonstrated the opposite and challenged what she considered as an individual need within society to always compare/define oneself in relation to others. This is made evident when she asked do “we have the capacity to just talk about ourselves without comparison?” (145).

Although raised predominantly by her mother (who is English) Participant Seven recalls that she became aware of her Māori ethnicity at an early age. She spoke of how her teachers and friends naturally categorised her as Māori based upon her physical characteristics: “part of its physicality, having that pointed out at a young age...it’s not something you grow up being aware of... It’s not until someone actually points it out...there was that kind of self-realisation about my ethnicity as Māori” (139).

Although describing herself as both Māori and Pākehā, Participant Seven recalls when growing up how particular friendships and experiences contributed significantly to her understanding of being Māori or what she described as “develop[ing] an understanding of my own Māoriness” (140). *Kapa haka* and being spoken to in Māori by her father at a young age, both contributed to developing a strong sense of who she was in terms of her Māori heritage. She went on to learn *Te Reo* (Māori language) at secondary school and eventually continued on to do Māori Studies at university.

For Participant Seven, finding examples from her upbringing that gave her a sense of being Pākehā was difficult. Instead, she expressed this connection by highlighting the ease in which she could live and work within Pākehā (mainstream) culture: “I guess the ease I have in being in situations that aren’t Māori within New Zealand... some people

might term them as Pākehā situations/institutions, well I'm just really comfortable with that and it's almost, I guess that's the norm.." (141).

The reference to Pākehā culture/situations/institutions as normal, may suggest the naturalisation of everyday cultural practices, although powerful in terms of their hegemonic tendencies, also makes the predominant culture more obscure, implicit and, therefore, difficult to define. Participant Seven appeared to be comfortable in both Māori and Pākehā cultural settings, however, in contrast to Participant Four (who also had Māori and Pākehā parents) she found herself constantly seeking recognition of her Pākehā heritage. This was mainly due to her perception that Māori (particularly in academic literature) claims for recognition were being made in contrast to Pākehā identity; that was counter-intuitive to her, as it consequently failed to acknowledge her Pākehā heritage:

...when I say I acknowledge being Pākehā as well, I think it's an acknowledgement of my mother... in high-school if someone had said, 'what ethnicity are you?', I would say 'Māori'. It probably wasn't until I was doing my Māori Studies degree that... I wanted to acknowledge both, because I found there was a tendency with a lot of things that I was reading, say from Māori academics, to not even acknowledge things Pākehā. You know *whakapapa* is very important, yet it seemed it was Māori *whakapapa* that was important and I thought if your *whakapapa* makes you who you are then you need to acknowledge that [Pākehā] side as well. (141)

As a result Participant Seven sought to find some connection and unity between the two. This first required, however, a need to ameliorate the tensions implicit within a binary cultural frame. It is in this space that she attempted to negotiate between being both Māori and Pākehā:

...I would question these discourses that were saying, ‘we Māori’, because I found them to be essentialising to the detriment of being Pākehā and I think as New Zealanders we need to acknowledge that we have a lot of commonalities as well. (142)

The beliefs Participant Seven had in regard to her identity demonstrated, I believe, a critical and self-reflexive understanding of the nature and complexity of identity construction in Aotearoa New Zealand. This critical awareness is driven by a desire for a more accepting and inclusive frame of understanding, one that assumes dialogue and reciprocity or the sharing of power.

Similar to Participant Six, Participant Seven suggests the importance of a more inclusive frame for Māori and Pākehā cultural relations and identity. However, she also viewed (similar to Participant Two) ‘the Treaty’ as important to this process. Whilst acknowledging ‘the Treaty’ as a mechanism for Māori to right the injustices of the past, Participant Seven also suggested that Māori need to articulate the significance and importance of ‘the Treaty’ to all New Zealanders, not just Māori.

I think Māori have the tendency to look at the Treaty as something that only makes guarantees to Māori and yeah, I think if we looked at it in the true sense of

what it was, well how we interpret it now, then it's more about sharing and making a space that's good for all New Zealanders. (152-152)

The idea of sharing (and relinquishing) power seems to be a recurring theme throughout the narratives and it is, again, an idea that I would further like to explore in this analysis. In attempting to find the synergies between two opposing elements within a cultural binary frame, the question of power is perhaps the most problematic.

The bringing together of two cultures in a way that simultaneously allows cultural distinctiveness and recognition, requires the mediation of power (control and domination) between the centre and margin. Participant Seven emphasised a genuine desire to find some reconciliation between Māori and Pākehā cultural relations and identity. In the reframing of cultural identity it is important to be aware of the potential to minimise the meagre gains already made by marginalised groups. This thesis does not advocate for the making of such concessions. However, I want to explore the possibility of redefining traditional Māori and Pākehā oppositional and resistory politics.

Participant Seven seeks a similar critical space that allows for the bridging of both her Māori and Pākehā heritage. She also typifies, I believe, the need for resistory responses (from the margins) to be aware of enabling the same practices of domination and power that, in turn, perpetuate the traditional hierarchy (*Self-Other*) of the binary frame.

Summary and Critical Reflections

Typical Indigenous responses to colonial and neo-colonial forms of oppression have been framed within polarising and resistant politics. Anti-colonial and, more recently,

postcolonial critiques have exposed the hegemonic practices that subjugate Indigenous and minority groups. The shift from resistance politics to one of power sharing (and in this case perhaps the surrendering of the political footing for Māori) might, as I have already stated, jeopardise the relatively small political gains already made by Māori. However, the themes throughout the analysis, thus far, seem to suggest the potential for redefining cultural politics and identity within a more inclusive and reflexive frame. To ensure that such a frame does not hinder the progress already made by Indigenous and minority groups there needs to be a constant reflection of the blurring of the binary (through an inclusive nationalistic frame for example) and that does not mutate into the further amalgamation of a lesser culture into the more dominant. An inclusive frame, therefore, must promote a relationship of self-reflexivity, dialogue and reciprocity.

Participant Seven demonstrated a clear desire to mediate the tensions between a Māori and Pākehā binary frame. The need to ameliorate the relationship between ontological binary constructs suggests that for Participant Seven, neither term enables her to fully assert a sense of identity. The binary distinctions so readily imagined and employed in Aotearoa New Zealand leave her constantly vying for recognition of both aspects of her cultural and ethnic makeup, depending upon the context in which she finds herself in at any particular time. Furthermore, the conceptualisation of both markers of identity within an imaginary binary cultural frame makes it difficult for her to be recognised as both. By claiming she is both Māori and Pākehā she challenges the typical binary assertions imposed upon her.

The mediation between Māori and Pākehā cultural identities signifies the connection and bringing together of two historically opposed ontological constructs. The idea of a

unifying frame that acknowledges the synergies between both elements while enabling cultural distinctiveness is again a powerful theme throughout the narratives. On reflection, the socio-political implications of unifying constructs could be viewed simply as another form of assimilation where one culture effectively adopts and embraces the other at the expense of their own.

Participant Seven views ‘the Treaty’ as an important mechanism in the mediation of resistant and divisive cultural politics in Aotearoa New Zealand. The principle of ‘partnership’ is integral to the reframing of cultural identity and relations between Māori and Pākehā. To espouse a cultural frame that encourages inclusiveness, yet acknowledges difference, requires an understanding of the relationship between power, knowledge and the production of (marginalised) subjectivities. Participant Seven demonstrated this understanding as she found herself being positioned simultaneously at the centre and on the periphery. She offered an insight into the theoretical reframing of cultural identity in an Aotearoa New Zealand context.

