

NAU TE ROUROU, NAU TE RAKAU:
THE OCEANIC, INDIGENOUS, POSTCOLONIAL AND NEW ZEALAND
COMPARATIVE CONTEXTS OF MAORI WRITING IN ENGLISH

A Dissertation
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by
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Alice Anne Te Punga Somerville, Ph.D.

Cornell University, 2006

While there is increased academic interest in Maori writing in English, both inside and outside Aotearoa, little of the current scholarship has attended self-consciously to the issue of critical methodologies that pertain to this material. This dissertation explores, in theory and in practice, the comparative ‘umbrellas’ within which Maori texts are most often considered. Holding that a broad definition of what counts as a ‘text’ is crucial to Maori literary studies, I identify the intersections and disconnections of Maori writing with Oceanic, Indigenous, Postcolonial and New Zealand literary and critical works.

This project draws together critical work in the areas of Indigenous, Minority, Postcolonial, New Zealand and Pacific literary studies, along with research about critical Maori academic methodologies such as ‘Kaupapa Maori’ scholarship. A specific whakatauki (“Nau te rourou, naku te rourou, ka ora ai te iwi; nau te rakau, naku te rakau, ka mate te hoariri”) provides the structure of the project and, thereby, the methodology by which I explore the possibilities (rourou), and also the limitations (rakau), of reading Maori writing in English within each of these four comparative critical contexts.

Considering these texts comparatively has implications for the ‘categories’ we call Oceanic, Indigenous, Postcolonial and New Zealand, as well as, indeed, for the conceptualisation of ‘Maori.’ Maori writing in English is not reducible to any one of

the comparative frames I explore: it is Pacific/ Oceanic, but also Postcolonial; it is Indigenous but also New Zealand. I propose that none of these critical frameworks is *singularly* sufficient, and yet the intersection of each with the respective preoccupations/ contexts/ histories/ politics/ thematics in Maori writing means that none of them is removable either. At the same time, I point to potential flaws, problems, disconnects and invisibilities in and between the various frameworks, and I suggest ways in which these – especially Postcolonial and New Zealand – might make critical amends for their exclusions.

As well as examining the features of these specific frames, I foreground and preliminarily theorise the very process of intra-linguistic comparison on which this kind of criticism is dependent, and reflect on the unanticipated prominence throughout the chapters of the complex relationship between literary studies, Maori texts, Maori communities and the experience of Maori students in the literature classroom.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Ko Tokomaru te waka
Ko Rimutaka nga paemaunga
Ko Waiwhetu te awa
Ko Te Atiawa te iwi
Ko Waiwhetu te marae
Ko Te Punga te whanau

Alice Te Punga Somerville has a BA in English and History from the University of Auckland, and she also received her MA (1st class hon) there, under the supervision of Professor Terry Sturm. Whilst working towards this doctorate she was at Cornell University in the Department of English and the American Indian Studies Program. She spent one year at the University of Hawaii at Manoa where she was a Visiting Colleague at the Centre for Pacific Studies and was also hosted by the English Department. She acknowledges the hospitality of all of these institutional ‘homes’.

Alice remains committed to the communities from which she comes; most particularly the Te Punga whanau, the neighbourhood of Glen Innes, Te Atiawa, and the wider Maori community.

She has now spent enough time looking around the world, and plans to spend the rest of her life in Aotearoa, working on her Maori language, raising some babies, reading + writing + teaching, and never stopping her habit of singing badly to the radio whilst dancing around her kitchen cooking yummy food.

ki Hamuera Paora Te Punga (Uncle Paul)

27 May 1916 – 23 September 1944

Aue te moumou -

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**Nau te rourou
Naku te rourou
Ka ora ai te iwi**

**Nau te rakau
Naku te rakau
Ka mate te hoariri**
traditional whakatauki

We need some of our own young people
who want to be literary critics
to study systems of evaluation in our oral systems
and use that in combination with
what they've learned from European literary criticism.
Albert Wendt

Native literature, and Native literary studies, written by Native authors
is part of sovereignty.
Craig Womack

The best of our recent literature is actively engaged in negotiating
the multiple, uncertain, contested sites of identity, location, history,
both within the geographical entity called 'New Zealand' (or 'Aotearoa')
and in its larger, constantly shifting, global relations.
Such negotiations are far from context-less,
but the contexts which sustained literature in English in the past
– colony, Dominion, Empire, nation –
are no longer 'given'.
New contexts are having to be invented,
in a condition of radical uncertainty.
Terry Sturm

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTIONS

In my study in Ithaca, I have a five-shelf bookcase into which my books are piled. The bookcase is very heavy when it's full so whenever I move it around my study, or take everything out to dust properly, I put all the books on the ground and then once the bookcase is ready I load it up again. Of course, everyone has their own system for arranging books that reflects their hierarchies and priorities, and because of who I am, the books on the top shelf are my Maori books. The problem I always encounter after replacing the Maori stuff, though, is deciding which books come next; who gets to go on the second shelf? Is it the Pacific/ Oceanic books, because those are about people related to Maori by whakapapa and region? Is it the Indigenous North American books because, like Maori, they are Fourth World Indigenous, or the Indigenous Australian books because not only are they Fourth World Indigenous but they are only a three hour plane ride away from Aotearoa? Is it the postcolonial books because they are full of theories and carefully articulated analyses of particular historical contexts that might be used to understand the Maori situation? Or is it the New Zealand books by non-Maori writers because even though they're not Maori they are produced on – and very often talk about -

the same islands? The situation is not made any easier by the fact that each one of these possible contenders for the second shelf includes collections of essays and anthologies that contain Maori texts side by side with essays and texts from the Other places within their own specialty.

As I have spent more time working with Maori literature, I have come to see that my problem with the five-shelf bookcase is not just one of housework and organization: it points to the theoretical predicament of studying Maori writing in English within various comparative critical contexts. At the centre of my dissertation is the body of texts we might call ‘Maori literature in English,’¹ and I am very aware of – and excited by – the increased academic interest in this writing, both inside and outside Aotearoa. (When I left New Zealand to start my PhD overseas I genuinely had no idea how many people were talking about and teaching ‘our’ stuff!) In the pages of this dissertation I hope to consider the substance and implications of this critical interest in Maori writing. I see this as an opportunity to intervene and suggest new possibilities for Maori literary criticism, and in particular to explore the four comparative critical contexts within which Maori texts are most often considered: Pacific/ Oceanic, Indigenous, Postcolonial and New Zealand.²

The relationship between the texts (Maori texts in English) and the frames (the four comparative contexts) is neither fixed nor static. Rather, I assert that Maori texts

¹ I need to acknowledge from this early point that ‘Maori’ is not a term unique to that group (or perhaps more properly, those groups) indigenous to Aotearoa, but is also used by Cook Islands Maori to talk about themselves. The ‘unmarked’ Maori in this dissertation is to be understood as ‘New Zealand Maori.’ I will also make a comment about my decision about marking long vowels in the Maori language: I had intended to use the macron in order to denote the long vowels, but have decided – mostly because of a fear of how these are often rendered in databases and so on – that my dissertation will be most ‘accessible’ without this kind of marking. For some readers of te reo, this amounts to incorrect spealling, and for this I apologise. Perhaps, a la the idea of ‘dialect’ I propose in the concluding chapter, I am adjusting my own dialect, and there are clearly positive and negative implications of this decision.

² Certainly there are other frameworks that would be usefully considered (minority, urban, bilingual, ‘world’ etc) but these four seem to be the most prominent in use at present. Presumably these frames will only increase as Maori writers in various locations begin to be recognised: Jean Riki, for example, is collected in an anthology of Australian writing; Vernice Wineera writes in Hawaii and her work might be fruitfully considered within that context; Paula Morris’s *Queen of Beauty* is written from the US, and includes a fair chunk of text based in Louisiana where she also currently resides, and so her work might be compellingly read as American, and/ or Southern writing; and so on. Paula Morris, *Queen of Beauty* (Auckland London: Penguin, 2002).

have a very dynamic and mobile relationship with each of these frames, and with the texts that are included within the scope of these frames, and this dynamism is in fact the very thing that makes this an interesting site for exploration. The same texts can be, and are, productively read in each of the different contexts the frames suggest (and more besides), and the differences and commonalities of these various comparative contexts is the thing that has grabbed my interest. To name a specific example of what this mobility looks like, on the same day³ the Maori poet Robert Sullivan gave poetry readings in two markedly different contexts. In the morning, he read alongside Haunani-Kay Trask (Hawaiian) and myself in a University of Hawai'i seminar called 'Pacific Literature', and then in the evening he read alongside Joy Harjo (Muscogee) in a public 'Evening Reading'. Sullivan's work was Sullivan's work in both cases, and yet in one context his work was being read (or, perhaps, heard) as 'Pacific'/ Oceanic, and in the other it was as Fourth World Indigenous. Of course, texts do not always slide so easily between the frames I discuss in this dissertation; sometimes inclusion in a particular frame is limiting, or problematic, or even restricted. For example, the inclusion of Sullivan's poetry in New Zealand anthologies might challenge particular configurations of 'New Zealand-ness,' and its appearance on a syllabus of Postcolonial literatures, given the regions and experiences apparently preferred by most postcolonial scholars, is unlikely.

In Chapter Two: Always Already Aotearoa I consider some of the key issues of the 'top shelf', not seeking to provide a survey or exhaustive account of Maori writing in English, but instead anticipating that the reader unfamiliar with the literature about which I write (and which I centre throughout this project) might benefit from gaining a sense of the texts and criticism in question. With special reference to the production of literary anthologies, three sections provide a 'way in' to the field: who are/ what is Maori writing in English; claims about 'reality' and 'realness;' and the relationship between Te Reo

³ 29 September 2003.

Maori and the English language in Maori texts. Then, in four separate chapters I consider Maori writing in English – and its attendant critical/ theoretical writing and cultural contexts – beside the writing and criticism of each of these four comparative ‘frameworks’, in order to record, listen to, discuss and respond to the possibilities, and also the limitations, of reading Maori literature in English within each of these four theoretical positions/ critical contexts: I explore Maori texts as Oceanic, Indigenous, Postcolonial and New Zealand literature respectively. I am not interested in ‘solving’ the problem of my bookshelf, and promoting one comparative framework to the second shelf above the others for all time, as much as I am interested in thoughtfully considering the possibilities and limitations of placing each of the frameworks on the shelf nearest the Maori books. This discussion does not seek to be a ‘final word’ on any of these comparative frameworks, or indeed on Maori writing. Instead, it is my hope that my project will not only pick up on, but incite, conversations about the positioning of Maori writing in English in relation to Other literatures.

This project is, at the end of the day, about the stories ‘we’ tell about ‘ourselves’, and I believe that this is what gives the project cultural as well as political valence. However, I need to be clear from the start that my concentration on writing in English throughout this dissertation is, naturally, going to be contrived to some degree, because the literatures produced from within the Maori community build on a much older and much more expansive tradition of cultural production that relies on a literacy – both of the producers and ‘readers’ of those forms – in Maori language, cultural metaphor, performance and signs. Therefore, the act of focussing only on texts written in English arbitrarily removes them from a particularly Maori literary whakapapa and also a sustained (oral/ carved/ woven/ performed etc) Maori literary environment.⁴ Additionally, I wish to avoid a binaristic construct of ‘tradition vs modernity’ that tends to manifest

⁴ This also includes written Maori: newspapers, books, diaries etc.

itself within the literary study of ‘New’ Literatures in English. In a project like this, such a binary could imply that the moment that cultural forms are produced in English – particularly written English - marks the closure/ foreclosure/ inadequacy of forms in Maori.⁵ Rather than impliedly constructing a shift from a traditional/ Maori/ oral literacy into a modern/ English/ written literacy, then, I loudly acknowledge here that literary production in English is only one of the many vibrant strands of Maori cultural production.

he kaupapa, he tikanga, he kawa: a methodology

Even though this project focuses on critical contexts and approaches that are non-Maori/ comparative, it is important to me that the methodology by which I explore these comparative ‘frames’ is Maori-centric; that the project of comparison *itself* is conducted from a Maori location.⁶ Therefore, at the same time as I promote the consideration and use of comparative reading, I simultaneously insist that this can – and perhaps should – be done according to a ‘Maori’ paradigm. To be explicit, an *engagement* with comparative work need not be understood as a *dis*-engagement from a Maori critical methodology. But whence these so-called ‘Maori’ methodologies⁷? How does one establish an appropriate ‘way of doing’ within a written, English-language research process and resulting laser-printed document?

⁵ Of course, this smacks of discourses of extinction, that were biological/ physical in the late 19th century (even if empathetically Darwinian: “aaah you poor dears, we love you, so sorry we just made you all die”), and cultural (once we refused to be wiped out) in the twentieth century (“there are no ‘real’ Indians/ Maori/ Hawaiians etc left”), to the extent that we have issues of authenticity to determine whether someone who’s Maori by blood/ biology is ‘really’ Maori by culture.

⁶ Not *the*, mind you, but *a* Maori location.

⁷ Linda Tuhiwai Smith defines a methodology by contrasting it with ‘methods’, as according to Sandra Harding’s definition: “‘A research methodology is a theory or analysis or how research does or should proceed’, and, ‘A research method is a technique (or way of proceeding in gathering evidence’”. (Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research Methods and Indigenous Peoples* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1999): 143. Meyer uses the term ‘epistemology’ to ask similar questions: “Epistemology is the philosophy or knowledge. It is a way of asking questions, What is knowledge, How do we know, What is worth knowing? It is another way of saying “Indigenous ways of knowing.” I use *epistemology* instead of “Hawaiian ways of knowing” because it is a word that barterers within the currency of mainstream academia.” Manulahi Aluli Meyer, "Our Own Liberation: Reflections on Hawaiian Epistemology," *The Contemporary Pacific* 13.1 (2001): 146

“and what of the Maori metaphors”: Maori-centred methodologies

Within the wonderful world of Maori scholarship, ‘Kaupapa Maori’ (shorthand KM; literally ‘a Maori kaupapa’⁸) has become a recognisable and oft-cited concept that attempts to grapple with, and perhaps underwrite, the consideration of Maori-appropriate/ Maori-centric/ Maori-based research methodologies. Its use by certain prominent scholars has led to the formation of a KM school or movement. Although multiple ‘definitions’ of KM are proffered by scholars and bureaucrats according to their specific use of the term

⁸ ‘Kaupapa’ is one of three words (kaupapa, tikanga, kawa) that are used to speak about methodology, at least in English-language written discussions. A fourth term, rangahau, is a more recent arrival, and is specifically tied to the idea of ‘research’ in a general descriptive sense. Peter Cleave writes about this at length in his *Research in a World of Light and Shade*, and in his address at the conference entitled *Te Oru Rangahau*, Royal referred to its increased use by Government departments and educational settings, and calls for Maori communities to define the word in this context:

Currently the term is used to simply mean research. No discussion or attempt to define ‘rangahau’ has taken place so that when it is used, it does not necessarily refer to a particular kind of research methodology. Given that the term appears in such places as the names of Government departments, it is urgent that Maori define the term and ensure that when it is used it has meaning behind it. (Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal, “Te Ao Marama - a Research Paradigm,” *Te Oru Rangahau; Maori Research and Development Conference*, ed. Te Pūmanawa Hauora (Massey University: Te Pūtahi-Toi, 1998), vol.

Royal then goes on to propose a possible definition of ‘rangahau:’

I will propose that rangahau only be applied to research conducted within the ‘Te Ao Marama’ paradigm of knowledge and by using the whakapapa methodology. No doubt such an idea will raise considerable debate which is as it should be. (Ibid: 85-6)

In this discussion I will focus on the other three terms (kawa, tikanga, kaupapa), because they are most frequently used in the texts I have been reading. Given that ‘Maori methodologies’ are drawn/ sourced from Maori epistemologies and ontologies, there are very compelling reasons to use terminology from the Maori language when writing about them, and in much of the work that has been produced about Maori research (in whichever ways the projects and topics might be defined ‘Maori’), methodology, epistemology and ontology most often invoke three words: tikanga, kawa and kaupapa. The problem is, none of these three terms are consistently glossed. In scholarly writing about Maori research, one person’s kawa is another person’s tikanga, and is another person’s kaupapa, and so on. After busily checking dictionaries and references, and staring out the window for long periods of time, I finally emailed my sister for help with distinguishing between kawa and tikanga (I thought I had kaupapa figured out for sure). Her reply? I wasn’t sure whether to laugh or cry: “What about kawa as the law and tikanga as the philosophy which underpins it. *Or vice versa depending on where you come from.*” (Megan Te Punga Somerville: personal communication 12 March 2003; emphasis added.) My sister didn’t leave me on my own, though, and after much searching she referred me to a Government document that used, and defined, both terms in relation to English concepts of methodology, epistemology and so on. According to Te Puni Kokiri’s *Evaluations for Maori*, kawa is glossed as: “Maori based methodology, themes or strategies (varies according to iwi and hapu)” whereas tikanga is: “Maori customs and values.” (Te Puni Kokiri, [Evaluations for Maori: Guideines for Government Agencies](#) (Wellington: Ministry of Maori Development, Monitoring and Evaluation Branch, 1999). That these three words are not easily ‘pinned down’ in the writing that employs them is an issue that inflects the discourse in which they are used. In my view, this ‘ambiguity’ happens at the moment when I – and/ or the other writers whose articles and books I have read - try to define them in English for an English-reading audience.

for their own projects,⁹ articulations of Kaupapa Maori generally seem to have a dual purpose: ‘talking back’ to ‘Western theory’, and centring ‘Maori.’ Chris Cunningham writes about the reasons for the development of KM:

⁹ Definitions of Kaupapa Maori abound. “It [KM] literally means the Maori way or agenda, a term used to describe traditional Maori ways of doing, being and thinking, encapsulated in a Maori world view or cosmology.” Henry & Pene. ‘*Kaupapa Maori: Locating Indigenous Ontology, Epistemology and Methodology in the Academy*’. *Organization*. 8(2) 2001, 234 - 242: 235

“KM methodology, as a set of methods and procedures, is shaped by our assumptions about what is ‘real’ and what is ‘true’, which in turn shapes our perceptions of what is ‘science’ and how we do it.” Ibid: 237

“KM research is collectivistic, and is orientated toward benefiting all the research participants and their collectively determined agendas, defining and acknowledging Maori aspirations for research, whilst developing and implementing Maori theoretical and methodological preferences and practices for research.” Bishop, Russell. ‘Freeing Ourselves from neo-colonial domination in research: An Indigenous approach to creating knowledge’. unpublished paper: 6

“Kaupapa Maori [is] a learning option.” Goulton, Frances. ‘He Huarahi Ako; Strategic Planning for Whanau, Hapu and Iwi Education’ *Te Oru Rangahau*. Ed. Te Pumanawa Hauora. Palmerston North: Te Putahi-a-Toi; Massey University, 1999: 114

“Intrinsic to KM theory is an analysis of existing power structures and societal inequalities... exposing underlying assumptions that serve to conceal the power relations that exist within society and the ways in which dominant groups construct concepts of ‘commonsense’ and ‘facts’ to provide ad hoc justifications for the maintenance of inequalities and the continued oppression of Maori.” Pihama 1993, quoted in Cram et al. ‘Maori Patient – Pakeha General Practitioner Interaction’. *Te Oru Rangahau*. Ed. Te Pumanawa Hauora. Palmerston North: Te Putahi-a-Toi; Massey University, 1999: 161

Te Maire Tau has written about Kaupapa Maori within the discipline of History. Te Maire Tau, “Matauranga Maori as an Epistemology,” *Histories, Power and Loss: Uses of the Past - a New Zealand Commentary*, eds. Andrew Sharp and Paul McHugh (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2001).

Finding the beginning point of ‘kaupapa Maori theory’ is difficult, because one needs to determine whether earlier pieces written about Maori research that do not explicitly use the term ‘kaupapa Maori’ should be considered in the whakapapa of the term. Is it possible to talk about a difference between kaupapa Maori (Maori philosophy/ approach) and ‘Kaupapa Maori’ (the ‘theory’), or to talk about kaupapa Maori outside of the claims that have been made about ‘Kaupapa Maori’? Like ‘Indigenous Knowledge’, the descriptive phrase ‘kaupapa Maori’ also functions as a concept in and of itself - ‘Kaupapa Maori’ - and so it is difficult to talk about the generalised idea without inadvertently referring to about the specific set of ideas that have come, at least in the academic context, to be known by that name. Likewise, then, will a discussion of indigenous knowledge, for example, always (also) be about ‘Indigenous Knowledge’? To be specific, will a discussion of indigenous knowledge be necessarily consistent with the frameworks, features and emphases of the body of knowledge represented as ‘Indigenous Knowledge’ in texts such as: Ladislaus M Semali and Joe E Kincheloe, *What Is Indigenous Knowledge? Voices from the Academy* (New York: Falmer Press, 1999). and Budd L. Hall, Dorothy Goldin Rosenberg and George Jerry Sefa Dei, *Indigenous Knowledges in Global Contexts : Multiple Readings of Our World* (Toronto ; Buffalo: OISE/UT book published in association with University of Toronto Press, 2000).. Just as one way of thinking about ‘postcolonial theory’ emphasises its *un*-unified and amorphous nature - a matrix of ideas that relate as much by the fact that they *don’t* relate in a fixed way, as by any other reason - so too Kaupapa Maori is arguably a malleable, unfixed, dynamic set of relations. Either way, seeing as that name of the methodology/ approach is also its descriptor, there seems to be little room to wonder about kaupapa Maori outside of ‘Kaupapa Maori’.

Perhaps the strongest and most obvious (resilient? noisy?) claim of KM, particularly the earlier works to articulate the KM framework in as many words, is its resistance to ‘Western’ modes of methodology/ research/ theory. This tendency to ‘respond’ is consistent with the institutional positioning of the practitioners of KM, as I have noted above. It is worth noting a couple of limitations of some writing about KM that have implications for this – comparative - project. One is that it oversimplifies the idea of ‘Western’ theory. While it is appropriate to critique and question the cultural and epistemological background of theoretical approaches (particularly when these backgrounds are obscured by claims to neutrality, objectivity, empiricism and so on), wide claims about Western theoretical ideas, as if they are one composite mass, is to underestimate the modes in which those very ideas operate. ‘Western theory’ is so pervasive and colonising precisely because it presents itself as being impossible to sum up, and any attempt to do so appears naïve and insufficiently aware of the nature of that theory. Second, there is possibly the potential to throw out the baby with the bathwater; not all ‘Western theory’ is necessarily bad by virtue of its being Western, and not all

[KM arises out of] Maori dissatisfaction with dominant Western forms of, and Pakeha control of, research and... a desire to recover and reinstitute matauranga Maori – the indigenous system that was in place before colonization.¹⁰

The first dimension, “Maori dissatisfaction with dominant... research” is about ‘talking back’, and is most famously advanced and epitomised in Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s remarkable *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, although several Other writers have also ‘written back.’¹¹ The second dimension of KM (“to recover and reinstitute matauranga Maori”) necessitates a reorientation of Maori research to Maori knowledge systems. Rather than sourcing KM tikanga/ kawa (the ‘how to’ of KM) from inside the institution of the university, and refusing (quite rightly) to source it from European intellectual histories or genealogies, Maori-centred research consciously draws on Maori intellectual histories and conceptual frameworks.¹² According to Fiona Cram,

theory that’s derided as ‘Western’ is not, or is only partly so. Perhaps the most obvious example of this is postcolonial theory, much of which is written in, and draws on conversation from, non-Western contexts, as I will explore in Chapter Five: Maori as Postcolonial.

¹⁰ Cunningham, Chris. ‘A Framework for Addressing Maori Knowledge in Research, Science and Technology’. *Te Oru Rangahau*. Ed. Te Pumanawa Hauora. Palmerston North: Te Putahi-a-Toi; Massey University, 1999: 394.

¹¹ Hawaiian poet and scholar Brandy Nalani MacDougall complicates the notion of ‘writing back’ (the phrase coined most widely in literary studies by the Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin volume *The Empire Writes Back* Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back : Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1989).). In an unpublished essay, MacDougall points out that the this formulation gets the ‘origin’ points towards whom writing is apparently directed around the wrong way: literature that is ‘writing back’ is actually that of the Europeans who were ‘writing back’ to the existence of, and their encounters with, indigenous communities and ‘new’ landscapes during the colonial process.

¹² To give an example of what this ‘looks like’ for Henry and Pere, who work in the field of Management, they centre Maori perspectives by describing the philosophical background of KM and naming several aspects of Maori knowledge and values: “KM is both a set of philosophical beliefs and a set of social practices (tikanga). These are founded on the collective (whanaungatanga) interdependence between and among humankind (kotahitanga), a sacred relationship to the ‘gods’ and the cosmos (wairuatanga), and acknowledgement that humans are the guardians of the environment (kaitiakitanga), combining the interconnection between mind, body and spirit... KM is a manifestation of Maori cosmology.” (Henry & Pere: 237)

Two important benefits of using Maori concepts to organise our work in Maori areas is that these are sufficient and appropriate for our subject matter. By appropriate, I mean that we can be confident that they will take into consideration all of the elements/ dimensions of a project, and place these in balanced relationship. If it seems an extra strand or issue or point is evident, then, this is more about my inability to see it within its balanced contextual relationship. More than this, the metaphors will contain the elements for exploring ‘issues’ – one example would be gender, but work has also started in the area of sexuality - in a way that is appropriate to Maori thinking. By sufficiency, I mean that these ways of conceptualisation are useful for gathering and organising ideas, and in some cases for nudging one to consider elements that otherwise might have been left out of the discussion. This ‘sufficiency’ is crucial to the anxiety I had felt about my own work: how will I know that I have ‘covered’ my area? How will I know that I am not simply making a list that may inadvertently be incomplete or miss out a major idea? An example is the whare tapa

KM research is an attempt to retrieve Maori space for Maori voices and perspectives, whereby Maori realities are seen as legitimate. This means working outside the binary opposition of Maori and Pakeha and centering Te Ao Maori.¹³

This stance is also suggested in Royal's kawa of matauranga Maori - "it must be rooted in matauranga Maori itself, it must be borne of it"¹⁴ - and a claim by Chief Justice Eddie Durie that: "it is important to measure Maori society in its own terms."¹⁵ The existence, nature and implications of both of these dimensions – which, when teaching, I tend to shorthand to an endlessly oscillating and interrelated dynamic of 'decolonising' and 'indigenising' – remain central to this dissertation.

Although much of the impressive body of scholarship about KM has not (yet) come from 'abstract' fields such as literary studies,¹⁶ and some disciplinary policing is

wha, which became the basis for my Masters thesis and the resultant publication. Until I decided to use the whare tapa wha for my structure, I had not considered its fourth wall, te tapa wairua, the spiritual dimension of the study of mixed race literature - I had not even considered that it was an important aspect about which to talk!

¹³ Leonie Pihama, Fiona Cram and Sheila Walker, "Creating Methodological Space: A Literature Review of Kaupapa Maori Research," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 26.1 (2002): 161. It is perhaps worth noting that Kaupapa Maori is a term used by people working within University and Government contexts; this institutional position is inevitably in a constant position of negotiating a relationship vis a vis the Treaty partner; a kaupapa need only be described as Maori (thus, 'kaupapa Maori), after all, in spaces in which this ('Maori') kaupapa is not the 'norm' kaupapa.

¹⁴ Although he doesn't explicitly claim to be working with/ through KM, Royal demonstrates what this might look like in his discussion of his whakapapa methodology: "the employment of methodologies derived from this [Te Ao Marama] world view". Royal 1999: 83.

¹⁵ Durie, E. T. 'Ethics and Values in Maori Research'. *Te Oru Rangahau*. Ed. Te Pumanawa Hauora. Palmerston North: Te Putahi-a-Toi; Massey University, 1999: 64. Durie goes on to ponder how we might know what these 'Maori terms' might be, and recognises that some of the present conceptualisations of Maoriness come from academics who have read the Eurocentric works of early English writers: "Some Maori have adopted the opinions of the early European writers. This includes and may apply especially to Maori academics." (Ibid: 66)

¹⁶ The major sites of KM research and related publications, are Education (particularly, although not by any means only, at the University of Auckland), Development Studies (particularly at Waikato) as well as Anthropology, Sociology and Management. Psychology in Aotearoa has also built up a set of theories called 'Psychology KM'. A limitation of KM for this project is that in many cases the practices and principles discussed by KM theorists are closely linked to the Social Sciences. Claims of 'realness', a focus on response to (perceived) research priorities of the Maori community, an emphasis on practical data gathering practice, and heightened interest in what Linda Tuhiwai Smith refers to as topics of "crisis" are some manifestations of this disciplinary emphasis. (One example is the relationship between – and accountabilities attendant on - researcher and researched, that is brought to the fore of any project. This concern might manifest itself as a heightened sense of one's own subjectivity, and one's own disruption of the process or phenomena which one is trying to fly-on-the-wall-ish-ly study, or it might mean that the researcher is accountable to the researched in terms that are laid down by the researched – hui, sending in responses, giving rights of veto over information divulged, formally handing research projects over to the group in question and so on – is variable.) Some key tenets of KM theory are translatable across to non-social science projects for example, doing a piece of historical research on a particular piece of land of community impels one to seek a relationship with the custodial group, starting in the very least with a humble request for permission, and quite possible moving into a crash course in the practices of utu.

discernible in some pieces of KM work, its disciplinary ‘translation’ into literary studies is made possible by the use of the term ‘Kaupapa.’ Rather than being prescriptive (which in the academy often manifests itself as *disciplinary* prescriptive-ness), a ‘kaupapa’, and thus KM, implies a foundational orientation towards a subject or politics. After all, a ‘kaupapa’ is literally a level surface, floor, stage, platform, layer, groundwork, plan, scheme, proposal,¹⁷ and is now also used as policy, scheme, programme, subject, topic, theme as well.¹⁸ To further tease out the meaning of ‘kaupapa’, Webster’s discussion of the building of the complex on Waipapa marae at the University of Auckland parenthetically provides two further, related, definitions in the context of planning the carvings and tukutuku panels: “an official kaupapa (plan, dedication, groundwork);”¹⁹ and “kaupapa (plan and design motifs).”²⁰ Given these meanings of ‘kaupapa,’ then, we can imagine that KM ensures that the ‘Maori’ dimension is central, or perhaps more properly *foundational*, to methodology regardless of discipline.

How, then, can we find appropriate ways to ‘read’ Maori texts? At least some scholars who work with KM acknowledge the utility of textual analysis. For example, in her discussion of Campion’s acclaimed film *The Piano*, educationalist and key proponent of KM scholarship Leonie Pihama draws attention to the methodology of criticism as an essential site for further discussion:

crucial to this struggle to regain our voice, to move from the margins, is the presentation of *frameworks of reviewing and deconstructing* the types of images that have been seen to constitute ‘the Maori’ image.²¹

At times I have been frustrated by the Social Science bias of much prominent Maori scholarship and the resulting invisibilisation of Maori academic work outside of a few ‘centred’ disciplines. However, I have been encouraged - especially by my patient friend Helen Potter - that my frustration should be redirected away from what I see as limitations of the existing work, and channelled into the production of new scholarship within my own field that does the work for which I have at times preferred to hold others responsible.

¹⁷ From the Williams dictionary. HW Williams, *Dictionary of the Maori Language*, 7 ed. (Wellington: GP Publications, 1971)..

¹⁸ From the *Te Matatiki* dictionary. Maori Language Commission/ Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Maori, *Te Matatiki: Contemporary Maori Words*, Oxford, Auckland, 1996.

¹⁹ Webster, Steven. ‘Marae Artworks and the Reproduction of Maori Ethnicity’. *Oceania* 66 (1) 1995: 6

²⁰ Ibid: 9

²¹ Leonie Pihama, "Are Films Dangerous? A Maori Woman's Perspective on *the Piano*," *Hecate* 20.2 (1994): 240, emphasis added. Pihama has also taught Indigenous film courses at the University of Auckland.

How can we conduct reading/ interpretive practice in the English language – “frameworks of reviewing and deconstructing” - within or through Maori conceptual frameworks? This is where we need to look to steps that literary studies might be making towards KM. That KM has not yet engaged in methodological discussions within the discipline of literary studies, and scholars within literary studies have not adopted KM, does not necessarily preclude the production of KM literary scholarship (or, indeed, literary KM scholarship). One scholarly by-product of this dissertation is, I hope, to suggest that working towards this kind of scholarship is both possible and productive.

Little existing literary scholarship about Maori writing in English explicitly foregrounds ‘methodology.’ Much of the criticism contents itself with a little historicisation and perhaps politicisation, and then continues with an - apparently - transparent mode of close reading. For an example of literary criticism that engages more specifically with the matter of methodology in a way that resonates somewhat with KM, it is instructive to look to Samoan writer/ scholar Albert Wendt for guidance; his essay ‘Tatauing the Post-Colonial Body’²² is arguably the most significant discussion about the actual *practice* of Pacific (Literary) Studies. In the essay, he turns to the structure, protocols and multiple textual dimensions of the pe’a and malu (men’s and women’s traditional tattoo, respectively) to provide the basis of an appropriate literary criticism:

we can also see tatauing and its history and development as an analogue of post-colonial literature. The art of tatauing – or, more correctly, the way of life that is tatauing – had to survive the onslaught of missionary condemnation and colonialism. The act of tatauing a tatau (a full male body tattoo) or a malu (a full female body tattoo) on the post-colonial body gives it shape, form, identity, symmetry, puts it through the pain to be endured to prepare for life, and recognizes its growing maturity and ability to serve the community.²³

²² Albert Wendt, "Tatauing the Post-Colonial Body," *SPAN* 42/43 (1996): 15 – 29. This piece draws on the motifs and symbols in the Samoan tatau (and malu; these are the Samoan forms of tattoo) in order to develop a mode of literary analysis appropriate to Pacific writing.

²³ *Ibid.*: 400-1

Wendt is very clear in this essay, and in a later interview with Rotuman writer and critic Vilsoni Hereniko, about the need to acknowledge and utilise research methodologies from both indigenous and western systems:

What I've just demonstrated by looking at the meanings of the two key words is that you have to be bilingual (Samoan and English) to better understand post-colonial literature. You have to know the indigenous language and culture of the writer producing that literature in English. This is an obvious perception, yet it isn't one many anthropologists, historians, critics, academics, and editors of anthologies practice.²⁴

We need some of our own young people who want to be literary critics to study systems of evaluation in our oral traditions, and use that in combination with what they've learned from European literary criticism.²⁵

So then, both KM and literary studies seem to advance – at least in some areas – towards one another.²⁶ But if, in line with Wendt's formulation, I am adamant that the very structure and framework of (my) Maori literary criticism needs to be appropriate to concepts found in te Ao Maori, in a foundational way as advocated by KM discourse, *as well as* drawing on the disciplinary tools of literary studies as it might be found in English (or perhaps Comparative Literature) departments, how do I 'combine' two systems in one document? And in particular, what does 'methodology' look like when it's not about interview techniques, textual usage and dissemination of oral knowledges, or accountability to informants?

In her influential essay "Borders and Frontiers," Irihapeti Ramsden recalls how the metaphors with which she grew up structure her understanding of her world; they provide a framework through which all experiences are mediated.²⁷ As a part of her

²⁴ Ibid: 402

²⁵ Hereniko, Vilsoni. "An Interview with Albert Wendt." *Manoa* 5.1: 58.

²⁶ And, indeed, KM and Native Pacific Cultural Studies also articulates (in Stuart Hall's sense) interestingly. These bodies of scholarly texts pay similar attention to research practice, theoretical methodology and linguistic/ cultural imperatives. In particular, discussions about local-derived methodological protocols are strikingly parallel.

²⁷ Because metaphors are inextricable from their linguistic context, Ramsden impliedly links metaphors to language by using both the Maori and English names as she refers to various places:

And our metaphors were intact. As a child the language I heard so much of was Maori. Maui's fish lived and so did the waka from which it was hooked and landed, Te Waka a Maui, the South Island.

discussion about the implications of ‘losing’ metaphors,²⁸ Ramsden writes about their potentially stabilising function:

And *what of the Maori metaphors*, our fish, the outrigger waka? Can they give order and shape to Maori society as the borders get closer and the frontier narrows?²⁹

Similarly, Hirini Melbourne writes about the “concrete[ness]” of such metaphors when he draws on the whare whakairo as a structuring metaphor for his discussion of Maori literature in “Whare Whakairo: Maori ‘Literary’ Traditions,” his contribution to *Dirty Silence*, a widely-used collection of essays about New Zealand literature:

The Maori writer who wishes to begin writing in Maori needs some concrete means of drawing on the general heritage of Maori culture in order to express the way of seeing the world that is particular to Maori people.³⁰

Although my institutional context is non-Maori (I write a dissertation in the English Department of an American University, after all³¹), then, my methodology will be patterned according to *metaphors* from Te Ao Marama/ Te Ao Maori. These metaphors will be the undergirding, foundational structure; they will provide the concreteness for my project.³² I am not setting out to find the ‘ultimate’ metaphor from which I might propose

Everybody travelled ‘up’ from Tamaki Makaurau to Te Whanganui a Tara. Everybody knew that the tail of the fish, Te Hiku a Maui, was beyond Auckland and that Wellington was located at the head, therefore it made common sense to travel down to Auckland and up to Wellington. Irihapeti Ramsden, “Borders and Frontiers,” *Te Ao Marama 2: Regaining Aotearoa: Maori Writers Speak Out*, ed. Witi Ihimaera (Auckland: Reed, 1993): 348

²⁸ “The loss of metaphors is a serious business for any culture. The orderly world of metaphors is understood implicitly by all members. It makes each culture unique. The powerful Pakeha war metaphor predominates in NZ society...” Ibid: 348, emphasis added.

²⁹ Ibid: 348

³⁰ Hirini Melbourne, “Whare Whakairo: Maori ‘Literary’ Traditions,” *Dirty Silence: Aspects of Language and Literature in New Zealand*, eds. Graham McGregor and Mark Williams (Auckland: Oxford, 1991).

³¹ This is not a matter of trite acknowledgement for me. The democratisation, access and circulation of knowledges within a University context operate very differently to how knowledges are treated in their own community contexts. The complicity, and in many cases active participation, of universities in the colonial project is also crucial to this dissertation, and I will explore this further in the final conclusion of Chapter Three: Maori as Oceanic.

³² In a chapter called ‘Waharoa’ that I contributed to Brennan’s *Mixed Race Literature*, for example, I wrote about the importance – and difficulty – of using relevant metaphors to construct critical frameworks in literary studies, as I tried to develop a methodology that would enable her to explore mixed race Maori/Pakeha texts:

Any exploration of mixed race literature must incorporate the values and methods of reading texts/ the world from all of the groups represented in those texts. Dual centrality of the Maori and Pakeha worlds is difficult to conceptualise, particularly when most theoretical debate comes from a Western academic framework that has often applauded the conceptualisation of social and other realities in terms of boundaries and polemics. Despite – perhaps, indeed, *because of* – these inevitable tensions, specific modes of Western academic thinking and Maori thinking *both* need to be present in a central way to any new method of analysis.

‘*the* Maori literary theory,’³³ but rather that I have sought *an* appropriate methodology for this particular project. Specifically, for this dissertation I source the structuring (methodological) metaphor from a specific whakatauki. But why a whakatauki?

he whakatauki

I have already explicated that a KM methodological apparatus, which often in the case of the humanities (and perhaps some of the social sciences) relates to the written structure of a research document³⁴, must be sourced from within Maori conceptual mores.³⁵ But, further, within a *literary* studies project it makes sense that these mores – or metaphors – come from within the Maori *literary* tradition. By locating the methodology within the Maori oral literature(s), I seek also to (re-)locate the written literatures in English within this same genealogy. This, in turn, underscores an important claim that this writing is – despite its writtenness, englishness and perhaps western-genre-ness – appropriately located within the context of Maori literary tradition and Maori literary critical practices. To be clear, this ‘literary tradition’ would include te reo,³⁶ whakapapa,³⁷ whakatauki,³⁸ tikanga,³⁹ korero,⁴⁰ karakia,⁴¹ kawa⁴² and so on.

Alice Te Punga Somerville, "Waharoa:Maori-Pakeha Writing in Aotearoa/ New Zealand," Mixed Race Literature, ed. Jonathan Brennan (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002): 215

³³ A ‘kaupapa’ after all, is a foundation, not the built structure itself.

³⁴ This is a different moment in the research process that that which is emphasised, for example, in social science-focussed work in which interaction with ‘informants’ and research participants and so on have tended to take centre stage.

³⁵ I am dissatisfied with methodologies that claim to be sited on Maori ontology and epistemology, but then conduct themselves like any non-Maori piece of criticism. Perhaps the questions it asks, the politics it supports and its orientation to audience is ‘Maori’, but it seems to me that measurements of ‘Maoriness’ are ambiguous at best; at worst, they become prescriptions for a dangerously individualised Maori experience as if it applies to all.

³⁶ Language; I am sad that my grasp on te reo is not strong enough that I can easily investigate kupu Maori (Maori words) etymologically, which is how a number of people seek to conduct this work, but I do appreciate having people I can call on to point out the component parts and history of a kupu if I ask them to.

³⁷ Genealogies

³⁸ Proverbs, maxims, sayings.

³⁹ Ways of doing things, ways of conducting oneself; rule, plan, method, custom, reason, meaning.

⁴⁰ Stories, including histories.

⁴¹ Prayers.

⁴² Protocols.

Whakatauki, or proverbs, are an important element of the oral tradition, and can also provide a thematic basis for discussion, as is demonstrated by Mead, Ellis and

McRae.⁴³ In her 1988 doctoral dissertation *Whakataukii – Maori Sayings*, Jane McRae:

propose[s] to document the function of whakataukii as a genre in Maori oral tradition... suggest[ing] that it is from an understanding of their general application as a major textual device that we can move to explore their more particular characteristics like linguistic apparatus or “literary” style.⁴⁴

⁴³ Another kind of reference to the oral tradition can be seen in the use of the concept of ‘the world of light’, (‘te ao marama’), the known/ seen world, which figures prominently in whaikorero (formal speeches). The phrase is used in the title of the first anthology that included Maori editorship, *Into the World of Light*, and the opening mihi, formulated according to the classical oral tradition, invokes this phrase in te reo:

... Tuia i te kawai tangata i heke mai i Hawaiki nui
I Hawaiki roa, i Hawaiki pamamao
I te hono ki wairua, ki te whai ao, ki te Ao Marama.

Witi Tame Ihimaera and D. S. Long, *Into the World of Light : An Anthology of Maori Writing* (Auckland, N.Z. ; Exeter, N.H., U.S.A.: Heinemann, 1982): 1

That the anthology was published in 1982 perhaps explains why an English translation of the mihi is provided at the end of the introductory comments. This seems to reinforce a movement away from te reo into English, thus suggesting that with the installation of English as a language of writing, te reo has been replaced. Were it not for the translated mihi, the meaning of the title of the book would only have been accessible to bilingual readers. As it is, of course, bilingual readers can enjoy knowing more about the depth of the term than readers who only hear it in English, and thus might be presumed unfamiliar with the significance of the ‘world of light’. The metaphor is referred to within the discussion of recent literary history:

But it was not until the early 1960s, and via written English, that Maori literature began to unfurl the views of the people, until then participants in virtually the largest underground movement [that of Maori literature] known in NZ, into the world of light.

Placing the literature in English within this metaphor enables its consideration as a part of an ongoing process, in which things move from the realm of potential being to the realm of nothingness to the realm of light, and on again. Bringing something into light implies it already exists, elsewhere perhaps, and it is an environmental change - as well as the shift that takes place on the part of the ‘something’ – in order for it to become visibility. Te Ao Marama is also, of course, the name of the multi-volume anthology that has a central place in both the collection and record of Maori literature, particularly in English. The use of the conceptual metaphor for the name enables a doubling of meaning in pertinent passages of the ‘Kaupapa’, where the phrase could be understood as the present anthology and/ or the world as we know it. A couple of examples will demonstrate this meaningful ambiguity: “Part of *Te Ao Marama* is in Maori... *Te Ao Marama* is a marae where our writing will stand, to reflect the times...” Witi Tame Ihimaera, *Te Ao Marama : Contemporary Maori Writing* (Auckland, N.Z.: Reed Books, 1993): 17 - 18

Another anthology that uses the metaphor in its introduction, *Huia Short Stories 1997*, uses the metaphor as a way of describing the shifts and changes that take place in the collection: “This collection begins in darkness and moves through many manifestations of the world of light.” *Huia Short Stories 1997*. Wellington: Huia Publishers, 1997: 7. In relation to methodology, Te Ao Marama figures prominently in Royal’s accounts of matauranga Maori, and Margaret Mutu also explicitly ties the protocols of knowledge use and production to this concept: “For it is the wise use of knowledge that brings us to Te Ao Marama, not its abuse and misuse.” Mutu, Margaret. ‘Barriers to Research: The Constraints of Imposed Frameworks’. *Te Oru Rangahau*. Ed. Te Pumanawa Hauora. Palmerston North: Te Putahi-a-Toi; Massey University, 1999: 61.

⁴⁴ Jane McRae, “Whakataukii: Maori Sayings,” PhD, University of Auckland, 1988.: 52. McRae’s spelling ‘whakataukii’ reflects the alternative way to signal long vowels in the Maori language. When quoting her work directly I will use her spelling, but in my own discussion, as I have already noted, I am not marking long vowels. Thus, whakataukii and whakatauki are indeed the same.

She organises her thesis into three overarching sections – whakatauki “as a Genre,” “in Maori Oral Tradition,” “in Tribal Oral Tradition” and “from Taitokerau.”⁴⁵ With regard to

“Whakataukii in Maori Oral Tradition” she writes that:

These whakataukii tend to express general principles and to epitomise Maori culture; they offer guidelines to the basic rules of conduct founded on tradition and, in recording that tradition, they may also inform about people and events of the past. In recording and espousing tradition whakataukii reassert traditional values.⁴⁶

McRae emphasises the non-rigidity of this “general” form of whakatauki (for which she gives the whakatauki referred to in the title of this dissertation as an example):

The tradition which keeps ideas in general whakatauki current requires that their primary meaning remains fixed even though some wording in them may change. Variants are common and can provide quite strikingly different contexts for the same proverbial message[.]⁴⁷

In an essay about research ethics, writer/ scholar Ngahuia Te Awekotuku similarly foregrounds the possibilities of flexible - and context-specific - methodologies, and refers to a whakatauki in order to do so:

Kaore i hangaia te kupenga hei kopu ika anake;
engari, i hangaia kia oioi i roto i te nekeneke o te tai.⁴⁸

For the purposes of this project, I understand this whakatauki to be a ‘meta-whakatauki’⁴⁹ about the productiveness of using whakatauki as ‘structuring metaphors’, because of their multidimensionality and the way in which their flexibility enables them to be mobilised within diverse situations, whilst retaining a specific basic structure and purpose.⁵⁰ So, then, we have a reason to seek out a Maori-centric methodology, and a reason for the use of a whakatauki within this project.

⁴⁵ Te Tai Tokerau is the tribal rohe/ district in the northern part of the North Island.

⁴⁶ Ibid: 130

⁴⁷ Ibid: 173

⁴⁸ “For a net is fashioned not only to catch fish, but to flow, smoothly, with the currents of the sea.” Translation supplied by Te Awekotuku, in Te Awekotuku, Ngahuia. *He Tikanga Whakaaro; Research Ethics in the Maori Community*. Wellington: Manatu Maori – Ministry of Maori Affairs, 1991.

⁴⁹ A whakatauki about whakatauki (at least in this reading of it).

⁵⁰ It is worth adding here that ‘fishing’ and fish are used as metaphors for the acquisition of new knowledges. I am grateful to Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal for pointing this put to me.

The title of this dissertation, ‘Nau te rourou, Nau te rakau’, alludes to and mobilises a widely used whakatauki that comprises the foundation for the methodology of this project. This particular whakatauki is about the importance of both internal *and* external contributions to any undertaking, whether generative/ creative or protective/ destructive:

Nau te rourou,
Naku te rourou,
Ka ora ai te manuhiri.⁵¹
Nau te rakau,
Naku te rakau
Ka mate te hoariri.⁵²

But why this particular whakatauki? How does it inflect, or indeed organise, this project? Briefly, in the context of my dissertation, the whakatauki suggests a doubled critical approach to Maori literature in English: ‘*naku te rourou, naku te rakau,*’ constructing internally referential methodologies that draw from and locate themselves within the ‘Maori’ context of the writing; and ‘*nau te rourou, nau te rakau,*’ which, while not seeking to dismiss the ‘internal’ modes of criticism,⁵³ draws on writing, theory and cultural contexts outside te Ao Maori. While I affirm and remain committed to the ‘naku’ (‘my’; Maori-centric) critical paradigms, in this project I focus on ‘nau’ (‘your’; non-Maori/ comparative⁵⁴) critical approaches.

McRae treats this particular whakatauki in her chapter on whakatauki of the “general” oral tradition of Maori. Because my dissertation treats texts by writers from many different iwi, and also because as a written (and, apparently, microfilmed)

⁵¹ Literally, ‘With your foodbasket, and with my foodbasket, the visitors will be satisfied.’ This is usually liberally translated to ‘With what you have and with what I offer, there will be [or *is*] enough.’

⁵² Literally, ‘With your weapons, and with my weapons, our enemies will be [or *are*] killed.’

⁵³ Indeed, while impliedly supporting the ‘naku’, by virtue of the pronoun ‘nau.’ I will further discuss this issue of the pronouns of this whakatauki later.

⁵⁴ One could argue that a non-Maori critical approach is not necessarily comparative, but I would seriously question the value of an approach that is not either Maori-centric or Maori-aware/ inclusive. The idea of uncompromisingly hauling theoretical frames from distant places that bear no relation to the cultural, economic, spiritual or political context of Maori writing is preposterous to say the least. These, therefore, remain outside of my field of critical vision.

document it will roam far and wide and beyond my own control, it is appropriate that the guiding whakatauki be from a “general” as opposed to tribal tradition. McRae writes about the function of this kind of whakatauki:

In a practical way the function of the wisdom in general whakataukii is to advise on culturally acceptable behaviour and to intimate the consequences which will result from unacceptable behaviour, but beneath that pragmatism there will also lie the reasons for those injunctions which are explained through the teachings of the cultural philosophy. The truths which common whakataukii espouse seem authoritative and absolute, an impression created by the weight of ancient consensus which they invoke.⁵⁵

With regard to this particular whakatauki, McRae gives the two forms I use here (about rourou and rakau), and notes its usual use:

This whakataukii is frequently quoted today in reference to contributions of food, ideas, money or any assistance given towards a mutually set goal. Despite the extent to which it is used, people do not tire of hearing it, for *each new use exploits the depths of its meanings* and reiterates an essential cultural aim of shared participation in undertakings.⁵⁶

McRae foregrounds the “depths of... meanings,” and thus specific language, and this goes some way towards explaining why, even where there are English translations of this whakatauki available, I still insist on using (some) Maori terminology in this dissertation. In his MEd thesis *Cultural Theory Made Critical: Towards a Theory of the Indigenous Intellectual*, Hemi Te Rere Hireme writes specifically about this word ‘rakau’ and its multiple meanings. Hireme uses as an example the widely-used translation of rakau – tree – and cautions that *not* recognising the many other meanings of the word decontextualises the term to the extent that it ceases to operate as a “Maori” term:

Consider a seemingly innocent word like “tree”. Arguably, there are two ways to introduce this word into the vocabulary of a language student who wishes to learn the indigenous language of the iwi of that area. You could say “he rakau”, discuss seedlings, and associate it with the provision of fruit, shade, and material for building things. You might also describe it as something to play in, and as something that is either native or introduced. The teacher is a “Maori” (or has “qualification” in “Maori” language), the word is a “Maori” word, the class is a “Maori language” class. *But is it learning “Maori”?* This

⁵⁵ McRae: 173

⁵⁶ Ibid: 173

thesis argues that it is not. It is a continuation of assimilation. *To leave the association of the word “rakau” at this level is to deny the world-view, beliefs and values contained within the language.*⁵⁷

Hireme’s discussion has very important implications for the methodology I am proposing for this dissertation: if I really want to just look at the ‘possibilities’ and ‘limitations’ of each of the comparative frames I explore in Chapters Three to Six, then I should call those sections by those words, in English. Use the Maori words ‘rourou’ and ‘rakau’ but using them in place of English-derived methodological terms I already want to use is “a continuation of assimilation.” Instead, the responsible use of this whakatauki demands that the thoughtful interrogation of the multiple and interconnected meanings of the terms “nau,” “naku,” “rourou” and “rakau.” It is from the “depths of... meanings” of these words that I seek to begin meaningful exploration in this project.

Perhaps a kind of complicity – a kind of “assimilation” – is already at play here, because I write about these terms, and this writing, in the English language; indeed this whole dissertation is thus unable to remove itself from the inherently European “world-view, beliefs and values” which it manifests. However, I shall have to meet myself halfway, given that I am writing at Cornell, in an English department, and so I will content myself with exploring and laying out the possibilities of the key Maori terminology of this methodology, and then proceeding in English. Besides, this critical exploration is in English for the same reason as is so much of our Maori cultural production, and humbly I submit that this dissertation might be considered a text from one of “our intermediary zones,” as described by Trixie Te Arama Menzies:

These are the messengers of our intermediary zones, the grey areas where the solutions to our spiritual problems are going to be found, if they are to be found at all. Since the time the New Zealand education system outlawed the speaking of Maori in its schools and stifled the natural upwelling expression of its indigenous people. Maori or part-Maori writers who express themselves mostly in English have a special

⁵⁷ Hemi Te Rere Hireme, "Cultural Theory Made Critical: Towards a Theory of the Indigeneous Intellectual," MEd, University of Waikato, 2002.: 12

claim to be heard; in making themselves whole again through their work they heal us all.⁵⁸

nau, naku

For the purposes of this dissertation, a highly significant aspect of this whakatauki is its use of the personal pronouns ‘nau’ (your/ from you/ by you) and ‘naku’ (my/ from me/ by me). The nau/ naku distinction acknowledges and maintains two different ways to talk about Maori literature in English, and yet at the same time as the whakatauki ‘splits’ the nau and naku, it advocates their *combined* use for the benefit of a wider group. One way of approaching these texts (*naku*) is to ‘look in:’ to construct internally referential methodologies that draw from the ‘Maori’ context of the writing. Examples of this crucial mode of addressing the writing include work that considers the roots of the writing in the oral tradition (both in terms of form and in terms of imagery/ narrative), work that engages with the Maori language aspects of the texts, and work that holds interviews and discussions with the writers as an integral part of the critical process. The alternative way to conduct literary criticism (*nau*) is to ‘look out:’ to acknowledge, and draw on, and negotiate relationship with, non-Maori texts and contexts. Although it is not intended to dismiss or minimise the modes mentioned above⁵⁹ (and in this dissertation I seek to continually acknowledge them), a *nau* approach draws on the writing, criticism, theory and cultural contexts that are sourced *outside* te Ao Maori. Examples of this (what I call) ‘comparative’ methodology can be found, not only in literary criticism, but also in New

⁵⁸ Menzies Trixie Te Arama Menzies, Terry Sturm, Keri Hulme and Hirini Moko Mead, "Four Responses to the Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse," *Te Ao Marama 2: Regaining Aotearoa; Maori Writers Speak Out*, ed. Witi Ihimaera (Auckland: Reed, 1993): 336

⁵⁹ This is a risky claim, of course: because of the ways in which power operates in a colonial context, arguably it would be impossible to conduct ‘nau’ criticism to the complete exclusion of a ‘naku’ approach. Therefore, it is fair – indeed crucial - to ask which methodologies get to ignore each other?? People who are in love with Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s work are expected to know Foucault too, although I can’t even guess at what a relatively small percentage of Foucauldians know Smith!!!

Zealand government reports, social science scholarship, and as a critical component of Pacific Studies and Native/ Indigenous Studies around the world.

The title whakatauki of this dissertation is explicitly spoken from the position of ‘naku’⁶⁰ (ie the ‘naku’ is taken to mean ‘Maori’), which reinforces the structural methodology of the dissertation (which is, after all, to privilege Maori⁶¹ knowledges and texts) and at the same time centres the Maori speaker. This methodology is, indeed, ultimately dependent on a ‘split’ between ‘Maori’ and ‘non-Maori’. At least in the US academic context, there is great discomfort with the kind of ‘binary’ that the dualistic configuration produced by this use of pronouns. Often the language of “essentialism” is employed as a (n apparently) self-evident critique of such binaries. However, attempting to undermine the binary created by the terms ‘nau’ and ‘naku’ is to fail to understand both the politics and cultural configurations of Maori. In the introduction to his groundbreaking *Red on Red*, Craig Womack includes a comment by Abenaki poet Cheryl Savageau, as she articulates the contingency or such binaries:

I never even encountered the word “essentialist” before coming to grad school, and then it was thrown at me like a dirty word... The same professor who labelled me “essentialist,” said there was no truth, no history, just lots of people’s viewpoints. I argued that some things actually did happen... It is just now, when we are starting to tell our stories that suddenly there is no truth. It’s a big cop out as far as I’m concerned, a real political move by the mainstream to protect itself from the stories that Native people, African Americans, gay and lesbian folks... are telling.⁶²

Womack himself is clear about his decision to defend the idea of “a Native perspective:”

⁶⁰ Furthermore, the use of naku/ nau in the whakatauki is pertinent not only for the space it clears in a general literary critical context for the acknowledgement of ‘outside’ frameworks, but also for its positioning in the very specific context of myself as the writer. As a Maori writer; my own (particularly ‘non-academic’) writing is perhaps most likely situated, in relation to Maori literature in English, as a part of ‘my’ foodbasket, and yet this foray into Pacific, Indigenous Postcolonial and New Zealand contexts is a moment in which I examine that which is more properly ‘your’ foodbasket.

⁶¹ Certainly, central to the idea of ‘naku’ and ‘nau’ is the position from which I believe the speaker of the whakatauki to speak, and in order to understand more of the ‘naku’ it is necessary to interrogate the use of the word ‘Maori’. But what, or who, is this Maori? Or, in the context of our whakatauki, whose is the ‘naku’? These are important questions, and I will deal with them in more depth in a following section. For now, I will be clear that for the purposes of this dissertation, ‘naku’ is non-Maori and ‘nau’ is Maori, and the basis of determination for this project is acknowledged Maori whakapapa.

⁶² Savageau, quoted in Craig S. Womack, *Red on Red : Native American Literary Separatism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999): 3.

this study assumes that there *is* such thing as a Native perspective and that seeking it out is a worthwhile endeavour... I feel that Native perspectives have to do with allowing Indian people to speak for themselves, that is to say, with prioritising Native voices.⁶³

Naku and nau are non-specific (and gender/ status neutral) pronouns that shift according to the context. While, in this dissertation, I mobilise them for the purposes of delineating ‘Maori’ and ‘non-Maori’, they are also appropriately and usefully engaged in work that considers, for example, tane and wahine,⁶⁴ tuakana and teina,⁶⁵ and so on. My intention is not to draw a fixed line between ‘Maori’ and ‘non-Maori’ for all time (even if that were possible) but it is to strategically employ these pronouns – and this binary, if necessary – for the purposes of this project.

A significant aspect of the pronouns nau and naku in this whakatauki is that the stakes are much higher, and more broad, than the production or maintenance of a simple ‘yours’ and ‘mine’ distinction. By the combination of ‘nau te rourou... nau te rakau’ and ‘naku te rourou... naku te rakau’, after all, *everyone* will be both satisfied⁶⁶ and safe: the ‘separating’ pronouns disappear in the last line of the each stanza of the whakatauki. Two versions of the whakatauki circulate widely, each with a different ‘ending’ of the first half: in one, “ka ora ai te manuhiri”, there will ‘be enough’ for the visitors or guests; in the other, “ka ora ai te iwi”, there will ‘be enough’ for the people.⁶⁷ Importantly, both of these endings emphasise the same thing: the thing of greatest importance in the whakatauki – and the clause on which the first two are dependent - is the sustenance, or, in the case of rakau and hoariri, safety, of a wider group, which in turn provides the impetus for the (comparative) relationship as well as regulatory critique of either

⁶³ Womack: 4

⁶⁴ Men and women; I have suggested this use of the whakatauki in another paper.

⁶⁵ Literally, the big brother/ little brother, or big sister/ little sister relationship. Often engaged contemporarily in the context of education/ pedagogy work, and ‘role modelling’ youth work. This model was recently also mobilised in Hone Kouka’s play *Tuakana, Tuahine*.

⁶⁶ ‘Ora’ might literally be understood as ‘wellness’ or ‘healthfulness’ in this context.

⁶⁷ ‘Iwi’ means bone(s), people, tribe(s), nation(s).

contributing methodology.⁶⁸ Whether it is manuhiri or iwi who are satisfied, the undertaking is never just about the combined number of the ‘naku’ and ‘nau’ contributors. The relationship between Maori and non-Maori texts/ critical frames is not just about the critics or, even, the texts, but is always already about a wider context and, thereby, a wider set of accountabilities and responsibilities.

The ‘nau’ and ‘naku’ pronouns raise two important questions about the relations between the various frameworks. First, what are the implications of lumping the four together as ‘nau’ (non-Maori) in relation to ‘naku’ (Maori) writing/ criticism? Second, and related to the first question, to what extent does setting the four paradigms aside from ‘naku’, Maori literary studies, obscure the ((always?) already inflected) academic whakapapa of Maori writing and criticism? I will not answer these questions specifically here, but instead will hold them as I move into the discussion of rourou and rakau, and each of the dissertation chapters, where I anticipate they will be treated. But what is a ‘rourou’? What is a rakau? How can these function as metaphors in this dissertation about texts written in English?

rourou

Typically woven of flax⁶⁹, a rourou is a woven basket, used for cooking and serving food. While the rourou in this whakatauki is usually taken to stand for the contents of the basket (what you offer is not just a basket but a basket with food in it),

⁶⁸ One significant outcome when the ‘point’ and measurement of a methodology is its effects on humanity is that social justice and sovereignty are prioritised over the flowery/ inaccessible language and navel-gazing abstraction of much critical theory, as is lamented by some (particularly third and fourth world, actively political) scholars. This sort of ‘check and balance’ is essential to Maori and Oceanic philosophies, and is contained within our languages. For example, the Maori word ‘manaaki’, which is most often translated ‘bless’, but also contains the idea of showing respect, has at its root the concept ‘mana’, which is difficult to translate but perhaps means prestige/ esteem/ pride. Thus, the notions of giving, caring and respecting are central to one’s own mana.

⁶⁹ Specifically the New Zealand flax: harakeke, or *Phormium tenax*.

semantically the whakatauki emphasises the basket itself (nau te *rourou*, naku te *rourou*), and centralising the woven structure of a foodbasket parallels the centring of methodology in the area of academic scholarship. A rourou is a type of kete (basket); Williams glosses it as “a kete made with loops at the end,” and kete are inextricably tied to the acquisition and organisation of knowledge in a Maori context.

‘Nga kete e toru o te matauranga’ are the three kete of knowledge that were retrieved from the Whare Taonga o Rangiatea, the twelfth heaven, and were brought back⁷⁰ in order to benefit humankind, an event that Linda Tuhiwai Smith calls “the first Maori research project.”⁷¹ Although various traditions and accounts emphasise different aspects of the kete e toru, and call them by different names, it is commonly agreed that between them they contain the knowledge of the people, and parallel three ‘realms’ of knowledge.⁷² Smith describes the implications of this mode of ordering knowledge, explaining that it confirms that knowledge is “highly specialised but each aspect [is] essential to the well-being of the whole whanau and iwi.”⁷³ Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal describes nga kete e toru as “the most critical tradition of the Maori world relating to the origin, maintenance and dissemination of knowledge.”⁷⁴

⁷⁰ By either Tawhaki, Tiki or Tane (depending on the iwi). In his essay ‘Adventures in Matauranga Maori’, Royal points out that there may be more than one ‘Tawhaki’; “It seems that the Tawhaki tradition is another Tawhaki, distinct from Tawhakinui-a-Hema.” Royal, Te Ahukaramu Charles. ‘Adventures in Matauranga Maori; Some thoughts on a kawa of Maori Knowledge.’ Unpublished paper delivered to post-graduate seminar Te Kawa-a-Maui: 31 May 1996.

⁷¹ Smith. ‘Te Raapunga i te Ao Maarama; The Search for the World of Light’. *The Issue of Research and Maori*. Ed. Research Unit for Maori Education. Auckland: University of Auckland, 1993: np

⁷² I was given some explanations of the three kete by Hemi Rukuwai Jury, who provided cultural guidance for my Masters thesis. Drawing on discussions with his uncle, who is a wood carver, Hemi created a picture of a waharoa/ gateway for the beginning of my thesis, and in his explanation of how he chose to represent Maori knowledge in the picture, he emphasised the symbolism of the three kete. Te Kete Uruuru Matua, or Te Kete Tuauri, contains the philosophy of love, peace and goodness, and the study of humanity. Salmond describes this as “knowledge of peaceful intention” (Salmond, Anne. ‘Maori Epistemologies’ *Reason and Morality*. Ed. Joanna Overing. London: Tavistock Publications, 1985: 243). Te Kete Uruuru Rangi, or Te Kete Tuatea, is concerned with ritual, incantations, intercession and tradition, and includes the history of the people; it is described by Salmond as “knowledge of karakia or formulae for talking with the gods” (Salmond: 244), and by Tuhiwai Smith as “prayers, rituals and incantations” (Smith 1993: np). Te Kete Uruuru Tau, or Te Kete Aronui, contains knowledge about agriculture, which Salmond expands as “knowledge of wordly activity – war, wood-work, stone-work and earth-work”. (Salmond: 244)

⁷³ Smith 1993: np.

⁷⁴ Royal 1996: 7. As well as these three kits, two stones were brought down from the heavens as well, usually referred to as ‘mauri’, but also known as, for example, “god-stones” (Salmond). Royal explains: “In the tradition relating to Tawhaki’s ascent to receive the three kits of knowledge, it is recounted that he also

For the purposes of this project, ‘rourou’ will be taken to mean theoretical/ critical offerings, orientations, and perspectives. For each of the comparative frames I consider, the ‘rourou’ include both the content (specific texts, articulations, claims, interventions) and the methodological and institutional dimensions of the frame. Within the structure of my dissertation, as Chapters Three through Six consider the frames in question, the discussion will include a section entitled “nau te rourou”. In this section, I explore the possibilities of the respective frames for reading Maori texts in English. In particular, I will consider the various ways in which some Maori texts already gesture towards, if not explicitly invoke, the comparisons or relationships that are facilitated by each frame. This will enable the texts themselves to direct the criticism, thereby hopefully avoiding the ‘theory-slap’ critical methodology where ‘critical theories’ are contrived independently and then ‘applied’ to texts.

rakau

The second part of the whakatauki, about rakau, is much less known than the more popular first part about rourou.⁷⁵ How might one balance the first part of this whakatauki with the second? In the area of literary analysis, what might we consider to be a ‘rakau’? What, indeed, might we call a “hoariri”? A rakau would most commonly be

received two mauri. Physically, these were stones, one red (rehutai) and another white (hukatai). These stones were then laid on either side of the poutuarongo of the subsequent whare wananga whose name was Rangiatea. They became, for all time, the mauri of the whare wananga, in short, the mauri of learning.” Royal 1996: 7. Mauri is often translated as the ‘life force’. Significantly, Royal observes that each child “is born replete with mauri”, thus rather than education/ life being a matter of ‘input’, it is a matter of activation; the implications of this view for pedagogy are obvious, and provide a much needed challenge to ‘deficit assumptions about Maori in education.

⁷⁵ Indeed, it was not until I had already begun this project that my sister learned about the ‘rakau’ part at a wananga, of which she immediately made sure I was aware. In the context of a (mostly erstwhile, thank goodness!) false mythology of harmonious ‘race relations’ in New Zealand which depends on lovely, smiling, friendly, generous, happy Maori, one can imagine why a stanza about weapons and enemies might have been ‘forgotten’ in common parlance to the extent that I never heard of it despite being very familiar with the ‘rourou’ section since I was a child.

translated as a ‘tree’, but it is used also to denote a ‘weapon’ or ‘tool.’” This triple meaning obviously adds another dimension to the meaning of the whakatauki. The purpose of collaboration in this stanza is resistance against shared ‘hoariri,’ enemies, and so we might imagine that the pertinent meaning here is a weapon. The metaphor of ‘rakau’/ weapons is a productive element of criticism and theory, especially in the (anti-)colonial context.⁷⁶ Maori texts and criticism are thus ‘weapons’ as well as ‘baskets.’ rather than simply adding value to existing literary criticism in a cumulative manner, Maori literary studies also (perhaps impliedly, perhaps explicitly) challenges those existing frames.

We might imagine that if a rakau is a weapon, then it might mean limitations, inhibitions, barriers when it is counterpointed with rourou (possibilities). However, Hireme Te Hemi exhorts us to retain the multiple meanings of such words, and to acknowledge (indeed to emphasise) that this meaning of rakau is complicated by its other simultaneous meanings. These are supplied in the Williams dictionary as follows:

1. n. *Tree.*
2. *Wood, timber.*
3. *Stick, spar, mast.*
4. *Weapon.*
5. a. *Wooden.*

A further dimension of rakau might be found in a widely-used saying attributed to Ta Apirana Ngata, a very prominent politician and leader, who was one of the first ‘batch’ of Maori students to come through the boarding school at Te Aute and gain a university education:

E tipu e rea mo nga ra o to ao.
 Ko to ringa ki nga *rakau* a te Pakeha hei oranga mo to tinana.
 Ko to ngakau ki nga taonga o o tipuna Maori hei tikitiki mo to mahunga.
 Ko to wairua ki te Atua nana nei nga mea katoa.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Jolisa Gracewood considers a metaphor that is mobilised throughout the Pacific, that words are a kind of ‘weapon,’ and that colonialism is a kind of ‘war,’ in her dissertation chapter about Vincent Eri’s *The Crocodil*. Eri’s is arguably the first novel – and certainly *one* of the first novels – to emerge in the Pacific. Eri and his writing cohort were strongly influenced by the interesting figure of Ulli Beier, who went to PNG to preach the good news of writing novels after spending time on a similar mission in Nigeria.

⁷⁷ Grow tender shoot for the days of your world.

Turn your hand to the tools of the Pakeha for the wellbeing of your body.
 Turn your heart to the treasures of your ancestors as a crown for your head.
 Give your soul unto God, the author of all things.

In this context, the meaning of rakau is tools, which challenges the limited use of the term if we only consider it to be a weapon. This deeper matrix of meanings leads us to reconsider what a ‘limitation’ or threat might be: weapons might not only be destructive but also generative and creative; the identification and exploration of limitations may provide ‘tools’ for grappling with inconsistencies, disconnections or blindnesses; or these ‘weapons’ may prove productive simply because they gesture to a disconnect that is appropriate and significant, and needs to be signalled in order for the comparative frame to function without homogenising those things it groups together.

Unlike the end of the rourou section of the whakatauki, in which the combination of contributions was ultimately in aid of satisfying or nurturing ‘the people’, the last line of this section is directed towards “killing the enemies”. What might this mean, especially if we do not allow ‘rakau’ to be (one-dimensional) weapons? In the context of this project, I will mobilise “hoariri” in order to talk about threats, limitations and dangers that challenge certain modes of critical inquiry. The pronouns ‘nau’ and ‘naku’ recognise that there are limitations not only to critical approaches to Maori cultural production, but also to the comparative frameworks in question.⁷⁸ That the ‘nau’ and ‘naku’ will have weapons/ tools useful to each other is in keeping with the idea of reciprocal relationship (utu), and reinforces that comparative work with Maori texts is not simply a matter of bringing in a solidified (non-Maori) framework and dumping it on top of a (Maori) text, but that the relationship between that comparative framework and a Maori-centric approach may well end up challenging and inflecting the way in which the comparative framework itself operates.⁷⁹

Original and translation as quoted in Ranginui Walker, *He Tipua : The Life and Times of Sir Apirana Ngata* (Auckland: Viking, 2001): 397.

⁷⁸ To use a well-trodden-out example, just as postcolonial theory might offer some ways to grapple with issues that currently limit approaches to Maori texts, so too, Maori texts and criticism might well offer something that limits postcolonial theory at present.

⁷⁹ One example which I am interested to explore is the idea of Oceania; while Maori texts are theoretically located within the comparative vision of an Oceanic model, most of the criticism that locates itself within a Pacific/ Oceanic framework differentiates between the “independent” Pacific and the “metropolises” of Australia and New Zealand (and sometimes Hawaii), thus playing the same game as postcolonial analyses

Within the structure of this dissertation, in each of the chapters that explore the four frameworks, a section entitled “nau te rakau” will suggest and consider a number of ‘hoariri’ – limitations - of the particular frame in question. These sections will tend towards my own observations of the frames and how they currently operate, as opposed to detailed textual readings as in the “nau te rourou” sections. Perhaps one way to think of these sections will be as work yet to be done, or perhaps as caveats and room for further consideration as the frames are mobilised. So then, the methodology for this dissertation, as guided by the whakatauki, has been considered and explicated. But what are these ‘comparative frames’ about which I claim to write?

got frames?: cartographies, anthologies and methodologies

Prior to discussing the four examples (Oceanic, Indigenous, Postcolonial, New Zealand) of what I am calling ‘comparative frames,’ I need to account for how I have identified these ‘frames’ in the first place. After all, the idea of comparative frameworks only holds water if one can point to specific and significant examples in which they are mobilised. If there was no evidence that anyone was actually talking about a particular comparative frame, the frame would be a cute proposition (and perhaps interesting at a theoretical level) but would not lend itself to a discussion of the ‘implications’ of its use. My decision to focus on the Oceanic, Indigenous, Postcolonial and New Zealand frames excludes Others within which Maori writing is considered, such as Feminist,⁸⁰ Queer,⁸¹

that are only able to see NZ as a ‘settler’ space. The existence of large Oceanic diasporic communities in Aotearoa seems to exacerbate this. An Oceanic approach may well show up some interesting things that are going in Maori cultural production, then, but likewise Maori cultural production may have a thing or two to tell this construction of ‘Oceania’.

⁸⁰ Keri Hulme’s *the bone people* was first published and distributed by a feminist press, the New Zealand-based bicultural ‘Spiral Collective’, and the first critics of the text were operating out of a distinctively and consciously feminist framework. Some Maori texts are also collected in feminist/ woman’s anthologies such as *Yellow Pencils* and *Bosom Buddies*. Lydia Wevers, ed., *Yellow Pencils: Contemporary Poetry by New*

and Asia/ Pacific⁸² literatures, to name a few.⁸³ A focus on these four is thus somewhat arbitrary, and yet to me these do seem to be the most noisy and important comparative contexts at present.

Because no frame exists ‘naturally’, any discussion of their possibilities and limitations needs to foreground the ways in which comparative frameworks are suggested, produced and maintained. Rather than seeking to normalise or fix the frames, I hope to point to the ways in which each frame is continually maintained and renegotiated.⁸⁴ In short – and I will expand on these below – this dissertation considers three modes by which comparative frameworks are produced: cartographies are texts that explicitly describe, discuss or claim a particular framework; anthologies bring together texts from different places and imply a framework by thus grouping them; and methodologies are academy-centred ways/ spaces/ moments in which the frames are reinforced and discussed. Here in the Introduction I will explicate the major issues that pertain to these three elements (cartographies, anthologies, methodologies), and I will continue to mobilise and speak to this trinodal configuration throughout the dissertation.

Zealand Women (Auckland: OUP, 1988).. Bosom Buddies: Women's Stories About Friendship, Love and Life, (Auckland: Black Swan, 2003)..

⁸¹ Dunsford's *Cowrie* trilogy, Te Awekotuku's *Tahuri* and Ihimaera's *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* have featured in criticism about Queer writing. Cathie Dunsford, Cowrie (N. Melbourne, Vic., Australia: Spinifex Press, 1994).. Ngahua Te Awekotuku, Tahuri : Short Stories, North American ed. (Toronto: Women's Press, 1993).. Witi Tame Ihimaera, Nights in the Gardens of Spain ([Auckland], N.Z.: Secker and Warburg, 1995).. Ihimaera's *The Uncle's Story* clearly lends itself to similar consideration. Witi Tame Ihimaera, The Uncle's Story (Auckland, N.Z. ; New York : Penguin Books, 2000).

⁸² Jolisa Gracewood, "Sometimes a Great Ocean: Thinking, from Nowhere to Now & Here " Hitting Critical Mass: A Journal of Asian American Cultural Criticism Spring 5.1 (1998).

⁸³ For example: Te Awekotuku's story "Painfully Pink" was included in the mixed race anthology *Miscegenation Blues*. (Carol Camper, Miscegenation Blues : Voices of Mixed Race Women (Toronto: Sister Vision, 1994)..) Maori writers have been included in activist collections, for example: Terry Locke, Peter Low and John Winslade, eds., White Feathers: an Anthology of New Zealand and Pacific Island Poetry on the Theme of Peace (Christchurch: Hazard Press, 1991). and Ambury Hall, Below the Surface (Auckland, N.Z. ; New York: Vintage, 1995).. Wineera's poetry has been included in the Latter Day Saints periodical *Ensign*, and so on.

⁸⁴ I will be clear here about what I'm *not* doing in this project. I don't want to come up with an Oceanic/ Indigenou/ Postcolonial/ New Zealand equation and pontificate on whether, or how, we can 'plug Maori texts into it', and on that basis make some claims about reading Maori texts within these frames. I want to avoid doing that thing where you say 'these are the X number of things that make something Oceanic/ Indigenou/ Postcolonial/ New Zealand' then slapping that onto particular Maori texts and saying, for example, 'Hey look! It fits! We're migrating, we're navigating, we're talking about the ocean, hey hey we must be Oceanic!'

cartographies

Texts that map key aspects of each of the frames in question are crucial to the construction of those frames. These texts might be cartographic in the traditional sense; that is, they might be literal two-dimensional maps of an area for the purpose of showing the relations of its constituent parts by the use of scaled representation, and often also with reference to an overlaid external naturalised ‘map’ such as a north/ south compass. Examples of this include paper maps such as early European maps by Magellan, Tasman and Cook, as well as the maps of Tupaia⁸⁵ that Europeans recorded on paper for the first time.⁸⁶ A text might equally, though, be cartographic by its representation – mapping – of that space through language; this would include texts that propose the existence of a particular set of relations between physically separate(d) groups, such as a poem by Hinewirangi or a novel by Witi Ihimaera that advocates an affinity between Maori and American Indian communities, or the side-by-side consideration by Chad Allen of Maori and American Indian texts as ‘Indigenous’ texts.