Participant Transcription Analysis Sheet – Participant Eight

<p><u>Historical Consciousness</u> (Traditions/ Pre-judgements/ Assumptions)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Where is her place in the world...not identifying with her family ideals and values leaves her searching for place and recognition? - Sexual orientation an important part of her identity. She was comfortable describing herself as Pākehā or European New Zealander and South Islander. All these were important in terms of who she was in the world. - Education and finding a place where she feels comfortable and accepted. - Her need to be recognised/accepted has meant she in turn acknowledges difference in others - More comfortable in Māori settings of which she feels more accepted. 	<p style="text-align: center;">Citations/Notes/ Theme</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Just because somebody’s Māori doesn’t mean that they’re going to have a certain way of thinking...I mean that’s the thing for me I guess. Is that everybody’s different and so that makes us all the same.” (7) - I think it depends on your experiences. I feel more comfortable myself around Māori people in general...I feel more comfortable on a <i>marae</i> than I do in a church or in the South Island... “ (4) <p style="text-align: center;">Unity through difference</p>
<p><u>Critical Consciousness</u> (Self-awareness/ Critical thinking/ Dialectic)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Where is her place in the world...not identifying with her family ideals and values leaves her searching for place and recognition? - Recognising and acknowledging difference. - Being aware of parents racist views as she was growing up...being aware of the difference in views at a young age. - Historical fears of loss (of land/power) to Māori. Through fear of losing forms of power (such as land)...in response stereotypical formations are utilised to invalidate and make invisible attempts to reclaim power/land. - Criticisms of institutions such as the church to impose moral judgements. - Reflecting on physical characteristics associated with particular ethnicity. Challenging her perceptions. - Contrast between traditional views of her parents and her own. 	<p style="text-align: center;">Citations/Notes/ Theme</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “I think that I’m quite a tolerant person and I wasn’t raised that way at all. By rights, I should be quite intolerant and judgemental...(8) - “I guess my parents have always been on the farm and they have the fear they will lose their farm and that has always been quite a real fear for them, because it was Māori land originally I think that plays a part in their racism (2) - “...they’ve always lived in the same time, they’re not very worldly and they’re quite racist, which has always been a bit of an issue for me.” (2) <p style="text-align: center;">The question of power in the politics of recognition and acceptance</p>
<p><u>Concealed Consciousness</u> (Self-reflexivity/ Authority/ Hegemony)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Association of physical characteristics with particular ethnicity. Placing students in specific box - Denying imagined binary distinctions between Māori and Pākehā. Reflects her own attitudes, values and beliefs that have been formed from personal experiences of being recognised and accepted by Māori. 	<p style="text-align: center;">Citations/Notes/ Theme</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “...and I found the list and actually looked at it and thought, you know what, some of these kids I wouldn’t necessarily have put them in whichever box they were in.” (4) - I think it depends on your experiences. I feel more comfortable myself around Māori people in general. <p style="text-align: center;">Challenging Attitudes and Perceptions</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Concepts/Terms – (Placed under Violation)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Transform/ Re-interpret/ Re-describe)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - . Assuming an Imaginary Binary - Māori - Pākehā 	<p style="text-align: center;">Conceptualisation of Self</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Transform/ Re-interpret/ Re-describe)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - European or Pākehā New Zealander, bisexual.

Participant Eight – Themes and Analysis

Key Themes

1. Unity through Difference
2. The Question of Power in the Politics of Recognition and Acceptance
3. Challenging Attitudes and Perceptions

Key Concepts

1. Self-reflexivity
2. Gaze of Alterity
3. Violation

Concepts/Terms placed under Violation

- Assuming an Imaginary Binary
- Māori
- Pākehā

The notion of identity for Participant Eight was multilayered and complex. Throughout this narrative the conceptualisation of identity was not premised solely upon her ethnic background or geographic locale. Other contributing factors including gender, generational relationships, political and sexual orientation were also important to how she perceived herself. Her self-concept, therefore, was influenced by numerous factors and situations that enabled her to feel accepted (or at times not accepted) in society. When asked how she described herself in terms of her identity, Participant Eight stated: “I guess I classify myself as New Zealand European or Pākehā... Um, bisexual is part of my identity also. Um and South Islander” (See Appendix L: 156).

Some of the experiences Participant Eight described throughout her narrative were deeply personal and reflexive. She reflected upon significant moments (and people) that had influenced (both positively and negatively) not only how she defined herself in the world, but also how these experiences had shaped her attitudes, values and beliefs regarding the right of all individuals to be acknowledged. A place where one can feel comfortable with who they are, where they are accepted as an individual and within a greater collective. It is this difference, according to Participant Eight that essentially unites us all. She used an example from her teaching background to explain this idea of unity through difference:

...what unites everybody is that everybody's different and unique and that although, you know like everybody's an individual. Just because somebody's Māori doesn't mean that they're going to have a certain way of thinking or whatever else. I've seen, I guess for me, I see a whole range of Māori students and Pākehā students with different life experiences, different expectations on them from home, different interests and yeah, I mean that's the thing for me I guess. Is that everybody's different and so that makes us all the same. (168-169)

In regard to notions of difference, individuality and acceptance Participant Eight gave an insight into her upbringing and the experiences that shaped not only how she defined herself in the world, but also how she defined her identity in relation to others. In terms of identity she described it as “being who you are in the world” (156). The way she engaged (or not) with others was determined by a system of beliefs that valued individual rights and freedom to be who you wanted to be. Difference, however, can sometimes be reflected back in terms of societal assumptions, prejudices and traditional forms of representation that alienate and exclude those defined as beyond normal. Participant

Eight spoke candidly of how past instances of intolerance and prejudice had impacted upon her attitudes and beliefs towards others and upon choices she had made in regard to finding her place in society: “I’ve struggled with that a bit, to be honest. Because I come from the South Island and I don’t identify with my family ideals and values and stuff like that. Um, yeah, I don’t know” (157). The South Island of Aotearoa New Zealand did not experience the same degree of political and cultural change as the North Island during the rural-urban migration of Māori of the 1960s and 70s, and the Māori renaissance of the 1980s.

Participant Eight explained how she seemed to have more of an affinity with Māori people, culture and the community she lived in, rather than her hometown:

I feel more comfortable myself around Māori people in general. I think... I feel more comfortable on a *marae* than I do in a church or in the South Island with, yeah the people I went to school with or that sort of thing. (162)

When questioned why she felt more comfortable in a North Island Māori community and on a *marae* more than in church, she stated that it was due to the religious dogma, attitudes and expectations that didn’t allow her to feel accepted in her own community:

Part of it for me is the judgmental-ness of church; the, this is right and this is wrong and what’s acceptable and following the rules and all that sort of thing that comes with church or... I just feel more acceptance up here than I ever did, living in the South Island... I’d never really been on a *marae*, down home, but I’d been to plenty of churches and I guess I just never... I felt, from growing up, I didn’t

feel comfortable in a small town and I didn't realise that that was just my small town... (162-163)

For participant Eight, an important quality in the practice of being more accepting of others was tolerance. She described instances from her own experiences where certain individuals, including members of her family, demonstrated a lack of tolerance toward others and toward her in particular:

I hate to say it, but there are a high proportion of quite intolerant people and a lot of them are maybe not intolerant to everything... I know I've come across a lot of people that are either racist or they're homophobic or they're, um just don't like the fact that I have dreads or... My sister said to me, I'm glad you don't teach my kids, because I teach in bare feet and all of these perceptions of how you should be and there are a lot of people that are quite intolerant, but in saying that, there are a lot of people that are quite accepting as well. (169-170)

She also explained, however, that her family was very important to her but that their views differed: "I'm one of seven kids and I'm an aunty of 17 and a great of two and that's important to me and I love my family and all that sort of stuff, but I have quite a different set of values and beliefs" (157). When asked why that was, she stated:

... [p]art of it is that my parents are a lot older and they, yeah they're quite old school, and they're quite old fashioned. They are farmers and they've grown up, they've always lived in the same time, they're not very worldly and they're quite racist, which has always been a bit of an issue for me. (157)

Interestingly, in attempting to explain the difference in views between her and her parents she made reference to changing attitudes over time. She suggested that her parent's racial attitudes toward those who were different and, in particular Māori, can be linked to their traditional views that were intolerant of difference:

So, I guess my parents have always been on the farm and they have the fear they will lose their farm and that has always been quite a real fear for them, because it was Māori land originally, I think that plays a part in their racism... I don't know, just different experiences, different times I think. Because they're in their seventies, so they grew up in quite a different time to what I did. (158)

Participant Eight explained that her parents' attitudes toward Māori were not premised upon contemporary definitions of racism (the belief that racial differences and inherent human traits are seen as justifications for discrimination), but instead suggested that they resulted from a perceived (or real) fear of losing their farm and their land. The threat of loss, in this instance, might be indicative of mainstream Pākehā attitudes in Aotearoa New Zealand. Whether it is the potential loss of land, the loss of access to public beaches,⁵² or a lost sense of identity, the feelings of fear and loss experienced by many Pākehā have led to a counter-resistant fear of Māori claims of redress for past historical injustices.

The issue of land in the context of this narrative, not only gives a perspective of Participant Eight's understanding of why her parents thought the way they did, it also

⁵² The Foreshore and Seabed controversy of 2004, for example, wrongly propagated the fear that Māori ownership of the foreshore and seabed would prevent all non-Māori New Zealanders from having access to public beaches.

gave a brief description of the types of attitudes that were being formed by some Pākehā in response to the Māori land protests and politics of the 1970s and 1980s. In a sense, her story gives a snapshot of their experiences and, thus, gives an insight into the attitudes and beliefs of those Pākehā (similar to her parents) who felt threatened by Māori land claims. These types of feelings not only represent the complexity of Māori and Pākehā cultural relations, politics and identity, but also highlight the difficult task required to shift from a resistant and counter-resistant cultural frame to a more inclusive one.

The question of power in the reframing of cultural identity and politics discussed in Participant Seven's narrative can also be applied to this analysis, in terms of the political stances taken when central positions of power are threatened. Power in this context is represented through land ownership and although for many Māori 'the Treaty' is seen as a mechanism for righting past injustices, it may also be seen by many landowners, as a threat to their livelihood and possessions. The analysis of power or, more accurately, understanding how power comes to be mediated within traditional binary cultural relations, is fundamental to comprehending any cultural and political space that seeks to operate within a more self-reflexive and inclusive frame.