The production of cartographies in either sense – graphic scaled representation or linguistic - takes for granted the configuration of a particular framework and thereby implies that the inclusion/ position of each constituent part is a given, and in this way the frame is ‘naturalised.’ For this project, my focus is on the process of ‘mapping by language,’ and the ways in which writers produce a framework by describing it. The power of mapping and remapping through language is perhaps best exemplified in the case of Hau’ofa’s essay “Our Sea of Islands,” in which not only is the Pacific ‘remapped’ as Oceania, but scholars of the Pacific since 1993 have had the option of using Hau’ofa’s

⁸⁵ The Tahitian navigator who guided Cook around the Pacific; Salmond discusses Tupaia in good detail: Anne Salmond, [The Trial of the Cannibal Dog : The Remarkable Story of Captain Cook's Encounters in the South Seas](#) (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003)..

⁸⁶ Of course, there are complex and multileveled kinds of cartographic record throughout the Pacific, Indigenous and Postcolonial worlds...

Oceanic map in order to navigate the region. His map has thus not simply reframed the area but has actually affected the way in which work is done in/ on that area ever since.⁸⁷

The metaphor of mapping is particularly pertinent in two ways: firstly, several pieces of Maori literary criticism already mobilise the idea of ‘mapping’;⁸⁸ and secondly, the practice of (colonial) surveyorship provides a rich metaphor for the practice of literary criticism with regard to Maori writing in English. The surveying of lands – and the systems of classification and serialisation that resulting maps both manifest and support – compellingly suggests a parallel to the surveying of texts in critical practice, and certainly questions of imagining, encounter, ownership and delineating are pertinent to both fields.

Surveying is a central enterprise to the colonial project, and the depth of the metaphor for exploring the practice of literary criticism is located in the complex intersection between the ‘on the ground’ messy work of the colonial surveyor, and the depersonalised ‘scientific’ process of classification and mapmaking. In her fascinating *Boundary Markers: Land Surveying and the Colonisation of New Zealand*, historian Giselle Byrnes explains that “remodelling of the land was seen as part of the progressive pioneer tradition.”⁸⁹ Byrnes’s discussion is particularly incisive for our use of a surveying metaphor for criticism as she argues that the process of surveyorship is far from politically neutral. Her text:

challenges the assumptions informing orthodox stories of settlement and suggests that the surveyors’ naming, taming, marking out and mapping of the land were assertions of colonising power. The book also considers the agency of land surveyors as cultural mediators, particularly their contact and interaction with Maori and their use of Maori mapping methods.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ As I will discuss further in Chapter Three: Maori as Oceanic, it is always important to acknowledge that the concept of Oceania is derived not solely from Hau’ofa’s essays but also from Wendt’s work, starting with his essay “Towards a New Oceania.” Albert Wendt, “Towards a New Oceania,” *Mana* 1.1 (1976)..

⁸⁸ This will be further explored in Chapter Six: Maori as New Zealand.

⁸⁹ Ibid Giselle Byrnes, *Boundary Markers : Land Surveying and the Colonisation of New Zealand* (Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books, 2001): 2

⁹⁰ Ibid: 4

This metaphor of literary scholarship as surveyorship is particularly pertinent for (relatively) new fields, such as the one within which I most clearly locate my own work: Maori writing in English. The process of ‘charting new territory’ involves a complex relationship between already-imagined space and the terrain of place, and the process is always mindful of the translation of the physical encounter into a two-dimensional map for consumption by bourgeois investors and patrons.

The metaphor of surveying necessitates the careful consideration of relationship between non-Maori literary criticism (including ‘Maori’ scholarship within the bounds of the non-Maori academy) and the aspirations of Maori. Furthermore, however, it stresses the relationship between the surveyors themselves and their craft. Byrnes’s characterisations of the surveyor seem to resonate deeply (and painfully) with the role of the intrepid literary critic or theorist:

The early surveyors are preserved [in Byrnes’s text] as willing actors in the theatre of conquest and are accorded the heroic role of ‘explorer’ as the curtain rises on each of their ‘discoveries.’⁹¹

Surveyors tended to rely heavily on local knowledges, to the extent that Byrnes notes “it is no coincidence that surveying and ethnography went hand in hand.”⁹² The Tairāwhiti museum notes that:

The surveyors relied heavily on Maori as guides and for labour as they knew the countryside and most important, the tracks and established routes. Many surveyors came to be good speakers of the Maori language and a number became licensed interpreters as a sideline.⁹³

In these ways, perhaps, we might think about the configuration of both the non-Maori scholar (and their “guides”) and the Maori scholar, charting the landscape through a combination of non-Maori and Maori cartographic and navigational practices.

Of course, despite the apparently non-partisan ‘science’ of mapmaking (and criticism), the teleologies and power relations of surveyorship in Byrnes’s configuration

⁹¹ Ibid: 9

⁹² Ibid: 23

⁹³ The Tairāwhiti museum is the regional museum located in the city of Gisbourne. I visited the museum, with its exhibit on surveying, on 2 January 2004.

are disturbingly focussed on facilitating the European consumption of the land, and the Tairawhiti Museum in Gisborne also locates the surveyor clearly within the colonial process:

Charged with measuring and marking the soil in anticipation of European settlement, they were at the forefront of making new landscapes, of transforming ‘space’ into ‘place’...⁹⁴

The colonial surveyor’s job was the first part of the process of dividing the land up, the end result being the transfer of ownership of the land from Maori to the European settlers. The surveyors often had to struggle to be ahead of immigrants hungry for land...⁹⁵

Certainly the political dimension of colonial surveying is understood to Maori, and often the frictions between Maori and non-Maori were first played out as a resistance to the entrance and work of surveyors. The Tairawhiti museum’s explanation of surveyorship points to the competing forms of mapping the landscape:

Many Maori disliked Europeans surveying the land. They were particularly uneasy with the surveyors [sic] wooden pegs which they saw as a form of *pou whenua* (traditional boundary markers). They interpreted these as suggesting possession – thus challenging their leaders [sic] mana (sovereignty and control). On occasion damage was inflicted on surveyors’ equipment and work.⁹⁶

Surveying was notably crucial to the struggle in Taranaki,⁹⁷ where members of the Parihaka community refused to recognise the new maps produced by the colonial government, which ‘confiscated’ a great deal of Taranaki land in retribution for resistance/ defence. A specific practice of peacefully displacing surveyor’s pegs precipitated (at least from the point of view of the Europeans) the destruction of the village. JC Sturm specifically describes the practice in two of her poems in her collection

Postscripts:

Non-violence was their choice...
Ploughs their only weapons./
They pulled down fences
Pulled out pegs
Then ploughed whatever

⁹⁴ Tairawhiti Museum permanent exhibit; copied from explanatory signage.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid. The idea of ‘geographical doublethinking,’ in Chapter Four: Maori as Indigenous, further explores the issue of competing cartographic conventions.

⁹⁷ This is the village/ town which colonial troops stormed and ransacked in 1881.

The settlers claimed was theirs.⁹⁸

A tricky business
 Finding those pegs
 Pulling them out
 In the dark;
 Come first light
 Packing their owners
 Theodolites and all
 Over that river⁹⁹

These are the stakes – yes, the literal stakes – of Maori literary criticism. The section on cartographies in each chapter will outline the major conventions of marking out that territory, and the various parameters and perimeters by which each frame is constructed.

anthologies

Anthologies bring together texts from different places by positioning them together in a collection impliedly (re)articulate the framework by which they might be considered.¹⁰⁰ The same poem by a Maori writer might be collected in various anthologies, and in each of these collections the poem is framed by its relationships with the other pieces in the book. The consideration of anthologies is particularly pertinent when dealing with literatures like Maori writing in English, which enjoy very little distribution and recognition outside their home nation-state and – perhaps – the communities also collected within the various comparative frameworks. Some readers may only – at least at first – encounter Maori texts alongside other Other texts, such as if they are reading an anthology of Indigenous writing and stumble across a Maori text,¹⁰¹ or

⁹⁸ Sturm, J. C. “He waiata tenei mo Parihaka” J. C. Sturm, *Postscripts* (Wellington N.Z.: Steele Roberts, 2000): 57

⁹⁹ Sturm, J. C. “A tricky business” Sturm, *Postscripts*: 54

¹⁰⁰ Although anthologies are usually ‘fictional’ collections, arguably a less limiting way of thinking about genre would not draw a sharp distinction between ‘non-fictional/ critical’ and ‘fictional/ creative’ modes of cultural production, so I am using this word to include collections of critical pieces as well.

¹⁰¹ As in Kateri Akiwenzie-Damm and Josie Douglas, *Skins : Contemporary Indigenous Writing* (Alice Springs, NT, Australia Wiarton, Ont.: Jukurpa Books ; Kegdonce Press, 2000)..

if they find a Maori play collected in a book of Postcolonial drama.¹⁰² Similarly with critical pieces, a reader outside of Aotearoa New Zealand might come across an essay about Maori cultural production in a general¹⁰³ or specific¹⁰⁴ literary journal, a collection of essays,¹⁰⁵ or published conference proceedings.¹⁰⁶ Further, because of the economies of publication and the production of lengthy creative texts such as novels, more writers are represented in anthologies than produce single-author volumes. Thereby, there is a strong relation relationship between publication in anthologies and distribution of texts, and so the consideration of anthologies is a particularly significant mode of accounting for the bounds, preoccupations, and thematic and stylistic trends of Maori literature.

The construction of anthologies is hotly debated and fascinating, and inclusions and exclusions are perhaps the most interesting points to note when looking at an anthology: why are Maori texts not Pacific here? Why are no fourth world indigenous writers considered to be postcolonial there? Why does 'fourth world indigenous' include Hawaiian texts here, but not there? Some 'Oceanic' include Maori writing and some don't; Maori writing is not 'Pacific'¹⁰⁷ or 'Pacific Islands'¹⁰⁸ writing but it is 'South Pacific',¹⁰⁹ 'First Nations',¹¹⁰ and 'Polynesian'.¹¹¹ Josie Douglas and Kateri Akiwenzie-

¹⁰² As in Helen Gilbert, *Postcolonial Plays : An Anthology* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2001).. Of course, this inclusion is somewhat of an anomaly: for reasons I will interrogate more closely in Chapter Five: Maori as Postcolonial, Maori have tended to be missed out of most collections of postcolonial texts (either creative or critical) and I would suggest that Gilbert's location in Australia might leave her with a sensitivity for the possibilities of including Fourth World texts within the framework of the postcolonial.

¹⁰³ Nicholas Thomas, "Kiss the Baby Goodbye: Kowhaiwhai and Aesthetics in Aotearoa New Zealand " *Critical Inquiry* 22.1 (1995).

¹⁰⁴ *Journal of New Zealand Literature, The Contemporary Pacific, or SPAN*.

¹⁰⁵ Reina Whaitiri, "A Sovereign Mission: Maori Maids, Maidens, and Mothers," *Missions of Interdependence: A Literary Directory*, ed. Gerhard Stilz (Amsterdam, Netherlands: Rodopi, 2002), Powhiri Wharemarama Rika-Heke, "Margin or Center? 'Let Me Tell You! In the Land of My Ancestors I Am the Centre': Indigenous Writing in Aotearoa " *English Postcoloniality: Literatures from around the World*, eds. Radhika Mohanram and Gita Rajan (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1996)..

¹⁰⁶ Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson, *Inside Out : Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*, Pacific Fromations (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998)..

¹⁰⁷ Albert Wendt, *Lali : A Pacific Anthology*, Pacific Paperbacks (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1980).

¹⁰⁸ Albert Wendt, *Nuanua : Pacific Writing in English since 1980*, Talanoa (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995).

¹⁰⁹ C. K. Stead, *The Faber Book of Contemporary South Pacific Stories* (London ; Boston: Faber and Faber, 1994).

¹¹⁰ Trixie Te Arama Menzies and Waiata Koa (Literary group), *He Wai = a Song : First Nation's Women's Writing : A Waiata Koa Collection* (Auckland, N.Z.: Waiata Koa, 1996).

Damm's *skins: contemporary indigenous writing*¹¹² collects Maori, Indigenous Australian, American Indian and First Nations texts, whereas Akiwenzie-Damm's *Without Reservation: Indigenous Erotica*¹¹³ also includes Dan Taulapapa McMullin, a San Francisco-based American Samoan writer. Also important are questions about how the texts are arranged within the anthology. *Whetu Moana*, for example, presents the poems according to an alphabetical listing of poets' last names, while *100 New Zealand Poems*¹¹⁴ numbers the poems instead of providing writers' names and information alongside the text. In his *Picador Book of Contemporary New Zealand Fiction*,¹¹⁵ Fergus Barrowman places an extract from Pakeha writer Sue McCauley's *Other Halves* between texts by Maori writers Taylor and Hulme,¹¹⁶ and *The Post-colonial Studies Reader*¹¹⁷ groups a piece about indigenous texts in a group of essays subtitled 'Ethnicity and Indigeneity.' The politics of anthologising are many and complex; my central interest in this project is to note the ways in which anthologies suggest, produce and maintain various comparative 'frameworks'.¹¹⁸

¹¹¹ Albert Wendt, Reina Whaitiri and Robert Sullivan, *Whetu Moana : Contemporary Polynesian Poems in English* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003).

¹¹² Akiwenzie-Damm and Douglas, *Skins : Contemporary Indigenous Writing*.

¹¹³ Kateri Akiwenzie-Damm, *Without Reservation : Indigenous Erotica* (Warton, Ont. Wellington, N.Z.: Kegedonce Press ; Huia Publishers, 2003).

¹¹⁴ Bill Manhire, ed., *100 New Zealand Poems* (Auckland: Godwit, 1993).

¹¹⁵ Fergus Barrowman, ed., *The Picador Book of Contemporary New Zealand Fiction* (? : Picador, 1996).

¹¹⁶ This implies that McCauley might be – or might as well be – Maori. The novel from which the extract is taken is about an affair between a middleaged Pakeha woman and a Maori teenager, and the Maori 'content' of McCauley's piece, when placed in the middle of the Maori writers, thus implies that her text is a 'Maori' text.

¹¹⁷ Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1995).

¹¹⁸ The situation in which four key Pacific writers withdrew their texts from inclusion in Stead's Faber anthology in order to undermine the mana of that anthology because of their objection to Stead's editorship of the same, exemplifies the extent to which the politics of the anthology is inextricably tied to the politics of the anthologiser.

methodologies

Rather than focussing on the ways in which various texts either explicitly discuss the relation of (the texts of) various places with each other, or are collected together to imply a comparative framework, ‘methodologies’ suggest ways in which one might conduct oneself while studying these various texts within the specific space of the Western academy. In short, a ‘methodology’ concerns itself with the relation between the ‘thing’ being studied and particular aspects of the academy, and is reinforced and produced by academy-centred things such as curriculum and course design, critical apparatus, scholarly (‘professional’) organizations and networks, academic conferences and disciplinary boundaries. Classes that teach postcolonial literature, for example, might or might not include Fourth World Indigenous texts, and might or might not include texts by writers of African descent in the US or Canada. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Teresia Teaiwa and Albert Wendt all write explicitly about methodology, even though the scope, focus and disciplinarity of their projects are markedly different. Conferences on Black writing might – or most likely might not – pay attention to the fact that a large number of groups in the Pacific and Indigenous Australia identify as Black.¹¹⁹ The ‘Pacific’ differs depending on the place it is being described; consider the various ‘Pacifics’ described by the Center for Pacific Islands Studies at University of Hawaii, the Centre for Pacific Studies at the University of Auckland and the Asian Pacific American Studies Department at NYU.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ A much lengthier footnote about Black Australia might be found in Chapter Four: Maori as Indigenous.

¹²⁰ Indeed, Asian Pacific American Studies at NYU seems to suffer from the problem that much ‘Asian Pacific’ configurations demonstrate in the US: all Asian, no Pacific. A concerted effort was made for some time, when Dr AnneMarie Tupuola was working at the Program, and she was supported by a number of graduate students like Adria Imada (from Hawaii). In the past couple of years it seems that this effort to put the ‘P’ back into ‘APA’ has atrophied. The curious grouping ‘Asia-Pacific’ thereby names, and yet does nothing with, the Pacific, to the extent that at the *Questions of Comparison* conference at Cornell University, Jose E Munoz referred to the program as “Asian Pacific American Studies’ in one sentence, and very shortly after, while listing the various similar programs on campus, called it ‘Asian American Studies.’

arbitrarinesses

Of course, whenever one creates a set of categories by which things might be ordered, a certain amount of arbitrariness and ambiguity is to be expected. I do not want to suggest that these three kinds of projects – mapping, anthologising, and methodology – are discrete, or that any (critical) text is unequivocally one project and not the others. One might argue, for example, that the categories of ‘cartographies’ and ‘anthologies’ collapse somewhat when presented with a text like *Inside Out*, which works as an anthology by bringing together essays and poetry from writers associated with various places around the Pacific, and yet many of the essays are cartographic, by explicitly suggesting and discussing the comparative frames of ‘Pacific’ and ‘Oceanic’. Despite this ambiguity, the difference between texts that produce a ‘map’ of an area by foregrounding discussions or representations of a particular framework (cartographies), and texts that bring together pieces located within specific areas in order to allow the side-by-side-ness of the texts to suggest a framework (anthologies), seem sufficiently distinct to be worth differentiating.

Some cartographies, anthologies or methodologies produce new – or radically revise existing - frameworks. Arguably, *The Empire Writes Back*¹²¹ proposed and mapped a way of reading that kicked off interest in the newly emergent field of postcolonial studies, and also contributed much – through its focus on the Caribbean (with a mythology of native extermination) and the flippant attention paid to fourth world indigenous writing – to the way that postcolonial studies would go on and treat indigenous texts.¹²² Suggestion of a new framework is exemplified in a text like *He Wai: A Song*, an anthology that collected together for the first time “first nations women’s

¹²¹ Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back : Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*.

¹²² I do not seek here to suggest that this text ‘started’ postcolonial studies, but rather that the wide distribution and consumption of the text has meant that its formulation of the ‘postcolonial’ has been very influential in the shape of the field.

poetry.”¹²³ Production of a framework might similarly be seen in the creation of critical canons, such as the groundbreaking *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory*¹²⁴ that collected together for the first time certain writings by people such as Fanon, Cabral, Said and Spivak, and by doing so first proposed the canon of “post-colonial” studies critical texts (and, perhaps, the privileging of ‘critical’ over ‘literary’ texts in postcolonial studies). Finally, as already mentioned above, Hau’ofa’s remapping of Oceania has altered the way that western scholarly inquiry proceeds in the region, and thus has had a real effect on the kinds and modes of knowledge produced and maintained there (at least within western academia!).

Some anthologies maintain existing comparative frameworks: no-one would try to argue that *Whetu Moana* ‘invented’ the idea of Polynesia, *Lali* ‘produced’ the frame of Pacific, or that *Reinventing the Enemy’s Language*¹²⁵ ‘constructed’ the idea of indigeneity in North America. However, each of these produces a slightly new version of the frames they employ for their own organization. *Reinventing the Enemy’s Language*, for example, includes Hawaiian writing whereas most North American Indigenous anthologies do not. The maintenance of existing frames thus often involves challenging them. For example, various versions of ‘New Zealand’ might privilege the editor’s taste, or a political commitment to women’s or Maori or Pasifika or lesbian writing, or interest in texts about a particular place or theme and so on. All of these challenges and stretchings of ‘New Zealand’ call into question previous incarnations of the frame, and yet also – by their attempts at resuscitation or revision or refining or refocussing – hold the idea of ‘New Zealand’ as a valuable category for which it is worth discursively ‘fighting.’¹²⁶

¹²³ Menzies and Waiata Koa (Literary group), *He Wai = a Song : First Nation's Women's Writing : A Waiata Koa Collection*.

¹²⁴ Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory : A Reader* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994)..

¹²⁵ Joy Harjo, *Reinventing the Enemy's Language : Contemporary Native Women's Writings of North America*, 1st ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997)..

¹²⁶ Some moments of comparison/ relationship within a text both build on and reinforce an existing frame, and although this dissertation will not focus on texts written by Europeans, a striking example of the way in which a text can simultaneously affirm and assert an existing frame is found in the pantomime *Omai, or A*

The distinctions between these four frames are arbitrary too. As I asked earlier, in regard to distinguishing ‘nau’ from ‘naku,’ once one decides to divide these frames into four separate chapters - a structural process by which the beginning and ending of a new chapter slices its own subject apart from the ones before and after - how does one then try to draw the required ‘boundaries’ between Pacific, Indigenous, Postcolonial and New Zealand scholarship?¹²⁷ Surely this distorts the picture of how the criticism works, impliedly suggesting that these four ‘frames’ are somehow naturally and exclusively formed. The history and politics of academic work in the area reminds us that the preoccupations, methodologies, histories and boundaries of these four categories are

Trip Round the World (Loutherbourg, O’Keefe, and Shields) to which London audiences flocked in 1785. The text both relies on European racist exoticism (perhaps an early, not-only-the-Orient form of Orientalism) and proposes its relevance for newly ‘discovered’ groups, collapsing together ‘non-Europeans’ and thereby suggesting that the differences between colonised Asian, Pacific and American indigenous people are less significant than their combined difference from Europe. In the final scene the audience watches a procession described in the stage directions as: deputies from the different quarters of the globe that have been visited by Capt. Cook, &c. bearing presents and congratulations to Omai, on his advancement to the throne of his ancestors, and who afterwards approach him dressed characteristically, according to their several countries. A ‘map’ of ‘Cook’s world’ is dramatically drawn up that reflects the sheer geographic breadth of Cook’s – and by extension the audience’s - ‘travels’ through the Pacific, the East Coast of Russia and the West Coast of North America; the lineup includes people from “Otaheite” (Tahiti), “New Zealand” (at this time, ‘New Zealanders’ were all Maori – Europeans did not refer to themselves as ‘New Zealanders’ for at least another century), “Tanna” (Tana Island, in the group formerly known as New Hebrides; now called Vanuatu), “Marquesas,” “Friendly Islands” (Tonga), “Sandwich Islands” (a European name for the Hawaiian group, and significantly including the misnomer ‘Owhyee’, the site of Cook’s death), “Easter Island,” some “Tschutski Tartars,” some “Russian[s],” people from “Kamtschatka” (Kamchatka, in the west of former USSR), “Nootka Sound,” (in Alaska) “Oonalashka” (Unalaska Island, home of some Aleut groups), and “Prince William’s Sound” (Alaska). Such a literally colourful display would have supported and fed London’s frenzy not only over Cook - whose death was widely mourned in Europe and whose virtual divinity is celebrated in the final moments of the pantomime with a large painting of his apotheosis - but also over the exotic promise suggested by the globe that Cook had circumnavigated two and a half times. (A book-length poem by Maori poet Robert Sullivan, *Captain Cook in the Underworld*, provides an Indigenous perspective on the voyager; the poem follows the journey of Cook’s soul after his physical death, during which he meets up with the souls of indigenous people he has killed, and is made to account for the death and destruction he has caused. Robert Sullivan, *Captain Cook in the Underworld* (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 2002)..) The scene of the pantomime brought together for the first time (and indeed, for one of the last times: seldom are indigenous groups in Russia, for example, discussed within indigenous frameworks; neither are Aleutians usually described as ‘Pacific’ peoples) these culturally disparate and geographically distant groups, and thus at the very moment it demonstrates the sheer scale of Cook’s journeys, through its construction of a single procession and the performance context of an audience who lacked the cultural literacy to read the ‘exotic’ costumes as standing in for specific places on the globe and thus the peoples represented could have come from the same 10 square miles for all they knew, the ‘map’ produced by the pantomime collapses the groups together in a new framework: (Cook’s) Other. A related, and more localised, moment of collapsing the Other into a singular ‘not-me’ category is found in Reynolds’s production of a large portrait of Omai, in which he wears a turban and clothes from regions not found anywhere in the Pacific, let alone Tahiti.

¹²⁷ I am very grateful to Dr AnneMarie Tupuola, friend and kaitautoko, who brought this issue to my closer attention.

indeed very closely linked. In fact, all four theoretical/ critical paradigms have contributed to, and inflected, the others, and it would be fair to argue that drawing a line between, for example, a Pacific Studies approach and an Indigenous approach would undermine the relationship between those two discourses/ histories/ frameworks. Teresia Teaiwa asks in her PhD dissertation how a Pacific Studies approach might be different from a Samoan approach; likewise, when looking at a poem by Haunani-Kay Trask, in which ways is her work as a Pacific poet, for example, not Indigenous, or Postcolonial? To take another example, the groundbreaking postcolonial work *The Empire Writes Back* draws very heavily on the case of New Zealand literature, and likewise much NZ lit criticism positions itself within the umbrella of (albeit particularly settler) postcolonial studies. Likewise, when Maori writers and critics ask questions about the ‘nation’ and the ‘gaze’ and ‘agency,’ they draw on generally-accessible postcolonial discourses, whether or not they would consciously consider themselves to be postcolonial writers or scholars.

nau te rourou, nau te rakau: comparison, comparatism, comparativism

Is comparison a topic? A methodology? A perspective? A configuration? A category? A description? The idea and language of ‘comparison’¹²⁸ is crucial to a discussion of the relationships between Maori literature and its related literatures/ frameworks. One m.o. and challenge of this dissertation project is to think and rethink the idea of comparatism, with a view to finding and demonstrating a way of talking about

¹²⁸ Despite their apparent interchangeability between various writers, I am going to treat the terms ‘comparison,’ ‘comparatism,’ ‘comparativism’ as three (slightly) different things. For this dissertation, then, *comparison* will refer to the moment/ act of bringing together literatures from two or more contexts; “Allen’s *Blood Narrative* is a comparison of Maori and American Indian texts”. *Comparatism* is about the ‘act of comparison’; so, for example, “When Allen compares Maori and American Indian texts, his approach to comparatism might be broadly described as historicist and relies on archival and oral research.” *Comparativism* for me, would be the study of this act of comparison, in a way that interrogates and explores the ways in which comparison takes place; in short, this is what I am attempting to do in this dissertation. For example, “A dissertation about comparativism is interested in how Allen’s mode of comparatism affects his comparative readings of Maori and American Indian texts.”

relationship according to tikanga Maori. ‘Comparison’ is what enables me to have a look at the relationships between Oceanic, Indigenous, Postcolonial and New Zealand literatures in English, and Maori writing in English. Fields such as Comparative Literature, History, Sociology, Economics and Anthropology have already treated the practice of comparison to significant examination, and in the past ten years, several scholars have contributed studies that pertain – directly or indirectly – to the broad kinds of comparison in which I am interested (postcolonial, feminist, transnational, cross-cultural). These have inflected this project, either consciously or impliedly, and either as an inspiration or something against which to work. However, none of them undertakes (or even seems to consider, let alone value) the specific kinds of comparison in which I am engaged in this project: centred on one body of texts/ community, historicized, politicised and literary, with close attention paid to local/ indigenous epistemologies, colonial contexts, and engagements both *with* and *not-with* the colonial powers.

Maori writing in English is ‘compared’ in each of these chapters with Other bodies of writing in English. This dissertation seeks to both manifest and interrogate the project of comparative inquiry, and for the purposes of starting the conversation about comparison, before embarking on my considerations of each of the four comparative frames I briefly consider the major critical/ theoretical works about comparative method that have influenced this dissertation. This is not presented as an exhaustive account of all things ‘comparative,’ but this will allow me to foreground some key points, themes, practices and contestations of comparative inquiry. I anticipate these will be evident and engaged throughout the pages of the dissertation, and in a section of Chapter Seven: Conclusions I will return to this explicit discussion of comparison, with specific regard for the disciplinary location of this kind of project. Further, there is not (yet!) a body of criticism that explicitly articulates the possibilities of intra-linguistic comparative inquiry, and in Chapter Seven I suggest the possibilities for theorising intra-linguistic comparison,

which I have called ‘Comparative Englishes.’ I was compelled to account for these influences, and to discuss them, however briefly, when I attended a conference at Cornell a couple of weeks before handing in the final draft of this dissertation. *Questions of Comparison; New Approaches to Race, Ethnicity and Indigeneity* was a conference that seemed to have a lot of potential but – at least for me – got theoretically (and, thereby, politically) ‘stuck’ because of the lack of specific attention paid to the actual practice and possibilities of comparison.

The eight texts, or groups of texts, include: the Spring 1995 issue of *World Literature Today*, in which several critics treat the theoretical question of comparison;¹²⁹ Cheah and Culler’s edited collection *The Grounds of Comparison; Comparative Literature in the Age of Multiculturalism*, a text from the discipline of Comparative Literature edited by Bernheimer;¹³⁰ Benedict Anderson’s monograph *The Spectre of Comparisons*, which in true Anderson style focuses on Southeast Asia but extrapolates to the ‘world’;¹³¹ Rey Chow’s essay “The Old/ New Question of Comparison in Literary

¹²⁹ Arguing that ‘comparison’ is an “empty term,” Jonathan Culler writes about another empty term, ‘excellence,’ in his exploration of comparative frames in his essay “Comparability.” Culler points out in his example of the university that ‘excellence’ is a truly empty term because while everyone is required to aspire for ‘excellence’ this means completely different things in each case. To use an pertinent example here, an excellent Saturday night for one grad student might be to complete revisions on a dissertation chapter, whereas an excellent Saturday night for another might be to go out, drink lots of beer, talk to some cute boys or girls, dance all nite, and not get home till the morning. Both are ‘excellent’, but both are very different (and, unfortunately, irreconcilable with each other). He suggests that the problem with comparison (comparative frames) is that sometimes the basis on which things are ‘compared’ – or, to use my words, brought into relationship – can end up necessarily being empty, just to enable lots of different things to fit under the same umbrella (how else could a university figure out everyone’s ‘doing the right thing’ unless they all have to meet some degree of ‘excellence’?).

It seems to me that one way around this issue with comparison that both Culler and Natalie Melas describe in this issue of the journal is to imagine the simultaneous operation of a number of ‘comparative frames’ at the same time, such as I propose in the various chapters of my dissertation. This lets any of the frames by itself off the hook of accounting for each of its constituents in their entirety. Indeed, in this context the comparativeness of ‘indigenous’ demands clarity about its position as one umbrella identification in relation to other umbrella identifications. Just as default into the ‘indigenous’ comparative category does not preclude inclusion under other kinds of umbrellas (Pacific, Postcolonial, NZ etc), I would suggest that American Indians are ‘Indigenous’, but also US ethnic minorities, part of the Americas, and so on. Of course American Indian Studies should be a part – a crucial and central part - of Ethnic Studies in the US, but minority-ness (in terms of numbers and/ or power) does not account for *all* it is to be Indian; there is also the Indigenous dimension.

¹³⁰ Pheng Cheah and Jonathan D. Culler, *Grounds of Comparison : Around the Work of Benedict Anderson* (New York: Routledge, 2003)..

¹³¹ Charles Bernheimer, *Comparative Literature in the Age of Multiculturalism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995)..

Studies: A Post-European Perspective,” published in an issue of *ELH* alongside several responses;¹³² Spivak’s recent *Death of a Discipline*;¹³³ Susan Snaider Lanser’s 1994 essay “Compared To What? Global Feminism, Comparatism, and the Master’s Tools;”¹³⁴ and Allen’s *Blood Narrative*, Eva Rask Knudsen’s *The Circle and the Spiral: A Study of Australian Aboriginal & New Zealand Maori Literature*, Anita Heiss’s *Dhuuluu-Yala: Indigenous Publishing* and Newton’s “Native Americanist Abroad: Exporting Blood Metaphysics Down Under,” a (the?) small group of texts which include Maori writing in English in their comparative scope.¹³⁵

a word about structure and style

At the beginning of each chapter of this dissertation, the pertinent aspects of cartographies, anthologies and methodologies are laid out in order to explain how each particular framework has come about, consider the ways in which it is reinforced, and suggest some directions in which the frame might now proceed. Each chapter will then go on to consider some major possibilities (nau te rourou) and limitations (nau te rakau) of that specific framework. I anticipate that this structure will foreground some of the common/ divergent points and emphases of each frame, in order to enable the consideration of frames that might fairly be described as apples and oranges, without simply creating a fixed and inflexible matrix of factors that provides little scope for considering any of the frames in any particular depth.

¹³² Benedict R. O’G Anderson, *The Spectre of Comparisons : Nationalism, Southeast Asia, and the World* (London ; New York: Verso, 1998)..

¹³³ Rey Chow, "The Old/New Question of Comparison in Literary Studies: A Post-European Perspective," *ELH* 71.2 (2004).

¹³⁴ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Death of a Discipline* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003)..

¹³⁵ Chadwick Allen, *Blood Narrative: Indigenous Identity in American Indian and Maori Literary and Activist Texts* (Durham/ London: Duke University Press, 2002).. Eva Rask Knudsen, *The Circle and the Spiral* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004).. Anita Heiss, *Dhuuluu-Yala = to Talk Straight : Publishing Indigenous Literature* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2003).. John Newton, "Native Americanist Abroad: Exporting Blood Metaphysics Down Under " *Contemporary Literature* 45.1 (2004).

The style and focus of my writing is perhaps unconventional within the context of the literary studies dissertation. Certainly it is more personal, perhaps more politicised, and even – for some readers – perhaps a little too informal to the extent of moments bordering on the flippant. I acknowledge that this is a matter of stylistic choice as well as of stylistic preference. The focus of this dissertation is, as I have claimed and as I will continue to claim, on Maori writing in English. Such a focus enables, I believe, a unique kind of comparative reading, and nuanced consideration of the texts and criticisms in question. Perhaps claims I make about various fields of study, methodologies, modes of criticism and so on will seem unduly and unapologetically biased; perhaps these claims will seem insufficiently careful about consideration of the fields as ‘wholes’ or indeed on their ‘own terms’ and while this is something I recognise, it is something which, for me, lies at the heart of my project. I am not interested in producing an account of Postcolonial Studies, for example, as much as I am in exploring the ways in which that field might or might not have a language for treating Maori writing in English; similarly, I am not interested in creating grand claims about New Zealand literary studies in general, for example, as much as I am in interrogating the ways in which Maori writing in English may or may not articulate with the key moments, assumptions, models, metaphors, criticisms and texts of that field. My deliberate attempt to produce this kind of Maori-centred comparative scholarship means that the dissertation is not, on one level, an introduction to these four ‘fields’ of Oceanic, Indigenous, Postcolonial and New Zealand (Literary) Studies. Having acknowledged thus, I argue that this mode of comparative inquiry may indeed be a productive way of apprehending these fields *as fields*: I leave it to the reader to determine the extent to which this is so.

It seems to me that Maoritanga, like all other realities, is personal.

That within the outlines of being Maori there exists a horizon of Maoriness which extends from our ancient kaumatua, secure in their world, through the emerging middle class, to our mokopuna with glue bags sleeping under the bridges in the land of nobody.

All these Maori realities are legitimate.

All have Maori ancestors, all have been subjected to the experience of colonisation, and each has reacted in their own way to the impact of the new culture.

Irihapeti Ramsden

If the writer has Maori ancestry, his or her work has been considered, regardless of content.

Te Ao Marama 1

The assumption that any writing by a Maori constitutes 'Maori writing' needs to be debated.

Te Ao Marama 5

The questions are raised: 'What is a Maori writer?' and 'what is a Maori play?'

I make no attempt to answer these questions because this book is looking at the expansion of Maori writing. It may be proven in the future that one or perhaps all three plays are not Maori. The criteria I have used for this book are that if the plays convey the thoughts and ideas of a Maori writer, and that writer is presenting the world through their eyes, then it is Maori.

Hone Kouka

We have a place in the world, and it is here in Aotearoa:

the centre of the universe for us.

Hirini Moko Mead

These are the messengers of our intermediary zones, the grey areas where the solutions to our spiritual problems are going to be found, if they are to be found at all. Since the time the New Zealand education system outlawed the speaking of Maori in its schools and stifled the natural upwelling expression of its indigenous people. Maori or part-Maori writers who express themselves mostly in English have a special claim to be heard; in making themselves whole again through their work they heal us all.

It is right that they are included in our new anthology.

Trixie Te Arama Menzies

CHAPTER TWO:
ALWAYS ALREADY AOTEAROA

While the *focus* of this dissertation is on comparative methodologies (nau) the *centre*¹³⁶ of the project is Maori (naku), and so a brief introduction to Maori writing in English and Maori literary studies is necessary here, both to provide some background for the reader who is unfamiliar with Maori texts, and also to affirm the position of those texts at the centre. This section is entitled “Always Already Aotearoa” in order to acknowledge and foreground the continued production and exploration of stories – korero – as well as discourse – korero – by Maori in ‘Aotearoa’. At the end of the day, no matter how the Oceanic, Indigenous, Postcolonial or New Zealand comparative frames ‘read’ Maori writing in English, there is always already a vibrant and crucial literature which is productively and deeply readable on its own terms.

This chapter provides a *brief* introduction to Maori writing in English,¹³⁷ and I need to be clear that what I present here is by no means the limit, extent or even tip of the iceberg in terms of work in the field in which Other scholars and writers are (and in Other

¹³⁶ Literally, in light of the grammar of the guiding whakatauki, the speaker.

¹³⁷ In earlier incarnations of this dissertation, this section was actually part of the introduction.

projects, I myself am) already engaged. The opening up of pertinent faculty positions and courses in New Zealand universities, greater capacities of the Wananga system, and wider distribution of these texts outside New Zealand, promises that this work will only increase, and perhaps increase exponentially. In the meantime, this chapter is intended to sketch out some key aspects of the university-based critical work on Maori writing in English. It is intended as an orientation to some themes, as opposed to an exhaustive survey of the field; by no means and in no way is this chapter to be understood as the ‘counter’ (or perhaps ‘opposite’ or sparring partner) to the proceeding four chapters.

naku te rourou, naku te rakau: naku te korero

One way of accounting for Maori writing in English is to conduct a chronology of published texts, and the ‘starting point’ for Maori literature in English varies from critic to critic: it could be the publication of Rewiti Kohere’s 1951 *The Autobiography of a Maori*,¹³⁸ or the publication of Tuwhare’s 1964 poetry collection *No Ordinary Sun*.¹³⁹ It could be 1954, the year JC Sturm’s story “The Old Coat” was included in the first edition of the journal *Numbers*, or alternatively it could be 1966, the year she was the first Maori writer anthologised in a collection of New Zealand fiction.¹⁴⁰ Others will point to Ihimaera’s 1972 short story collection *Pounamu Pounamu*, or the performance of Dansey’s play *Te Raukura* in the same year.¹⁴¹ Rika-Heke and Allen push the date back

¹³⁸ Rewiti Tuhorouta Kohere, *The Autobiography of a Maori*. (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1951). Kohere, *The Autobiography of a Maori*.

¹³⁹ Hone Tuwhare, *No Ordinary Sun* (Auckland: Blackwood and J. Paul, 1964)..

¹⁴⁰ Her story was included in CK Stead’s OUP *New Zealand Short Stories: Second Edition*. C. K. Stead, *New Zealand Short Stories: Second Series* (London, Wellington [etc.]: Oxford U.P., 1966). In 1966 Sturm actually had a manuscript of short stories ready for publication but couldn’t find a publisher. Single parenting and daily life ‘took over’ until they were finally published in 1983 by Spiral, the same collective that published Hulme’s *the bone people* when noone else would touch it. J. C. Sturm, *House of the Talking Cat: Stories* (Wellington, N.Z.: Spiral, 1983).. Sturm was also the wife of James K Baxter, the Pakeha poet who was very influential in New Zealand letters. Their daughter Hilary Baxter has also published a collection of poetry: Hilary Baxter, *The Other Side of Dawn* (Wellington: Spiral, 1987).

¹⁴¹ *Te Raukura* was published two years later. Harry Dansey, *Te Raukura: The Feathers of the Albatross* (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1974).

to the earliest publications in *Te Ao Hou*, the Maori Affairs magazine, which is a useful starting point because it centres the moment(s) of writing and dissemination, rather than waiting for the later acknowledgement (endorsement?) of Maori writing in English by ‘mainstream’ publishing houses.¹⁴² I am tempted to offer the year 1959-ish, after the note at the beginning of Evelyn Patuawa-Nathan’s 1979 collection of poetry *Opening Doors*:

Twenty years ago she wrote a historical novel which the publishers, Collins of London, were interested in publishing. The manuscript for correction went astray in the mail. Evelyn ‘Didn’t have another copy nor the staying power to stick with it.’¹⁴³

While constantly focussing on starting points and early moments is important, this can also mean that Maori literary studies can tend to be framed as a recent, tenuous and emerging phenomenon, whereas it is well and truly time to think about the literature as something more established than recent, more substantial than tenuous, more nuanced than emerging.¹⁴⁴ Another effect of constantly discussing Maori literature in English from a particular ‘starting point’, and following the development of the literature from there, is a tendency to focus more heavily on the first years of writing, and to read the more recent publications as continued manifestations (or perhaps echoes) of that works, if they are identified at all.¹⁴⁵ While, of course, the present writers owe a great deal to their origins

¹⁴² The first publication of a creative text in *Te Ao Hou* was by JC Sturm, in 1955. Actually the editors of *Te Ao Hou* were Pakeha, working at the Ministry of Maori Affairs. However, this ‘endorsement’ was a very important point on a continuum of publishing sovereignty; now, there is a Maori publishing company, Huia. Allen, *Blood Narrative: Indigenous Identity in American Indian and Maori Literary and Activist Texts*, Rika-Heke, "Margin or Center? 'Let Me Tell You! In the Land of My Ancestors I Am the Centre': Indigenous Writing in Aotearoa".

¹⁴³ Evelyn Patuawa-Nathan, *Opening Doors : A Collection of Poems* (Suva [Fiji]: Mana Publications, 1979).. This note fascinates me: I have started to think of it as a spectral ancestor, paving the way for the Maori writing in English to follow. I look forward to investigating this case of the missing novel further. Of course, had the novel been published “twenty years” before 1979, it would have had a significantly early position not only in Maori writing in English, but Pacific writing, Indigenous writing, and Anglophone postcolonial writing.

¹⁴⁴ It seems to me that some Maori writers are making a claim that Maori writing predates their own; in particular, the device of the diary from long ago has been used in a few recent texts. As well as continuing the tradition of ‘writing from the grave’ that embedded diaries and journals can have in any context, it seems to me that this could also be read as an explicit gesture towards the kinds of texts that have been written – even if not circulated in the expected channels for literary scholars – by Maori that *predate* the usual timelines of the 70s (or 60s or 50s or whenever). In particular, look to Ihimaera’s *The Uncle’s Story*, and Grace’s *Tu*, both of which contain ‘diaries’ written by Maori men fighting in overseas wars (Vietnam and WWII respectively). Ihimaera, *The Uncle’s Story*, Patricia Grace, *Tu* (Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin Books, 2004).

¹⁴⁵ Consider, for example, the predominant inclusion of Grace’s *Potiki* over her later texts in literary studies syllabi in the US.

and forebears in the field, this approach can obscure the later works and in particular the innovations and challenges that they represent.¹⁴⁶ Additionally, most of the more widely-known writers whose work appeared first have continued to publish since then as well, and so even within the ‘core’ Maori writers,¹⁴⁷ more recent developments and interests can be productively emphasised. Patricia Grace, for example, will always be acknowledged for her early groundbreaking work, but need not be eternally relegated to the (albeit very important) claims, politics and modes of ‘Parade’ and *Potiki*.¹⁴⁸

Because of the limitations of chronologically-organised literary surveys,¹⁴⁹ I have organised this section on “naku te rourou/ rakau/ karero” in three thematic parts, each of which is called “real Maori”. The first, “real maori: who are/ what is maori writing in english?” foregrounds some of the prominent claims and explorations of critics and editors of this body of literature, in particular those which focus on how texts are agreed/

¹⁴⁶ I am reminded of when my big sister lived in Japan for her final year of high school, as an exchange student. Every letter she would declare her intentions to give us a blow-by-blow account of her typical day there, and would start with describing breakfast. We must have read about twenty different descriptions of the morning fare in the Kato household that year, and I can still explain in some detail the thickness of the toast (my sister is big on diagrams) and what she would spread on it. However, she would run out of steam/ space/ time to conduct as thorough an account of her activities later in the day, and so would often be at about the point of describing her transport to school, and then would conclude with a promise to pick up where she left off in the next letter. Inevitably, we would open the next letter and find a drawing of a piece of toast and an interesting narrative about the appearance of her school uniform. Likewise, accounts that try to outline the ‘growth’/ ‘development’ of Maori literature in English often describe in detail the first writers, and after that it’s all a bit of a mush.

¹⁴⁷ We might list Tuwhare, Ihimaera, Grace and Hulme, and perhaps Taylor.

¹⁴⁸ Of course, I am not attempting to draw a trajectory of Maori writing in English into a Western narrative of ‘progress’, in which newer writing is somehow better or ‘improved’. Newer works do not diminish or challenge the mana or politics of earlier texts; and yet, a focus only on a certain set of texts that were produced within a certain set of pressures and events, might obscure the depth and breadth of discourse. It also narrows the space for talking about changing emphases and themes in the subsequent works of writers; for example, the way in which Patricia Grace writes about kaumatua (elders) in her most recent novel, *Dogside Story*, is different from in her earlier work. Patricia Grace, *Dogside Story* (Auckland, N.Z. New York, NY: Penguin Books (NZ);

Penguin Putnam, 2001).. Similarly, Ihimaera’s exploration of how to write about sexuality within a Maori context has changed from earlier work that did not engage with issues of sexuality – or perhaps, hinted and implied but no more – through his 1995 *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* and through again to his 2001 *The Uncle’s Story*. Certainly Ihimaera’s decision to rewrite his earlier works in order to more explicitly articulate a politics according to his later, more ‘decolonised,’ sensibility – a decision that has resulted in ‘new versions’ of *Pounamu Pounamu* and *Whanau II* – challenges the unidirectional linearity of progress on which this trajectory depends. Witi Ihimaera, *Pounamu Pounamu* (Auckland: Reed, 2003).. Witi Ihimaera, *Whanau Ii* (Auckland: Reed, 2004).

¹⁴⁹ I don’t want to be too disparaging to those who undertake this kind of work, which is very important. I am just seeking to do it differently, that’s all. In particular, I am very grateful for the timelines of Maori writing in English put together by Chad Allen (in the appendix to *Blood Narrative*) and Jon Battista (in *Hecate*).

alleged to ‘count’ as Maori texts. The second, “real maori: realism/ realness in maori writing in english” foregrounds the issues of ‘authenticity’(realness) and form (‘realism’/ reality) in these critical and literary works. Finally, the subtitle “real maori: te reo maori, english language” plays on the fact that ‘Maori’ is the name of the cultural/ whakapapa group and *also* the indigenous language of that group, and so a slippage between the two is suggested (although not followed out in the texts I include in this dissertation); this third section explores the various ways of classifying this literature that is self-consciously Maori and yet is (literally) written in a non-Maori language.

maoritanga, iwitanga, haputanga

Certainly before conducting an examination of ‘real Maori’ – or three ‘real Maori’ sections - it is timely to complicate the term and concept ‘Maori’. The most important caveat to include here is acknowledgement of the dimension of iwitanga.¹⁵⁰ Phil Kawana uses the issue of tribally-specific reo to explore this in his poem “Cultural Sensitivity.”¹⁵¹ Kawana describes an interaction with a woman who assumes, and attempts to condescendingly enforce, Maori homogeneity:

Yesterday
a baby boomer
took me aside and chided me
for not saying kofai...

He links this encounter with the wider history of colonial representations of Maori; he recognises the “we” that the woman sees (“we’re all supposed/ to be naturally cheerful”), and he deliberately fits his response within this image (“I smiled”), at the same time altering the pronoun (from the plural Maori ‘you’, evident by the speakers’ “we”) in his spoken reply, in order to confirm his own, more specific, location: rather than speaking of ‘Maori’ he refers to “my iwi”.

¹⁵⁰ Things that pertain to iwi.

¹⁵¹ Kawana, Phil. ‘Cultural Sensitivity’. *Attack of the Skunk People*. Wellington: Huia, 1999: 55.

I smiled wearily
 ('cos we're all supposed
 to be naturally cheerful –
 most happy fellas)
 and told her my iwi
 had always said kohwai
 and not kofai
 (despite it being forced to us
 at school and elsewhere
 by dialectal imperialists)
 and that I was not about to change now.

Kawana figures the exoticisation¹⁵² and accessibility¹⁵³ of 'Maori' language/ culture/ community through his description of the woman's 'knowledge' of the Other, to an extent that she imagines she knows the Other better than the Other does.¹⁵⁴ His Otherness, however, must be contained within her boundaries of acceptable difference; later in the poem she "scold[s]" his "reactionary stance." The speaker of the poem parallels the confrontation to another mode of linguistic colonisation, "school." Further, Kawana's phonetic spelling of the word in question ("kofai," "kohwai"), at the same time as enabling the encounter to be understood (or, perhaps, heard) by the reader, also draws attention to the "dialectal imperialis[m]" of 'standardized' Maori orthography. The 'correct' spelling here is 'kowhai', a version that is supposed to be able to accommodate the various 'dialects' that would variously pronounce the word kofai, kohwai, kohai, or ko'ai, but that has, at least in this encounter, assumed a more fixed pronunciation.¹⁵⁵ At the conclusion of the poem, Kawana's protagonist both 'indigenises' the (English) language of the "baby boomer" and at the same time reverses the earlier image of the "naturally cheerful" native:

¹⁵² It is a specific and contemporary incarnation of exoticisation, the New Age version: "She spoke in short, gasping bursts, / as if the crystal she wore / had absorbed too much / psychic energy / or something".

¹⁵³ I am becoming very interested in the presumption of 'access' to non-European culture that seems to stem from a colonial sense of ownership and translatable discovery.

¹⁵⁴ The processes associated with colonisation have, in fact, led to a situation in which sometimes a situation will arise in which a non-Maori person knows more about 'Maoritanga', with regard to language, history, cultural norms and so on, than a person who identifies as Maori. Generally, though, people in this position have been instilled with the requisite training to be sensitive about the situation, and not proceed in the manner of the woman in this poem.

¹⁵⁵ It might be productive to read Robert Sullivan's poem "Some definitions and a note on orthography" (Robert Sullivan, *Star Waka* (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 1999): 21) alongside this poem of Kawana's, in order to further explore the politics of written Maori.

I told her to hwuck off.

The generalised ‘Maori’ against which Kawana claims an iwi-specific identity is not just proffered in reaction to non-Maori, but also has implications for Maori scholars. A striking limitation of the formulation, “KM research is a manifestation of Maori cosmology,¹⁵⁶” expressed in this case by Henry and Pene, is that it implies that there exists, in fact, a singular ‘Maori cosmology.’ Modifying the noun with ‘Maori’¹⁵⁷ – whether it is in a phrase like Henare’s “Maori ethics,”¹⁵⁸ Irwin’s “Maori cultural specificities, preferences and practices,”¹⁵⁹ Graham Hingangaroa Smith’s “Maori philosophy and principles”¹⁶⁰ Stokes’s “Maori cultural framework”¹⁶¹ or even Bishop’s “Maori aspirations” – suggests that this is not only homogenous, but also known/ knowable (or, exclusionarily, not) to the audience. But as Royal reminds us in the context of researching family histories,

One should always be mindful that Maori history is tribal history. Prior to the arrival of Pakeha people in Aotearoa and Te Waipounamu, there was no such thing as ‘Maori’. People were identified by their tribal and sub-tribal affiliations and their traditions... A rich and complex diversity of tribal traditions emerged to form a fabric across the country. *Each tribe maintained its own traditions* concerning the beginnings of the world, the origins of mankind, the genealogy of the stars and so on.¹⁶²

Hireme writes at length about the imposition of the term ‘Maori,’ and states plainly throughout his dissertation: “I am not a Maori.” Drawing on Foucauldian theories of governmentality, he argues:

that all indigenous resistance strategies against the negative effects of colonialism, and in pursuit of tino rangatiratanga, must first and foremost begin with a rejection of the term Maori. *Every effort must be made to legitimate and validate the authority and genealogical truth of*

¹⁵⁶ Henry & Pene: 238.

¹⁵⁷ An adjective used to describe things in a natural/ ordinary/ normal state; eg wai = water, waimaori = plain water.

¹⁵⁸ Quoted in Henry & Pene: 236.

¹⁵⁹ Quoted in Bishop: 6.

¹⁶⁰ Smith, Graham Hingangaroa. ‘Research Issues Related to Maori Education’. *The Issue of Research and Maori*. Ed. Research Unit for Maori Education. Auckland: University of Auckland, 1993: np

¹⁶¹ Evelyn Stokes, Maori Research and Development, Monograph, *The Issue of Research and Maori*, Auckland.

¹⁶² Royal, Te Ahukaramu Charles. *Te Haurapa; An Introduction to Researching Tribal Histories and Traditions*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1992: 13.

iwi. This is a fundamental and basic necessity in the search for indigenous liberation...¹⁶³

Recognising the colonial construction of the term ‘Maori’ and its continued use for the colonial power provokes a rejection that ultimately leads in turn to the deeper exploration of *iwi* knowledges.

To construct a universal, homogenizing social grouping called ‘Maori’ is to deny us our genealogical history through hapu and *iwi*. I am Tuhoe, Ngati Awa, Whakatohea and Raukawa. I am not a Maori. At the whare wananga where I worked, my whakapapa has meaning and consequences. Wairaka saved the Mataatua waka. We are the originators of the kumara here in Aotearoa. *These are our truths. Other iwi have their own.*¹⁶⁴

Similarly, John Rangihau questions the term ‘Maori’¹⁶⁵, preferring instead to emphasise his Tuhoe affiliation, and places ‘Maori’ within a colonial context of naming:

Although these feelings are Maori, for me they are my Tuhoetanga rather than my Maoritanga. My being Maori is absolutely dependent my history as a Tuhoe person as against my being a Maori person. It seems to me that there is no such thing as Maoritanga because Maoritanga is an all-inclusive term which embraces all Maori. And there are so many different aspects about each tribal person. Each tribe has its own history... I have a faint suspicion that Maoritanga is a term coined by the Pakeha to bring the tribes together. Because if you cannot divide and rule, then for tribal people all you can do is unite them and rule. Because then they lose their own tribal histories and traditions that gave them their identity.¹⁶⁶

All of these cautions about the term ‘Maori,’ and in particular its erasure of *iwi* specificities, echoes the kind of project that Craig Womack proposes in his *Red on Red* in which the attention is turned away from American Indian literary studies and towards a more nuanced and specific exploration of ‘tribal’ (in Womack’s case Creek) literary traditions and criticisms.

Despite – or perhaps as well as – all this, the term ‘Maori’ is still in use. The word is clearly not a completely random term plucked out of thin air at moment of first encounter with Europeans: there are also Maori in the Cook Islands, Ma’ohi in Tahiti and

¹⁶³ Hireme, "Cultural Theory Made Critical: Towards a Theory of the Indigenous Intellectual.": 18

¹⁶⁴ Ibid: 18 - 19

¹⁶⁵ A word he uses in the following quotation is ‘Maoritanga’; ‘tanga’ is often described as a suffix that parallels the English ‘ness’, so Maoritanga is Maoriness. However, it goes a bit deeper than this; ‘Maoritanga’ implies the things that make one Maori.

¹⁶⁶ Rangihau. *Te Ao Hurihuri*. Ed. Michael King. Wellington: Hicks Smith/ Methuen, 1977: 190.

Marquesas, and Maoli in Hawai'i. In terms of Aotearoa-based relationships, too, McRae points in her thesis to the "common[alities] and similarities" between tribal groups which, while perhaps not "genesis" points of identification, are also certainly important:

It might be said that the genesis of all oral texts is in the tribe and that discussion of a commonality in some texts is an objective outsiders' view of that tradition. While this is to some extent true, it is also the case that Maori people recognise the origins that they have in common and the similarities between versions of the oral tradition as it is passed down in tribal groups.¹⁶⁷

Further, there is the "convenience"¹⁶⁸ of using the term to refer to the various iwi groups, including a convenience that has been confirmed and mobilised by many Maori since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 (or perhaps earlier, the Declaration of Independence in 1835). The other reason is the 'necessity' of using the notion of 'Maori', given the historical incidents and accidents that have caused 'Maori' to not simply be an umbrella term for different iwi anymore, but also to account for the large number of Maori who have lost, neglected or rejected connection with their own iwi. Most of these reasons for loss, and indeed rejection, are tied up with colonialism, which of course 'Maori' have suffered under *as Maori*, and so might be regarded 'Maori' experiences, even if they do not ostensibly belie a 'pro-Maori' (or perhaps a 'pro-iwi'/'pro-hapu') orientation. So then, having acknowledged iwitanga and haputanga,¹⁶⁹ we will proceed with Maoritanga. With Maori.

real maori: who aré what is maori writing in english?

Questions about what constitutes Maori writing, which often hinge on *who* is a Maori writer, are a primary interest of many critical conversations that pertain to Maori

¹⁶⁷ McRae, "Whakataukii: Maori Sayings."130.

¹⁶⁸ Royal 1992: 13.

¹⁶⁹ A hapu is a sub-tribe; this is the central political, social and cultural unit in 'traditional' Maori social structure.

writing in English.¹⁷⁰ For some critics the questions are implicitly/ impliedly answered by their own methodology and assumptions. For others, such as anthologists who grapple with these questions as they select pieces of writing, making decisions about what (or who) to include and what (or who) doesn't fit, the questions are conscious, prominent and pivotal. It is particularly interesting to note the shifts in how the question is approached over time.

Perhaps the most explicit sites in which these questions are addressed with explicit reference to literature are the introductory ("Kaupapa") essays to Ihimaera's (coedited¹⁷¹) anthologies, all of which raise and address the issue within the context of selection for the respective volumes.¹⁷² Before exploring the bases on which those anthologies select work as 'Maori', though, it is striking to consider the extent to which Orbell's introduction to her *Contemporary Maori Writing*, the first anthology of Maori writing in English, *doesn't* deal with the issue of whether texts are 'Maori' or not. Rather than focussing on determining (or how to determine) whether a particular writer is Maori, Orbell actually tries to downplay this very thing that has brought the texts together, and is quite explicit about how the literature is connected more by shared (read: socio-economic, migratory) experience than shared "fact of... being Maori:"

It is this shared experience and similarity of approach to their subject-matter, rather than the fact of their being Maori, which justifies bringing their work together in a separate collection.¹⁷³

Reminiscent of Orbell, even if not as dismissive, Ihimaera and Long write about a reciprocal Maori identity and identification in a way that suggests the determination of

¹⁷⁰ This is a common hang-up of minority/ multicultural/ indigenous/ pacific etc writers and criticism.

¹⁷¹ Ihimaera co-edited *Into the World of Light* with DS Long, and *Te Ao Marama* with Haare Williams, Irihapeti Ramsden and DS Long.

¹⁷² Given the scope, status and literal size of *Into the World of Light* and the *Te Ao Marama* volumes, I will treat them separately here.

¹⁷³ Orbell, Margaret. "Introduction." *Contemporary Maori Writing*. Ed. Margaret Orbell. Wellington: Reed, 1970: 7. To read this point generously, perhaps Orbell's statement is a feature of the time it was produced; after all, Maori writing had largely been kept out of anthologies of 'New Zealand' literature, apparently on the basis of 'quality.' Maybe a claim that prioritised the texts' subject matter rather than their 'Maoriness' was an attempt to appease a sceptical audience: 'it's okay, even though the anthology says it's Maori it does manage to have some valuable/ interesting/ relevant texts anyway.'

‘Maoriness’ is unproblematic, or at least, somehow transparent, in the 1982 introduction to *Into the World of Light*:

[The writers] themselves claim Maori identity and, in turn, are claimed by Maoridom.¹⁷⁴

This configuration relies on a knowable, identifiable, somehow unified/ unifying thing called “Maoridom” that will culturally ‘vouch for’ writers who identify as Maori,¹⁷⁵ but it also assumes – by virtue of the lack of discussion to the contrary - that any writing produced by such ‘Maori’ authors would be uncomplicatedly ‘Maori’.

The first “Kaupapa” of the coedited *Te Ao Marama* volumes suggests that the issues pertaining to identity and writing complexified in the decade since *Into the World of Light*.

As to our editorial policy, our major dilemma has not been the question of standards after all but, significantly, deciding what actually constitutes *Maori* writing.¹⁷⁶

The key editorial dilemma is no longer about quality-based selection; the ‘agreed-upon Maoriness’ of a writer is *potentially* insufficient grounds to declare a text to be Maori. The editors rephrase the issue into two questions, in which they focus on two possible ‘qualifiers’ of Maori writing: ancestry and subject matter:

‘Is any work, written by a Maori, therefore Maori writing?’ or ‘Is it Maori writing if it deals with only Maori characters in recognisable Maori settings?’¹⁷⁷

Notably, although language is mentioned later in the ‘Kaupapa’, it is not a part of the formulation of ‘qualification as a Maori text’ at this stage. With regard to the first question about whether work written by a Maori is Maori writing, which, when turned

¹⁷⁴ Ihimaera and Long, *Into the World of Light: An Anthology of Maori Writing*: 5

¹⁷⁵ Duff would be an interesting case to consider here because one imagines that some ‘Maori’ wouldn’t ‘vouch for’ him.

¹⁷⁶ Ihimaera, Witi, et al. "Kaupapa (1)." *Te Ao Marama 1: Te Whakahuatanga O Te Ao = Reflections of Reality*: 17.

¹⁷⁷ Ihimaera, Witi, et al. "Kaupapa (1)." *Te Ao Marama 1: Te Whakahuatanga O Te Ao = Reflections of Reality*. Ed. Witi Ihimaera. Auckland: Reed, 1992 : 17.

another way, asks ‘who, then, is a Maori Writer?’, the *Te Ao Marama* editors describe their own selection process as taking what they call “the holistic view”¹⁷⁸:

If the writer has Maori ancestry, his or her work has been considered, regardless of content.¹⁷⁹

In other words, whakapapa trumps topic/ form/ language/ experience; a Maori writer is a writer who has Maori whakapapa, and any writing they produce is Maori writing. The centrality of whakapapa to Maori culture cannot be understated, and Ramsden’s well known essay “Borders and Frontiers” provides a succinct discussion of its fundamental position, especially with regard to the diverse experience of individuals who whakapapa Maori:

What, people ask, is a Maori? The question, of course, is fundamentally wrong. Who is a Maori is the question... It seems to me that Maoritanga, like all other realities, is personal. That within the outlines of being Maori there exists a horizon of Maoriness which extends from our ancient kaumatua, secure in their world, through the emerging middle class, to our mokopuna with glue bags sleeping under the bridges in the land of nobody. All these Maori realities are legitimate. *All have Maori ancestors*, all have been subjected to the experience of colonisation, and each has reacted in their own way to the impact of the new culture.¹⁸⁰

Hone Kouka concurs in his introduction to the collection of plays entitled *Ta Matou Mangai*:

if the plays convey the thoughts and ideas of a Maori writer, and that writer is presenting the world through their eyes, then it is Maori.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Ibid: 17.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid: 17. One significant inclusion in the anthology is Alistair Te Ariki Campbell, the son of a Cook Islander woman and European man, who was orphaned and raised in Aotearoa by Pakeha family from the age of five. A prominent New Zealand poet, his embrace in the *Te Ao Marama* anthology opens interesting room for discussion about what ‘whakapapa’ is about; after all, as the editors argue, Cook Islanders are some of our closest Polynesian relatives; we certainly share whakapapa. He is also included in Hulme’s earlier ‘Mauri’, about what she calls “bicultural” poetry; mixed race writing. “The Maori of the old days loved, among other things, fighting and war. Alistair Campbell (of Rarotongan and Scots descent, New Zealand upbringing) in his sequence...” Hulme, Keri. “Mauri: An Introduction to Bicultural Poetry in New Zealand.” *Only Connect; Literary Perspectives East and West*. Ed. Guy Amirthanayagam & SC Harrex. Adelaide: Centre for Research in the New Literatures in English & East-West Centre, 1981: 296.

¹⁸⁰ Ramsden, Irihapeti: ‘Borders and Frontiers’ *Te Ao Marama 2 - He Whakaatanga O Te Ao, the Reality; Regaining Aotearoa - Maori Writers Speak Out*. Ed. Witi Ihimaera. Auckland: Reed, 1993: 349; emphasis added). The national monthly magazine *North and South* had the unfortunate title “Who is Pakeha? What is Maori?” for their cover story in August 2003, and this provoked widespread response.

¹⁸¹ Hone Kouka, *Ta Matou Mangai; Three Plays of the 1990s* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1999): 21.

For several critics, including myself and especially for the purposes of the project, if a writer has (and perhaps acknowledges) any whakapapa Maori, that is ‘sufficient’ basis – the bottom line, if you will – for determining that a text is ‘Maori.’¹⁸²

The *Te Ao Marama* editors shift their emphasis from a whakapapa-based definition of Maori writing (‘Who is a Maori writer?’) to a content-based evaluation (‘What is Maori Writing?’):

‘Is it Maori writing if it deals with only Maori characters in recognisable Maori settings?’

This issue of subject matter (“Maori characters in... Maori settings”) is problematic, in my view, because it does not define what ‘recognition’ entails: what would be “recognisabl[y] Maori”? Whereas the whakapapa requirement in the first question is up to the writers and their whanau/ communities (perhaps the “Maoridom” of *Into the World of Light*), this question relies on a much more subjective requirement. The ‘recognition’ of “Maori settings” requires a person or group to do the “recognis[ing].” Additional questions needs to be asked: “recognisable” to whom? Who gets to decide whether writing is ‘recognisably’ Maori or not? To use a recent example, does Paula Morris’s 2002 novel *Queen of Beauty*, set half in New Orleans and half in urban Auckland, and peopled by at least as many Americans, Pakeha and Pacific Islanders as Maori characters, “deal[] with only Maori characters in recognizable Maori settings”? Although the point of the editors’ question is clear – must the subject matter be ‘Maori’ – the pertinent issue is the process by which this would be determined. If this ‘recognition’ as Maori is by ‘Maori’, this would vary greatly: from rural to urban based Maori, from Aotearoa to Overseas based Maori, from women to men, children to elders and so on. For example, is

¹⁸² Spickard and Fong write about this in Paul Spickard and Rowena Fong, “Pacific Islander Americans and Multiethnicity: A Vision of America’s Future?,” *Social Forces* 73.4 (1995).. They quote an interviewee, Sitiene, who comments on his childhood in Aotearoa New Zealand: “Maoris [sic] seem to have adopted the ‘one drop’ rule about themselves: If you can claim any Maori ancestor, then you are part of the tangata whenua.” (Spicakrd & Fong: 1376). Spickard and Fong go on to elaborate: “Pacific Islander ethnicity focuses not on the boundaries between groups but on the centers of group ethnicity and the glue that holds the group together – not on who is out but on who is in, and on what they do together.” (Ibid: 1374)

Ithaca a “recognisable Maori setting[]”? It is to *this* Maori. On the other hand, seeing as I don’t come from the East Coast and was raised in the city, I don’t “recognise” the “settings” of many of, for example, Ihimaera’s novels. So, is the recognition that is required by this configuration of the “settings” and “characters” themselves, or is it of something else?

Before I get all grumpy, though, the editors themselves provide a way of thinking about this issue of “recognisable Maori settings”. In the first “Kaupapa”, the editors write about a tendency to code ‘not-Maori’ as Pakeha, a system of cultural ‘default’ that normalizes and centralizes ‘Pakeha.’¹⁸³ They argue that this ‘default’ code could conceivably be ‘Maori’:

The context, after all, has changed for most of us. We live in a world and our response is to that world. But *Maori writers need to keep regarding the world as Maori, and not Pakeha*. There is no reason why the world should cease being Maori for, say, a Maori in Sydney... *Te Ao Marama* would not have been true to itself if ‘non-Maori’ work by Maori writers had been excluded.¹⁸⁴

Given this manner of default coding as Maori, Virginia’s life in New Orleans in *Queen of Beauty* is as ‘Maori’ as her grandmother’s rural life in Aotearoa. Why? Because, to use Kouka’s metaphor, the world described is viewed through Morris’s (and the main character, Virginia’s) eyes. The “settings” are “recognizably Maori” because they are in a text by a Maori writer. Okay, so the argument has returned itself to whakapapa.

By the time the *Te Ao Marama* editors write the final ‘Kaupapa’ in volume five, they approach this issue differently, explicitly tying their discussion to a return to the original question ‘What is Maori Writing?’

The assumption that any writing by a Maori constitutes ‘Maori writing’ needs to be debated. The ways in which we as Maori live our lives, surrounded by all the influences of the post-colonial and post-modern

¹⁸³ I can’t wait till the present generation of ‘haka hulas’ (mixed Maori/ Pacific Islands) starts to grow up and write. How will discussions of language use change once the Other language is not English, but Tongan, Niuean, Tokelauan, Fijian, Cook Islands Maori or Samoan? What will happen when the ‘not-Maori’ isn’t widely assumed to be automatically ‘Pakeha’?

¹⁸⁴ The paradox, in my view, is that at the very moment the editors embrace the work, they then refer to it as “non-Maori”, a designation that they maintain by pointing it out, whether they mark it with inverted commas or not.

world, mean that we are as much affected by conflicting discourses as Pakeha or anyone else.¹⁸⁵

The “world” is no longer coded Maori by default (as in the above/ earlier “no reason why the world should cease being Maori for... a Maori in Sydney”), but is instead “post-colonial” and/ or “post modern”, and these “influences” are described as “conflicting discourses”. Despite the ‘inclusive’ selection methodology, the question of recognition (“recognisable Maori settings”) in the first ‘Kaupapa’ has in fact foreshadowed the move the editors make in the final ‘Kaupapa’. While still endorsing that any person with Maori whakapapa is Maori, limitations – or perhaps hierarchies - are placed on the writing they produce:

Our belief is that the more informed a work is by Maori cultural aspects and understanding, reo, whakapapa, mauri, and wairua, the more Maori it is.¹⁸⁶

This shift, from including works “regardless of content” to regarding certain works as “more Maori” over the course of five volumes of a multi-volume anthology, is significant. The editors’ formulation suggests that a Maori¹⁸⁷ writer could potentially produce writing that is somehow not (properly, or sufficiently, or completely) Maori.

¹⁸⁵ Ihimaera, Witi, et al. "Kaupapa (5)." *Te Ao Marama 5: Te Torino, the Spiral*. Ed. Witi Ihimaera. Auckland: Reed, 1996: 17

¹⁸⁶ Ibid: 17

¹⁸⁷ I am not here debating the issue of non-Maori writers producing ‘Maori’ texts, because ‘luckily’ for us, the Maori community has not yet had to deal with cases of fraudulent Maori writers, whereby a non-Maori writer would claim to be Maori in order to have access to a presumed benefit of such a claim. This situation has taken place in Australia, of example, where non-Aboriginal writers have passed themselves off as Aboriginal in order to access targeted literary prizes. While certainly ‘authenticity’ identity stuff is high in the headlines (for example, debates about whether urban Maori can be considered ‘tribal’ for the purpose of receiving fish money), I have not yet read of a writer who is relegated to being not-Maori by a Maori critic. Their *writing* may be non-Maori (as in the case of Mita’s criticism of Hulme, on the basis of language) or “irrelevant” (as in the case of Walker’s criticism of Duff, on the basis of politics), but noone would publicly claim that an individual has no right to claim that they are Maori. Notably, CK Stead’s infamous attack on Keri Hulme’s award of the Pegasus Prize for Maori Literature did in fact try to make this move, by arguing on some kind of blood quantum that he managed to come up with that she didn’t have enough Maori blood to be Maori (he relayed the precise fractions of her blood to make his point); this view was certainly not endorsed by any Maori (or, indeed, many non-Maori). Whakapapa is the basis for a claim to being Maori, and it is not something that can be ‘watered down’ by the presence of additional ancestries. Intersetingly (or not), Stead’s attack claimed that although Hulme was not Maori because her blood was too diluted, her writing was also not Maori, because her use of Maori mythology seemed (to Stead) “forced”; he offered James K Baxter as a Maori writer instead. While Baxter (one of NZ’s most prominent poets) was certainly immersed in Maori language, communities and culture, and his wife (writer JC Sturm) and children were Maori, I have not heard of either Baxter, or anyone else, refer to his writing as ‘Maori’ writing.

But if a text is ‘not-Maori’ (or ‘less-Maori’ as opposed to “more Maori”) then what is it? According to the shift between these ‘Kaupapa’ essays, a Maori “world” has given way to a world that still includes Maori, but also includes various “conflicting discourses”. While the fifth Kaupapa figures itself as the returning part of a double spiral, thus re-centring Maori reo, wairua and so on, the effect seems to gesture more towards exclusion, because the dynamic movement ‘towards’ the centre is hierarchised; some texts are “more” Maori than the rest. Further, while the editors may have felt the process of selection for the volumes of the remarkable *Te Ao Marama* anthology brought them to this viewpoint, just as in the case of “recognition” in the first ‘Kaupapa’, the new configuration requires a process by which one might determine the extent to which a work is “informed”.¹⁸⁸ Presumably, if a text can be “more Maori”, given its proximity to a centre, so can the “recognis[er]”, and the modes and parameters of its “recogni[tion]” as Maori: “Maori cultural aspects and understanding, reo, whakapapa, mauri and wairua.” The editors write about “Deirdre Nehua’s story of a young girl with her grandmother, which [has] the simplicity of truth, the familiar made real. *We* recognise *ourselves* in Deirdre Nehua’s story and can say ‘Yes, this is *us*.’”¹⁸⁹ But what of people who identify as Maori and yet do not “recognise [them]selves” in a story about a Maori-speaking grandmother? Jacq Carter writes about the legacy of *not* being a part of this ‘we in her poem “Powhiri:”

My sadness is
I have never known
a kuia fold me
in her arms

My sadness is

¹⁸⁸ Perhaps the most difficult aspect of this claim is that any system of measurement is potentially arbitrary. How does one measure the extent to which a writer affiliates with their iwi, for example? Ihimaera wrote as early as 1978 about those who were “Maori by colour but who have no emotional identity as Maori” (ihimaera 1978: 84); quarter of a century later, would the experience of these people be ‘Maori’ enough for the *Te Ao Marama* editors? It seems that the implication of this move is that it is those who are ‘dispossessed’ – who have the most to lose because they have already lost so much – who will be most likely voted off the island.

¹⁸⁹ Witi Ihimaera, “Kaupapa,” *Te Ao Mārama 5: Te Tōrino*, ed. Witi Ihimaera, vol. 5 (Auckland: Reed, 1996): 17.

that what I know
was not told me
by a kaumatua¹⁹⁰

Does this remove those Maori from the “we” of the editors? If “this” is not “us,” who are we? One wonders, then, whether Duff’s *Once Were Warriors*,¹⁹¹ with its nihilism, violence and dislocation, is “informed... by Maori cultural aspects”? What about Morey’s *Bloom*¹⁹² which does include an 1860s “Hauhau witch,” Nanny Smack, in its cast of characters, but otherwise contains no marae, tangihanga or Maori-speaking grandmother? Certainly it could be argued that the text is shaped by, and a representation of, a significant number of the contemporary Maori community; does this count, then, as a “Maori cultural aspect[]”? If a text like *Baby No-Eyes* is written in ‘Maori English’ (discussed below), and so the language of the text is thus recognizable (at least to some) as ‘Maori’, is that text informed by “reo”? Carter finishes her poem in te reo Maori, even after she has said that “My sadness is/ that I don’t have the reo,” and points to the ‘knowing’ that comes from her ancestors, rather than from a specific set of experiences or interactions:

but I hear the call of my tupuna
the strongest karanga I know¹⁹³

Is this poem about “recognizing” a Nanny, then? If an Apirana Taylor story treats the dysfunction in a particular family, is that about whakapapa? Is Wiremu Davis’ autobiographical play *Taku Mangai*, whose protagonist explores tensions between the Ratana, Protestant and Mormon religions, informed by wairua?¹⁹⁴

Fascinating as this line of inquiry might be, at some point it seems expedient to simply acknowledge the multiple ways of reading texts as ‘Maori’, and to plainly state the ‘policy statement’ of each project towards the issue. Hone Kouka explains his refusal to

¹⁹⁰ Jacq Carter, “Pōwhiri,” *Whetu Moana: Contemporary Polynesian Poems in English*, eds. Albert Wendt, Reina Whaitiri and Robert Sullivan (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003): 45

¹⁹¹ Alan Duff, *Once Were Warriors* (Auckland: Tandem Press, 1990).

¹⁹² Kelly Ana Morey, *Bloom* (Auckland ; London ; New York: Penguin, 2003).

¹⁹³ Carter, “Pōwhiri.”: 45

¹⁹⁴ Wairua = usually defined as spirit/ spirituality. The Ratana church is a syncretic faith, based on the teachings of Wiremu Tahu Potiki Ratana, known as ‘Te Mangai,’ ‘the Mouthpiece’ (of God).

engage with this whole drama of determining ‘what counts’ as Maori writing, in the introductory essay to his collection *Taku Mangai; Three Plays of the 1990s*:

The questions are raised: ‘What is a Maori writer? and ‘what is a Maori play?’ I make no attempt to answer these questions because this book is looking at the expansion of Maori writing. It may be proven in the future that one or perhaps all three plays are not Maori. The criteria I have used for this book are that if the plays convey the thoughts and ideas of a Maori writer, and that writer is presenting the world through their eyes, then it is Maori.¹⁹⁵

Kouka’s reasoning is compelling; he impliedly suggests that the discourse about these definitions is ultimately counterproductive to promoting/ highlighting “the expansion of Maori writing.” A similar stance is articulated in “Post-modern Maori,” Anton Blank’s contribution to Ihimaera’s collection *Growing Up Maori*. Blank writes:

I get bored with the authenticity debate, and that simplistic search for an equation of values that equals Maori. Tradition doesn’t own my generation like it does our parents – those days are gone. My whakapapa means that I am Maori, and from there I determine what it means for me. It is an intellectual and political exercise, and I am informed by values and beliefs that circulate outside Te Ao Maori as well as within it. I feel powerful and free because my definitions are not finite.¹⁹⁶

Kouka’s and Blank’s both pieces indicate a frustration at the amount of energy that has been spent on the issues so far, and this is a frustration with which I have sympathies. I have already been clear that, for me (at least for this dissertation project), a text by a Maori writer is a Maori text, regardless of content or language or any other feature. This is, in fact, why the title of this dissertation includes the term “Maori writing in English,” in order to produce a deliberate ambiguity between “Maori [people who are] writing in [the] English [language]” and “Maori writing [that is] in [the] English [language],” I anticipate that this intentional slippage, between ‘Maoriness’ of the text and ‘Maoriness’ of the writer, will be apparent in my consideration of the various texts in this project.