Summary and Critical Reflections

The degree of honesty and willingness Participant Eight demonstrated in sharing intimate thoughts and experiences from her life and about her family was humbling. In a sense, this narrative has not just been the story of one person's experiences; it has a multitude of stories intertwined within the reflexive experience of making meaning. It tells a version of Aotearoa New Zealand history as a nation, the history and experiences of the

participant's family and how she/they have navigated the cultural, historical and political landscape; it tells the story of a woman constantly searching for her place in the world; a place that acknowledges difference and is inclusive and accepting of all individuals. The narrative gave an insight into not only the implications of cultural politics and its potential to exclude, fragment and disconnect, but also into the politics of power negotiated within traditional binary cultural frames.

Perhaps not surprisingly, counter-resistant responses by mainstream Pākehā are articulated within the same binary (resistant/counter-resistant) frame that Indigenous groups have utilised to challenge continued forms of State and institutional oppression. The contestation of colonial power through traditional binary cultural frames has exposed and challenged historical injustices against Indigenous peoples and marginalised groups. This thesis asserts, however, the need for a more inclusive cultural frame that challenges the politics of power situated within traditional binary relationships of Indigenous resistance and colonialist counter-resistance.

In order to attain such a cultural and political space, this narrative articulated the need to acknowledge and accept difference. This requires reflexivity regarding how others are peripherally positioned by excluding their individuality, beliefs and values. One must, therefore, challenge the attitudes, prejudices and perceptions that maintain and validate one's own position (ideals, values and way of life) while simultaneously marginalising those of others. The central position of power can only truly be mediated through a shift away from political and cultural frames premised upon traditional resistant and counter-resistant practices and thought processes, and towards cultural frames that promote recognition of diversity, acceptance and power-sharing.

Participant Transcription Analysis Sheet – Participant Nine

Historical Consciousness (Traditions/ Pre-judgements/ Assumptions)

- Family and upbringing strong connectors to his identity as being Māori and New Zealander. This connection to family is reiterated by extended family and how being Māori recognises grandparents and ancestry. Also elicits connection to place (Pacific/New Zealand).
- Being Māori is symbolised by *whakapapa* (Māori ancestry) and Aotearoa New Zealand. Being Maori was not associated with a place as such but more people and practices he associates to being Maori or 'Maori stuff' (1)...cultural practices and so on.
- Doesn't connect with the European culture of New Zealand as a significant part of his identity but acknowledges affiliation through English grandfather.
- Although European is not included as a part of his identity as such, his attitude toward European New Zealand culture (Pākehā) is non-resistive and accepting that it is a part of our New Zealand culture. "Yeah, you know you walk around with them [Pākehā], you have friends... the other big influence is that we went to a private school, so that was predominantly European...and that had...mainly good experiences." (2)
- Relationship with [English] grandfather and his Māori family modeled a relationship that was inclusive and accepting rather than divisive.

Citations/Notes/ Theme

- "So I guess identity for me is my family and if that was to be a category, I probably think it would be under Māori first, and then New Zealander..." (1).
- "...Māori would be...for me...hopefully paint a picture of my ancestors, my upbringing in terms of a Māori, um not a total Māori upbringing obviously, but an upbringing that incorporated Māori...(1)

Significance of family and the Modeling of Inclusive Relationships

Critical Consciousness (Self-awareness/ Critical thinking/ Dialectic)

- Acknowledging that his upbringing wasn't totally Māori but that aspect of his upbringing was important and significant to him.
- Aware that there has been a shift in how prevalent 'Māori stuff' has been since his early upbringing "...when I say yeah I'm [name] as Māori...I'm Māori...as well as...I'm European or um other flavours, yeah. But I'd have to say that Māori was more...pre-early days where the last few years, few years now have been more predominantly modern touches, than more Māori. (1)
- His perception of difference does not seem to be framed within a 'them and us' binary mentality...instead we were just from different places.
- The constant negative modelling of behaviour, attitudes and thinking toward Māori and Pākehā relations...always in that resistive mode perhaps?
- Again the integration (mixing) of two cultures does not always mean that the dominant culture will absorb the less dominant. Two way cross-over when two cultures are brought together. "...you know those types of relationships...there's a bit of both, from my perspective..." (4). Note – consider this statement in greater context of our situation now as New Zealand and current status of relations between Maori and Pakeha and in particular his upbringing and attitudes modelled through/by his English grandfather.
- Isolation uniting us.

Citations/Notes/ Theme

- "...there wouldn't have been any, nah them and us or other. It wouldn't have been black and white anyway. It would have been you're from somewhere and I'm from somewhere. But there was kind of no...not for me...not from Māori and European anyway... (2).
- "...you know looking at other relationships where there's Māori and Pākehā involved. You've seen how the European has been influenced by the Māori partner, you know...they're on the *marae*, they're obviously learning things...taking things on." (3)

Cultural Bridging and Changing Attitudes

Concealed Consciousness (Self-reflexivity/ Authority/ Hegemony)

- Being Maori, Maori upbringing. What are the cultural practices; are they easily recognisable or not? Why are they considered Maori?
- Doesn't see the world in binary/resistive/contestable frame. Why? How does this reflect upon the way he portrays himself to others and the way he sees others around him.
- His experiences of negative relations/attitudes are minimal and only brought to attention through the media. Note: Again could be a reflection of his upbringing.

Citations/Notes/ Theme

- "Um then other activities that we would do would be around Māori stuff, you know the *marae*, going to *tangi*, cleaning up and...events, yeah that kind of thing." (1)

Unsettling the Binary: An Alternative Narrative

Concepts/Terms – (Placed under Violation) (Transform/ Re-interpret/ Re-describe)

- Being Māori
- Using notion of European rather than Pākehā.

Conceptualisation of Self (Transform/ Re-interpret/ Re-describe)

- Defines himself as Māori then New Zealander.
- Also acknowledges his European ancestry through his grandfather

Participant Nine – Themes and Analysis

Key Themes

1. Significance of Family and the Modeling of Inclusive Relationships
2. Cultural Bridging and Changing Attitudes
3. Reframing Māori and Pākehā Cultural Identity

Key Concepts

1. Self-reflexivity
2. Dialectical Thinking
3. Violation

Concepts/Terms placed under Violation

- Assuming an Imaginary Binary
- Māori
- Pākehā

...what is identity to me? Um, my makeup I guess so my parents and their background... my cousins and relatives. They're all part of my identity... so probably come under our family culture. So I guess identity for me is my family and if that was to be a category, I probably think it would be under Māori first, and then New Zealander... (See Appendix M: 172)

According to Participant Nine, the concept of family or *whānau* was the most significant factor in understanding who he was, how he portrayed himself, and how he defined himself as Māori and as a New Zealander. For Participant Nine, being Māori was realised

through his *whakapapa*. Interestingly, while people and experiences were important to his construction of being Māori, Participant Nine did not seem to strongly associate with a specific place (e.g., *marae* or tribal area). For example, although he makes reference to particular activities, gatherings, and events, it is more the interactions with family (including extended family) and the connections they have with each other and Aotearoa New Zealand that he saw as important in terms of identity. He explained that being Māori was defined by the relationships, connections and experiences with family:

Yeah, the idea of Māori to me is recognition of where our family has come from. So, um you know grandparents and parent's grandparents, or ancestry. So um I think for me that's the main definition of Māori, so when I say Māori, I'm Māori to someone, hopefully they've got a picture in their head that um, that my ancestors come from I guess the Pacific and we're one of the first to land in New Zealand, therefore, that's my link... (172)

When asked whether his understanding of identity and the family connections he had were associated to any particular time or place, he suggested they weren't, instead they were more about being together and doing 'Māori stuff':

...karakia [prayer] before eating, um if there were elders around you know it would be greeting them in the right way. Sometimes with other families it would be music, you know... Māori songs whether it's on the radio or got the guitar out. Um then other activities that we would do would be around Māori stuff, you know the *marae*, going to *tangi*, cleaning up and... events, yeah that kind of

thing. Yeah so no real place and time, but we did hang out with family a majority of the time. (173)

Participant Nine also acknowledged that he had a ‘European’ connection through his grandfather who is English. However, this aspect of his ancestry was not significant in terms of how he chose to define himself. This was evident when he stated, “the only bit I really acknowledge is that our grandfather is English... I don’t really say, um I’m European... I say I’m Māori but my grandfather’s full English” (173). Participant Nine acknowledged, however, his grandfather and the role he played in modelling positive relationships (Māori and Pākehā) in the family. Participant Nine’s narrative gave an insight into the way he framed Māori and Pākehā cultural identity and relations. Although at times he referred to specific Māori practices and beliefs that were significant to him, Participant Nine acknowledged (and therefore embraced) the everyday Pākehā (what he more commonly referred to as ‘European’) influences upon his upbringing:

...Māori culture teaches us to respect our elders, and we grew up with our grandparents so, um we always like to acknowledge them, and um I guess the other European influence is the normal influences, the same as everyone else. Yeah, you know you walk around with them, you have friends... I guess the other big influence is that I went to a private school, so that was predominantly European. So, and that had... mainly good experiences... (174).