¹⁹⁵ Kouka, *Ta Matou Mangai; Three Plays of the 1990s*: 21

¹⁹⁶ Anton Blank, “Post-Modern Maori,” *Growing up Maori*, ed. Witi Ihimaera (Auckland: Tandem Press, 1998): 225.

real maori: realism/ realness and maori writing in english

Although I get frustrated with the constant return to standing at the door of the room of Maori literary studies, checking tickets, rather than (finally!) actually wandering in to see what's going on inside, the issue of Maori 'content' does raise a vital aspect of Maori writing, filmmaking and theatre: the idea that texts depict a kind of Maori 'real'. Albert Wendt talks about the important role that realism plays in Pacific novels,¹⁹⁷ despite the dismissal it can earn from what he refers to as "postmodernists" at the University of Auckland, his home institution at the time:

Some of these critics now dismiss our literature as being old-fashioned because they are still in the realist tradition. They fail to realize that we have a different purpose for our literature – a desire to explain to ourselves what has happened to us in the colonial process, and to argue for political change. We still see the novel as a weapon for social change.¹⁹⁸

This realist mode has been a part of the literature since the first Maori fiction writing in English was published in *Te Ao Hou*.¹⁹⁹ When the journal was first printed in 1952, it was imagined that it would enable Maori to show their "reality" (as filtered, of course, through the Department of Maori Affairs). As Allen describes it,

what is desired and later praised is the representation of "the everyday situation" of the Maori and the Maori "real".²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ Interestingly, of course, Wendt's own work – and particularly texts such as *Black Rainbow* - has not been strictly 'realist.'

¹⁹⁸ Hereniko, Vilsoni. "An Interview with Albert Wendt." *Manoa* 5.1: 57. Similarly, Craig Womack writes: "I won't bother much in this book [Red on Red] with the scepticism of postmodernism in relation to history. It is way too premature for Native scholars to deconstruct history when we haven't yet constituted it." Womack, *Red on Red: Native American Literary Separatism*.: 3. Linda Tuhiwai Smith puts it this way: "It is because of these issues that I ask the question, 'Is history in its modernist construction important or not important for indigenous peoples?'... Our colonial experience traps us in the project of modernity. There can be no 'postmodern' for us until we have settled some business of the modern." (Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London; New York: Dunedin, N.Z.:

New York: Zed Books ;

University of Otago Press ;

Distributed in the USA exclusively by St. Martin's Press, 1999).: 34)

¹⁹⁹ Of course, there is a difference between Maori 'real' and Pakeha 'real'; whereas a Pakeha realist text might privilege the absence of spiritual dimension, for example, very few Maori texts exclude this from their depictions of the 'real'. Potiki privileges this latter kind of realism in her criticism: "It is our ancestors who remind us of who we are, where we belong, and why we have been given the gift of life." (1997: 9).

²⁰⁰ Allen, *Blood Narrative: Indigenous Identity in American Indian and Maori Literary and Activist Texts*.: 52.

That Maori cultural production records a snapshot of ‘reality’ is endorsed and advocated by the *Te Ao Marama* editors, Mita, Potiki, the (unnamed) author of “He Kupu Whakataki”, and Kouka:

Te Ao Marama is a marae where our writing will stand, to reflect the times, and to show others a little of what we were like during a crucial decade... Nobody again may have such an opportunity to say to the present, 'This is how we are,' - to say to the future, 'This is how we were.'²⁰¹

A witnessing of the times in the words of Maori themselves, showing the complexity that has become our world, the commonalities of kaupapa and divergences from it.²⁰²

We go to the cinema to see ourselves. We read the books that reveal ourselves.²⁰³

Maori drama is about Maori people being able to tell their own stories.²⁰⁴

Ma enei momo tuhinga e toro haere nga ahuatanga e pa ana ki a tatau te iwi Maori o Aotearoa nei, nga piki, nga heke, nga mea ataahua, nga mea whakahouhou, te harikoa, te pouri, katoa, ka whakaahuatia mai i roto i nga korero.²⁰⁵

Kouka talks about ‘reality’ as truth telling:

[In *Taku Mangai* is] an unashamed Maoriness, better explained as an uncompromising evocation of a Maori experience, to the play which forces the reader or audience member to view the play through Maori eyes²⁰⁶

Whatever direction our writers choose we must tell the truth of what it means to be Maori living in Aotearoa today... we have a whakapapa in theatre now, it means we have a tree with deep roots and spreading branches. Who knows how this tree will grow.²⁰⁷

Patricia Grace talks about this idea of representing reality, and its potential/ necessity in order to embrace of the ‘whole’ Maori experience, and significantly she does not at any

²⁰¹ Witi Ihimaera, "Kaupapa," *Te Ao Marama 1: Te Whakahuatanga O Te Ao*, ed. Witi Ihimaera (Auckland: Reed, 1992): 18

²⁰² Ihimaera, "Kaupapa." (1996): 16

²⁰³ Merata Mita, "Indigenous Literature in a Colonial Society," *Te Ao Marama 2 - He Whakaatanga O Te Ao*, ed. Witi Ihimaera (Auckland: Reed, 1993): 312

²⁰⁴ Roma Potiki, "The Journey from Anxiety to Confidence," *Te Ao Marama 2 - He Whakaatanga O Te Ao*, ed. Witi Ihimaera (Auckland: Reed, 1993): 315

²⁰⁵ "He Kupu Whakataki." *Nga Pakiwaitara a Huia 1995*. Ed. Huia Publishers. Wellington: Huia, 1995

²⁰⁶ Kouka, *Ta Matou Mangai: Three Plays of the 1990s*: 23.

²⁰⁷ Kouka, *Ta Matou Mangai: Three Plays of the 1990s*: 28.

point refer to an individual experience of reality; every noun and pronoun in her list is pluralised:

We write what we know, and what we know is who we are. We are our ancestors, we are our families, we are our communities, we are our kids on the street, our nephews in gangs, our achievers, our politicians, our corner stores, our supermarkets, our news on television.²⁰⁸

The “we” is equated with several aspects of the community, from “ancestors,” “families” and “communities” (the latter two are not temporally or spatially restricted) through people of the contemporary moment, to the known environment – both rural (“corner stores”) and urban (“supermarkets”) – to the stories about the Maori community. Perhaps an American way to express her attitude towards the various dimensions of this world would be that she ‘owns’ the various elements – including the “kids on the street” and “nephews in gangs” as well as the “news on television” – by claiming to *be* them (“we are”²⁰⁹), rather than writing *about* or even against them. Her refusal to distinguish between ‘people’ and the stories (“news”) told about them (“what we know is who we are”) folds back on her own argument; if the stories are part of the “what we know” about which Grace writes (this is reinforced by the pronoun; “our news”, as opposed to ‘news about us’), then her stories *about* the stories (ie Grace’s fiction) is a part of “what we know” as well. Thus, at the same time as “reality” has become a part of Maori writing, the writing has become a part of the scope of Maori “reality”.

One dimension of this representation of ‘reality’ is that it is produced for (or at least consumed by) two audiences. Although Smith and Tawake’s “Culture as Reflected in Creative Literature” is disappointing as a critical work, their use of the metaphor of fiction as a “window” to a culture highlights another aspect of Maori writing. Not only is literature a means by which (approved) “real” images of themselves are distributed to other Maori, as in the case of *Te Ao Hou*, but it also grants non-Maori access to “real”

²⁰⁸ Patricia Grace, “We Write What We Know...” *Te Pua: The Journal of Puawaitanga* Special Issue: Indigenous Women and Representation (2000). : 60

²⁰⁹ This is an inclusive ‘we’ rather than the coercive ‘we’ of the *Te Ao Marama* who recognise themselves/ourselves in Deirdre Nehua’s story.

Maori communities. This is set up when Orbell gives an authenticity seal of approval, for example, when she exclaims to the – impliedly white - readers of her 1970 anthology that:

in the attitudes that they have in common, and also in the ways in which they differ, the writers in this collection provide a convincing portrait of Maori life.²¹⁰

The need for a portrait to be “convincing”, or even to be a “portrait” of “Maori life” is a theme that, as we can see from the above discussion of the *Te Ao Marama* anthologies, in which the language has changed to “recognisabl[e]” and “Maori characters in... Maori settings” persists.

In his 1999 address to the New Zealand Library Association, Ihimaera argues that Maori writers write for both a ‘Maori’ and a ‘New Zealand’ audience, and emphasises the “decolonising” effect, relevant to both Maori and non-Maori, of this kind of Maori cultural production:

Maori writers have played a major role in the stories we tell about ourselves [NZers]. They have also made it easier to “see” Waari [Maori; a reference that will be discussed later]. Their major corrective has been to Write the Maori Story from the Inside. To construct a Maori world that is *validated by authentic* Maori experience. To offer characters who are not bit players in Pakeha texts (as villain or plot device or exotic colouring or, worse, friendly sidekick) but the main character – heroes, heroines and, yes, even villains – in texts of their own. To offer themes of decolonisation, antidotes and antivenemes which unpoison the stories which have been told about us.²¹¹

The act of “unpoison[ing]” is important because representations in Maori literature are not produced in an historical vacuum; Maori writers are writing into/ against images of Maori – both by non-Maori and Maori – that have been unhealthy/ unfair/ untrue. Not only is the idea for Maori to show ‘how we are’, to quote Grace’s story “Parade”, but it is also to show how we are *not*, through the dismantling of stereotypes and the recognition of distorted images.

²¹⁰ Margaret Rose Orbell, *Contemporary Maori Writing* (Wellington,: Reed, 1970): 8

²¹¹ LIANZA Conference Proceedings, held at www.lianza.org.nz/conference99/ihimaera.htm

Patricia Grace delivered a lecture entitled 'Books are Dangerous' (that I couldn't track down, but that is paraphrased and taken up here by Pihama in the context of film):

If there are no [films] that tell us about ourselves but only tell us about others, then they are saying "you do not exist" and that is dangerous... However, if there are [films] that are about you and they are untrue, that is very dangerous... If there are [films] about you but they are negative and insensitive so that they are saying "you are no good," that is dangerous.²¹²

Arguably, the way to battle stereotypes - and to avoid 'own-typecasting'²¹³ - is to produce, and to encourage the production of, more and more images from many members of the community. In 1978 Ihimaera - who claims that he began his own writing career in part because of Pearson's complaint that there were no Maori novelists at the time - and Grace both wrote of the need for more Maori writers. They lay out the possibilities of such growth for the issue of Maori representation:

I look forward to the emergence of more writers who are Maori. Only then can the broad spectrum of Maori experience become available and the Maori map become fully drawn.²¹⁴

I... feel confident that the numbers of Maori writers will increase considerably; that Maori values will be seen and our variousness become obvious. This will ensure also that the generalisations are offset.²¹⁵

Similarly, Pihama's discussion of *The Piano* does not end on a low note of despair, but instead with a call for resources to support Maori filmmakers:

... just as books/ films are dangerous they can equally be positively powerful. It is that which I believe calls Maori film-makers to invert the negative constructions that have so long dominated, to assert our own definitions, to present and represent, to create and re-create, to provide the images that we define as part of our realities in ways that we determine. It is we who have most to gain.²¹⁶

The central claim of Ihimaera's anthology *Where's Waari* is that 'Maori' itself is the result of a series of images that have been produced *about* Maori by both Maori and non-

²¹² Pihama 1994; square brackets are hers.

²¹³ This is a theoretical term I have made up, based on the idea of an 'own goal' in soccer ;-)

²¹⁴ Ihimaera, in Witi Ihimaera and Patricia Grace, "The Maori in Literature," *Tihe Mauri Ora: Aspects of Maoritanga*, ed. Michael King (Auckland: Methuen, 1978): 85

²¹⁵ Grace, in Ihimaera and Grace, "The Maori in Literature.": 83

²¹⁶ Pihama, "Are Films Dangerous? A Maori Woman's Perspective on *the Piano*." : 4. Certainly, as I will repeat later, the film *Whale Rider* would not have such a burden of representation if it was one of fifty widely distributed well-funded Maori films.

Maori. Waari (to whom he referred in the 1999 address mentioned above) is the Maori character that Ihimaera has styled off the children's game 'Where's Wally.' The collection brings together for the first time writing by both Maori and non-Maori with an explicit intention to focus on the (embodiment of) *Maori* in the texts.

In this case the search has been for 'Waari' - the Maori as he or she has been seen in the eyes of the beholder, be they Pakeha, Maori or (Henry Lawson) Australian.²¹⁷

Ihimaera's introduction traces the appearance of Waari in short fiction, observing that Maori depictions of Waari were not distributed until Sturm was anthologised in 1966:

Together they form a collection which tells some of the story of Waari, but not all of the story. Waari is somewhere in them. Correction. Waari is in *some* of them.²¹⁸

Although Ihimaera thus raises the question of how representation relates to 'reality', the text's introduction is, in my view, too shy about talking through the implications of particular images of 'Waari'. Simply finding Waari is framed as a game that takes place between the two covers of the anthology, but the very images created and maintained in such fiction has actual material impact on those whom the stories claim to represent.

One pervasive image against which Maori are writing is the romanticised dusky maiden that has relegated Maori women to the position of, as Ihimaera puts it, "princess... woman of object/ image of fantasy."²¹⁹ Both men and women writers write against this image, and the words and activism of Maori women – for example the Spiral

²¹⁷ Witi Tame Ihimaera, Where's Waari? : A History of the Maori through the Short Story (Auckland, N.Z.: Reed, 2000): 9

²¹⁸ Ihimaera, Where's Waari? : A History of the Maori through the Short Story: 12.

²¹⁹ Ihimaera, Where's Waari? : A History of the Maori through the Short Story: 10. Orbell's 1978 piece about Maori women's writing is in some ways more silencing of women than it is illuminating. It would be nice to be able to say her text frees the voice of Maori women writers, but the historical context she gives Maori women is not only overly simplistic for a group as diverse as Maori, considering all the iwi/ tribal groups of which it is comprised, it is also very limiting in its accounts of 'traditional' status of Maori women, and once again she writes as if no Maori will be in her audience. Moments such as where she where she 'explains' there was "no place for them as writers" are harmfully misleading; women have always been involved in cultural production, in different ways and with different emphases according to their iwi. While she acknowledges that women have always had involvement in poetry, according to Orbell women were the only ones to compose love poetry, and this further supports the image of the Maori woman as a solely sexualised being. However, this line of argument has an advantage within the context of the women's Western movement because it lays a foundation for the 'salvation' of Maori women by white women from their past oppression. Some critical work has been done in essays included in the collection *Bittersweet*. Alison Jones, Phyllis Herda and Tamasailau M. Suaalii, Bitter Sweet : Indigenous Women in the Pacific (Dunedin, N.Z: University of Otago Press, 2000)..

Collective's publication of the first edition of *the bone people* in 1984, when no one else would touch it without substantial revisions, and the publication of *Wahine Kaituhi; Women Writers of Aotearoa*²²⁰ (which contains Evans's essay about Maori women's writing) – has been an important root and support of Maori literature in English. As early as her discussion in the 1978 "The Maori in Literature" Grace states that she doesn't want to write about sex, because "earlier writing by non-Maori writers has put [her] off:"

Earliest works depict Maori girls as passionate hip swingers with flashing eyes (almost always a half-caste or a princess).²²¹

Grace outlines various New Zealand works in which Maori women are hyper-sexualised, and while recognising that all writers have to create minor characters for their novels, she is

worried about the heaped up effect, so that in the meantime it is more important for [her] to write about other relationships with the hope that better balance is obtained. After all, sex is important in all societies - cousins are not, elders are not.²²²

Although her piece is not solely concerned with the issue of women's representation, Pihama clearly locates the position from which she critiques, in the subtitle of the article "A Maori Woman's Perspective on *The Piano*". She laments that the depiction of Maori women - as described by Grace - is maintained and recast in the 1993 film.

What we have in *The Piano* is a series of constructions of Maori people which are located firmly in a colonial gaze, which range from the 'happy go lucky native' to the sexualised Maori woman available at all times to service Pakeha men.²²³

Like Grace, Pihama writes about the impact of such images on the way the Maori community sees itself. In particular, she notes the implications of the situation where an historical film such as *The Piano* purports to represent tipuna (ancestors):

the imagery of Maori people is located firmly in colonial constructions and, hence, we receive not solely the messages surrounding the 'uncivilised savage' mentality, but we receive all the subtle, and not so subtle, messages about the place of our tipuna. Maori women were the

²²⁰ Marian Evans, Irihapeti Ramsden and Miriama Evans, *Wahine Kaituhi: Women Writers of Aotearoa (New Zealand)* (Wellington: Spiral, 1985)..

²²¹ Ihimaera and Grace, "The Maori in Literature.": 82

²²² Ihimaera and Grace, "The Maori in Literature.": 82

²²³ Pihama, "Are Films Dangerous? A Maori Woman's Perspective on *the Piano*.": 2

‘sexual servants.’ It is the Maori women who cook for Baines in line with a colonial agenda that focused on Maori girls as house servants.²²⁴

Near the end of her discussion of Maori women’s same-sex desire, Michelle Elleray turns her attention to these European images of the South Seas, specifically in the negotiation of women’s sexual identities in the Pacific. She proposes that Te Awkotuku has written a way of moving beyond the dusty dusky images:

But how does one disentangle the discussion of a particular sexuality from a history of the West romanticising, appropriating, and hyperbolising South Seas sex?... Imposing a Western grid of sexualities on indigenous peoples gets us nowhere, while a return to an unsullied pre-contact Maori sexuality leads us to the limitations of a utopian nativism. Te Awkotuku’s formulation of sameness and difference, however, suggests that the enabling energy of queer activism and theory may be channelled into the Maori community by Maori people themselves...²²⁵

Before this closing moment, however, Elleray points to another manifestation of the South Seas Maiden image, when the girls in the story become intimate. Specifically, she points to the privileging of Mirimiri’s darker complexion (and largeness) over Tahuri’s fairer skin (and thinness) as a subversion of colonial heteronormativity, and the aesthetic status of fairer, thinner Polynesian women in the European mythology:

When Tahuri and Mirimiri lie down together, the privileging of whiteness and femininity apparent in the heterosexual encounter with the boys is reversed... The girls’ same-sex desire counters such forms of heterosexuality with the desirability of a voluptuous largeness and unmistakably Maori skin.²²⁶

While this reading is compelling, it runs the risk of repeating the pattern of much literary criticism that tries to talk about a kind of authenticity that, as I have mentioned, is decried later in the essay. Elleray mentions that “Tahuri’s pale skin and Pakeha hairiness become a source of embarrassment to her,”(126) a moment that is explored further in a later story of Te Awkotuku’s, tellingly titled “Painfully Pink.”²²⁷ In particular, the description of “unmistakeably Maori skin” perhaps sets up a “more Maori”/ ‘less Maori’ distinction in

²²⁴ Ibid Pihama, "Are Films Dangerous? A Maori Woman's Perspective on *the Piano*." : 3

²²⁵ Michelle Dawne Elleray, "Weaving the Wahine Takatapui: Mirimiri and Tahuri," SPAN: Journal of the South Pacific Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies 48-49 (1999).

²²⁶ Elleray, "Weaving the Wahine Takatapui: Mirimiri and Tahuri."

²²⁷ Camper, Miscegenation Blues : Voices of Mixed Race Women.

the manner of the *Te Ao Marama* editors. The risk when attempting to subvert colonial inscriptions of Polynesian women, then, is setting up a romantic ideal of another type, that is just as impossible to ‘achieve’ for women in the community.

Stereotypes and dangerous images have also been created and maintained within the Maori community about itself, and Roma Potiki talks explicitly about the project of challenging these in her essay “From Anxiety to Confidence.” She lists the major myths against which Maori writers and dramatists work: the purity of rural life; the noble savage; the idyllic whanau (“nanny is no longer standing on the picturesque wooden verandah with a batch of rewana bread”²²⁸); and the myth of hyperspirituality (“I’m sick of Pakeha people coming to Maori theatre to look for a lost spiritual element in their own personalities”²²⁹). Potiki anticipates that:

in becoming confident with the form ‘Maori Theatre’, we also learn to debunk myths. Myths that not only Pakeha people have built around us, but also the ones we uphold about ourselves.²³⁰

Perhaps the wide popularity of the 1994 film version of *Once Were Warriors*²³¹ – and its less popular and more dodgy film sequel *What Becomes of the Broken Hearted*²³² – has emphasised what Potiki refers to as the “myth of the noble savage”; a “macho, violent ‘warrior image’ for our men”.²³³ The ‘noble savage’ mythology, perhaps more accurately called the doubled ‘noble savage/ ignoble savage’ myth has a long history in Aotearoa. Maori were noted as being particularly fierce by some of the first European visitors to Aotearoa,²³⁴ and have retained a warrior mystique for many tourists since then. In this myth, however, as Potiki suggests, a combination of Maori and Pakeha representations

²²⁸ Potiki, "The Journey from Anxiety to Confidence.": 317

²²⁹ Potiki, "The Journey from Anxiety to Confidence.": 317

²³⁰ Potiki, "The Journey from Anxiety to Confidence.": 316

²³¹ Riwia Brown, "Once Were Warriors," ed. Lee Tamahori (1994), vol., ed. Robin Scholes.

²³² Alan Duff, "What Becomes of the Brokenhearted?," ed. Ian Mune (1999), vol., ed. Bill Gavin.

²³³ Potiki, "The Journey from Anxiety to Confidence.": 316

²³⁴ For example, the 1778 publication of *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman*, a *Gulliver's Travels*-esque tour of the Pacific that included an apparently terrifying time stranded in Aotearoa. Hildebrand Bowman, *The Travels of Hildebrand Bowman, Esquire, : Into Carnovirria, Taupiniera, Olfactaria, and Auditante, in New-Zealand; in the Island of Bonhommica, and in the Powerful Kingdom of Luxo-Volupto, on the Great Southern Continent* (London: Printed for W. Strahan; and T. Cadell ... 1778)..

converge. And when Duff, Baker and others²³⁵ write about the violence in the Maori community it is often understood as attributing (if not always explicitly) contemporary urban male dysfunction to an inescapable essential ‘warrior’ nature.²³⁶

Dismantling images and setting up new modes of indigenous representation, in the context of a colonial environment, is always going to be political, and perhaps the most significant and resounding claim about Maori cultural production that is echoed right through the texts in the bibliography is its politics.²³⁷ Potiki notes that:

in seeking to make Maori art of integrity, all work must have political self-awareness and the deepest emotional overlay to it. The context must be truthful.²³⁸

Maori cultural production has been imbued and motivated by the politics of the past forty years,²³⁹ and at the same time the very production of this literature is also a form of historical resistance. Perhaps Orbell’s downplaying of the ‘Maoriness’ of her collection attests to the political act of publishing a body of Maori text(s), in the first place. Grace and Ihimaera remark - 16 years apart - how the production of Maori literature/ film is - in and of itself – political.²⁴⁰

I have been accused of not being political enough or critical enough of our Pakeha-dominated society, or hitting hard enough at the very real social, economic, legal and other problems facing the Maori people today. Okay. But I say *my work is political* because it is exclusively

²³⁵ Here I’m thinking specifically about readings that critics have conducted of Ihimaera’s early story “Big Brother Little Sister,” some of the stories in Taylor’s collection *He Rau Arohā* and perhaps *the bone people*.

²³⁶ Heim’s *Writing Along Broken Lines* is particularly pertinent in this respect because of the way he valorises the warrior image of the Maori. Otto Heim, *Writing Along Broken Lines : Violence and Ethnicity in Contemporary Māori Fiction* (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 1998).

²³⁷ Notably, I think, although understandably, critics have not written about what ‘inherent politicism’, or representation of ‘the real situation of Maori people’ means for, for example, Bub Bridger’s love poem “Wild Daisies”.

²³⁸ Potiki, “The Journey from Anxiety to Confidence.”: 318

²³⁹ The historical accounts that appear in so many of the critical pieces attest to the extent to which the link between Maori writing (and theatre and so on) and the political context. In particular, many of the critical texts outlined the relationship between the growth of Maori forms of literary and dramatic expression and the sovereignty movements of the 1960s, 70s, 80s and 90s. Allen’s work is particularly interesting because he stretches the timeline back beyond the 1960s, with his discussion of *Te Ao Hou*.

²⁴⁰ This ‘covert’, or perhaps inherent, politicism is slightly different - although of course related – to the overt political issues tackled in the writing. I will not go deeply into the various political themes – besides (or not) explicit anticolonialism - that are a part of Maori literary texts, but they include: mana wahine (probably best defined as the Maori version of feminism); negotiation of issues pertaining to sexuality; and ‘environmental’ issues such as nuclear/ atomic testing, genetic engineering, etc.

Maori; the criticism of Pakeha society is implicit in the presentation of an exclusively Maori values system²⁴¹

When you write about people who are powerless; people to whom survival is a constant struggle; people whose values are not valued by wider society; people whose status, language, self-esteem, confidence, and power have been removed from them; then *writing will always be political* in its own way.²⁴²

One particular phrase that reappears as writers and critics talk about the political nature of cultural production is ‘*tino rangatiratanga*’, the phrase that the Treaty of Waitangi guaranteed Maori would have over all things precious to them (including land, forests, fisheries and so on); literally, it can be translated ‘absolute sovereignty:’

In their work Maori playwrights re-assert the mana of the tangata whenua. Maori theatre can be seen as *tino rangatiratanga* in action... a visible claiming of the right to control and present our own image and material in the ways we deem most suitable, by using self-determined processes.²⁴³

[The] focus is *tino rangatiratanga*.²⁴⁴

In theatre we found a tool that was able to fluently express our ideas and our concerns, and it was all under Maori control - here was *tino rangatiratanga* in action - a medium of little cost, with the ability to communicate to many and yet keep the message pure. We had found a way.²⁴⁵

The use of the phrase ‘*tino rangatiratanga*’ is implicitly challenging to the coloniser, because it invokes the Treaty, it centres the Maori world, it is about sovereignty, and is in *te reo*, and mobilising the term also explicitly links the production of Maori cultural texts with the sovereignty movement.²⁴⁶ Rather than sitting aside from, and merely reporting on, or ‘representing’ “real Maori” and “Maori realities,” these are moments and articulations *of*, rather than *about*, the struggle.

²⁴¹ Ihimaera and Grace, "The Maori in Literature.": 84.

²⁴² Grace, Patricia, quoted in (Pittsburgh) National Council of Teachers of English Convention, "Patricia Grace Describes Her Writing and Her Maori Ancestry," *College English* 56.3 (1994): 360. McRae comments that Grace's writing is both gentle and political. McRae, Jane. "Selected Stories: Review." *Landfall* 179 (1991): 375 - 77 Jane McRae, "Selected Stories: Review," *Landfall* 179 (1991)..

²⁴³ Roma Potiki, "Introduction," *He Reo Hou: 5 Plays by Maori Playwrights*, ed. Simon Garrett (Wellington: Playmarket, 1991): 10

²⁴⁴ Huia Publishers., *Huia Short Stories, 1995* (Wellington, New Zealand: Huia Publishers, 1995): 7

²⁴⁵ Kouka, *Ta Matou Mangai: Three Plays of the 1990s*: 13

²⁴⁶ Womack writes this very clearly: "Native literature, and Native literary studies, written by Native authors is part of sovereignty." Womack, *Red on Red : Native American Literary Separatism*.

real maori: te reo maori, english language

Maori writing, both in English *and* in Maori, cannot help but reflect and manifest the legacy of linguistic violence that is crucial to the history and configuration of Aotearoa New Zealand. As in many colonial spaces, the link between schooling and deliberate linguistic oppression and violence is clear.

Until the middle years of the twentieth century the key aim of the Native Schools was to deal with the perceived problem of Maori language usage in Maori communities.²⁴⁷

Patricia Grace's *Baby No-Eyes* looks deeply at the issue of reo, and in particular Grace ties the violence suffered by children at school for speaking Maori to other dimensions of colonial violence: land theft, racism, medical research without permission, and biopiracy. When Shane asks his Gran Kura to explain why he has an English name, he (re-)ignites a history of language suppression. Kura tells a story about a cousin for whom she was responsible at school, upon whose body the violence of language suppression was literally applied:

[Riripeti] didn't know what she had been told to do. The teacher jolted her head round and gave her a smacking on the legs, then Riripeti stood stiff and still without moving, facing the corner.²⁴⁸

School turned out no good for Riripeti. How did she know her name was Betty? The second day she was in the bad corner for not answering when her name was called, and for not speaking when she was spoken to... She spent most of her time in the corner. Every day she was given smackings by the teacher.

Other children were smacked and caned and punished too, but not as much as Riripeti.²⁴⁹

‘Do I have to shake that language out of you, do I do I?’ the teacher would say, shaking and shaking her. Then Riripeti would be smacked

²⁴⁷ Linda Tuhiwai Smith and University of Auckland. International Research Institute for Maori and Indigenous Education., *Nga Kura Maori: The Native Schools System 1867-1969* (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 1998): 71. Certainly a crucial text about this history of language suppression, and in particular the role of schooling in that history, is Rachael Selby's *Still Being Punished*. Rachael Selby, *Still Being Punished* (Wellington, N.Z.: Huia, 1999)..

²⁴⁸ Patricia Grace, *Baby No-Eyes* (Auckland ; New York: Penguin Books, 1998): 32.

²⁴⁹ Grace, *Baby No-Eyes*: 33

and sent to stand in the bad place. She did mimi there sometimes. Sometimes she sicked there, then cleaned it all up with a cloth and bucket.

After a time, the physical violence at school is surpassed by Riripeti's fear of that violence, and this manifests itself in the sickness of her body:

It was so difficult to take her to school every day with her footsteps getting slower and slower the nearer we came. By the gate she'd say, 'Kura, Kura, he puku mamae,' and she'd hold her stomach and bend over. Her face would be pale.²⁵⁰

I could see that she was getting smaller and smaller and that it was only her eyes and her teeth that were growing... It was true that she couldn't go to school. Her spirit was not of her, gone roaming. Her hair was as dry as a horse's tail, rough and hard, her eyes were like flat shadows, not at all like eyes. I had seen a dying dog look like that, which made me think it might be true what the teacher said, that my teina was changing into an animal.²⁵¹

Riripeti came to school every day. She didn't try to go and hide any more, and even though she began vomiting each day as we came near to school, still she came. She was always good... One day during the holidays our grandmother said to Riripeti, 'Why are you small? Why are you thin?' And she took Riripeti to live with her... For a while she was happy and we played together, then when it was time to go to school again she became sick and couldn't eat. Her throat closed and wouldn't let any food go down. Her skin was moist all the time and she couldn't get out of bed.

Not long after that she died.

Killed by school.

Dead of fear.²⁵²

Riripeti was particularly vulnerable to the violence because of the way she responded to it; all of the children had different coping mechanisms.²⁵³

We were much naughtier children than what she was, that's how we knew what to do. I knew my name was Kate at school. Minaroa knew her name was Dulcie. And we had ways of sending messages to each other with our faces, ways of guessing the teacher's mind, knew which lies were the right ones to tell... Riripeti was too good to guess what to say, too good to know what lies to tell, too good to know what to do.²⁵⁴

²⁵⁰ Grace, *Baby No-Eyes*: 33

²⁵¹ Grace, *Baby No-Eyes*: 34

²⁵² Grace, *Baby No-Eyes*: 38

²⁵³ The ability to be 'bad' and 'naughty' is foregrounded throughout the novel as the way in which some Maori have managed to resist the colonial institutions of schooling, hospitals and workplaces. At times it is also called 'wild,' and an interesting opposition between the 'good' and the 'wild' is frequently mobilised throughout the text.

²⁵⁴ Grace, *Baby No-Eyes*: 33

It was a bad time for all of us. Some of us learned to be good and to keep ourselves out of trouble most of the time. Others were bad – swore at the teachers, got canings, or were sent home and not allowed to return.²⁵⁵

The violence committed against Riripeti had repercussions for all of the children involved, and they believed themselves to be complicit in her death:

She was mine, she was me, she was all of us. She was the one who had died but we were the ones affected, our shame taking generations to become our anger and our madness.... We never told our mothers and fathers what we knew.²⁵⁶

So we children never spoke of what had happened to Riripeti. It became our secret and our shame... We keep our stories secret because we love our children, we keep our language hidden because we love our children, we disguise ourselves and hide our hearts because we love our children. We choose names because we love our children.²⁵⁷

Kura in particular describes her helplessness in the school classroom, and the effect of this for Riripeti. The inability to speak made Kura both victim and perpetrator of the violence against Riripeti:

‘Who is this?’ the teacher said when she saw Riripeti sitting on the form. *I put my hand up* because it was the right thing to do, but the teacher didn’t see my hand... *I wanted to whisper* in our language so this teina of mine would know what to do, but *I knew* I wasn’t allowed to speak our language so I made a little movement with my hands trying to tell her to stand... *I knew* Riripeti shouldn’t smile so much. *I knew* she shouldn’t fidget herself or roll her eyes. At that moment *I didn’t want her* to be a girl so black that it would make the teacher angry...

‘Go and stand in the corner until you learn better manners,’ the teacher said, but Riripeti didn’t know what she was being told to do. *I wanted to call out to her* but speaking wasn’t allowed.²⁵⁸

Sometimes she sicked there, then cleaned it all up with a cloth and bucket. *I would have helped her*, if I thought I’d be allowed.²⁵⁹

She was my charge, my little sister, my work that I’d been given to do, mine to look after. What an evil girl I was to let her die.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁵ Grace, *Baby No-Eyes*: 37

²⁵⁶ Grace, *Baby No-Eyes*: 38

²⁵⁷ Grace, *Baby No-Eyes*: 39

²⁵⁸ Grace, *Baby No-Eyes*: 31 emphasis added.

²⁵⁹ Grace, *Baby No-Eyes*: 34 emphasis added.

²⁶⁰ Grace, *Baby No-Eyes*: 38

While Riripeti's fear of the institution resulted in her physical death, Kura's fear of the implications of speaking the Maori language resulted in her internalised suppression of the language:

We didn't speak until we'd learned, didn't speak unless we had to because we were afraid our bad language might come out[.]²⁶¹

Mrs Wood grabbed Riripeti by the shoulders and brought her to Mr Wood for the cane. We all had to stand in lines and watch this caning so we would learn how bad our language was... I thought *what an evil thing our language was* to do that to my teina.²⁶²

There were people... speaking that language over me – *that evil language which killed my teina* and which I never spoke again.²⁶³

For these Maori children, schooling is a space of oppression and limitation rather than liberation. Te Kui (Merimeri Penfold) remembers her experience at school in her short memoir included in *Growing Up Maori*, and her comments seem to merit being quoted at length:

We apparently learnt new songs easily and with great enthusiasm. However, I often had real appreciation for the meaning of the words, including those we rattled off as endless nursery rhymes. Such activities were fun as it enabled me to learn how the English language flowed. But *speaking* English for me was agonisingly soul-destroying and challenging. I met the challenge.

However, I always had a deep-seated longing to use my mother tongue. If only my teachers would speak to me in Maori! Of course I would have engaged and responded readily and my whole being would have come alive – unlike the way I sat vacant-eyed in class with English the only means of communication. But Maori was never spoken in the classroom. As a result, all of the class at break would walk out and move away in small groups, speaking Maori as much as possible without being caught. Those sessions were delicious moments for all of us... However, we were always aware of the likelihood of being strapped once back in class.²⁶⁴

Trixie Te Arama Menzies explicitly ties the parameters of contemporary Maori literary production to the history of linguistic imperialism. Rather than 'excusing' these writers

²⁶¹ Grace, *Baby No-Eyes*.33

²⁶² Grace, *Baby No-Eyes*.37 emphasis added.

²⁶³ Grace, *Baby No-Eyes*.38 emphasis added.

²⁶⁴ Merimeri Penfold, "The Rhythm of Life," *Growing up Maori*, ed. Witi Ihimaera (Auckland: Tandem Press, 1998): 85-6. One linguistic contribution of Merimeri Penfold – that has special interest for the literary scholar – is her translation into Maori of several of Shakespeare's love sonnets. Merimeri Penfold, *Nga Waiata Aroha a Hekepia: Love Sonnets by Shakespeare* (Auckland: Australia & New Zealand Shakespeare Association, 2000)..

for what they lack, however, she suggests that their voice is not just acceptable but *crucial* to the aspirations of the Maori community:

These are the messengers of our intermediary zones, the grey areas where the solutions to our spiritual problems are going to be found, if they are to be found at all. *Since the time the New Zealand education system outlawed the speaking of Maori in its schools* and stifled the natural upwelling expression of its indigenous people. Maori or part-Maori writers who express themselves mostly in English have a special claim to be heard; in making themselves whole again through their work *they heal us all*. It is right that they are included in our new anthology.²⁶⁵

Because of this history of suppression, violence and resistance, one of the most polarised issues in the field of Maori cultural production is the use of language. Must Maori literature be in te Reo Maori? Is there such thing as ‘Maori English’? How can we talk about these issues in a way that simultaneously recognises the centrality of te reo in te ao Maori, and the years of colonial attempts to squash the language? How can the needs of audiences (Maori and non-Maori) that are predominantly non-Maori speaking be weighed against the impossibility of articulating Maori concepts outside of te reo? Certainly the audience for Maori cultural production (or at least the *perception* of who this audience might be; Ihimaera and Long explain that their anthology was produced against publishers’ protests: “but Maoris don’t read books”²⁶⁶) has changed over time. Orbell writes the introduction to her 1970 anthology to a non-Maori audience, but Ihimaera writes the introduction to *Where’s Waari* (2000) to a Maori and non-Maori audience.²⁶⁷ It is important to note that the audience for Maori cultural production has not

²⁶⁵ Menzies, Sturm, Hulme and Mead, "Four Responses to *the Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse*": 336.

²⁶⁶ Ihimaera and Long, *Into the World of Light: An Anthology of Maori Writing*: 1

²⁶⁷ Much of the independent criticism assumes its audience to be non-Maori; it takes the burden upon itself to translate Maoriness onto the page, setting itself up as a mediator between an indigenous text/ culture and non-indigenous audience. A good (or bad, depending on how you look at it) example of this is Heim’s work, which seems to feel a need to go beyond explaining a Maori context (which, after all, is perhaps necessary at times in order to allow access to people unfamiliar with Aotearoa) and tries to perform a ‘saviour’ function instead: “the novel’s vision remains committed to a cultural ethic of protection and reciprocity which, although its symbolic basis has alarmingly eroded in colonial times, cannot be said to have died.” (Otto Heim, "Traditions of Guardianship in Maori Literature," *Colonies - Missions - Cultures*, ed. Gerhard Stilz (Tubingen: Stauffenburg Verlag, 2001): 303.) I have attempted in this dissertation to avoid privileging the

only changed in terms of including more Maori audience members, but also that the non-Maori audience (at least that in Aotearoa New Zealand) has changed as well. Most New Zealanders understand a large number of Maori words and expressions, and several words are now an inextricable part of 'New Zealand English.' Whaitiri points out that the publication of Harry Orsman's dictionary of New Zealand English, which includes many Maori words, confirms this shift.²⁶⁸

A greater proportion of Maori in the audience/ readership, however, does not necessarily mean there are more Maori speakers. Many commentators write about being conscious of the current predicament that there is a relatively small number of Maori speakers in the Maori community, particularly in the adult generations; Kouka and others note that this is changing now that the first generation of kohanga reo kids is coming through.²⁶⁹ The historical situation of minimal exposure to the reo on the part of a large section of the Maori community has resulted in a literal inability to either write or read in te reo, and this lack of exposure has been all the more pronounced for urban communities.

This 'reality' is pertinent when talking about the place of te reo:

Most work by Maori writers is in English, and for many this is their only language.²⁷⁰

It is also true that most of the present and up and coming writers do not have the faculty to do this [write in Maori].²⁷¹

non-Maori reader, and the non-Maori speaking reader, by relegating much of the translations and explanatory commentary to the footnotes.

²⁶⁸ Whaitiri, "A Sovereign Mission: Maori Maids, Maidens, and Mothers."

²⁶⁹ The first Kohanga Reo (literally, 'language nests') were set up in the mid-1980s: primary, secondary and tertiary institutions have been set up and expanded at the same time as the generation of children who started out at Kohanga have been growing up. In the last two years we have seen the first graduates of students whose entire education has been conducted in te reo Maori. What this will mean for the community remains to be seen – certainly not all Maori have access to, or choose to attend, the Kohanga/ Kura Kaupapa/ Whare Wananga system – but this generation of Kohanga kids has already led to changes in the way that children's books publishing is conducted in NZ (as well as making a mark on the NZ hip hop scene), so presumably their presence will be noticeable in the area of adult publishing and theatre too. The introductory remarks to *Nga Pakiwaitara a Huia 1995* acknowledge the legacy of writing for children:

Ko te nuinga o te pukapuka reo Maori e whakaputaina ana, ko nga pukapuka ma nga tamariki e tangia ana e Te Tahuhu o te Matauranga. Koira pea te take i maha ai nga paki reo Maori, te wahanga o te whakataetae i tautokona e Te Mangai Paho, i tuhia hei panui ma te tamariki.

Huia Publishers., *Huia Short Stories, 1995*:7.

²⁷⁰ Margaret Orbell, "Maori Women's Writing: An Introductory Survey," *World Literature Written in English* 17.1 (1978): 256.

²⁷¹ Potiki, "Introduction.": 10.

Sadly the majority of Maori (including myself) do not have a strong grasp of our language; we do not use it as our prime means of communication. Nor can the majority of us understand what is being said on the marae by our kaumatua using te reo Maori. Keri Hulme suggests that this group comprises a new “school of Maori writers in English.”

A combination of ignorance of the language, and lack of publishing resources, has brought about this current school of Maori writers in English. Writers of a double beginning, representing both *Te Ao Maori* and *Te Ao Pakeha*, but writing for *Te Ao Hou*.²⁷²

When the editors of *Te Ao Marama 1* claim that “it *may* be that the only Maori writing is that written in the language of our people: Maori te reo rangatira,”²⁷³ they allude to a wide and contentious debate that gains explicit airtime in the second volume, where Mita and Potiki’s pieces are published side by side.²⁷⁴ Ostensibly writing a response to *the bone people* in 1993, Merata Mita is very blunt about her views on language:

Certainly *the bone people* cannot be categorised as a Maori novel...
any true Maori literature must be written in the Maori language²⁷⁵

She echoes this again in 2000, although the claim is softened by a somewhat conditional “if.”

If we wish to focus on the stories of our own people, then we have to focus on those stories through the language of our people – Maori.²⁷⁶

²⁷² Keri Hulme, "Maori: An Introduction to Bi-Cultural Poetry in New Zealand," *Only Connect: Literary Perspectives East and West*, eds. Guy Amirthanayagam and Syd C Harrex (Honolulu: East-West Center, 1981): 296. It is perhaps worth pointing out the pun on *Te Ao Hou*; it is the name of the journal that kicked off Maori fiction writing, as well as meaning ‘the new world.’

²⁷³ Ihimaera, "Kaupapa." (1991): 17, emphasis added. The phrase means ‘Maori is the language of chiefs’, or ‘Maori is the chiefly language’

²⁷⁴ This is not the only time or place the debate has been widely discussed. One example of the question about whether Maori production should be in te reo is the uproar around the closing of Radio Aotearoa. When Te Mangai Paho, who are responsible for funding Maori broadcasting, decided to fund only Maori language programming, the long-established ‘Radio Aotearoa’ had to close its doors, because most of its programming was in English. The loss of this station was significant; for many Maori, iwi stations that broadcast in te reo were implausible sites of news and debate, and for Maori in Auckland, where no such iwi station was available (the local iwi station Mai FM broadcasts in English but because it plays hip hop and RnB it survives (thrives) as a commercial station; Mai FM’s audience means that the station does not provide in-depth news, current events, discussion, or many styles of Maori music) the loss of Radio Aotearoa meant a loss of access to Maori news and music. As well as this, Aotearoa used to produce a lot of the news and other programming content that was purchased or given to smaller iwi stations, so when Aotearoa’s funding was cut many of the stations in which Te Mangai Paho purported to have an interest found it difficult to continue as well.

²⁷⁵ Mita, "Indigenous Literature in a Colonial Society.": 310.

²⁷⁶ Merata Mita, "Storytelling: A Process of Decolonisation," *Te Pua: The Journal of Puawaitanga* Special Issue: Indigenous Women and Representation (2000): 16. This view is not unique to Mita. Certainly I have heard many people speak this way at home. In one library, for example, a Maori librarian whom I had asked for directions to the resources on Maori literature explained (nice and slowly) “well, you know, we think that ‘Maori lit’ is in the *Maori* language.” I resisted the temptation to ask her to clarify “we.”

That Maori literature in Maori has a special and significant place in the Maori and New Zealand communities is a claim with which few would argue,²⁷⁷ but Mita claims that if a piece of writing is not in te reo it is not Maori.²⁷⁸ Potiki explicitly writes against this claim, both in her piece published in *Te Ao Marama*, and again in her introduction to *He Reo Hou*:

So to the stalwarts who claim that Maori theatre and writing Maori are only Maori if they are written and spoken in the language, I say no. I believe that anything that upholds the mana of, and supports the tino rangatiratanga of Maori in terms of both theatre and writing is Maori.²⁷⁹

Two ways of thinking about a ‘middle ground’ are offered by Hirini Melbourne, who focuses on implications of the debate for the Maori language, and Trixie Te Arama Menzies, who focuses on its implications for people. Melbourne considers the relationship between lessening use of te reo Maori on the health of the language; while acknowledging that Maori can choose to read/ write in English, energy spent writing in English equates to energy *not* spent writing in Maori:

To advocate that Maori writers write in Maori is not to demand that all must do so. A writer chooses his or her own audience and linguistic medium, but it needs to be said that, but choosing to write in English, Maori writers lessen the chances of survival for the Maori language. By choosing to write in their own language, Maori writers allow Maori people generally to gain control over the way their own culture is perceived and expressed.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁷ Although I only work with literature in English (among other things, because my own grip on the language is insufficient to pay texts in te reo any more than simplistic attention), and so I won't go deeply into the claims about writing in the Maori language, there are some important points that popped up throughout the reading I have done for this bibliography. Perhaps the foremost issue about which people wrote was the politics of – which often translates into the access to - publication. ‘He Kupu Whakataki’, the introduction (author unnamed) to Huia Publishers’ *Nga Pakiwaitara a Huia 1995*, begins with a mihi (acknowledgement) similar to the mihi that appear (in te reo) at the beginning of the collections in English, although this one foregrounds from the get-go the important relationship between the publishers and writers. ‘He Kupu Whakataki’ makes explicit what other pieces mention in passes, that Maori language publishing has been hindered by an assumption of little demand, and the very little funding available for its support. The support that Te Mangai Paho (a government funding body) has given for children’s book publishing is acknowledged (this supports the much earlier observation of Evans’s that the writing by many Maori women that was getting published was writing for children), but the hope that publishers will extend their current support to adult publishing is explicitly expressed: “Ahakoa tera, he koanga ngakau te kitea iho i roto i nga paki i tohungia mo tenei whakaputanga, kua timata te puawai o te kaupapa tuhi pakiwaitara hei panui ma nga pakeke.” Huia Publishers., ed., *Nga Pakiwaitara a Huia 1995* (Wellington: Huia, 1995).

²⁷⁸ And, indeed, that Maori is the language of “our people,” but while it *is* the language specific and crucial to Maori, it is not the language *used* by most of “our people” and surely this is significant.

²⁷⁹ Potiki, "Introduction.": 10 – 11.

²⁸⁰ Melbourne, "Whare Whakairo: Maori 'Literary' Traditions.": 130-131. The strong parallels between Melbourne’s claims and those of Ngugi wa Thiong’o surely need not be pointed out.

Menzies, on the other hand, writes about the inclusion of English-language texts in the Penguin anthology of New Zealand literature, and *privileges* the texts in English (and their writers) rather than silencing or ‘excusing’ them. Instead of ‘excusing’ them their lack of Maori language skills, she suggests that Maori writers in English are a group that have a very particular and central role to play within the Maori community:

These are the messengers of our intermediary zones, the grey areas where the solutions to our spiritual problems are going to be found, if they are to be found at all. Since the time the New Zealand education system outlawed the speaking of Maori in its schools and stifled the natural upwelling expression of its indigenous people. Maori or part-Maori writers who express themselves mostly in English have a special claim to be heard; in making themselves whole again through their work they heal us all. It is right that they are included in our new anthology.²⁸¹

From the earlier productions of the 1970s and 80s, through to today, playwrights have come up with various ways of including te reo in theatre. The literally oral nature of the theatre has been suggested as a reason for the blossoming of Maori drama, and perhaps the titles of the two collections of Maori plays so far (*He Reo Hou* and *Ta Matou Mangai*) demonstrates this.²⁸² Since the first play by a Maori writer, Dansey’s 1974 *Te Raukura*, all plays have been cognisant of the non-Maori speakers in their audiences.²⁸³ Dansey wrote much of the play in Maori and then translated it into English, and explains his use of te reo:

Though it was tempting to leave whole sequences in Maori untranslated, this might have appeared pretentious and was resisted. Nevertheless not all have been translated. I do not think these untranslated passages interfere with understanding the play as a whole. It means a sharper definition here and there, a bonus as it were for those who understand Maori.²⁸⁴

²⁸¹ Menzies, Sturm, Hulme and Mead, "Four Responses to *the Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse*": 336.

²⁸² *He Reo Hou* means ‘a new voice/ language,’ and *Ta Matou Mangai* means ‘our mouthpiece.’

²⁸³ I mean here, of course, first play within a Western context. Certainly there is a rich history of Maori theatrical traditions, as explored by Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal in his PhD thesis: *Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal, "Te Whare Tapere : Towards a Model for Maori Performance Art "* PhD, Victoria University of Wellington, 1998..

²⁸⁴ Dansey, *Te Raukura: The Feathers of the Albatross*: xi.

In his introduction to Grace-Smith's *Purapurawhetu*, Huria compares the play to Tuwhare's 1985 *In the Wilderness without a Hat*, which demanded that a PA system be set up to carry the voices of interpreters

who must cue in precisely at the end of spoken words in Maori. Their voices must be flat, discrete, confidential.²⁸⁵

By the time *Purapurawhetu* is produced 14 years later, Huria points out the political and cultural changes in convention:

[Grace-Smith] never explicitly provides an English translation of the name Awatea, and so posits the naming and the new beginning as occurring in Maori terms...²⁸⁶

A discernable move in the way that linguistic separatism is figured means that by 1999, Dansey's 1974 fears of appearing "pretentious" have shifted to an act of deliberate exclusion:

for viewers of the play, there is a boundary-maintaining use of language, limiting access to meaning only to those more fluent in the Maori language... This opens up potential in performance to involve the audience in dramatized cross-cultural situations...²⁸⁷

Perhaps these changes echo shifts in the wider New Zealand community towards recognising the particular role that te reo has in the 'nation.' Dansey's play was first performed a year before the Treaty of Waitangi Act, which got the ball rolling for non-Maori recognition of Maori difference on the basis of indigeneity (a basis that Allen succinctly explicates in *Blood Narrative*). The "pretentious[ness]" of exclusion by the Maori language (as if it were any non-English language) has given way to the determined use of a particular language on the basis of its (Treaty-ordained) place in Aotearoa. Rather than attempting to 'translate'²⁸⁸ all meaning and thereby centre a non-Maori audience,

²⁸⁵ Hone Tuwhare, "In the Wilderness without a Hat," *He Reo Hou*, ed. Simon Garrett (Wellington: Playmarket, 1991): 59.

²⁸⁶ John Huria, "Introduction," *Purapurawhetu*, ed. John Huria (Wellington: Huia, 1999): 10.

²⁸⁷ Huria, "Introduction.": 12.

²⁸⁸ This is not to say that translation does not provide a provocative and potentially subversive moment; Allen talks about the 'third' text that is produced for bilingual readers (and audiences) by the gaps and dislocations between the two texts. He compares this relation of two supposedly 'translated' texts to the controversial and well known discourse of difference between the two versions (Maori and English) of the Treaty of Waitangi/ Tiriti o Waitangi: "For bilingual readers able to read back and forth across the two versions of Mead's story, a third hybrid text emerges in the space between the Maori and the English. In this third text – what might be called "te korero i waenganui/ the text between" – the production of meaning is linguistically palimpsestic and overtly bicultural. Here the notion of hybridity accrues additional

Maori theatre is now in a position to refuse meaning to an audience that does not make the effort to gain access. As an example of this stance, we return to the name of Kouka's collection of plays, *Ta Matou Mangai*. The translation of 'ta matou' I gave is 'our', but given the uniqueness of Maori pronouns it doesn't mean 'our' in the English sense of the word. Specifically, 'matou' refers to 'us, *not* including you (the listener)', a claim for recognition of separatism and difference.²⁸⁹

For the majority of writers (and Maori readers), language choice is often not a matter of Maori or English as much as it is a case of Maori, or English, or 'Maori English.' The distinctive form of English that has developed in the Maori community is recognised by several critics. Emulating the process by which the dialect developed, Dansey wrote much of his groundbreaking 1974 play *Te Raukura* in te reo, and then translated it into English.

Thus here and there I like to think that something of the feel of the Maori situation has remained like an echo among the English words.²⁹⁰

Miriama Evans's 1985 essay talks about "four language streams" in Maori literature: Maori, Bilingual (English and Maori), English, and "Maori combined with English." She describes Grace's use of language:

Patricia blends a distinct Maori usage of language with the English literary categories... The language style is appropriate: the sentence structures tend to follow Maori syntax and the writer uses this device to expose some Maori customs.²⁹¹

connotations: the text between Mead's English and Maori version creates meaning(s) through complementarity and a bi-directional echo effect." Allen: 64 – 65. Orbell's translation of Maori poetry in the Penguin Book of NZ Verse was discussed (none too complimentarily) in the Menzies, Sturm, Hulme and Mead, "Four Responses to *the Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse*."

²⁸⁹ Perhaps this title can be taken further: 'mangai' means 'mouthpiece', but 'Te Mangai' is also the specific name used to refer to Ratana, the Maori prophet who founded the syncretic (and very active) Ratana religion. In the early decades of the twentieth century, Ratana gained great renown as a healer. Perhaps Kouka is making a claim about syncretism here; just as Ratana takes the form of a European religion and imbues it with Maori cultural ideas in order to have a vehicle for very specific spiritual and political goals (he famously negotiated a deal with the Labour party that is still in – at least rhetorical – effect today), so too this theatrical tradition, borrowed from Europe, is used to advance Maori aspirations.

²⁹⁰ Dansey, *Te Raukura: The Feathers of the Albatross*: x

²⁹¹ Evans, Ramsden and Evans, *Wahine Kaituhi: Women Writers of Aotearoa (New Zealand)*: np

Rika-Heke frames what she calls “Maori-accented English” within a context of appropriation, using – and perhaps subverting - the term that is more often used to describe the coloniser’s control of the colonised:

Many stories blend a distinct usage of language with the English literary categories. Some of the sentence structures tend to follow Maori syntax. This appropriation of the colonizer’s language has been adopted by the colonized, and used in a way quite distinct from “standard” usage. The enforced language allows access to some knowledge, but it is quite clear that, in the use of Maori-accented English, in the New Zealand situation, the language and culture of the colonizers have been adapted by the tangata whenua and used for our own purposes.²⁹²

This mode of English is known, if badly mimicked, by non-Maori too. In 1978, Grace wrote about her disgust with the way non-Maori writers have used ‘Maori dialect’ as a way of marking their characters as Maori. An emerging style of Maori English innovation to which Huria alludes in his introduction to *Purapurawhetu*, when he describes Tyler’s “hip hop slang”, is the influence of hip hop on (particularly young, particularly urban) Maori communities. The *Te Ao Marama* editors made an important move, in my opinion, when they chose to include some Upper Hutt Posse rap lyrics in their collection of Maori writing, both because they recognised that hip hop artists are (among other things) writers, and because the lyrical content of Polynesian hip hop is a forum where Maori are experimenting, innovating and trying out with linguistic mixing, sampling, switching, translating, and so on.

Grace writes about how the politics of language affects the writing process for a Maori writer. She emphasises in particular the way that choices about language – she does not mention whether she is talking about Maori or English – affects literary form:

we need to be free to write in the way that’s best for the stories we want to tell - without encumbrances such as glossaries, italics, footnotes, sentences in brackets, or explanatory paragraphs disguised as plot!!! we need to be as free as other writers to express ourselves without having to explain who we are... but we will develop our own styles, our own ways of saying.²⁹³

²⁹² Rika-Heke, "Margin or Center? 'Let Me Tell You! In the Land of My Ancestors I Am the Centre': Indigenous Writing in Aotearoa ": 160

²⁹³ Grace, "We Write What We Know...": 61.

Just as Dansey points out that nuances of ‘Maori’ are found in Maori English, so too the traditional forms of cultural production may be seen in newer styles. Innovation in the area of cultural production has been a part of Maori communities since first arrival in Aotearoa from Hawaiki, and within this context the changing forms of Maori cultural production are seen as manifestations of (pre-)existing Maori forms. Literary and theatrical innovation is often traced from the oral literatures, in the manner of Potiki’s above formulation, and many critics have noted the various manifestations of established forms. For example, Simpson writes about how Maori hip hop draws on the tradition of the patere,²⁹⁴ and Evans describes the persistence of particular art forms that are available to women, such as karanga and waiata, laments, love songs, songs of defiance and songs to educate children. On this basis, Evans claims that

it is possible to step back from the individual identities and experiences of Maori women writers to consider a collective form in tradition and literary history.²⁹⁵

Hulme places contemporary literary innovation into a wider time frame as well, moving the discourse away from a sense of ‘loss’ and towards a sense of dynamic development:

No-one can know the future, what it will be, what its people will be like. Doubtless our songs will change as we come into contact with different people, different ways of living. They have done so in the past. They will again.²⁹⁶

This kind of movement is not always welcomed so calmly. Sometimes the change in form is very rapid, and so is resisted at first; Kouka discusses the ways in which Maori and New Zealand communities received Riwia Brown’s *Irirangi Bay*.

Here an experienced writer chose a genre so far removed from what is expected of a Maori playwright, that it alienated Maori audiences and also, surprisingly, those Pakeha who had come to expect a spiritually moving emotional roller-coaster... Like *Whatungarongaro* [the first ‘urban’ play, performed and written by a group of ‘at risk’ youth in Porirua, with Roma Potiki], but in the opposite direction, *Irirangi Bay* opened our eyes and challenged our understanding of what Maori theatre is.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁴ simpson – hiphop patere

²⁹⁵ Evans, Ramsden and Evans, *Wahine Kaituhi: Women Writers of Aotearoa (New Zealand)*.

²⁹⁶ Hulme Hulme, "Mauri: An Introduction to Bi-Cultural Poetry in New Zealand.": 308 - 9

²⁹⁷ Kouka Kouka, *Ta Matou Mangai; Three Plays of the 1990s.*: 27 - 8

conclusions

conclusions I: decolonising maori

Whence the title of this chapter? A contemporary trend in some Indigenous scholarship is to focus on the decolonisation of the academy;²⁹⁸ this is crucial work, towards which I hope my scholarship and teaching will contribute. However, there is a limitation of constantly focussing on *decolonising* Pacific/ Maori/ Indigenous Studies: this formulation refuses to acknowledge the histories of decolonisation that have already taken place, including by Maori scholars, over the years. How can I claim that as a Native person I am constantly having an encounter with a monolithic ‘West’ every time I walk into a library or classroom, when Oceanic/ Indigenous/ Postcolonial academic forbears of mine – my academic whakapapa – have been working within that area for a while now. This is not to suggest we have reached (or perhaps can ever reach) a point of being decolonised (after all, need I point out that ‘colonialism’ isn’t exactly over; although it does now masquerade in new clothes such as ‘globalisation’, ‘multinational corporations’ and ‘anti-terrorism’), but rather that we need to find ways to think about our relationship with the academy that does not erase these histories of decolonisation (and indeed, I might argue, indigenisation).

One of the real implications of this call to constantly ‘decolonise’ is that it reproduces the moment of first colonial encounter, so no matter what stretches or moments of time the West may inhabit or experience, the Native academic is stuck in a rhetorical holding pattern, only ever able to rehearse again and again the moment of first

²⁹⁸ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Konai Helu Thaman, "Decolonizing Pacific Studies: Indigenous Perspectives, Knowledge, and Wisdom in Higher Education," *The Contemporary Pacific* 15 (2003). are two prominent examples.

contact, a timeless space to which we have been relegated by colonialism. As my very articulate friend Shirleen put it, as I was gushing this at her over coffee one day, this forces Native academics to “participate in our own timelessness.”

As well as this specific limitation, I also get grumpy with the way in which calls to decolonise set us in a perpetual relationship with the coloniser; the only thing we can do – and the first thing before doing anything else – is to ‘talk back’ to the West. I, for one, resent the time and energy that takes, and wonder if it ends up trapping us in a relationship with colonialism that we may think is anticolonial, but it still ends up being the only thing we can ever talk about. Therefore, I have become interested in a formulation of ‘Always Already Aotearoa’ which both endorses the awareness of the West, and the ability to speak its language (‘Always Already’), and yet consciously orientates itself towards a space of Aotearoa that does not tie itself up in neverending conversations with – indeed rely on – that West, in order to conduct the business of ‘being Aotearoan/ Maori.’

conclusions II: always already aotearoa

To return the conversation back to the previous issue of constructing Maori-centred literary critical methodologies, it seems that the departure from the initial ‘inclusiveness,’ and the arrival of some critics at a point of deeming some writing to be “more [or presumably less] Maori” than other writing by Maori, is about finding a way to talk about change. In particular, there is a struggle – not just in literary circles, but throughout the community, as the above examples of Tyson, the Spice girls and GE signal - about whether something ‘new’ (Sydney, New Orleans, English, urban dislocation, the novel) is ‘Maori’ or not. In the words of the introduction to *Huia Short Stories 1997*:

what is to the fore are the subtleties of keeping faith with our tipuna when we are heir to complex cultural displacements and substitutions, chosen or imposed.²⁹⁹

Reina Whaitiri and Robert Sullivan foreground the implications of these kinds of ‘new’ voices in the Maori writing scene, in their essay “The Forest of Tane: Maori Literature Today” that was published in the issue of *Manoa* they edited:

Altogether they create a cathedral filled with song. Not only do we hear in this place the many traditional voices of the country, but new sounds are constantly arriving from city streets, from prisons, the marketplace, and corporate board rooms. The rhythms of these new sounds are exciting and multiform, drawing on the languages and cultures that enrich the definitions of Maori literature. For a long time, Maori literature will be occupied with reconciling and absorbing all of them.³⁰⁰

Of course, the thematisation of change is also exemplified in the production of the text; Maori writing in English is inherently a formal mongrel, drawing on Maori and non-Maori literary traditions. We might think about the development of Maori cultural production as a ‘merging’ of two traditions, focusing on the moment(s) of encounter and exchange. Wendt writes about the change in form as a movement on the part of the form itself (here, the novel) as opposed to the culture of the artist:

we have, like everywhere else, taken the form of the modern novel and transformed it to suit ourselves... it's a combination of the traditional and what has been borrowed from outside. Artists work with whatever material is available. There is no harm in borrowing from other people and from other traditions.

Potiki confirms that through the “fusion” of the forms, something distinctive about Maori values has been retained:

they maintain a story-telling tradition which has kept flexible to meet the needs of a modern reality. Maori playwriting and plays bring together Maori ceremony and thought with British and European theatre tradition. While this fusion has produced a number of very

²⁹⁹ The introductions to the Huia anthologies deal with issue in a different way; rather than seeking to determine how or whether a work is ‘Maori’, the emphasis is on the claims of the pieces themselves. This different focus parallels my frustration with the bulk of scholarship about Maori and Pacific hip hop, in which discussions about the production of hip hop as an anthropological phenomenon overshadow the possibility of listening to the actual words of the hip hop practitioners as prominent indigenous lyrical/literary figures. It boils down, in both cases, to whether the academic exercise focuses on dancing around the texts, talking *about* them; or moves closer, sits down, pulls up a blanket, and listens to what they have to say. It seems to me that working within literary studies is a conscious decision to prioritise this second approach, leaving the constant contextualisation to the anthropologists, sociologists, and historians, and choosing to centre the language of the texts themselves.

³⁰⁰ Reina Whaitiri and Robert Sullivan, "The Forest of Tane: Maori Literature Today," *Manoa*: 76.

different plays, whatever mix they have employed all operate within a Maori framework, and have whanau relations at their core.³⁰¹

The *Te Ao Marama* editors note a similar “amalgam”, using the terms ‘postcolonial’ and ‘postmodern’ to shift the ‘mixture’ away from being simply Maori and Pakeha:

It [this volume] is Maori writing at the margin, as opposed to Maori writing at the centre. but there are transformations happening which, guided by tikanga Maori, push the work beyond post-colonial or post-modern models to a new form that is an amalgam of both centre and margin.³⁰²

To reframe this situation, and the issues that I have briefly (or not!) outlined here, as a series of questions: How do we write about our experience of reality, and how do we write about (and through/ within) our cultural inheritance? What happens if one of these things is not like the other? How do we talk about the experience of colonisation, without falling into the trap of lamenting that we’re “too colonised,”³⁰³ that it’s all over, lost, gone?³⁰⁴ How do we talk about our past and our ancestors and our cultural heritage and concepts, without falling into the trap of over-romanticising, creating a (newly) ‘authentic’³⁰⁵ Maoriness that excludes much of the Maori community? In short, while they approach issues of language, content, politics, control, mixture, history, gender, and sexuality, writers and critics are grappling with a(nother) (meta-)question: how can we talk about change? It seems to me that so many of the discussions about Maori cultural production - from determining who is Maori/ what is Maori writing, to discussing subject matter, politics, language and form - focus on the ‘taniwha’ that Mita acknowledges in her discussion of Maori film:

Identity at any meaningful level cannot be manufactured or manipulated... no matter what destructive processes we have gone

³⁰¹ Potiki, "Introduction.": 9

³⁰² Ihimaera, "Kaupapa."(1996): 17

³⁰³ Mita, "Indigenous Literature in a Colonial Society.": 313.

³⁰⁴ In my view, this is the trap into which Heim falls, hook line and sinker. Although he provides some interesting readings of Maori texts, his work seems intent on writing about the Maori community from an assumption of loss in a way that reminds me of ‘deficit’ theories in education.

³⁰⁵ Romantacisers certainly don’t have the monopoly on creating forms of authentic Maoriness; some ‘urban’ writers could be critiqued for their assumption that all (or in the case of Duff, all-but-me) Maori are poor, urban, violent, dysfunctional, unemployed, nihilistic and so on.

through and are going through, eventually the taniwha stirs in all of us
and we can only be who we are.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁶ Merata Mita, "The Soul and the Image," Film in Aotearoa New Zealand, eds. Jonathan Dennis and Jan Bieringa (Wellington: VUP, 1992): 54.

So vast,
 so fabulously a varied scatter
 of islands, cultures, mythologies and myths,
 so dazzling a creature...

Albert Wendt

Pacific Studies is necessarily comparative
 Teresia Teaiwa

Mystic travellers from Polynesia./...
 You came; I see you beating time,
 oars splashing – each powerful thrust.
 Chants. I hear still the prow split the ocean
 of Kiwa.

Rosemary/ Hinewirangi Kohu

... lacerate
 my legacy upon me
 where all who can read
 will perceive that I am
 taking my place
 on this vast marae
 that is the Pacific
 we call home

Vernice Wineera Pere

So it was that in Australia and Papua New Guinea that I grew into an understanding of
 myself as a Maori and, I guess, was being prepared for my date with destiny.

Rawiri, in Ihimaera's *The Whale Rider*

Represent this Nesian style all day every day every night
 Culturally strong from birth but weak upon our native tongues
 The product of our ancestors seeds from which we sprung
 The saga we maintain combine us wise in memories a noble lesson learned from our Fa'atasi
 family
 Elevate the positive this/ Nesian image must arise
 Aotearoa Hip-Hop plain clothed not in disguise
 With no demise we be on the rise with our dreaming eyes
 Poly individuals carrying connections to ignite reign for real upon these mic's on a quest uplifting
 what we do when we rhyme

Nesian Mystik

There is honour in being part of the peoples of Polynesia
 and knowing that we have relatives spread across the great Pacific Ocean.

Hirini Moko Mead

CHAPTER THREE:
MAORI AS OCEANIC

Aotearoa is a group of islands in the “liquid continent”³⁰⁷ of Oceania, and Maori are historically, linguistically and culturally linked with their (our) Oceanic context. Theoretically, at least, if Maori are Polynesian, and Polynesians are in the Pacific, then surely it must follow that Maori writing is a part of the body of Pacific Literature. But current Maori academic thought – when it does delve into comparative work - tends to privilege Fourth World Indigenous-ness over Oceanic-ness, and (at least, or especially, in New Zealand) ‘Oceania’ is not a prominent frame within which Maori literary production and criticism is discussed. Exacerbating this, relatively few literary texts by Maori assert what we might call an ‘Oceanic consciousness’. Maori writing in English has tended to direct its gaze either inwardly to the Maori community, or outwardly toward the coloniser,³⁰⁸ and the decision to reorient that gaze towards what amounts to New Zealand’s own Oceanic neighbourhood requires a massive rhetorical and political shift. Furthermore, when reading Pacific scholarship, it seems that a lot of Pacifics/ Oceanias

³⁰⁷ With due acknowledgements to Oshen, the hip hop artist who coined the phrase.

³⁰⁸ Either a localised NZ coloniser or a globalised English/ European coloniser.

have no room for Aotearoa. If all of this is so, for what purpose, and on what basis, do I discuss Maori texts in relation to an Oceanic frame?

According to the structure set up in Chapter One, this chapter first considers the cartographies, anthologies and methodologies of Oceanic/ Pacific (Literary) Studies in order to outline the ways in which the comparative frame of ‘Pacific/ Oceania’ is configured and maintained. I then explore the suggestive possibilities (*nau te rourou*) of reading ‘Maori’ as ‘Oceanic’, and in particular the ways in which specific texts extend/ expand this configuration. Contemplating the use of Oceania as a context for reading Maori writing in English should not solely focus on the frame itself and whether Aotearoa might be ‘argued’ into its theoretical/ critical scope, but must also ascertain whether Maori writing in English itself suggests or demonstrates a tendency toward the ‘Oceanic’. This section proposes two ways to think about the relation between ‘Maori’ and ‘Oceania.’ An ‘Aotearoa-inclusive Oceania’ considers the geographic map/ region of Oceania, and notices that Aotearoa is a part of that area on the basis of (cultural and) geographic proximity; this configuration also foregrounds diasporic Maori writing. An ‘Aotearoa-based Oceania’ focuses on the national boundaries of New Zealand and recognises that communities from all over Oceania – including Maori - interact with one another within those boundaries.³⁰⁹ Following this, the chapter gestures towards some of the limitations of the Oceanic frame that are exposed by, and inhibit, the inclusion of Maori writing in English (*nau te rakau*). This discussion is intended not to preclude the use of Oceanic comparatism for Maori writing, but rather to emphasise – and thus hopefully to ameliorate - the limitations of the framework as it currently operates with regard to Maori writing in English. Finally, I conclude with an eye, perhaps, to Aotearoa’s Oceanic (legacy and) destiny.

³⁰⁹ Of course, these two models/ dimensions of Oceania are connected in very important ways, and further exploration into (both Maori and non-Maori Oceanic) transnational migration and diasporas, as well as domestic migration of Maori communities between rural and urban contexts, would historicize and complicate this more carefully than I can here, given the scope of the chapter.

the oceanic frame: cartographies, anthologies, methodologies

cartographies

This chapter has oscillated throughout the process of its writing between being called the ‘Pacific’ and the ‘Oceanic’ chapter, and perhaps this state of flux is a good point to start the conversation about the cartographies of the region, and ways in which Aotearoa/ Maori do/ don’t fit within various maps. The ‘Pacific’ first came into being when Vasco Nunez de Balboa climbed a hill in Peru, looked out at an expanse of blue, and declared that any land that touched it was Spanish; the ocean was later named by Magellan (in 1520) because of its apparent calm. The ‘Pacific’ has thus always been tied up with European claiming and naming, imperialism, and – to put it bluntly – people looking *at* the region from outside. Significantly, since Balboa’s proclamation the ‘Pacific’ has been preserved in the European imagination as an empty space between (ravagable) things that ‘matter’ rather than as an entity in and of itself, and this so-called ‘imagined’ configuration of the region has led to the very tangible impacts of weapons testing, for example, in the twentieth century. On the other hand, ‘Oceania’ can be discursively traced through Wendt in 1976³¹⁰ and Hau’ofa in 1993³¹¹ to the successive explosion of its use, but even though it is an English term that belies a degree of colonial infiltration and complicity, ‘Oceania’ can be conceptually traced – as they both argue –

³¹⁰ Wendt’s essay “Towards a New Oceania” has been reprinted often; in some key collections and essays, reprints are given as the source and this implies that the essay is from that year. For example, the Bibliography of Borofsky’s *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts* notes its publication date as 1983, “In *A Pacific Islands Collection* (71 – 85). *Seaweeds and Constructions: Anthology Hawai’i 7.*” Robert Borofsky, *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts : An Invitation to Remake History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2000).. Its first publication date, however, was seven years earlier: *Mana* 1 (1) 1976. This mis-dating seems especially odd, given that the 1983 text does include the earlier date in its acknowledgements page.

³¹¹ Epeli Hau’ofa, “Our Sea of Islands,” *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands*, eds. Eric Waddell, Vijay Naidu and Epeli Hau’ofa (Suva: University of South Pacific, 1993)..

back through countless generations.³¹² To (over)simplify the difference between Pacific and Oceania, the simple yet salty truth of Oceania is that a change of perspective, worded by Hau'ofa as from “islands in a far-flung sea” to “our sea of islands”, will necessarily inflect – and perhaps reverse/ reshape – any and all discourse that pertains to the ‘Pacific’ region. The construct of Oceania is not a simple case of looking on the bright side, or a rhetorical decision to ‘ac-cen-tuate the positive’; its claims have deep, complex and politically explosive implications for the ways in which any scholar might approach the field (or, to use a better metaphor, ocean) of study.³¹³ The implications of mapping and remapping the region are thus both reliant on, and bigger than, the change of name from Pacific to Oceania.

Rather than insisting upon cartographic uniformity across all uses of a comparative Oceanic frame, it seems expedient (and infinitely more practical) to insist instead upon conscious acknowledgement of the scope and shape of the ‘Oceania’ of each project. For the sake of *this* chapter, then, as I defer to an Oceanic map I need to be clear about who is in ‘my’ Oceania. While I’m busy drawing maps, is Australia Oceanic or not? Given the obvious similarities between Maori and Indigenous Australian communities on the basis of invader/ occupier/ nation-state parallels, the need to account for the position of Indigenous Australian writing vis a vis Oceania is a particularly prominent issue when writing about Maori writing in English. It is compelling to argue – as Subramani does - that Oceania should include neither the Maori nor Australian indigenous communities, because they occupy lands that are very different from the rest of (temperate) Oceania,

³¹² Of course, there is a lingering problem that this new (perhaps ‘decolonised’) term is still in the language of the coloniser (or, indeed, one of the colonisers). Some scholars are now turning to use ‘indigenous’ terms, such as Tevita Ka’ili’s use of ‘Moana’ instead of Oceania/ Pacific and ‘Moanan’ in lieu of Oceanian, which has been picked up in the collaborative ‘Moanageeks’ project in which I am involved with Ka’ili, AnnaMarie Christiansen and Keith Camacho. The problem with this kind of usage is parallel to the problem I treat in more depth in the Indigenous chapter: paradoxically perhaps, the Maori terminology for the diverse region of Oceania is Te Moananui-a-Kiwa and yet this term makes sense only for speakers of Maori. Furthermore, Teresia Teaiwa would perhaps caution us, the term ‘moana,’ while usefully pan-Polynesian is not pan-Oceanian, and so reinforces a Polynesian hegemony in scholarship of the region.

³¹³ Or indeed, arguably, any region abused by negative development discourse.

and have been more or less subsumed by independent European-majority nation states for two centuries.³¹⁴ On the other hand, Indigenous Australians have very different historical and cultural links and are somewhat distinct from Oceania on that basis.³¹⁵ In this project, *my* Oceania privileges the whakapapa/ linguistic connections between Maori and other Pacific communities, on which basis Maori writing is defaulted into the Oceanic frame, but Indigenous Australian writing is not.³¹⁶

anthologies

The various Oceanic/ Pacific anthologies each produce different Oceanias; some do and some don't include Aotearoa, some include only indigenous writers, and some include diasporic and settler writers too; refer to the accompanying table (appendix #) for a breakdown of each collection. The scope and shape of the region has been reconfigured in each anthology, and decisions about how, or what, to include or exclude parallel many of those outlined in Chapter One with regard to 'Maori' anthologies. Gathering texts from around the *region* (ie, not organising them at the level of the nation-state) creates, mobilises, and manifests an Oceanic community that bears resemblance to Hau'ofa's 'Oceania.' In Oceania, an added dimension to the work and position of anthologies is the size of various Pacific nations and, thus, the size of their writing communities,

³¹⁴ This would differentiate NZ's colonialism from Hawaii's; Hawaii had an intact and European-recognised monarchy that was overthrown, and was eventually absorbed into the US as a state in 1959. However, its position as a liminal state of the US with unique cultural and historical features in some ways – although by no means lessening its effects – means that the relationship between the Hawaiian nation and their occupiers is different to that between Maori and New Zealanders. This is not to engage in comparative colonial arguments where we try to figure out who had the worst deal (although Koorie would usually 'win' that one anyway) but is to emphasise the importance of nuanced comparativism.

³¹⁵ For the same reason I won't look at Aleutian or Indigenous North Western Coast communities, even though they too have links with our Ocean(ia). For an example of an Oceania that does include some of these communities, look to the PIC series *Storytellers of the Pacific*. I will also exclude the Philippines from my Oceania, even though the tendency in some US-imagined Oceanias would include this place because of its cultural similarities and US imperial history.