The experiences and relationships Participant Nine encountered at boarding school were significant in regard to his view on Māori and Pākehā cultural identity and relations. He tended not to position Māori and Pākehā identity within a typical binary frame and when

reflecting on his school experiences, he could not recall any instances of racist attitudes: “[i]t wouldn’t have been black and white anyway. It would have been you’re from somewhere and I’m from somewhere. But there was kind of no... not for me... not from Māori and European anyway” (175).

In a postcolonial context it could be argued that everyday understandings of others and ourselves are largely determined through the representations produced and discourses that tend to dominate in a particular society. It could also be argued that particular attitudes and ways of thinking that tend to overlook (do not see) the position of those on the periphery, who are disenfranchised and disempowered, is a result of cultural hegemonic practices, social structures, beliefs and values that have become normalised and accepted by the dominant culture. Cultural hegemony, therefore, can potentially inhibit one’s ability to perceive the role of individuals and dominant cultures in the socio-economic exploitation of minority groups. Oppressed members of society may remain unaware of the social structures that maintain the social hierarchy they are compelled to experience and live. Some postcolonial criticisms, therefore, seek to expose hegemonic structures that marginalise and oppress.

Participant Nine demonstrated how these hegemonic practices can be resisted through education. He reflected on this idea in relation to the media and the negative portrayal of Māori. He suggested that education is the key to changing thoughts, attitudes and practices that tend to divide and subjugate. He referred to these forms of hegemony as stories people subscribed to:

...if we all get educated we might find out... if it's being promoted too much and the majority start believing in one story or the other, but yeah that might be the only case, when people buy into that story and are not educated on it. (180)

The narrative suggests that Participant Nine did not view cultural identity within a typical binary cultural frame. This could be a reflection of not only his family upbringing and educational experiences, but also those encounters and relationships that effectively worked beyond the binary, for example, the modelling of positive relationships, especially between his Māori family and English grandfather.

The non-acceptance of a binary cultural frame is further reflected by Participant Nine's belief that Māori and Pākehā relations and the integration of two (or more) cultures does not always mean the inevitable assimilation of one into the other. For instance, he explained how some relationships involved a two-way form of cultural exchange: "You've seen how the European has been influenced by the Māori partner, you know... they're on the *marae*, they're obviously learning things... taking things on... you know those types of relationships... there's a bit of both, from my perspective" (177-178).

Lastly, another point of interest in the analysis of this narrative was the fact that Participant Nine chose to use the nomenclature 'European' rather than 'Pākehā' throughout the interview. When posed the question of how he perceived the whole notion of Pākehā, especially in regard to his relationship with his English grandfather, he stated "if I just... see a European person... I just think New Zealand" (179). By consistently not referring to the term Pākehā and acknowledging a strong connection to his Māori identity, Participant Nine, inadvertently unsettled a binary cultural positioning between

Māori and Pākehā. In other words, the use of the term ‘European’ as opposed to ‘Pākehā’ did not produce a typical binary cultural frame. As a result, Participant Nine’s subjectivity was neither framed with nor produced in relation to another subjectivity.

Summary and Critical Reflections

Strong connections with extended family, positive conceptualisations of being Māori, the modelling of inclusive relationships by his parents and elders, and the significant influence of his grandfather all contributed to establishing particular values, attitudes and beliefs that challenged the typical Māori-Pākehā binary cultural frame. Participant Nine tended to view his place in the world, especially in relation to Pākehā or European New Zealanders, within a more inclusive and accepting frame.

The articulation of European or New Zealander instead of Pākehā, from a critical perspective, may be interpreted in various ways. For example, in the context of this narrative, European or New Zealander could be interpreted as a strategy that systematically unsettles and, therefore denies any oppositional relationship between Māori and Pākehā. This did not seem to be the case for Participant Nine. His strong recognition of being Māori did not situate his subjectivity within a typical Māori-Pākehā binary. Subsequently, Participant Nine chose to use the term European instead of Pākehā in his articulations of cultural identity. The term Pākehā for some comes with numerous connotations. For those that fail to acknowledge the colonial past of this country it is meaningless and derogatory while for many others it is accepted wholeheartedly as sign of the connection to Māori and Aotearoa New Zealand.

Participant Transcription Analysis Sheet – Participant Ten

<p><u>Historical Consciousness</u> (Traditions/ Pre-judgements/ Assumptions)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identifies as being Māori yet acknowledges Irish and French heritage. - Being Māori wasn't a thing it was a process, a set of cultural practices that were meaningful and significant. - It asserted a sense of place and belonging in the world. - Core values and lived experiences that express those values give powerful meaning in regard to belonging and connecting with a particular group of people. - Never consciously thought about identity when growing up. Being Māori was natural, it felt natural. Predominantly positive experiences associated with being Māori. - How did his relationships with Pākehā friends in his younger years influence his attitudes today regarding the binary cultural frame? - The impact of living, working, going to school together upon how we position ourselves within this binary frame. Potential to not operate within it. 	<p style="text-align: center;">Citations/Notes/ Theme</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "My friends and family, obviously, had a lot to do with who I am today, um who I see myself as. Um being Māori was never a thing I consciously thought of, it just was ..." (1) - "I've always appreciated the way our family supports each other in loss or death, the process we go through is very distinctly Māori in terms of the <i>marae</i>, um just those core values you know, <i>manaakitanga</i>, <i>whanaungatanga</i>..." (1) - "My friends and family, obviously, had a lot to do with who I am today, um who I see myself as. Um being Māori was never a thing I consciously thought of, it just was..." (1) <p style="text-align: center;">The Significance of Belonging and Relationships</p>
<p><u>Critical Consciousness</u> (Self-awareness/ Critical thinking/ Dialectic)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Living together eventually challenges the stereotypes and misunderstandings we have of each other. - How do we do this while still maintaining our cultural distinctiveness and without the risk of assimilating one in to another. - Extending the boundaries that limit our understanding of each other. - The tension implicit within the two cultures enables the eventual confrontations that lead to new understandings. - A constant struggle for better understanding "maybe it's because that's how we get the best out of each other you know...you push me and I push back... you know without disagreement or someone challenging you or your thinking, how do you move on...you just end up in the same place, never um really extending improving yourself." (2) - TIME enabling change and relationship building. "We have to remember that we are a relatively young country...so we are still just shaping ourselves and our relationship with each other. With more time comes more opportunities to learn I guess." (4) 	<p style="text-align: center;">Citations/Notes/ Theme</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "You are always going to get those opposing ends aren't you...it's just human nature, in our nature to be like that. But I think here in New Zealand we are learning to get along better...I'd actually say that we are living together and getting better...you know we live next door to each other, we do things together and we actually get along." (2) - "I'm not sure how we define Māori culture anyway, because you know some of the things we have adopted are Pakehā I guess" (3) <p style="text-align: center;">Extending the Boundaries of Cultural Tension</p>
<p><u>Concealed Consciousness</u> (Self-reflexivity/ Authority/ Hegemony)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Defining or re-asserting the constructions already presented to us. - Associating physicality with identity labels and markers. 	<p style="text-align: center;">Citations/Notes/ Theme</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "...but no-one in New Zealand walks around going I'm a New Zealander do they, it's only useful really when overseas. We either, look and go he's Māori, or he's Chinese, or he's Samoan...we don't go oh he's New Zealander...just doesn't work. " (4) <p style="text-align: center;">Relocating National Identity: What does it mean to Māori and Pākehā?</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Concepts/Terms – (Placed under Violation)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Transform/ Re-interpret/ Re-describe)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Re-articulating Māori and Pākehā as a unified representation of identity. 	<p style="text-align: center;">Conceptualisation of Self</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Transform/ Re-interpret/ Re-describe)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Defines himself as Māori but also acknowledges Irish and French heritage.

Participant Ten – Themes and Analysis

Key Themes

1. The Significance of Family
Belonging and
Relationships
2. Pushing the Boundaries of
Cultural Tension
3. Relocating National
Identity: Redefining Māori
and Pākehā Identity and
Relations

Key Concepts

1. Self-reflexivity
2. Hermeneutic Reflection
3. Violation

Concepts/Terms placed under Violation

- Assuming an Imaginary Binary
- Māori
- Pākehā

...identity to me means who I see myself as in the world and the people and place I'm connected to. Those connections are um important because they give me a sense of belonging to family and to the place where I belong and um where I am from... These connections make up my identity and who I am and I guess... how I relate to my family and others in society. (See Appendix N: 183)

Participant Ten stated that, like many of the other participants, family or *whānau* connections and a sense of belonging were integral to how he perceived himself and his identity. The narratives have highlighted how these connections are realised and

articulated, for example, through the relationships one has with friends and family, through cultural practices, through connections to a particular place and through day-to-day activities and experiences. Again, as has been made apparent throughout this narrative analysis, the concept of family seems to be the single most influential factor in terms of constructing one's identity. Participant Ten is no different in this regard: "friends and family, obviously, had a lot to do with who I am today, um who I see myself as" (183). He acknowledged first and foremost, however, that his parents were the most influential factors in identifying himself as Māori:

I mean they influence and shape who you are to become I'm sure. My parents weren't staunch in the sense of all the Māori side. When I was young they never spoke the language and were definitely not fluent. Wasn't until they got into their forties that they became quite politicised I guess in terms of Māori stuff. (184)

For Participant Ten, as a youngster growing up, being Māori was not something he was constantly mindful of. In his own words: "being Māori was never a thing I consciously thought of, it just was you know. I never really questioned what it was or who I was; well not when I was young anyway" (1). Later in the interview, he admitted that Māori culture was not as easily definable as one might imagine, due to the historical relationships and interaction:

I'm not sure how we define Māori culture anyway, because you know some of the things we have adopted are Pākehā I guess... even things on the *marae*... we keep some traditional things but happy to use ways of doing things when it suits us...

they are just so intertwined today we don't even notice... well especially so-called Māori ways. (188)

When queried about the first time he became conscious or aware of his identity he referred to certain cultural practices, values and beliefs associated with being Māori and his primary school experiences with the Polynesian cultural performance group⁵³. Although he did make the point that there were Pākehā in the group as well, it seemed that this experience was an early platform for him to express his Māoriness. One particular incident, however, raised an awareness of the differences between Māori and Pākehā:

...[a] significant time was when my good Pākehā mate got picked on when we went to Whakatane. These guys started calling him 'white piece of shit', and 'fucken honky'⁵⁴. We were only 12, I think at the time, and we just took off. That was the first time I experienced bad racism and I guess this whole Māori Pākehā thing, um what you call the binary I guess. (184)

Interestingly, as Participant Ten became more aware of the stereotypical societal attitudes toward Māori, he found himself being defined by new and different categorisations that were in complete contrast to the one's he knew growing up:

...it made me quite judgemental of certain aspects of being Māori to be hone'st. I was okay you know with the *marae* and *tikanga* and stuff... but the Māori side that was involved with gangs, violence, drugs etc, I hated. I hated the gangs that

⁵³ The Polynesian cultural group he refers to included not only Māori but also other Pacific cultures in their performances such as, Samoan, Niuean and Hawaiian.

⁵⁴ The term "honky" is a racial slur for white people, predominantly heard in the United States but at times also used in this country.

hung around town and used to intimidate everyone... I thought they were just assholes to be hone'st... I did actually pull away from my Māori side a bit back then... wasn't till I got into my thirties that I started reconnecting with my *hapū* and *marae* and realising that being Māori didn't mean I had to be defined by all those negative things. (185)

On reflection, Participant Ten believed:

...most New Zealanders genuinely want to get along and acknowledge the past to some degree. You are always going to get those opposing ends aren't you... it's just human nature, in our nature to be like that. But I think here in New Zealand we are learning to get along better... (186)

The typical binary frame defines identities within a contested relationship of dominance and subordination. A common theme across all the narratives seemed to be a desire to find a more inclusive and non-hierarchical frame from which to base Māori and Pākehā cultural identity and relations. Participant Ten also reflected this sentiment when asked about what affinities Māori and Pākehā cultures might have. Sport had been recognised on numerous occasions as a medium that may unite cultures. Participant Ten also believed, however, that there was a powerful connection between Māori and Pākehā through land (Aotearoa New Zealand) and *whakapapa* that resonated with Michael King's analysis described earlier:

...you know we all come from this land that is unique to us and we should be proud of it... I mean most of us have inter-married and so connect through *whakapapa* too... I think we have this kiwi New Zealand way about us... you

know we are friendly, we are innovative, I guess you know both cultures have affected each other. Māori culture and language is becoming more prominent and more readily accepted. (188)

Unlike other participants, however, Participant Ten does not proffer a national sense of identity in a local context in terms of bolstering affinities between Māori and Pākehā. According to him a national sense of identity is realised more through New Zealanders triumphs and tragedies as a nation, rather than in everyday cultural relations and politics:

....no one in New Zealand walks around going ‘I’m a New Zealander’ do they, it’s only useful really when overseas. We either look and go ‘he’s Māori’, or ‘he’s Pākehā’, or ‘Chinese’, or ‘he’s Sāmoan’... we don’t go ‘oh he’s New Zealander’... just doesn’t work, I think. (189)

Participant Ten seemed to demonstrate, or at least was in search of, a cultural politics of unity and connection. He did this by not only trying to bridge the cultural divide between Māori and Pākehā, but also by attempting to move beyond the cultural boundaries of thinking that promoted divisiveness, intolerance and discrimination. In order to move past oppositional cultural understandings, the narrative suggested that the very tensions implicit within binary cultural identity and relations provided for the very political space where thinking can be extended/shifted. Participant Ten explained how the pushing of these boundaries of cultural tension signalled a move to new understandings that were more accepting and inclusive of the other:

Um, maybe it’s because that’s how we get to know each other better you know... you push me and I push back... we might fight, um you know without

disagreement or someone challenging you or your thinking, how do you move on... you just end up in the same place, never um really extending improving yourself. (187)

If one accepts culture as discourse, the extension of these boundaries of limitation must, therefore, produce new representations of both Māori and Pākehā. What is important, however, is that these representations challenge rather than perpetuate traditional stereotypes and attitudes that continue to marginalise, disempower and vilify.

Participant Ten also suggested (similar to Participant Three) that the notion of time and increased interactions with one another were important to the breaking down of oppositional attitudes and thinking between Māori and Pākehā. The continual pushing/shifting of the cultural boundaries (culturally limited understandings and perspectives) of limitation, over time, will eventually unsettle traditional polarisations and the binary cultural frame:

...if you think how much society's attitude has changed and become more tolerant and accepting of Māori and imagine another 40 or 50 years, where we might be... we will be better than we are today, because we would have lived alongside each other for another 50 years. We have to remember that we are a relatively young country... so we are still just shaping ourselves and our relationship with each other. With more time come more opportunities to learn I guess. (189-190)

Summary and Critical Reflections

Being Māori for Participant Ten asserted a sense of place and belonging in the world. It also represented a set of cultural practices that were significant and meaningful throughout his childhood. Core values and lived experiences that expressed those values gave powerful meaning in terms of how he connected with others. The greatest influence on his identity was his parents and family. Participant Ten never consciously thought about his identity throughout his formative years, to him it was natural, it ‘just was’ and consisted predominantly of positive experiences. Although defining himself as Māori, the narrative highlights a cultural politics of unity and connection between Māori and Pākehā, evident when he suggested that the distinction between the two cultures may not be so easily defined due to the inevitable outcome of colonisation. That is, the adoption of dominant cultural practices and ways of thinking by Indigenous and minority groups.

The narrative encourages one to extend the cultural boundaries of thinking by challenging one’s own assumptions and beliefs. The narrative also suggested that the destabilisation of a binary cultural frame may be possible through extending/shifting the cultural, political and societal boundaries that limits the understanding of oneself in relation to others; limitations that are located within a typical *Self-Other* binary.

In the next and final chapter of this thesis four overarching themes are discussed in relation to the ideas and concepts discussed in earlier chapters and from the analysis of the narratives. The four themes drawn from the analysis are ‘Defining a Sense of Nationhood: Connections and Belonging’; ‘Cultural Affinities and Differences:

Temporality as Enabling Unity'; The Question of Power: Resistance, Recognition and Individuality; 'Reconciliations and the Unsettling of the Binary'.

While espousing the need to move beyond binary classifications and thinking, the following chapter presents my reflections and concluding statement to this thesis. Chapter Nine highlights not only the complexities involved with cultural identity and relations in Aotearoa New Zealand, but also the complex task I have undertaken in attempting to theoretically unsettle and destabilise the binary.

Part Five: Overarching Themes, Discussion, Critical Reflections and Concluding Statement

Chapter Nine

The Fusion of Horizons through Co-constructive Meaning

Four overarching themes drawn from the narratives provide the basis for the critical reflections and discussion in this chapter. Along with the four themes, key concepts from earlier chapters are re-introduced in the concluding statement. As with the entire thesis, finding a critical and self-reflexive space that works beyond binary thinking in the reframing of cultural identity is the key premise of this chapter. The critical reflections I present are a culmination of the ideas and concepts introduced in earlier chapters, the thoughts and experiences of the participants and my own critical reflections. This chapter reflects the co-constructive nature of this type of qualitative analysis and Gadamer's *fusion of horizons* - the bringing together of different perspectives in order to form new interpretations. The knowledge produced from this thesis has fused with my existing horizon, thus, broadening its range and understanding.