³¹⁶ It also seems important to note the impliedly Anglophone map of Oceania that I will use in this chapter. I write at greater length about the issue of linguistic 'zones' (non-contiguous, but powerful) in the Pacific in the rakau section.

readerships, publication infrastructures and distribution networks. Although some Pacific nations have had success with self-publication,³¹⁷ anthologies of Pacific literature not only bring together these literatures with Others, but also make possible their mobility to Other places.³¹⁸ At the same time, texts from the larger Oceanic nations³¹⁹ – Aotearoa, Hawaii, Papua New Guinea, and Fiji³²⁰ – who have managed to publish and distribute collections at the national level also benefit from being brought into relationship with Other Oceanic places,³²¹ and so anthologising at the Pacific level both complicates and recontextualises these texts in interesting ways. While considering anthologies in Oceania, it is important to note that Oceanic writers are, like Maori writers, included in many different anthologies organised along different literary lines;³²² for the purposes of this chapter, though, I will focus on anthologies that explicitly collect on the basis of regional identification.

The politics of anthologising – which are always fraught and complex in the first place - have become very prominent in Oceania, perhaps because the collections become sites of intersection and encounter for indigenous/ diasporic/ settler communities and all

³¹⁷ For example, there are anthologies and collections from the Solomon Islands, Niue and Samoa. For example, Solomon Islands: Albert Wendt, Some Modern Poetry from the Solomon Islands (Suva, Fiji: Mana Publications, 1975).; Julian Maka'a, Hilda Kii and Linda Crowl, eds., Raetem Aot: Creative Writing from Solomon Islands (Honiara: Solomon Island Writers Association, USP Centre Solomon Islands, South Pacific Creative Arts Society, Institute of Pacific Studies, 1996).. Niue: Larry Thomas, Musings on Niue (Suva, Fiji: Pacific Writing Forum, 1997).. Samoa: Sina Va'ai and Asofou So'o, Tofa Sasa'a : Contemporary Short Stories of Samoa (Apia, Samoa: National University of Samoa, 2002)..

³¹⁸ This is particularly important given that the region is crisscrossed by various publishing networks, including the major split between North American and Commonwealth English language publishing, as well as the idiosyncrasies of small distribution networks. It can be much easier to purchase a text written hundreds of miles away than one from the next island. This is all, of course, complicated further in the case of non-English language publications, whether in Indigenous languages or other colonial languages of the Pacific, perhaps most notably French.

³¹⁹ It seems significant that all of these nations are also the hosts of universities.

³²⁰ The publication energies at the University of the South Pacific have been crucial to the dissemination of much Pacific writing, both through the distribution of single-author and multiple-author collections, and also through the production of literary journals, of which *Mana* is the pre-eminent. Significantly, the Society for South Pacific Arts in Suva published a collection of poetry by one Maori writer, Evelyn Patuawa-Nathan, in 1979. Her inclusion in the 'South Pacific' could be compellingly linked perhaps to her diasporic position, given that she was based in Sydney.

³²¹ It would be easy to oversimplify this process; as the recent *Whetu Moana* has demonstrated, the writing communities of various Pacific places live all over the world and particularly all over Oceania.

³²² I will not include in this list the obvious examples of Indigenous, Postcolonial and New Zealand that I discuss in this dissertation.

of their competing claims of authority, authenticity, sovereignty and power. It is possible, and perhaps instructive, to divide the anthologies into those put together by indigenous, and non-indigenous, editors. The politics of indigenous/ non-indigenous editorship has significantly inflected – even shaped - the distribution of Oceanic writing markedly. While non-Indigenous editors produced the first collections of Oceanic writing, their selections often included European writers resident in the region and, at the same time, strikingly fewer indigenous writers than the later anthologies. It would be easy to claim that this explosion of indigenous writers in, for example, the Crocombe and Wendt anthologies reflects an increase of practising indigenous writers by the time anthologies were edited by indigenous editors, but the remarkably different demographics of the writers included in the two 1980 publications (Wendt's *Lali*³²³ and the Tiffins' *South Pacific Stories*³²⁴) suggests that this claim isn't able to take the influence of indigenous editors into sufficient account.³²⁵ Among the indigenous editors, the role and position of Albert Wendt simply cannot be overstated.³²⁶ Wendt edited both *Lali* and *nuanua*,³²⁷ coedited *Whetu Moana*, and has delivered lectures, written essays, and taught classes on the topic of a 'thing' called Pacific Literature. Interestingly, neither of Wendt's 'Pacific' anthologies include Aotearoa or Hawaii; both places are included only in his third

³²³ Wendt, *Lali : A Pacific Anthology*.

³²⁴ Chris Tiffin and Helen Tiffin, eds., *South Pacific Stories* (St Lucia, QLD: South Pacific Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies, 1980).

³²⁵ Several commentators have questioned the position of non-indigenous non-European writers in the wake of the movement towards indigenous editors. For example, Seri Luangphinih presented a paper about competing indigenities at the ACLA conference in 2004 in which she pointed to the limited collection/distribution of literature by Fijian Indians in the 'post-non-indigenous editor' Pacific. There remain pros and cons of excluding these writers (and of course the issue of exclusion is one of degree; *not* including Fijian Indian writers in Oceanic anthologies is not necessarily a move that seeks to actively exclude them from distribution or consideration of Oceanic literatures, and yet given the market for Oceanic anthologies, it may 'passively' limit the number of other kinds of anthologies that can be produced.) In terms of a project that seeks to locate Maori writing within Oceania, it seems important to note that where the 'Pacific' has included Fijian Indian writing (Wendt's *nuanua*, Subramani's *South Pacific Literature*) Maori writing has *not* been included. *Whetu Moana* and *Waiata Koa*, on the other hand, with explicitly indigenous ('Polynesian' or 'First Nations') frames, do include Maori texts.

³²⁶ Curiously, his role as an editor of anthologies was more *understated* by his biographer Paul Sharrad. Paul Sharrad, *Albert Wendt and Pacific Literature : Circling the Void* (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 2003).

³²⁷ Wendt, *Nuanua : Pacific Writing in English since 1980*.

anthology which has a Polynesian centrism that shifts the focus away from the ‘independent’ Pacific he first sought to centre.

Using the expanded definition of an ‘anthology’ that I proposed in Chapter One,³²⁸ alongside these collections of poetry/ short fiction we might consider various class syllabi for ‘Pacific/ Oceanic literature’ classes, in order to see how Oceania is being constructed in those sites. Presumably due as much to the accessibility of writing from outside of the North American publishing circuit as anything, at the end of the day there is a small number of texts taught in the majority of Pacific Literature classrooms at the university level in the US.³²⁹ Indeed, some of the frequent flyers are so widely and regularly taught that one wonders what this kind of exposure might be doing to create not just a particular kind of Oceania,³³⁰ but also an Oceanic canon. The pragmatics of publication and distribution certainly affect this overrepresentation of certain texts, a situation that is ameliorated in part – although with the unavoidable effect of privileging certain texts – by the small selection of texts produced under the auspices of the Talanoa series, put out by the University of Hawaii Press. And, indeed, it is appropriate to point out the under-representation of certain areas within the Oceanic region. There is a very strong bias for Polynesian texts in the Pacific canon, something that Teresia Teaiwa has rightly called a ‘Polynesian hegemony’ in the context of Pacific Studies. I am already guilty of perpetuating this hegemony by virtue of the fact that I have allowed *Whetu*

³²⁸ From a collection of creative works to a collection of all kinds of writing from different places that groups those things together and presents them as if their intersections/ proximity will, in and of itself, suggest and produce a frame of comparison...

³²⁹ Wendt’s anthology *nuanuās* widely prescribed. The most common single author texts (according to the database of Pacific-themed class syllabi on the CPIS website) are (in no particular order): Duff’s *Once Were Warriors*; Hulme’s *the bone people*; Wendt’s *Sons for the Return Home*, *Flying Fox in a Freedom Tree*, and *Leaves of the Banyan Tree*; Grace’s *Potiki* and *Baby No-Eyes*; Hau’ofa’s *Takes of the Tikongs*; Figiel’s *Where We Once Belonged*; and Hereniko & Teaiwa’s *Last Virgin in Paradise*. Duff, *Once Were Warriors*; Keri Hulme, *The Bone People* (Auckland: Spiral in association with Hodder and Stoughton, 1985); Albert Wendt, *Sons for the Return Home* (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1973); Albert Wendt, *Flying-Fox in a Freedom Tree* (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1974); Albert Wendt, *Leaves of the Banyan Tree* (Auckland, N.Z.: Longman Paul, 1979); Patricia Grace, *Potiki* (Auckland, N.Z. ; New York: Penguin Books, 1986); Vilsoni Hereniko and Teresia Teaiwa, *Last Virgin in Paradise : A Serious Comedy* (Suva, Fiji: Mana Publications, 1993)..

³³⁰ An Oceania, for example, without Micronesia or Melanesia.

Moana, an anthology of *Polynesian* poetry, to stand in as Pacific/ Oceanic.³³¹ Tied to this point, I have not paid close attention to the production of anthologies of Melanesian or Micronesian writing, and while this was deliberate because I am concerned with considering those anthologies that do (or should) include Maori texts, I recognise that this removes my very Polynesian-focussed discussions from certain of the wider Oceanic contexts.

methodologies

Various critical methodologies will privilege various Pacifics; each discussion of the Pacific imagines and emphasises different versions/ aspects of the region. Every time critics suggest a way to approach ‘Pacific literature,’ a ‘Pacific’ is simultaneously suggested: the ‘Pacific’ in ‘Pacific Literature’ is produced, maintained and valorised by critical work produced about (literature from) the region. Whether/ how ‘Maori’ is Pacific/ Oceanic will be the central focus of the remainder of this chapter, but first it will prove useful to outline the major elements of (a) Pacific Studies methodology, in order to suggest the ways in which Maori (texts) are already, or perhaps are not, accounted for by Pacific (Literary) Studies. My intention here is not to summarise or account for all schools, debates, border, centres, and preoccupations of Oceanic discourse, but rather it is to outline those key aspects of the field that affect its comparatism; this in turn will impact how Pacific literary Studies – and in turn Maori Literary Studies – might proceed within an Oceanic frame.³³² After considering some aspects of the wider frame of ‘Pacific Studies’, then, this discussion will focus in on ‘Pacific Literary Studies’.

³³¹ Of course, Polynesia too is unevenly represented, because Francophone and Hispanophone Polynesia are these are not included here either.

³³² Much as it would be illuminating and infinitely useful to produce a summary of Pacific Studies and Pacific Literary Studies, such a project is far bigger than the scope of this chapter. However, I will say this much, admittedly more as a caveat than anything else: providing a brief introduction to (a) Pacific Studies methodology is difficult, partly because Pacific Studies is not a monolithic thing; it is certainly possible to identify various schools, trends and generations within the field. Pacific scholars write about different

The first place we will look for a corpus of texts/ scholars/ discourses – a methodology even – that shapes and suggests the comparative frame is at the level of the university department that calls itself ‘Pacific Studies.’³³³ When Pacific Studies appears as an Area Studies/ Interdisciplinary ‘Department’ at Universities, it is possible or tempting to ask whether there is, indeed a Pacific Studies methodology – or at least, a methodology that is specific or unique to Pacific Studies. Wesley-Smith, who works in the Center for Pacific Islands Studies at the University of Hawaii, writes about this in his 1995 essay “Rethinking Pacific Studies:”³³⁴

Each of the “traditional” human science disciplines is based on certain epistemological approaches to inquiry, conceptual frameworks, methodologies, and so on. Students in these programs learn how to “do” anthropology, political science, or whatever, but how can students learn to “do” Pacific Islands studies?³³⁵

Further, perhaps in a similar vein to the distinction between ‘British’ and ‘American’ Cultural Studies that highlights ways in which national context inflects ‘versions/ dimensions of a field,’³³⁶ Wesley-Smith explores the relationship between the functions

concepts of research, methodology and communities, but I believe that they speak alongside each other in productive and complicated ways; indeed, I suggest that this practice of not necessarily ‘talking about the same thing’ (or, indeed, ‘in the same way’) is perhaps constitutive of - rather than counter to - an articulation of Oceanic methodologies. As well as this multiplicity and diversity within the field of Pacific Studies, though, an added complication when trying to neatly pin Pacific Studies down is that - just like many Other departments such as American Indian Studies or Maori Studies – the boundaries of the field, which might be delineated by deciding what ‘counts’ as Pacific Studies, are contestable.

³³³ Where do these Pacific-studying departments arise? They arise not only within different schools but also within different departments/ disciplines/ etc: eg Asian/ Pacific / American Studies in the US; Indigenous/ Pacific/ Maori Studies in New Zealand, the Centre for Pacific Islands Studies at University of Hawai’i at Manoa, Pacific Studies at Brigham Young University-Hawaii, Melanesian and Pacific Studies at the University of Papua New Guinea, interdisciplinary programmes at University of California Santa Cruz and the Australian National University, and programmes at the University of the South Pacific and so on.

³³⁴ Terrence Wesley-Smith, “Rethinking Pacific Islands Studies,” *Pacific Studies* 18.2 (1995).

³³⁵ Wesley-Smith, “Rethinking Pacific Islands Studies.”: 128

³³⁶ I would argue this (American/ British Cultural Studies) is not a strictly national split, because otherwise where does New Zealand or Canadian or Australian or Indian or Jamaican or Kenyan work fit? One option is to recognise each of the conversations within each nation state context as different – such as the acknowledgement of ‘Australian Cultural Studies’ – but what this obscures, or remains blind to, is that there are particular regionalisms at work too. The most obvious would be the Commonwealth/ North American split (in which, typically, Canada either double dips or misses out altogether) that structures the English language publishing circuits. Indeed, the positing of the ‘Native Pacific’ of Native Pacific Cultural Studies as another Cultural Studies ‘region’ represents an important intervention into this split, because both American and British investments are found within the region of the Pacific; setting up a ‘version’ – or perhaps ‘school’ - of Cultural Studies that is linked to the entire Pacific region is thus not a matter of declaring a new ‘zone’/ region of Cultural Studies but also simultaneously *reclassifies* the region according to a map that

and preoccupations of Pacific Studies departments, and the national contexts in which they are located. Wesley-Smith offers three thematic questions that will influence the potential “directions for Pacific Studies”, including a discussion of Pacific Studies as area studies, the issue of disciplinarity/ interdisciplinarity, and the process by which indigenous voices and perspectives can and will be heard in the Western academic context. He also points to the relationship between the modes of theorizing (and funding/ centring) the Pacific, and the place of the field of Pacific Studies in the imagination of each of its respective (national) university contexts. Wesley-Smith identifies three theoretical stances that underpin the attitudes of universities to Pacific Studies: the *pragmatic* rationale is used mostly in the (settler) coloniser countries of Australia, New Zealand and the United States, and recognises a practical need to know something about the places with which they have relationships by virtue of having them in their backyard (or perhaps in whose backyard they are); the *laboratory* rationale focuses on the unique smallness and (assumed) penetrability of the Pacific and the way this has led researchers to study the Pacific in order to extrapolate to a ‘big picture’ hypothesis (as if one third of the earth’s surface isn’t big enough!); and the *empowerment* rationale delineates an emergence of indigenous scholars who seek to develop indigenous methodologies rooted in “indigenous histories and cultures” for indigenous ends. I would go further and suggest that not only do these contexts determine the orientation and methodologies (the ‘Studies’, if you will) of Pacific Studies, but they also significantly shape the mapping of the very region under discussion (the ‘Pacific’).³³⁷

does not have to account for British or American imperial interests. See the issue of *The Contemporary Pacific* that focusses on this idea of N/P/C/S: *The Contemporary Pacific* 13(2) Fall 2001.

³³⁷ Refer here to the above discussion of cartographies and anthologies; different constructions of Oceania radically alter the emphasis on different places/ cultures/ languages etc. What this means in terms of how Pacific Studies might operate as a methodology is compelling; the ‘Pacific Studies’ taught at Manoa will be different from the ‘Pacific Studies’ taught in Aotearoa/ New Zealand because the US and NZ look at the region and see two very different Pacifics. For example, because of the ‘racial’ category ‘Asian-Pacific Islander’, US-based Pacific Studies is likely to include the Philippines in the Pacific as well, while outside of the US this would not usually be that case. As for the French-speaking Pacific (New Caledonia, Tahiti etc) and the Spanish-speaking Pacific (Rapanui/ Easter Island), whose definitions – or maps or anthologies - of Oceania ever include them? Although it is tempting to suggest that USP, for example, might have a view that

As Wesley-Smith points out, the literal (national/ institutional) site of Pacific Studies shapes the ways in which the field operates, and specifically what it includes and excludes. This is the institutionalised version of what has been described above; Aotearoa is included in some ‘Pacifics’ but not others. Less ironically than suggestively, perhaps, ‘Maori’ is *least* Pacific in New Zealand, where a colloquial distinction between ‘Maori’ and ‘Pacific Islanders’ (and ‘Maori’ and ‘Polynesians’, in some cases³³⁸) slips into the denotative meaning of ‘Pacific Studies’ in the university context.³³⁹ In the New Zealand

is less bound up with imperial histories of the metropole than its mapping the Pacific, it would be very difficult to follow this kind of conjecture without either valorising the ‘authenticity’ of a USP/ Fiji (and, indeed, Angolphone) perspective or remaining blind to the Oceanic locations (in Hawaii and Aotearoa) of universities such as UH and those in NZ.

³³⁸ For example, I was funded for my Masters degree in NZ with a ‘University of Auckland Maori/ Polynesian Masters Scholarship’. One wonders not only who would manage to be Maori without being Polynesian, thus rendering ‘Maori’ redundant, but also whether Fijian students, for example, were eligible for this award.

³³⁹ Except perhaps for VUW’s Pacific Studies programme, which is headed by Teresia Teaiwa who was trained in Hawaii and Santa Cruz and taught in Fiji. Teaiwa draws a distinction between ‘Pacific Studies’ and ‘Native Studies’, the latter of which Maori Studies is an example. One must ask, would there be a quantitative difference between a Maori Studies approach to a Maori topic and a Pacific Studies approach to a Maori topic? Would a student or scholar writing about Guam from within the Micronesian Studies at University of Guam produce something significantly different from a student or scholar working from within Pacific Studies? Are the differences between Pacific Studies and Native Studies simply a matter of scope and focus? Or are there methodological, political, philosophical – epistemological – differences? And if both Native Studies and Pacific Studies share a decolonising agenda, what makes Pacific Studies Pacific Studies? Are there some approaches that are more Pacific than Native? (Teresia Teaiwa, "Militarism, Tourism and the Native: Articulations in Oceania," PhD, University of California - Santa Cruz, 2001.: 69) Teaiwa’s distinction between Pacific Studies and what she calls “Native Studies” is an important one in its differentiation between an interdisciplinary approach to study ‘in’ the Pacific region and the teaching of ‘how to be Native/ native’ in the university context, such as Departments of Maori, Samoan and Hawaiian Studies, which focus on teaching language and other ‘Native’ things. I use the term ‘in’ the region is used instead of ‘of’ the region purposely. Teaiwa draws strongly on Greg Denning’s distinction between studying ‘History of the Pacific’, which suggests there is a finite bounded knowable timeline of History in the region, most likely approached from the outside, and ‘History in the Pacific’, which is concerned with the study of history within the context – and probably place – of the Pacific. Greg Denning, "History "In" The Pacific," *Voyaging through the Contemporary Pacific*, eds. David Hanlon and Geoffrey M White, Pacific Formations (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000).. In ‘reality’, Maori Studies functions as a sort-of-disciplinary Native Studies department, in much the same ways as Teaiwa describes. Like Ethnic Studies Departments in the US, Maori Studies is usually the first one to go under the knife when it comes to budget cuts, and also the first to bear responsibility for the recruitment, retention and graduation of Maori students. Additionally, Maori Studies is institutionally descended from Anthropology departments, and so the focus of academic work, along with teaching language, tends to be along themes that are interesting to that field of study, which results in the distinctly un-interdisciplinary focus about which Wesley-Smith writes. This means, for example, that Maori Studies departments are unlikely to gather together a Marine Biologist, Historian and Economist to look at sustainability of the quota system as a way of ‘managing’ New Zealand fish. They are also unlikely to bring together an expert in Maori language with an expert in adaptations of Shakespeare and an expert in contemporary Maori film to look at the newly released film of the Merchant of Venice entirely in te reo Maori, or Merimeri Penfold’s recent translations of some of the love sonnets. The result of all of these factors is that much of the ‘exciting’ Maori academic work actually takes place outside of Maori Studies departments, either as a result of conscious ‘migration’ and establishment in another part of the institution, as in the case of University of Auckland’s Maori Education Research Unit; ‘incidental’ gathering together of ‘like minds’, as in the case of Witi Ihimaera, Albert Wendt, Reina Whaitiri, Terry Sturm and Michael Neill in the Department of English at the same university; or institutional ghettoising and

context, Pacific Studies is therefore perceived to be about *non-Maori* Pacific Islander studies – migrant and diasporic Pacific Studies – and this has significant implications for the parameters of methodologies of inquiry. ‘Maori’ academic work therefore – at least theoretically – happens in Maori Studies, and (migrant) (non-Maori) Pacific Island academic work in Pacific Studies.³⁴⁰ Even if ‘Pacific Studies’ outside of New Zealand might consider my project to be of interest,³⁴¹ at home positioning my work within that Department would be considered, at least for now, to be a little odd.³⁴²

A major impetus behind this dissertation project was a phrase shared by Teresia Teaiwa at the *Pacific Islands Atlantic Worlds* conference in October 2001:³⁴³ “Pacific Studies is necessarily comparative,” and this ‘comparativeness’ is something that Pacific Studies has not yet deeply explored. In her PhD dissertation *Militarism, Tourism and the Native: Articulations in Oceania*,³⁴⁴ Teaiwa interrogates the critical position and positioning of the Native in Oceania as she explores how Pacific Studies might look. She suggests that an Oceanic comparative frame is reliant on two simultaneous pressures: the

‘rationalising’, as in the case of Massey University’s fledgling Albany campus, which collapsed the Maori Studies department into a Liaison Officer position and a single Treaty course taught by a non-Maori through the School of Social Work.

It is important to note here, however, that while the distinction between ‘Pacific Studies’ and ‘Native Studies’ may be useful, the language itself may get in the way in an Aotearoa context: ‘Native’ is still a connotatively derogatory term in New Zealand, and harks back to the pre-1950s, when Maori were ‘Native’ in the eyes of the Crown. It is only after the 1950s that Maori were referred to as ‘Maori’ in legislation etc (thus, the ‘Native Land Court’, ‘Native Schools’, the government department and ministerial portfolio of ‘Native Affairs’ and so on). The implications of this nation-specific meaning of the term ‘Native’ for a configuration of Native/ Pacific Studies in a specific place attest to the very regionalism about which Teaiwa writes and to which she rightly draws our attention.

³⁴⁰ Maori Studies, often attached to a marae complex, tends to have a special place as the academic and cultural ‘home’ of indigenous students and scholars on campus. This is different to the relation between Hawaiian Studies and Pacific Studies because in Hawaii Pacific Studies – at least ostensibly – purports to speak about/ include Hawaiian people etc too.

³⁴¹ Perhaps this is exemplified by my time spent as a Visiting Colleague at the Centre for Pacific Islands Studies at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, in the North American academic year 2003-4.

³⁴² Should I claim to do Maori Studies, instead? Or should I claim to do Pacific Studies and then somehow try to challenge the NZ-based assumption of a Maori-exclusive Pacific Studies discipline? On what basis would I challenge this assumption anyway? If I believe it is limiting to assume that Maori academic work is not Pacific Studies – and I do – how might I push these boundaries without simply saying ‘it’s better the way they see it in Australia/ US/ etc’??

³⁴³ This was at the *Pacific Studies/ Atlantic Worlds* conference held at NYU in October 2001.

³⁴⁴ Teaiwa, "Militarism, Tourism and the Native: Articulations in Oceania." Teaiwa is currently Head of Pacific Studies at Victoria University of Wellington and wrote her dissertation in Santa Cruz and Fiji. Her dissertation, then, was written in/ around/ on the edges of the ‘Oceania’ she theorises.

“gap between national and regional perspectives”³⁴⁵ and the “gap between natives and the Native – what might also be called the gap between the specific and the generic.”³⁴⁶ The dynamic relation between what counts as ‘general’ and what as ‘specific’ is sometimes mutually productive and sometimes fraught within tensions/ antagonisms.

At the same time as scholars and writers identify with localised groups, they also talk about affiliation to wider communities too: Oceanic, Polynesian, Pacific, Indigenous.³⁴⁷ The oscillation (choice?) between these kinds of regional and local configurations is a key element in prominent Pacific Studies scholarly writing. For example, Teaiwa locates her own experience within particularity, and focuses throughout much of the rest of her doctoral dissertation on the specific examples of Fiji and the Bikini Atoll, but writes generally about the Native of Oceania. Hau’ofa, who writes about himself as Tongan, as well as the Tongan-ness (and also American-ness) of his roaming friend, engages with the way that the region about which he writes is figured, shifting it from Pacific to Oceania. Manulani Aluli Meyer writes *Ho’oulu: Our Time of Becoming; Hawaiian Epistemology and Early Writings*³⁴⁸ from a staunchly Hawaiian location, and claims the distinctiveness of this perspective, yet simultaneously acknowledges the extent to which Hau’ofa’s configuration of Oceania influenced her development of her own sense of Hawaiianess. These configurations of affiliation at local, regional, national and genealogical levels do not produce a utopic ‘insider’ location. Indeed, discussions of the

³⁴⁵ Teaiwa, "Militarism, Tourism and the Native: Articulations in Oceania."

³⁴⁶ Teaiwa, "Militarism, Tourism and the Native: Articulations in Oceania.": 27.

³⁴⁷ And of course, as Katerina Teaiwa reminded us in her talk on ‘Women of Oceania’ (at the University of Hawaii 2003), identifications and accountabilities are with/ to various communities and locations: gender, nationality, class, education, sexual orientation, family situation, complexion, genealogy and so on criss-cross the already-multiple ethnic/ cultural identifications.

³⁴⁸ Manulani Meyer, *Ho’oulu : Our Time of Becoming* (Honolulu, HI: 'Ai Pohaku Press, 2003).. This publication includes Meyer’s unedited doctoral thesis, and other writings. Her essay “Our Own Liberation” in *The Contemporary Pacific* has already become very influential. Manulani Meyer, "Our Own Liberation: Reflections on Hawaiian Epistemology," *The Contemporary Pacific* (2001).. Look, for example, to the explicit use of this work in Ka’imipono Ka’iwi Kahumoku’s MA thesis, in which she uses Meyer’s discussions in order to theorise a reading of Hawaiian literature. Monica A. Ka’imipono Kaiwi, "I Ulu No Ka L-Al-a I Ke Kumu : An Epistemological Examination of Native Hawaiian Literature " MA, University of Auckland, 2000..

relation between these identifications and pedagogy/ research continually emphasise that it is not easy being an ‘insider’ at all. Being an ‘insider’ can open up even more matrices of relationship and accountability, and this is sometimes limiting and sometimes liberatory. For example, Hau’ofa writes about his experience of teaching “[his] own:”

The faces of my students continued to haunt me mercilessly. I began to ask questions of myself. What kind of teaching is it to stand in front of young people from your own region, people you claim as your own, who have come to university with high hopes for the future, and to tell them that their countries are hopeless? Is this not what neo-colonialism is about?³⁴⁹

His oscillation between his specific local identifications and a regional consciousness (“your own region, people you claim as your own”) ultimately catalysed his development of his ‘sea of islands’ concept.

In order for Maori literature to be read within Pacific Studies, not only does Aotearoa need to ‘prove’ its Pacific-ness, but literary studies needs to have a place in Pacific Studies. Even though the possibilities for the inter/un/non/anti/a-disciplinary nature of an institutionally-sanctioned ‘Pacific Studies’ are suggestive, and certainly inflect the ways in which we might imagine Pacific Literary Studies, the present project is located quite comfortably and securely within the discipline of literary studies. In order to recognise the position of Pacific Literary Studies, my project needs to ask: is the institutional organization of a Pacific Studies Department the only – and the requisite –

³⁴⁹ Hau’ofa, “Our Sea of Islands.”: 5. How this sort of commitment plays itself out in the ‘doing’ of academic work can be fraught. If I believe that there are responsibilities and accountabilities to my communities inherent in my work, does that mean they only exist in work which my community ‘wants done’ because it somehow answers questions about some kind of ‘crisis’? If there is no specific indigenous community ‘demand’ for me to analyse a play by Hone Kouka, for example, am I doing indigenous research? What would that kind of ‘demand; look like, anyway? To whom am I responsible as a Maori student of literary studies? What stops me from publishing material in the US that I would be uncomfortable sharing with communities at home? If I am one of a very small group of Maori literary scholars, how do these accountabilities work? Is my work irrelevant to my community, or can I find a way of retaining a sense of responsibility to my communities even if they do not read a single thing I write? This is not to buy in to the patronising view that ‘uneducated’ people aren’t interested in what I do. Such an attitude could surely only come from an attitude of boastfulness and self-importance, perhaps combined with a complete misunderstanding of educational systems and the ‘gaps’ inherent in them. I am used to being asked what I am working on, and how I am going to approach it. Many of my friends from my home community wanted to read my Masters thesis when I finished it; I was very humbled when I went to visit my best mate Tasha – who had left school when we had just turned 16 - in hospital a few years later after she had had her fifth baby, and she was sitting up in bed reading it from cover to cover, apparently giving a running commentary to some of the nurses and the midwife about what was what in Maori history and literature!

space in which ‘Pacific Studies’ can happen? What about the work on N/P/C/S³⁵⁰ that came out of a particular moment but also a particular (not-‘Pacific Studies’) space, UC Santa Cruz’s History of Consciousness Program? What about Hokulani Aikau’s work that relates racial formations in migrating Pacific communities with religious, specifically LDS,³⁵¹ identifications; work that she has produced while working within American Studies – another interdisciplinary field - at the University of Minnesota? What about AnnaMarie Christiansen’s work on the relationship between N/P/C/S for pedagogy, which she has developed while working within an English Department at a university (BYU-Hawaii) that also has a separate Pacific Studies Department on site? What about the artistic work that Epeli Hau’ofa is making possible through his visionary ‘Oceanic Creative Arts Centre’ at USP, a configuration that explicitly leaves the word ‘Pacific’ out of its name? In the light of these kinds of projects, Pacific Studies cannot be restricted to ‘the things that happen in Pacific Studies departments’, and yet this returns us to the question of what ‘counts’ as Pacific Studies. In order to be salient for this project, Pacific Studies cannot *demand* interdisciplinarity, even if the diverse kinds of texts and ways of approaching texts might be argued as being somewhat interdisciplinary.³⁵² Instead, it must be content with being a big umbrella with room for the Pacific Literary Studies that happens in – as well as outside of - English Departments. ‘Pacific Studies’ necessarily and productively includes work in the disciplines. So, once we have settled this, what might Pacific Studies offer Maori writing in English?

³⁵⁰ Native Pacific Cultural Studies, a term coined in the *Contemporary Pacific* which focussed on the symposium by the same name at UC Santa Cruz in February 2000.

³⁵¹ The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

³⁵² My refusal of enforced interdisciplinarity does not counter Teiawa’s comments on comparativeness! Indeed, this dissertation project is intended in part to suggest the possibilities of literary-based literature-focussed comparative study.

salt water feet: Pacific (Literary) Studies (as) methodologies

Literary studies in the region is tied closely to Pacific Studies as an emergent discipline, not least of all because scholars-and-writers such as Albert Wendt, Epeli Hau'ofa, Vilsoni Hereniko, Teresia Teaiwa, Steven Winduo, Sina Va'ai and Konai Helu Thaman have contributed many of the now foundational texts of the field. These writer-scholars have been supported since the beginnings of the field by a number of Other scholars such as Paul Sharrad,³⁵³ and Richard Hamasaki³⁵⁴ who have worked with the texts produced in the Pacific. While it is not difficult to imagine that there is such thing as 'Pacific Literary Studies', however, the limits and shape of this field are unclear at best.³⁵⁵ Only one thing is clear when it comes to methodology in the area of Pacific writing: there is (necessarily) more than one way to skin a cat. Exploring the writing of Pacific Literary scholars not only introduces the varied and various approaches to issues of methodology and accountability in literary practice, but also foregrounds the very different, energetic and vigorous work that is being done on these issues in the Pacific.

Given the scope of this chapter (and indeed this dissertation!), I will point to two important aspects of Oceanic literary criticism that pertain specifically to this project. One is the very strong relationship between producers and critics of literary texts, which means that those who critique the work are also involved in producing it. This configuration so conventional that it has been given a name: 'Pacific Writer Scholars.'³⁵⁶ The other

³⁵³ Paul Sharrad, "Making Beginnings: Johnny Frisbie and Pacific Literature," *New Literary History* 25 (1994), Paul Sharrad, "Imagining the Pacific," *Meanjin*, Sharrad, *Albert Wendt and Pacific Literature : Circling the Void*, Paul Sharrad, ed., *Readings in Pacific Literature* (Wollongong: New Literatures Research Centre, University of Wollongong, 1993).

³⁵⁴ Hamasaki, who is based in Hawaii, edited the early anthology *Seaweed and Visions*, and has been instrumental in bringing Hawaiian and other Pacific writing in English onto syllabi in Hawaii. Richard Hamasaki, "Seaweeds and Constructions," (Honolulu, Hawaii: Elepaio Press), vol.

³⁵⁵ What counts as Pacific Literary Studies? What doesn't? Not only are there the usual issues about who is doing the research, but also who is doing the writing; is Paul Lyons' and Michelle Elleray's very productive work on European and Euro-American writing *about* the Pacific *by* non-Pacific people a part of this field?

³⁵⁶ This has been treated compellingly in Steven Edmund Winduo, "Unwriting Oceania: The Repositioning of the Pacific Writer Scholars within a Folk Narrative Space," *New Literary History: A Journal of Theory and Interpretation* 31.2 (2000): 599 - 613. In fact, perhaps one of the most intriguing aspects of Pacific Studies in relation to literary studies is the extent to which Pacific scholars (and often politicians) are also

feature is the impossibility of extricating literary criticism from ‘general’ (?) Pacific Studies.³⁵⁷ As with Maori literary criticism, some of the foundational documents in the field have been produced as introductory essays to anthologies, and the introductions Wendt composed for his collections are particularly notable in this regard.

As far as more ‘theoretical’/ critical work, the staple for quite some time was Fiji-based Subramani’s 1985 *South Pacific Literature*, a landmark text that remains the only book-length study produced from within the region. Certainly his contribution to literary studies in Oceania deserves greater attention, and yet I will focus on the specific way in which he articulates the relationship between Maori and Oceania. Subramani’s policy of excluding Maori and Indigenous Australian literatures has been, however, unhelpful (to put it mildly) for the relationship between Maori and Pacific literary criticism:

The literatures of Australia and New Zealand form the fifth region. The literatures of Maori and Aboriginal peoples share common motifs with literatures of other Pacific regions. But they ought to be viewed as belonging to the mainstream of Australian and New Zealand writing.³⁵⁸

This book has been followed by a number of critical essays³⁵⁹ and two main collections: Paul Sharrad’s *Readings in Pacific Literature*, and the Hereniko and Wilson collection *Inside Out; Literature, Culture, Politics and Identity in the New Pacific*, the latter of which came out of the 1994 conference on Pacific Literatures held in Hawaii.³⁶⁰ Included

Pacific writers. The correlation between the production and criticism of literary works is widely recognised; I have not yet met a literary scholar from the Pacific who is not also a writer, and it was at Cornell that I realised I was first assumed to *not* be a writer unless I announced myself as such. Why do the critics also create? It is possible to imagine a pragmatic connection, in which writers seek employment opportunities in a related field, but I prefer to focus on the high value placed on reciprocity that underpins many Oceanic ontologies.

³⁵⁷ This was crystallised for me at the workshop entitled *Future Directions in Pacific Studies* at UC Santa Cruz in May 2004, in which I was a participant. Several of the scholars working in ‘interdisciplinary’ fields drew on Wendt’s “Tatauing the post-colonial body,” an essay that comes explicitly out of literary studies. Although the essay travels so well beyond literary studies, I contend that one reason for the strength of the essay is its firm disciplinary location and scope.

³⁵⁸ Subramani, *South Pacific Literature : From Myth to Fabulation* (Suva: University of the South Pacific, 1985): xi. The nature of these so-called “common motifs” is not elaborated on and are hard to conjecture, given that Maori and Indigenous Australian writing was anti-colonial and asserted a distinctive non-‘New Zealand’/ non-‘Australia’ voice.

³⁵⁹ These are collected in all manner of journals, conference proceedings and fora. A key place to look for ‘cutting edge’ scholarship is *The Contemporary Pacific*, although certainly the explicitly literary essays are outnumbered by offerings from other (inter)disciplines.

³⁶⁰ Vilsoni Hereniko comments, in his foreword to Nicholas J. Goetzfridt, *Indigenous Literature of Oceania : A Survey of Criticism and Interpretation*, *Bibliographies and Indexes in World Literature*, No. 47 (Westport,

in this latter volume is a reprinting of the Wendt essay “Tatauing the Post-colonial Body,” which took Pacific literary studies in a new – and yet not new at all - direction, insisting as it did on the dynamic relation between this critical endeavour and the cultural contexts and realities from which the texts come.³⁶¹

Finally, it would be inappropriate to consider the major aspects of Oceanic literary studies methodologies without referring specifically to ‘Women Weaving Oceania,’³⁶² a phrase coined by Dr Sinavaiana, whose lecture by the same name at NYU in April 2001 was the first ‘Pacific’ thing I attended on the East Coast. Indigenous Pacific women have formed writing and critical communities and networks for some time, and the particular concerns that pertain to gender and women’s’ sexuality have been foregrounded in these collaborations.³⁶³ In an essay proposing her ‘mana tama’ita’i’ critical reading practice for the consideration of Pacific Islands women’s texts, Selina Tusitala Marsh writes about the marginalisation of Oceanic women:

When the male is the norm in postcolonial societies (exacerbated by the overwhelming patriarchal face of nationalism), women’s voices are consequently silenced and suppressed; our image is overlooked, superimposed onto a universal masculinist point of view... As Pacific Islands women, we need our own voices to be asserted, heard, and heeded. For the colonisers also prescribed roles for us as the sexual servant, the ‘happy-go lucky fuzzy-haired’ girl. We must not consent to our own abasement, or invisibility – by anyone.³⁶⁴

Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1995)., that 1994 was a key year in Pacific literary studies. Perhaps it is time for another collection?

³⁶¹ Wendt produces a complex argument for a Pacific literary criticism that not only centres and invokes a Pacific-centred metaphor – the tatau (Samoan body tattoo) - in order to approach Pacific literature, but also recasts the (Western/ institutional) notion/ discipline of literature, literariness and criticism by assuming the tatau ‘counts’ as literature. At the same time, because his essay rests on the pe’a/ malu that is specific to Samoa, he is not moving away from cultural specificity towards a squishy and floaty kind of pan-Pacific literary metaphorical basis, but rather suggests that this extreme material (literally embodied) specificity is, in fact, an appropriate way to apprehend the whole region.

³⁶² This is also the title of a forthcoming special issue of *Pacific Studies* that Dr Sinavaiana is co-editing with Kehaulani Kauanui.

³⁶³ Interestingly, perhaps, the majority of critics in the field (at least those near the top of the Christmas tree) are men, although judging by the demographics of the graduate students and junior professors coming through the ranks, this looks destined to change. Such a swing will surely centre and build upon the important work already laid out by key women critics (including, for example, Caroline Sinavaiana-Gabbard, Selina Tusitala-Marsh and so on).