Researchers and participants co-construct meaning each time they expand on old ideas or ways of knowing. Understanding how the participants came to construct themselves and, thus, form their own conceptualisations of identity, is highly complex and subjective. A process that intends to provide interpretations of identity must, therefore, be open to and allow for a multiplicity of meanings and understandings to emerge. Consequently, a thematic and co-constructive approach to analysing and interpreting knowledge of this kind is espoused as essential.

Co-construction allowed for the analysis of each of the participants' narratives, but also the bringing together of the various themes that emerged. The methodology of this thesis

accepts that researchers bring their own prejudices (pre-judgements) to the interpretation of the text. This type of approach sought to include, rather than exclude the history, knowledge, thoughts and experiences of the researcher as an integral part of co-constructing meaning and understanding the primary research.

Abstract theory can, at times, seem far removed from the realities of the lives and experiences of the people it attempts to describe and explain. This chapter informed my understanding of past and current theorisations of cultural identity, by bringing together theory and the social realities articulated through the co-constructed narratives. The analysis and mediation of these two sets of knowledge (abstract theory and participant/researcher conceptualisations) enabled a new narrative to appear; that of the researcher and it is through this narrative that new understandings have emerged, existing ideas have been challenged and new one's constructed.

In an attempt to understand the construction of Māori and Pākehā identities, the narratives were analysed not in isolation but, instead, as part of a collection of stories. The discussion and critical reflections provided, therefore, were an attempt to bring these stories together and to enable a *fusion of horizons* (perspectives), where the cultural boundaries that limit the understanding of the present are extended through a reinterpretation of the past. This chapter represents the closing stages of the hermeneutical task of reflection, where one transforms, re-interprets and re-inscribes conceptual meaning and understanding, and where interpretive understanding shifts from the pre-reflexive to reflexive phase within the hermeneutical circle of understanding, in realisation of course that reflection and construction is an eternal process.

The stories of the participants provided a snapshot of the postcolonial experience in Aotearoa New Zealand. Our collective experiences as Māori and Pākehā have much to offer global understandings of cultural identity and the postcolonial condition. The primary research presented new and critical insights to postcolonial understandings of cultural identity and relations. These insights, I suggest, have been largely due to the highly integrated nature of New Zealand society and the colonial inter-relations between Māori and Pākehā that have evolved as a result. The colonial history of this country, like others and, in particular, the relationship between Māori and Pākehā offers some critical insights to the existing body of postcolonial literature.

Defining a Sense of Nationhood: Connections and Belonging

The narratives suggested a common human desire and need to belong, to be connected to people and/or a place that defines who one is in the process of becoming. To know oneself (through acceptance or non-acceptance) can only ever be realised in relation to the world and others. The relationships and experiences one encounters throughout their lifetime and the way in which meaning is discerned from those encounters constitutes one's sense of identity or self-acceptance of who they are. The narratives tell a story of individuality as well as group membership, of *Self* and collective identity, of self-autonomy and communal association.

In reflecting upon the past in relation to the present, the narratives convey the idea that Māori and Pākehā cultural identities, as social constructs, be understood as evolving subjectivities, sometimes fixed and at times fluid. In the process of becoming, one's sense of who they are is constantly being shaped and (re)formed by their experiences. More

importantly, the context in which those experiences are discerned brings forth meaning through individual interpretations and understandings (*horizons*) and is, therefore, unique as each construction of meaning is drawn from one's own historical experiences.

Although all the participants admitted that a connection to people (family, friends and so on) and place was important to defining who they were, this did not mean that being categorised as Māori, Pākehā, or both, was always appropriate. There was, however, a common desire across the narratives to find some connection between Māori and Pākehā identity and cultural relations. This search for connection could be defined as a politics of recognition and acceptance, which supports a genuine desire to work beyond typical dichotomous representations of being Māori and being Pākehā. The narratives suggested, therefore, the need for a more encompassing and inclusive frame. A sense of nationhood defined through the term 'New Zealander' seemed, for many of the participants, to be a possible frame in which to base more inclusive cultural relations between Māori and Pākehā.

While attempts to unite colonial societies under a single sense of nationhood have been viewed as problematic, especially by those who have been colonised, the narratives tell a story of unity and recognition or, at least, the search for a cultural and political space that acknowledges cultural differences and affinities, in an attempt to bring together two (or more) distinct cultures. To advocate such a space must be done with caution, particularly in light of the meagre gains already made by Indigenous peoples throughout the world. Any national construct that makes claim to a unifying identity, therefore, must by and large, be defined by those who will be most adversely affected by its usage. A space that attempts to move beyond binary constructions needs to be cognisant of the 'one nation'

discourse that is commonly used by those positioned politically to the ‘right’. Don Brash, for example, Leader of the National Party promoted this type of rhetoric in his ‘One nation, One people’ speech in 2004 (See Chapter Five).

The complexity of the issue here is that most of the participants were also in search of a space that brings people into a greater understanding of each other and some articulated that through a ‘nation’ or ‘New Zealander’ discourse. Yet, postcolonial research is, typically, highly critical of this type of discourse because it is merely seen as a campaign to assimilate the minority into the dominant culture. While the need to define such a space is difficult, any attempts to do so must not be based upon traditional nationalistic discourses that promote the ongoing practice of cultural assimilation.

Cultural Affinities and Differences: Temporality as Enabling Unity

Another common theme throughout the narratives is told through a story of negotiation and mediation; a mode of thinking that fundamentally sought to unsettle and destabilise binary oppositions, particularly, in regard to Māori and Pākehā cultural identity and relations. This meant not only acknowledging the differences but also the affinities between both cultures. The apparent desire to find some common sense of unity was premised upon a shared and, at times, contested history. Historically, (bi)cultural relations in Aotearoa New Zealand has been framed within a dichotomous colonial relationship that from a postcolonial perspective, privileges the *Self* over the *Other*, the coloniser over the colonised; a hierarchy that essentially valorises the Pākehā *Self*, while simultaneously asserting the Māori *Other* as victims, who are constructed as forever suffering the effects of colonisation. As Bradford reminds us, “it is misleading to

construct indigenous peoples as victim populations, suffering the effects of colonization without agency or capacity for opposition”. Since the onset of colonisation Indigenous peoples all over the world have “despite the imbalance of power that marked colonialism... engaged in strategies of resistance and negotiation” (Bradford, 2007: 9). Hence, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous postcolonial theorists have utilised the colonial binary frame to expose and resist contemporary colonial forms of oppression. As a result the binary frame of resistance (coloniser-colonised) has become integral to contemporary Indigenous resistance. The narratives, to varying degrees, tell of a similar story; one of resistance and counter-resistance, of negotiation and conflict, of denial and recognition.

Yet, the narratives also speak of an alternative reality, one of unity and the bringing together of two distinct cultures under a single cloak of nationhood. The narratives suggest that beyond academic discourse, there exists a space of negotiation that acknowledges affinities as well as differences. As mentioned in the previous section, the defining of such a space is difficult, but the recurring theme throughout the narratives suggests an alternative space where Māori and Pākehā are not only confronting the binary, but also unsettling its hierarchy and power; a space that potentially enables both cultural distinctiveness and unity.

Biculturalism was espoused as a frame that connected the colonial past with the present and future. The notion of Biculturalism, in this context, has forced New Zealanders (Māori, Pākehā and others) to confront and acknowledge the colonial history of this country and its corollary binary. While it has produced a cultural and political space of (Māori) resistance and (Pākehā) counter-resistance, it has also opened a space for

mediation and reconciliation; a space that provides the basis for developing cultural tolerance, acceptance and understanding.

Key concepts highlighted from the narratives that worked to explain this cultural frame of unity and recognition are temporality and cultural integration. I have coined the term *temporal integration* to describe how these two concepts have operated in a postcolonial context in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Temporal integration* explains how behaviour changes and is affected by the events that extend through time. This includes recent and distant events. However, when events are so far removed (distant or forgotten) in time, they no longer contribute to one's present understanding as they become beyond one's horizon or perspective. Time in this sense is not linear where the past is behind and historically disconnected (distant) from the present, instead it is to be understood hermeneutically, whereby space and time are connected through a network of people, thoughts, practices, ideas and events that are inextricably linked, not as fixed points in time to be analysed chronologically and independently of each other, but instead as interconnected elements or parts of the whole.

In the context of this thesis, historical events such as the onset of biculturalism, urbanisation, and the resistance movements of the last quarter of the Twentieth Century and so on, have all combined to affect current behaviour and perceptions. *Temporal integration* explains a cultural space that shifts one's cultural horizon of understanding. This shift, however, can only occur through one's willingness to engage in a dialogue with the past and present. Over time Māori and Pākehā cultures have become more and more integrated where cultural sites of interaction such as schools, sports teams and clubs, and the workplace have all contributed to extending the boundaries of cultural

understanding. This interaction, while providing opportunities for the (re)production of resistant and counter-resistant relations between Māori and Pākehā, may also provide a cultural space that works to unsettle the binary, where cultural barriers (cultural misunderstandings) that tend to categorise, vilify and stereotype are unsettled. In this sense, those Māori and Pākehā who choose to operate within such a space, view the colonial past as constitutive of an understanding of the present. A dialogue is created that works to mediate cultural differences and acknowledge cultural affinities over time.

The combined concept of *temporal integration* represents a cultural space that while seemingly politically docile compared to traditional and contemporary resistant politics is, I argue, just as unsettling to the Māori-Pākehā binary. In other words, while a dominant politics of resistance and counter-resistance is being played out in protest marches, on talkback radio, in the halls of parliament, in academia and in the media, many Māori and Pākehā living and working together are already discreetly and without pretence negotiating and mediating the differences between Māori and Pākehā cultural relations and identity.

The advocacy of such a space by no means suggests that historical resistance movements against colonial oppression occurred arbitrarily over time. Instead, I suggest that the cultural space of unity described through *temporal integration* is a product of the resistant and counter-resistant history and postcolonial relationship between Māori and Pākehā. Postcolonial political and cultural tensions have forced many New Zealanders to confront the binary and learn about their colonial past. Subsequently, many Māori and Pākehā have positioned themselves along a political spectrum of unity and division. While the cultural politics of resistance and counter-resistance can be attributed to a typical binary,

the narratives suggest that it can also provide an alternative space where Māori and Pākehā can mediate and (re)define their past (colonial) and contemporary (postcolonial) relationship.

The Question of Power: Resistance, Recognition and Individuality

To be Pākehā in 1986 means to begin taking seriously the prospect of sharing power and inevitably giving up power, and looking to a future that must involve a more equitable use of power. (Schroeder, 1986: 3)

Resolving the question of power is, arguably, the most critical aspect of any attempts to reframe cultural identity. The narratives suggest the possibility of mediating the central position of power. Power in this sense represents not only access to resources (such as land), wealth or knowledge, but also the capacity for an individual or a group to be self-determining; to be empowered or disempowered. The question of power, therefore, attempts to understand the nature and utilisation of power within dualist and oppositional cultural frames. The suggestions already made regarding unitary discourses as a way to work beyond the binary is problematic, I realise, because as Nietzsche espouses, ‘truth’ is seen as a ‘will to power’ and those with the power, therefore, ultimately decide what is the truth. The narratives, however, offered insights into the potential possibilities of mediating (sharing) the central position. The mediation of power within such a space requires an individual or group to continuously reflect upon their potential to unknowingly position others on the margins while simultaneously maintaining their own central position of authority. Another insight is that in attempting to reframe cultural identity and relations one must first be aware of the relationship between power,

knowledge and the production of marginalised subjectivities. The Treaty of Waitangi was suggested as an important apparatus in the mediation of power between Māori and Pākehā.

Participants that chose not to define themselves within a perceived Māori-Pākehā binary sought (not unproblematically) a more encompassing and inclusive nationalistic frame, such as ‘New Zealander’. The advocacy of cultural frame that espouses the sharing of power requires processes and practices that continually reflect upon one’s potential to unknowingly position others on the margins while maintaining one’s position at the centre. In other words, being able to critically reflect upon the way in which certain (marginalised) subjectivities are produced or constructed in relation to one’s own requires a change in thinking. Binary articulations are given power by the normalised (hegemonic) thoughts, attitudes and practices prevalent at any given time. Power, therefore, has the potential to make invisible the concerns and issues of those who do not have it.

The relinquishing and sharing of power can only be made possible once one is able to critically reflect upon the way in which certain (marginalised) subjectivities are produced in relation to one’s own. Self-reflexivity of this kind presents moments of anxiety for those in power and, in turn, will present the possibility for change in the way one thinks and, behaves. This change in thinking can only come about once one has been confronted with the binary. *Temporal integration* again is an important concept here, along with the deconstructive and reflexive concepts of *violation*, *alienation* and *gaze of alterity*. If *temporal integration* describes the cultural space produced by the colonial (resistant and counter-resistant) relationship between Māori and Pākehā, these other three concepts describe the internal anxieties experienced when confronted with the binary. In a sense,

the dissonance created through these encounters produces a space that has the potential to unsettle and redefine present cultural understandings; as Kompridis reminds us: “[s]uch a dissonance cannot but disturb the unreflective, taken-for-granted flow of our self-understanding and social practices” (Kompridis, 2006: 35).

The narratives also suggested that the negotiation and mediation of power requires the recognition of the *Other*; for the dominant *Self* cannot be aware of its authority and marginalising capacity without acknowledging the *Other*. Furthermore, the act of recognition is always preceded by acts of resistance. Resistory and transformational practices and tactics challenge the normalised (hegemonic) and, therefore, authoritative position established and maintained within a binary cultural frame.

Reconciliations and the Unsettling of the Binary

The notion of reconciling Māori and Pākehā cultural relations and identity was perhaps the most dominant theme throughout the analysis. All of the 10 participants sought to resolve the historical differences, conflicts and tensions between Māori and Pākehā. Indeed, although there was an overall consensus and acknowledgement of the binary frame as a realistic descriptor of cultural identity and relations in Aotearoa New Zealand, the narratives also suggested that contemporary Māori and Pākehā representations were already challenging traditional dualist and oppositional thinking. The reframing of cultural identity in a more encompassing and inclusive frame is not a simple task, especially, in regard to the relatively recent advent of biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand. The narratives contended with the contradiction of promoting two discrete cultures while simultaneously denying dualist and oppositional frames of cultural identity

and relations. This contention was made evident by the suggestion that a nationalistic sense of identity, such as ‘New Zealander’ might be a more inclusive frame for cultural relations and identity. Most, but not all, participants acknowledged nationhood (national identity) as an important bridging concept. The Treaty of Waitangi was also seen as a mechanism for reconciliation. The narratives, therefore, suggested the Māori-Pākehā binary for some was divisive and for others inclusive, while for some national identity promoted a sense of unity, recognition and connection; for others (e.g., Participant Five) it threatened to demobilise and, therefore, remove Māori political power.

The reframing of cultural identity must acknowledge the unique relationship between Māori and Pākehā while also recognising that other ethnicities and cultures contribute to New Zealand’s multiculturalism. Regardless, the focus on Māori and Pākehā might be seen as exclusionary of other cultures and ethnicities. Yet, in an Aotearoa New Zealand context, a cultural frame that promotes inclusion, must allow for cultural distinction, difference and affinities to be mediated between Māori and Pākehā first, in order to be inclusive of other cultures. This reasoning is based upon the fact that since colonisation the country has been locked in this perpetual and destructive binary between Māori and Pākehā which repeatedly becomes the focus of inter-racial disharmony and, therefore, works to exclude other voices from the frame. Thus, for New Zealand to move beyond the constrictive notion of ‘biculturalism’ and towards acknowledging the multicultural society it already is – the Māori/Pākehā binary must be deconstructed and replaced with a new and inclusive cultural frame. The advocacy of such a frame must acknowledge the unique relationship and multiple representations between Māori and Pākehā so providing the foundations for cultural tolerance, acceptance and understanding.

Acts of reconciliation can only come about through some previous dissent, discord, or disharmony. Contestation, tension, struggle and sometimes conflict, therefore, are pre-conditions of any forms of reconciliation. Reconciling the Māori and Pākehā binary involves to a certain degree the shifting of one's cultural perspective or boundaries. The narratives encouraged us to extend these cultural boundaries of thinking and understanding. The destabilisation (and subsequent reframing) of a binary cultural frame may be possible through extending/shifting the cultural, political and societal boundaries that limit the way one understands themselves in relation to others; limitations that are located within a typical *Self-Other* binary. Consequently, attitudes and thinking framed within the colonial binary frame are traditionally discriminatory (either by race, ethnicity, gender, age and so on) and oppressive (through hegemonic practices) which is neither reflexive nor accommodating of other perspectives.

Concluding Statement

Throughout this thesis I have argued for the need to theoretically reframe cultural identity in an Aotearoa New Zealand context. To inform such a task, I have included the ideas of a number of key philosophical thinkers. Postmodern theory, post-structuralism and postcolonial writings provided the basis for my theoretical destabilisation of the *Self-Other* colonial binary. Also, an important aspect of this task has been the inclusion of Indigenous theoretical perspectives, concepts and understandings. This thesis has attempted to find the synergies between what might be construed as varying epistemological traditions. The conceptual model presented in Chapter Six embodies my attempt to synthesise these contrasting traditions. Philosophical hermeneutics and Māori

epistemological understandings provided the reflexive and critical concepts for analysing interpretation in contrast to traditional binary logic. More importantly, the conceptual framework provided a systematic process that worked to deconstruct and, therefore, destabilise binary thinking and cultural formations.

The three spaces of consciousness (*Historical*, *Critical* and *Concealed*) were the key components of the model. They provided the reflexive spaces for critical analysis. The conceptual model of understanding promoted a process of hermeneutic reflection. Assumed within this circular process of interpretation were the notions of *self-reflexivity*, *reciprocity* and *dialogue*. Along with the model and its subsequent framework, key concepts were introduced to help describe and explain how this process of critical analysis and self-reflexivity could be utilised. For the hermeneutic task of reflection to be effective and therefore useful, these key concepts needed to be understood in terms of their respective functions within the hermeneutic circle of understanding. They include the following; Deconstruction; Violation; Alienation; Gaze of Alterity; and The *Self*-ethical.

These five concepts and the circle of hermeneutic reflection provided a critical and self-reflexive space that sought to disrupt the logic of binary thinking. Deconstruction contends that in any text there are moments of equivocation, indeterminacy ('undecidability') and ambiguity that betrays any attempts to stabilise meaning in a particular (con)text. The paradox of deconstruction, however, is highlighted through the inevitable metaphysical desire to determine 'what is deconstruction', thus, exposing the contradiction in trying to define an exegesis (critical interpretive) approach to (con)textual analysis that denies any assertion or fixation of meaning or single purpose

upon terms, concepts or ideas. Deconstruction as a strategy, therefore, implies the possibility of the impossible; of multiple and alternative interpretations of meaning. Furthermore, the indeterminacy and instability of meaning works to unsettle and deconstruct the internal workings (*Self* and *Other* conceptualisations) of the binary, whereby, the binary essentially deconstructs itself. The *Self* no longer sustains its central position of authoritative meaning and power, for the *Other* provides a point of dissonance, of disdain or desire; a moment of anxiety that opens up the potentiality for reconciliation and for the re-inscription of the Self-as-present as the *Self*-ethical. Through the *gaze of alterity* or the reflection of otherness, the *Self* is put under surveillance, scrutinised and alienated by the look of the *Other*. Conventional understandings of the *Other* and the *Self* are placed under violation and thus, re-interpreted, re-inscribed and transformed.

The social constructs that define who we are culturally, therefore, present a range of images, ideas, beliefs and perspectives of particular subjects. Terms such as ‘Māori’ and ‘Pākehā’, ‘man’ and ‘woman’, ‘Eastern’ and ‘Western’ and so on, are in this sense social and cultural meaning-making constructs that describe (and prescribe) certain particularities, beliefs, expectations and norms by which one consciously or unconsciously ascribes to.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, culture is often defined through the categorisation of specific ethnic groups, like Māori, Pākehā, Sāmoan, Chinese, Indian and so forth. The narratives reminds us of Foucault’s treatise; of culture as discourse and how particular perspectives, metaphors, signs and concepts elicit meaning and, therefore, discern one’s cultural reality or worldview. Although cultural perspectives might be limited to and, therefore, defined

within a particular discourse; culture can also be defined through multiple discourses where one must negotiate their own sense of identity. The narratives generally highlighted this. For example, Participant Ten negotiated between various representations of being Māori (e.g., ‘gang’ discourse and ‘*whānau* values based’ discourse) that constantly morphed, thus, changing the way he perceived himself and others in society. Postcolonial criticisms would suggest that stereotypical representations of Māori are framed within a typical colonial *Self-Other* binary, hence, it seems logical that political resistance by those who have been marginalised must also be framed within a similar binary.

Attitudes and thinking that openly discriminate (either racially or culturally) or that inadvertently oppress (through hegemonic practices) are essentially culturally produced and socially constructed understandings that are neither reflexive nor accommodating of other perspectives.

In order to reframe cultural identity in an inclusive rather than a binary frame, a critical understanding of culture in relation to discourse must occur alongside an understanding of the nature of binary cultural frames and the power dichotomy and hierarchy that perpetuate and maintain the status quo. A critical understanding of culture, discourse and power, requires one to think self-reflexively for, from a Gadamerian perspective, one is always embedded within their own cultural understandings of the world. The way reality or truth is discerned through cultural discourse, therefore, is predominantly a subconscious act. As a consequence, an understanding of those situated outside one’s own cultural reality does not necessarily reflect the true nature of things. In fact, it merely reflects the reality that one already knows and assumes, that is static and unchanging.

The reflexive and critical understanding of one's central positioning as one of authority requires the incorporation of the *gaze of alterity* and *Self-ethical desire*, which assist the self-reflexive process, not only to reverse the hierarchies implicit within the colonial binary, but more importantly to unsettle the dichotomies themselves. Re-inscribing the *Self-as-present* as the *Self-ethical* puts into question one's intent or desire to assert and maintain the central position of power through the process of othering, thus providing the point of departure for self-reflexive analysis and critique where the *Self* becomes the *Self-ethical*. The *gaze of alterity* exposes the unethical intent of the dominant *Self* through the reflection of otherness. The dominant *Self* sees the *Other* in itself, revealing its true nature as self-verifying and authoritative.

The key findings of this research have suggested that the potential destabilisation of traditional colonial binary formations may eventuate from the continued cultural integration of distinct cultures over time. The concept of *temporal integration* has been coined to describe and explain these potential opportunities for unity, recognition and power-sharing. Although setting the scene for instances of discrimination, misunderstanding and prejudice, this thesis also argues that the interweaving and interaction of cultures has disrupted the colonial binary, where both Māori and Pākehā have redefined cultural identity and relations in a postcolonial context.

Non-Indigenous people learn (mis-learn) about Indigenous people largely through (mis)representations. Colonial and racial stereotypes are not only produced but also maintained by the ideals, attitudes and practices grounded within the early colonial experience and traditions. Traditional colonial attitudes and stereotypes are sustained through the telling and re-telling (re-inventing) of genealogical stories. The subversion of

conventional subjectivities framed within dualist oppositions serve to undermine the traditional hierarchy of the binary by temporarily decentering the central position of power (Pākehā *Self*) and usurping it with those positioned at the margins (Māori *Other*). Strategically, for marginalised groups the tactic of decentering has been liberating and productive in the sense that it assumes the knowledge, values and worldview of those who have traditionally been silenced, made invisible and invalidated. In doing so, however, the tactic of decentering exposed its own limitation, in that it merely reversed the hierarchy by asserting the Māori *Self* over the Pākehā *Other*. While useful in an Indigenous-colonial socio-political context, such a project failed, I suggest, to destabilise the binary because it maintained the dichotomy through the production of a resistant/counter-resistant cultural relationship, whereby the two political subjectivities continually vie for the central position of authority and power.

The implications of this research, therefore, are wide-reaching and perhaps controversial. In the field of postcolonial studies, the ideas and criticisms I provide may at times seem counter to the project of critical and emancipatory discourse, particularly, in regard to the Indigenous theoretical resistance movements of contemporary times. This is not my intention. I am, like many Māori academics, searching for a cultural and political space that works to remove the institutional and systemic forms of colonial oppression for not only Māori, but all minorities. The binary has been the locus of my critique over the past four years. It is my hope that the conceptual framework and ideas presented in this thesis will be taken up by others, critically discussed, re-moulded and re-defined in the search for more critical and reflexive spaces that extend conventional cultural understandings. In light of the criticisms I have presented, and the critical and self-reflexive approach this

thesis promotes, it would be remiss of me to not expect my own boundaries of cultural understanding to be criticised, pushed and extended. For it is the tensions created through these types of critical understandings that enables the fusion of horizons, not by imposing one's perspective over another, but by together creating new interpretations and understandings. As such, it is appropriate to leave the closing remarks to Gadamer himself:

But I will stop here. The ongoing dialogue permits no final conclusion. It would be a poor hermeneuticist who thought he [sic] could have, or have had the last word. (Gadamer, 1999: 579)

Glossary of Terms

Aotearoa	Māori name for New Zealand, translation to mean ‘Land of the Long White Cloud’
aroha	love, compassion and affection
haka	posture dance, vigorous dance with actions and rhythmically shouted words
hapū	sub-tribe
Io Matua Kore	the parentless one, the supreme being
iwi	tribe
kai	food, to eat
kapa haka	Māori cultural group,
kaumātua	elderly Māori man
kawa	customs and protocol of marae and wharenui
Kohanga Reo	early childhood Māori Learning Centre
kuia	elderly Māori woman
mana	authority, prestige, divine right, status and influence
manaakitanga	To demonstrate hospitality and kindness to others
Māori	Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand
manuhiri	visitor or guest
marae	Māori tribal communal meeting place
marae-atea	grassed area adjacent to wharenui where formal welcome and speeches are conducted
mauri	life force, life essence

Pākehā	a non-Māori of European descent
tangi, tangihanga	weeping, crying, funereal, rites for the deceased
tangata whenua	people of the land
tikanga	correct procedure, custom, practice, lore
tūpāpaku	body of the deceased
tūrangawaewae	place of belonging or standing place
waka	canoe, vehicle
waiata	to sing or a song
waiata-ā-ringa	action song
whaikorero	to speak or make a speech
whakapapa	genealogy, cultural identity
whakataukī	Maori proverb
whānau	family, extended family or group of people
	connected through common purpose
whanaungatanga	establishing relationships with others, connections
wharekai	eating house, dining hall
wharenui	ancestral meeting/sleeping house
whenua	land

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