³⁶⁴ Selina Tusitala Marsh, "Theory "Versus" Pacific Islands Writing," *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics and Identity in the New Pacific*, eds. Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999): 343.

Pacific Literary Studies methodologies need to further take into account the multiple layerings of community affiliation – none of which necessarily submerges another – that comprise a major feature of a Pacific comparative framework: we need to be able to rephrase and complicate the question “is this a study of Maori, Samoan, Pacific, Oceanic *or* Indigenous poetry?” How, for example, would Pacific Literary Studies approach a poet who deliberately self-identified as Samoan, Oceanic, Polynesian, *and* from Niusila?³⁶⁵ How would the poet’s Samoan-ness, or Niusila-ness, inflect the ways in which Oceanic literary studies approached the text? Regis Stella, writing from Papua New Guinea, asks similar questions:

Is there such a thing as Papua New Guinean literature? If so, how do we distinguish it from other Pacific Islands literatures?³⁶⁶

Teaiwa has raised the question about the difference between Pacific Studies and Samoan (Native) Studies, but how might Pacific Studies approach a Samoan novel? Are there ways in which its Samoan-ness would mean, in a Pacific Studies context, it is talked about differently than a novel by John Pule? Would Pacific Studies talk about a novel by Sia Figiel (Samoan) differently from how it talks about a novel by Kiana Davenport (Hawaiian), for example? At what points would it focus on their shared community of Oceania, and where would it tie analysis to their specific home contexts? It seems to me that these layers are not the complication but the *thing* of comparative inquiry.

Of course, affiliation to (island/ ethnic/ linguistic) community opens the question about other kinds of community as well, especially those prominent Other(ing) communities of gender, sexuality, and class. Would Pacific Studies talk about Sia Figiel (female Samoan writer) differently from how it talks about Albert Wendt (male Samoan writer)? Would Pacific Studies talk about Witi Ihimaera (openly gay Maori) differently from how it talks about Patricia Grace (openly straight Maori); let alone Keri Hulme, who

³⁶⁵ A Pacific transliteration of NZ.

³⁶⁶ Regis Stella, "Reluctant Voices into Otherness," *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics and Identity in the New Pacific*, eds. Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999): 227.

openly claims to be neither? Another layering of communities is introduced when considering Pacific migrations. Would Pacific Studies talk about Caroline Sinavaiana (Samoan in Hawaii) differently from how it talks about Albert Wendt (Samoan in New Zealand)? Would Pacific Studies talk about John Pule (Niuean in New Zealand) differently from how it talks about Selina Tusitala Marsh (Samoan in New Zealand)? Would these conversations bring us to talk differently – or newly – about the poetry by Vernice Wineera (Maori based in Hawaii) and that by Jacq Carter (Maori based in Aotearoa)?³⁶⁷

nau te rourou: “nesians, are you with me?;” our sea of islands

In 1993 the Tongan academic and writer Epele Hau’ofa, who is based at the University of the South Pacific in Fiji, produced one of the most influential and widely read pieces of Oceanic scholarship to date, “Our Sea of Islands,”³⁶⁸ in which he demonstrates how the theoretical centring of local principles and cosmologies can radically change the central terms on which Oceanic methodology is founded. In his essay, which rethinks and indigenises methodology by re-approaching the concept which marks the broadest parameters of this area of study on its own Pacific/ Oceanic terms, Hau’ofa models a complete re-centring of the Native in the conception of the Pacific, which he renames – and reframes - Oceania. Rather than accepting the smallness and

³⁶⁷ And who gets to make all of these decisions? Who gets to determine what the ‘Oceanic’, ‘Pacific’, or ‘Maori’ concepts that might underpin ‘indigenised’ methodologies, are? And to whom are they answerable? The relationships between researchers and their own community affiliations are highly significant, and may have most salient interventions at the level of motivation to study a particular subject - I make no bones about the fact that I study Maori literature because that’s what I am, for example - and accountabilities to communities. Further, this relationship is discussed differently in the Maori and New Zealand contexts than they are in the US. The phrase ‘identity politics’ does not have currency there, and the anxieties around identity are laid out and manipulated differently. This does not mean that no non-Maori are ‘allowed’ to work on Maori topics – although there are certainly advocates for that position – but it makes primary the relationship between ‘doing’ and ‘being’. It is acceptable to question someone who is not affiliated to an indigenous community what the nature of their relationship to that field is, and it is expected that they will have an honest answer.

³⁶⁸ In this chapter, page references will be to the 1999 reprint of the essay: Epele Hau’ofa, “Our Sea of Islands,” *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics and Identity in the New Pacific*, eds. Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999)..

isolation that the West associates with the Pacific, “islands in a far sea,”³⁶⁹ Hau’ofa claims that the Pacific is “a sea of islands.”³⁷⁰ He proposes that because Pacific people have always occupied and travelled around the Pacific, and the ocean has always been a part of the experience and worldview of Pacific Islanders, it is therefore a part of their ‘turf’ along with their islands. This argument literally remaps the Pacific region by shattering the European binary of sea and land, transforming the space of Pacific people from the smallest to the largest in the world, and in doing so he renames it too: Oceania. Hau’ofa’s piece is an example of strategic ‘rethinking’ that has become a benchmark model for decolonising, indigenising and reimagining the Pacific/ Oceania. According to Hau’ofa, the distinctions between European constructions such as nation states and ‘-neas’ are less important than the ways in which people construct their world by their very inhabiting, and traversing, of it. He draws attention to:

the contemporary process of what may be called world enlargement that is carried out by tens of thousands of ordinary Pacific Islanders right across the ocean... making nonsense of all national and economic boundaries, borders that have been defined only recently, crisscrossing an ocean that had been boundless for ages before Captain Cook’s apotheosis.³⁷¹

Aotearoa is impliedly a part of Hau’ofa’s Oceania, because Maori are Oceanic seafarers.³⁷² Hau’ofa writes about Maori navigation (albeit, or perhaps significantly, in

³⁶⁹ Hau’ofa, “Our Sea of Islands.”: 31.

³⁷⁰ Hau’ofa, “Our Sea of Islands.”: 31.

³⁷¹ Hau’ofa, “Our Sea of Islands.”: 30.

³⁷² Belich’s *Making Peoples* has a good introduction to the various theories about how Maori populated Aotearoa; what is not in question is the claim that Maori were very skilled navigators to get there. James Belich, *Making Peoples : A History of the New Zealanders, from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1996)..

Te Papa, the national museum of New Zealand located in Wellington, had an exhibition called ‘Voyagers’ (29 June – 17 November 2002) in which Maori were very securely placed within an Oceanic narrative of navigation. As you walked into the exhibit, Albert Wendt’s voice read aloud a quote that was also written in front of a large screen, onto which films were projected that depicted both Maori and Pakeha arrivals in the country. Wendt’s quote - “So vast, so fabulously a varied scatter of islands, nations, cultures, mythologies and myths, so dazzling a creature...” – was prominently displayed at the beginning of the exhibition and provided a Pacific context of ‘voyaging’ for New Zealand, and the next consecutive exhibits specifically traced Polynesian travellers through the Pacific to Aotearoa, up to a selection of tribal accounts of their navigation to the islands of Aotearoa. In Robert Sullivan’s amazing collection *Star Waka* (Sullivan, *Star Waka*.) one hundred poems concentrate on voyaging vessels, and thereby compellingly trace the genealogies and cultural mores of Maori back through the waka to Oceania. In “Waka 99”, Sullivan makes a clear claim of whakapapa relationship with Oceanic seafarers:

in the blood of the men and women
the boys and girls

parentheses) as an example that challenges the externally-proposed model of population dispersal by ‘accidental drift:’

(Only blind landlubbers would say that settlements like these, as well as those in New Zealand and Hawai’i, were made through accidental voyages by people who got blown off course – presumably while they were out fishing with their wives, children, pigs, dogs, and food-plant seedlings – during a hurricane.)³⁷³

This ‘Hau’ofan’ configuration of Oceania has significant implications for the reading of Maori texts, because the fact of Aotearoa’s subsumption by ‘New Zealand’ is potentially sidelined when someone looks at the place with ‘Oceanic’ eyes, rather than treating New Zealand as a(n empty) metropole to which Oceanic people migrate.³⁷⁴

As I made clear at the beginning of this chapter, examination of the Oceanic comparative frame for a reading of Maori texts in English should not only consider articulations of the frame and whether Aotearoa might be ‘argued’ into its scope. One must also consider whether Maori writing itself suggests or demonstrates a similar tendency toward being considered ‘Oceanic’. Arguably, if there is no Oceanic consciousness on the part of the texts/ writers, there will only be limited possibilities for the use of this approach. As it happens, a small number of texts *do* recognise and assert an Oceanic context for/ in Aotearoa. Those texts that grapple with this Oceanic dimension of what it is to be Maori suggest ways in which this relationship between Maori and Oceania might be negotiated; these are provocative interventions into the consideration of Maori writing.

who are blood relations
of the crews whose veins
touch the veins who touched the veins
of those who touched the veins
who touched the veins

who touched the veins
of the men and women from the time
of Kupe and before.

(Sullivan, *Star Waka*: 109)

³⁷³ Hau’ofa, “Our Sea of Islands.”: 32

³⁷⁴ And, as I have already discussed above, this directly challenges the refusal on the part of Subramani in *South Pacific Literature* to engage with Maori texts within a frame of the ‘Pacific’ because of their ‘New Zealandness.’ Subramani, *South Pacific Literature : From Myth to Fabulation*.

An Aotearoa-inclusive Oceania

Although there are relatively few texts and even less critical discussions that articulate Aotearoa as a part of Oceania, once you start looking for it Oceania has been a part of Maori writing from the get-go. The problem is less a sheer lack of texts that suggest an Aotearoa-inclusive Oceania, and more a lack of circulation of, and critical interest in, those texts that do exist.³⁷⁵ Most intriguing (and weirdly quiet) are the

³⁷⁵ It seems worthwhile to recount how I was challenged to change an earlier focus of this section on Ihimaera's *The Whale Rider*, because the sequence of events by which I introduced Patuawa-Nathan and Wineera's poetry into the mix is a crucial example, I believe, of how the practice and growth of the field(s) of Maori and Oceanic literary studies might take place. In August 2003, I proposed a paper on the 'Aotearoa-inclusive Oceania' for the American Comparative Literature Association Annual Meeting in April 2004, and my abstract expressed my intention to interrogate the ways in which Maori texts might suggest, or foreground, an 'Oceanic consciousness.' I was going to explore this by working solely with the multiple texts of *(The) Whale Rider*: Witi Ihimaera's 1987 novella, the recent film by Niki Caro, and the resulting US edition of Ihimaera's text. The original title of that paper ("I'm sorry, Paka, but aren't we whaleriding in Oceania?") reflected my interest in the differences between the novella and film texts, and in particular the innovations present in the novella that 'dropped out' of the film and were then subtly downplayed in the US edition of the novella. Ihimaera enlarges the physical context of the narrative to an Oceanic scale; the events and struggles of the novella are located within a wider triple-layered Oceanic framework of shared cultural whakapapa (genealogies), relationships between Pacific colonial histories, and a critique of neo-colonialism in the Pacific. I wanted to consider the significance of the way in which this intervention is completely removed from screenplay writer and director Niki Caro's 2003 film, *Whale Rider*, which has been viewed and, apparently, adored internationally. Much of this discussion can now be found in my concluding chapter, Chapter Seven, in which I explore the limitations of the metaphor of writing/ reading with an 'accent'. In the ACLA paper, I desired to show that 'whaleriding' happens, both genealogically and contemporarily, in Oceania. That paper, with its focus on *(The) Whale Rider* was not unviable as is, I still believe, important, and I stand by my anticipated conclusions about whaleriding and Oceania. However, in that project I centred the innovative and (what I was framing as) singular assertion of Oceanic-ness in Ihimaera's novella, and it now seems more pertinent and compelling (and somehow *truthful*) to explore what happens when that text is held alongside those other pioneering Oceanic texts of Pere and Patuawa-Nathan. As I finalised the presentation for the ACLA conference I was living in Hawaii, and happened to spend an afternoon at the BYU-Hawaii Library's Pacific Collection, attending to two dissertation-related errands I had been meaning to 'run' for a while: photocopying the (out of print) works of two fabulous Maori women poets, Vernice Wineera Pere and Evelyn Patuawa-Nathan, whose collections I had first encountered in that library a few weeks earlier; and taking notes from the introductory essays to some anthologies of 'New Zealand' writing (for Chapter Six). This accidental collision of a session of photocopying and note-taking with a session of paper revision ended up being uncannily productive. In short, re-reading their poetry, and one particular comment about Ihimaera in the introduction to an anthology, alongside my paper challenged my own articulation of this relationship between Aotearoa and Oceania. The production of the readings I make in this section, then, ultimately depended on my literal mobility (as a Maori and Oceanic scholar) as well as relationships between myself and Oceanic scholars and institutions in various parts of the Oceanic region. After all, had I not spent a year living in Hawaii, and had I not been collaborating with AnnaMarie Christiansen at BYU-Hawaii, this moment may not have happened. In this way, then, this is another version of Hau'ofa's observation that "the contemporary process of what may be called world enlargement that is carried out by tens of thousands of ordinary Pacific Islanders right across the ocean... making nonsense of all national and economic boundaries, borders that have been defined only recently, crisscrossing an ocean that had been boundless for ages before Captain Cook's apotheosis." To be clear, these kinds of circulations are not just the content of the literary texts, but also the thing on which the study of those texts is dependent.

formidable and impressive offerings of the first two Maori women who published collections of poetry: Vernice Wineera Pere, whose *Mahanga* was published in 1978 in La'ie, Hawaii, by the Institute for Polynesian Studies at BYU-H in cooperation with the Polynesian Cultural Centre; and Evelyn Patuawa-Nathan, a Sydney-based teacher, who was the only Maori writer published through the Suva-based USP's Pacific writers series when her *Opening Doors* came out in 1979. Later, in 1987, Ihimaera's *The Whale Rider* was published in New Zealand, and still later we might think about texts like Apirana Taylor's short story "Pa Mai" and later poetry,³⁷⁶ Cathie Dunsford's *Cowrie* trilogy,³⁷⁷ and Sullivan's collection *Star Waka* and epic poem *Captain Cook in the Underworld*,³⁷⁸ as well as his forthcoming work that centres Tupaia.³⁷⁹ One striking commonality of all of these (Oceanic Maori) texts is the imagined *return* to Aotearoa as a homeland (if not a 'home'³⁸⁰), and this is particularly apparent in what we might call 'diasporic' writing. A dynamic is set up, in which to think about Aotearoa is to think about Oceania and vice versa. An Oceanic consciousness thus affirms and supports a specific Aotearoa consciousness; the texts do not suggest that the claims of Aotearoa are diluted in Oceanic waters.

³⁷⁶ Apirana Taylor's 1986 short story "Pa Mai" (Apirana Taylor, *He Rau Aroha = a Hundred Leaves of Love* (Auckland, N.Z. ; New York, N.Y., U.S.A.: Penguin Books, 1986).) uses the recognition of linguistic similarities between Maori and Samoan as an entry point for a conversation between two men drinking at a bar (one of whom is Maori, and one Samoan) about cultural parallels that come from genealogical relationship.

³⁷⁷ In Cathie Dunsford's 2000 *Manawa Toa = Heart Warrior* Cowrie, a Maori/ Hawaiian/ Pakeha woman completes her previous travels of the first two novels of the trilogy (to Hawaii and Berkeley respectively) by protesting French nuclear testing at Moruroa and French colonisation in Tahiti. Cathie Dunsford, *Manawa Toa = Heart Warrior* (North Melbourne: Spinifex 2000).

³⁷⁸ In his 2002 epic poem *Captain Cook in the Underworld*, Sullivan mobilises the figure of Cook and his travels in the Pacific with the effect of reuniting the souls of those he had killed, a reunion that suggests political (colonisation) but also cultural (the figure of Maui, for example) commonalities between Oceanians. Sullivan, *Captain Cook in the Underworld*.

³⁷⁹ The Tahitian interpreter and all-round fabulous guy who accompanied Cook around the Pacific. To Maori, Cook was actually on board Tupaia's ship, as opposed to the other way around, and when Cook came back to Aotearoa, the Maori on shore started asking for Tupaia. Salmond's *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog* includes an excellent recent account of Tupaia. Salmond, *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog : The Remarkable Story of Captain Cook's Encounters in the South Seas*. I discuss the figure of Tupaia, and a picture drawn by him, at length in the conclusion to this chapter.

³⁸⁰ I am indebted to long conversations with AnnaMarie Christiansen about ways to conceptualise and challenge the differences, and relationships, between 'home' and 'homeland' for Maori outside New Zealand.

Vernice Wineera Pere's³⁸¹ collection *Mahanga* is subtitled *Pacific Poems*, and in the preface she is described as “a sensitive, soul-searching Pacific poet” as well as “of Maori, English, and French ancestors.”³⁸² In her own introductory poem, entitled “introduction”, she writes:

The Maori has always been an artist and
poet, and I hope herein to convey in
English my respect for Maoritanga and
the Polynesian heritage which enriches my
twentieth-century life.

In this configuration, the Pacific and Polynesia ‘stand in’ for Maori (or perhaps vice versa); even though the slippage between ‘Pacific’ and ‘Polynesian’ is rightly contested now, what I am interested in is the inextricability of the specific term ‘Maori’ from the generic/ regional (what I call comparative) ‘Pacific.’ Wineera Pere’s work moves between an Aotearoa-consciousness and an Oceanic-consciousness, perhaps because of her position as a ‘diasporic’ Maori writer, located as she is in La’ie, Hawaii. Rather than ‘journeying out’ to consider the rest of Oceania, Wineera Pere’s poetry journeys ‘home’ from one part of Oceania (Hawaii) to another (Aotearoa). “Pacific Note” and “Untitled” are two poems that articulate Maori as Oceanic.

“Pacific Note”, which might be described as an ‘ode’ to the ocean, does not explicitly name any land area, and yet Aotearoa is impliedly included in its scope. The ocean occupies a central place in the poet’s worldview, and this is an important intervention in Maori writing because ocean-centricity (as opposed to land-centricity) is not so common in writing by Maori based in Aotearoa, perhaps because the sheer size of

³⁸¹ This collection was published with the name Vernice Wineera Pere, although the poet now uses the name Vernice Wineera. When referring to this specific collection, I will use the publication name, and when I refer to later poetry or make more general statements about the poet I will use ‘Wineera.’

³⁸² Vernice Wineera Pere, *Mahanga*, 1st ed. (Laie, Hawaii: Institute for Polynesian Studies, Brigham Young University-Hawaii Campus, 1978). The preface is written by Robert D Craig, Publications Editor, Institute for Polynesian Studies (this was later renamed ‘Pacific Studies’), BYU-H. For an exploration of the relationship between Polynesianness and the Mormon church, look for Hokulani Aikau’s forthcoming PhD dissertation out of American Studies, University of Minnesota.

the islands there has led to an affinity with geographies and metaphors of land more so than water. The poem starts with the creation/ production of an ‘us’ – an Oceanic ‘us’ – whose common denominator is the ocean:

It is a curious fact
that some of us have
lived all of our lives
at the ocean’s curled edge
-- have breathed with every breath
we ever took, salted air.

The shared ocean-centrism of the “us”/ “we” is underscored by comparing it with “others/ living out their days/ without ever comprehending this fact.” Significantly, the lack of interest that continental people have in Oceania as a region, or indeed the uniqueness of the Oceanic world, (“and should they/ ever confront it, would shrug,/ and say something like/ “so?””), is balanced by the poet’s own attempt to imagine a reaction to living on a continent:

I think if I lived
too far from the ocean
I would suffer from
claustrophobia.

This uneven degree of mutual interest between oceanic and continental people could perhaps suggest the ‘nothingness’ of Oceania to people outside of that region (an empty space, available for atomic testing, available for South Sea fantasies, producing no texts or theories worthy of studying in ‘world lit’ or ‘postcolonial lit’ etc classes) is reversed in the gaze of Oceania towards the continents.

The ocean itself is a place that both manifests and produces history (“For where would I hear/ the surf’s steady song/ rolling out of the depths/ of time?”), an idea that is anachronistically reminiscent of Hau’ofa but also of Walcott’s poem “The Sea is History”. The vastness and depth (both in terms of time and space) becomes – rather than an overwhelming daunting kind of massiveness – a constant, towards which the poet returns to refocus after petty human interactions:

And how would I stand
week-long wrangles

among my like-kind,
 without the evening
 joy-giving
 tranquillity
 of wind,
 sand,
 rock,
 sun,
 pacific,
 ocean?

The ocean is not solely a body of water, but is a framework for all of the elements; sand, rocks and the sun are included in the “ocean”, just as the islands are included in Hau’ofa’s Oceania. Importantly, the original and denotative meaning of the term “pacific” is mobilised here (“tranquillity”), but rather than echoing Magellan’s external observation/assumption of a ‘calm’ ocean, the ocean itself is the active agent and the ‘calm’ (the “pacific”-ness) is something that is sought – and attained – by the Oceanic “I.”³⁸³

Evelyn Patuawa-Nathan³⁸⁴ is the only Maori poet published by the South Pacific Creative Arts Society. Like Wineera’s *Mahanga*, her collection has an explanatory subtitle: *Opening Doors; a collection of poems by the Maori poet Evelyn Patuawa-Nathan*.³⁸⁵ In her introductory notes it is pointed out that she worked with Harry Dansey and Hone Tuwhare, trying to set up “a Maori Writers Society”, which was unsuccessful but is now manifest in the organization ‘Te Ha’. Patuawa-Nathan lived in Sydney at the time of publication, and much of the poetry in *Opening Doors* deals with Australia, and

³⁸³ A more explicitly Maori position is asserted in Wineera’s poem “Heritage,” in which the poet explores various ‘markers’ of being Maori, and – significantly, for this chapter – this exploration, that focuses the very individualised and personal carving of the face, takes her not to a specific ‘home’ geographic location of Aotearoa (as one might expect from a Maori writer based in Aotearoa), but instead to a “vast marae”, “the Pacific/ we call home”. My own copy of this poem is stained, torn and faded after literally years of being stuck to the fridge doors of my various homes. I look forward to working with this text in more depth in a separate project. Wineera has written more writing since the publication of *Mahanga*; she gave me copies of several poems set in Aotearoa, Hawaii and Israel for inclusion in an anthology project on which I am working. The planned anthology (which I am co-editing with AnnaMarie Christiansen) will collect writing by Maori outside Aotearoa. These later poems by Wineera will provide scope for much further critical discussion.

³⁸⁴ Also known as Evelyn Finney.

³⁸⁵ Patuawa-Nathan, *Opening Doors : A Collection of Poems*.

the Tasman Sea, as opposed to explicitly Oceanic connections,³⁸⁶ and yet her publication within the ‘South Pacific’ (in Fiji) seems a crucial context.

In “Omamari” Patuawa-Nathan describes a connection with the sea in which the ocean is figured as a place of mobility and circulation, which in turn echoes the attention Hau’ofa pays to “crisscrossing an Ocean that had been boundless,” and (thus) perhaps gestures towards an articulation of ‘normalised’ Maori diaspora.

At dusk, with the tide running out
and gulls leaving the cliffs
in noisy packs
to worry uncovered flotsam,
then, history stirs me.

A zone of messy encounter complicates the relation between ‘land’ and ‘sea’ (again, anachronistically reminiscent of Hau’ofa) and it is from this place that “history” emerges. The temporal in-between-ness of “dusk” parallels the spatial in-between-ness of the shore, and from this vantage point Patuawa-Nathan describes multiple currents and trajectories: “the tide running out,” “gulls leaving the cliffs,” “uncovered flotsam.” The in-between space is further described in the second stanza:

And again on windy mornings
at first light
while a heavy surf
pounds the shore line

“Again,” the spatial liminality of the “shore line” finds a parallel in the temporal cusp of “mornings/ at first light,”³⁸⁷ and the blurriness and complexity of this zone is described through the “windy mornings” and “heavy surf/ pound[ing] on the shore line.” The intersection between a general “stir[ring]” of “history” and a space of in-between-ness at the edge of the ocean does not lead Patuawa-Nathan to a generalised sense of connection or history, but reminds her of the specific history of her ancestral waka and the specificity of place:

³⁸⁶ Of course, it is debateable whether the European naming of the waters between New Zealand and Australia separates them off to the extent that they are not a part of ‘Oceania’.

³⁸⁷ It is perhaps worth noting the highly symbolic temporal space of dusk and dawn within Maori culture. This in-between-ness is a charged and productive moment in which the relations between things are reconfigured and reconfigurable. For example, many ‘ceremonies’ are held at dawn.

a sorrow
 is born
 as I remember that
 my ancestral canoe,
 Mamari,
 foundered
 on this beach.

That the “history” is a “memory” of an “ancestral canoe” challenges the scope of “history,” collapsing the usual temporal frame of “history” to include “ancestral” entities. Further, the “history” of the “ancestral canoe” is framed within a long history – up until the present – of “crisscrossing” and circulation. Just as the “gulls leav[e] the cliffs... to worry uncovered flotsam,” so too the ocean is explicitly figured from a vantage point of liminality on the part of the poet, and her “ancestral canoe” is described as having “foundered” on that beach. For Patuawa-Nathan, as for Wineera, the sea is at once a text and mnemonic device, recounting and prompting recognition of Oceanic connections.

One of the most widely distributed images of Maori in the last decade³⁸⁸ is the feature film *Whale Rider*, written and directed by Niki Caro, which was released to ‘global’ audiences in 2002/3.³⁸⁹ Based (very loosely, in parts) on Witi Ihimaera’s 1987 novella of a similar name (*The Whale Rider*³⁹⁰), the film was made with the help of the first batch of funding from the New Zealand government’s attempt to support the production of more local feature films.³⁹¹ Like all widely-viewed films about ‘non-mainstream’ communities, especially films that bear such a heavy burden of

³⁸⁸ I have chosen this block of time consciously; we are approaching the ten year mark since Tamahori’s film *Once Were Warriors* was released.

³⁸⁹ Tim Sanders, John Barnett, Frank Hëubner, Niki Caro, Keisha Castle-Hughes, Rawiri Paratene, Vicky Haughton, Cliff Curtis, Grant Roa, Mana Taumaunu, Rachel House, Leon Narbey, David Coulson, Lisa Gerrard, Witi Tame Ihimaera, South Pacific Pictures (Firm), Apollomedia (Firm), Pandora Film (Firm), New Zealand Film Production Fund., New Zealand Film Commission., NZ On Air, and Columbia TriStar Home Entertainment (Firm), *Whale Rider*, videorecording, Columbia TriStar Home Entertainment, Culver City, Calif., 2003..

³⁹⁰ Witi Ihimaera, *The Whale Rider* (Auckland: Reed, 1987).. Further references embedded in text.

³⁹¹ In fact, a large amount of its funding came from Germany, a fact that was not lost on many audience members who wondered why Porourangi ended up with a blonde German girlfriend instead of the Maori wife he marries in the novella. It also meant that the film was dubiously listed as a ‘German’ film in one film festival in Manhattan, which repatriated films to their funders rather than any other possible marker of filmic ‘home’.

representation,³⁹² much could be said about the ‘authenticity’ of the movie.³⁹³ It is interesting to note that the major differences between *The Whale Rider* and *Whale Rider* are the result of expunging (what I believe to be) the very things that make *The Whale Rider* a crucial and significant intervention into Maori writing in English, and this will be further considered in Chapter Seven: Conclusions. Within the context of this chapter, whereas the film’s Whangara might be described as an “island in a far-flung sea”, the novella locates Whangara and the events and characters of the narrative within an Oceanic context of a “sea of islands;”³⁹⁴ in this way, I contend that the novella is a compelling articulation of some ways in which Maori might fit with Oceania.

³⁹² The idea of a ‘heavy burden of representation’ is a phrase I have come up with while trying to find ways of talking about the film *Whale Rider* with various groups and individuals. I wanted to find a way of affirming the good stuff that the film does/ offers, so my critiques of its shortcomings do not throw out any babies with the bathwater. The fact remains that there are two widely distributed major feature films that depict Maori: *Once Were Warriors* and *Whale Rider*; perhaps *The Piano* would be another contender. If Maori had, as white Americans do (to take an extreme counter-example), multiple images of themselves in multiple medias, and conceived/ acted/ directed/ written by multiple people, single films would not have to hold up to the amount of scrutiny to which I am here holding *Whale Rider*. Of course it is ridiculous to hold a film ransom for all of its deeds and misdeeds, and yet if we do not stand up and speak clearly about the ways in which it represents Maori we would be doing the films even greater disservice. Given the prominence of the film text at this particular time, then, I want to be clear about the ethics and implications of my critiquing this film and novella, in this document and in this way. As a Maori scholar, people invariably ask me what I think about *Whale Rider*, and I feel a great deal of anxiety when discussing the film, because I do feel a responsibility to the Maori involved in the production of that film, and also the wider Maori community which has, at least in a very general sense, embraced the film and claimed it as a taonga, a treasure. To be blunt, I wonder what it means for me to bash a film that puts, for the very first time, a young Maori woman at the centre of the screen, when I have nieces and cousins and relatives and friends – and myself – for whom this is the only time they’ve seen themselves – myself - up there at the centre of a story at the local multiplex.

³⁹³ For example, the international, as well as domestic, press about *Whale Rider* announced it as a ‘Maori’ story - all of the speaking characters are Maori, the film’s narrative is based on a book by a Maori writer, and the mythological and cultural context of the narrative is purportedly ‘Maori’ too - but there are a number of compelling reasons to argue that this is not, in fact a ‘Maori film’. A film about Maori, yes, but not a Maori film, because its writer, director, producer and crew were non-Maori. Ihimaera responds in a *Listener* interview about these kinds of accusations that if the thing that makes a film Maori is a Maori director, then *Whale Rider* might not be a ‘Maori’ film, but *007 Die Another Day*, directed by Lee Tamahori, is. (Actually, it is compelling to take Ihimaera’s angle to another conclusion; debatably, Tamahori’s 2002 version of 007 might be called ‘global 007’; it’s directed by a brown man, Bond falls for a Black woman, and – gasp! – he drinks mojitos! Maybe this makes it a ‘Maori movie?’) However, I get bored with conversations that seemingly have as their sole object whether something is or isn’t ‘Maori’. I do not wish to imply that this is the case for other critiques of the film to which I have been privy; all of these have been well argued and have not simply dwelt on the ‘label’ of the film for its own sake, but rather to make wider and important claims about representation, funding and so on. I treat this transition from page to screen in more depth in Chapter Eight: Conclusions, but for now, I will edge away from producing a definitive ‘identification’ and delve into the novella again.

³⁹⁴ This reading of the novella as ‘Oceanic’ is not anachronistic, despite the fact that that it was published a full seven years before Hau’ofa’s essay. This reading relies on the Oceania that manifests itself in Hau’ofa’s essay, as opposed to an Oceania that was invented there; Hau’ofa’s concept of Oceania is powerful and significant to Pacific Studies not because it is clever or politically salient – although it is both of those things

Ihimaera marks the indigeneity of *The Whale Rider* by explicitly rooting its narrative within the context of the oral traditions and lands of two ‘real’ tribal groups and a ‘real’ town in the East Coast of Aotearoa, and yet he simultaneously pushes the regional scope of the story beyond Whangara to Australia, Papua New Guinea and nuclear testing sites in the French Pacific.³⁹⁵ As a result, very specific Maori-centric events and struggles are located within a wider comparative framework. Oceanic connections are reaffirmed when Maori recognise their links with other Pacific people both through shared cultural concepts and through familiarity with similar colonial histories. What I am calling a ‘Maori Oceanic consciousness’ is articulated through multiple dimensions of the novella. In terms of the broad political/ geographic context of the narrative, the issue of nuclear testing in the Pacific prompts an orientation of political energy towards an Oceanic (rather than metropolitan³⁹⁶) politics; and in the physical form of the book itself,³⁹⁷ six illustrations by John Hovell track the movement of the story by representing its various stages/ seasons within stylised versions of art forms from specific cultural groups around the Pacific.³⁹⁸ The navigational capacities of these newly framed ‘Oceanic’ Maori, at once

– but because it is a construct that is ancestrally and genealogically connected with the region. Oceanic people don’t respond so strongly to the essay because it is convenient, but because it is atavistically familiar.

³⁹⁵ The issue of atomic and nuclear testing is a major strand of pan-Pacific (or, perhaps, Oceanic) identity that structures *The Whale Rider*. Weapons testing by Euroamerican powers in Oceanic waters catalysed both a renewed orientation of many Maori towards their Pacificness, as well as an increasing realisation in New Zealand to its Pacific location. Indeed, New Zealand took (arguably) one of its major claims of its unique identification both with the region, and with the peoples of the region, when it sacrificed defence arrangements with Australia and the United States in order to protect its own nuclear-free ambitions and values. (The NZ position on the current war on Iraq is a pertinent example of this.) Much New Zealand popular music, as well as art and writing, celebrates a nuclear free Pacific, and protests about the presence of French nuclear testing (and the related issue of continued French colonialism) in the Pacific comprise the central narrative in Dunsford’s *Manawa Toa*. Dunsford’s novel describes the (logical, in my view) leap made by many Maori and Pacific Nations artists from a halt to French testing and support of pro-independence movements calling for the withdrawal of France from the Pacific altogether. Also, consider the anthologies Hall, *Below the Surface*, and Locke, Low and Winslade, eds., *White Feathers: an Anthology of New Zealand and Pacific Island Poetry on the Theme of Peace*.

³⁹⁶ In this case, ‘metropolitan’ means ‘New Zealand’/ coloniser politics for Maori. Parallel to this reorientation, the ‘New Zealand’ government and public also reoriented their gaze, from their own (imagined) metropolises Europe/ America, to Oceania.

³⁹⁷ At least the New Zealand version. In Chapter Eight: Conclusions I will discuss the changes between the New Zealand and United States editions of the printed text.

³⁹⁸ John Hovell’s illustrations mark the beginning of each of the parts of the novella: Prologue, Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter, Epilogue. These illustrations suggest a kind of oceanic sensibility by drawing on the arts of various cultural groups; Rapanui, Aotearoa, Samoa and Fiji.

adamantly indigenous and confidently mobile,³⁹⁹ are emphasised by the appearance of an authorial endnote immediately after the text in its first editions: “New York, 14 August 1986.”⁴⁰⁰

Kahu’s uncle Rawiri narrates the human narrative⁴⁰¹ in *The Whale Rider* and this generational distance from Kahu allows for a third person narration of events throughout the novella,⁴⁰² thus allowing some scope for having an ‘adult’ (he is sixteen when Kahu is born) perspective on her birth and infancy, and also an ability to explain family and tribal stories which would not be accessible to an narrator from outside the whanau (including, compellingly, a so-called ‘omniscient’ one).⁴⁰³ As well as this, it enables the introduction

³⁹⁹ I am not talking here solely about a Clifford/ Glissant/ etc-style roots/ routes differentiation, in which the native is ‘freed’ from colonialist ‘freezifying’ discourse to roam around again, but a culturally/ regionally specific kind of mobility foregrounded by much Pacific Studies, in which the voyaging and navigational prowess of Oceanic ancestors is reaffirmed and re-recognised in the intra-and inter-Oceanic mobility of their current-day jet-setting descendents.

⁴⁰⁰ This is removed from the 2003 US edition of the text. True, that text is foreworded by Ihimaera in which he explains the New York context of his decision to write the story, but the rhetorical impact of seeing the final (untranslated) ‘haumi e hui e taiki e’ with ‘New York 1986’ is undercut by this relocation of this information.

⁴⁰¹ The whales have their own commentary in separate italicised chapters.

⁴⁰² This third person narration from ‘non-omniscient’ Rawiri changes at the end of the book, when the narrator runs off with his friend to help with the whale and Kahu and her grandmother stay behind: “The tide was turning. Billy and I rushed to the motorbike and roared back. ‘There, there,’ Kahu said to Nanny Flowers. They’ll be all right.” (Ihimaera: 99) This first rupture becomes a crucial moment at which the narrative structure splits in order to allow multiple first person/ conscious narrators, and this is the first time Kahu is allowed any self-consciousness. It is compelling to read all of these narrative ruptures and re-balancing as a formal parallel to the process which Koro advocates in his speech before the men attempt to push the ancestral whale out to sea (the act that Kahu finally achieves): “For instance our ancestor Paikea... was given the power to talk to whales and to command them. In this way, man, tipua and Gods lived in close communion with one another... and if we have forgotten the communion then we have forgotten what it is to be Maori.” (Ihimaera: 95, 96) After Kahu and Rawiri co-narrate Kahu’s encounter with the whales (although Kahu’s is 3rd person!), the Epilogue further collapses the narration schedule and the divisions that had previously separated the ‘human’ chapters from the ‘whale’ chapters become intertwined. In this way, the formal aspects of the novella’s organization parallels the way in which the whales and humans achieve, through the act by which they were realigned, an ability to speak to one another once again.

⁴⁰³ Western style distant/ omniscient narrative techniques might be thought of as problematic in a Maori/ Oceanic cultural context, in which the idea that knowledge is not a universally accessible commodity, but rather is a taonga (treasure, valued thing) held by appropriate people with the appropriate connections to the aspect of knowledge in question. Knowledge that pertains specifically to the whanau at the centre of the narrative would only be held by relatives, and so an unrelated narrator would not conceivably have had access to these stories. In this way, the possibility (or perhaps appropriateness) of an omniscient narrator is called into question. Certainly developing the possibilities of communal/ whanau narration are one project with which Patricia Grace seems to be engaged, and this, I would suggest, is tied to similar reasons, as well of course as resisting the novelistic valorisation of the individual(ist).

Rawiri’s relationship with Kahu is made clear from the start; when Kahu is born, he and his ‘boys’ – his motorcycle gang – are assigned to be Kahu’s ‘guardian’ by ‘Nanny Flowers’, when Kahu’s grandfather refuses to acknowledge the child appropriately because she is a girl. They accompany Nanny as she receives and buries Kahu’s pito (afterbirth), filling in for the grandfather’s place in the proceedings:

“Rawiri, you and the boys will have to help me. Your grandfather won’t come. You’re the men who belong to this marae.”

of another context for the narrative's events, as Rawiri describes his travels away from Whangara during Kahu's childhood. While Kahu is still living with her mother's family, Rawiri leaves for a journey away from Whangara:

The next year Kahu turned four and I decided it was about time I went out to see the world. (50)

He travels first to Australia, and then to Papua New Guinea, before he returns to Whangara, and the importance of his return is emphasised during his departure at the airport:

“Give Kahu a kiss from me.”
 “Ae,” Nanny Flowers quivered. “Ma te Atua koe e manaaki. And don't forget to come back, Rawiri, or else -”
 She pulled a toy water-pistol from her kete.
 “Bang,” she said.
 I flew to Australia. (50)⁴⁰⁴

The night was falling quickly. We followed Nanny as she went back and forth across the marae. She took a quick look around to make sure no-one was watching us. The sea hissed and surged through her words.

“This is where the pito will be placed,” she said, “in sight of Kahutia Te Rangi, after whom Kahu has been named... “You boys are the only ones who know where Kahu's pito has been placed. You have become her guardians.” (19)

Rawiri recounts a number of moments in which his affection for Kahu is established; confirming that the pito is a spiritual anchor (“Kahu's pito is here. No matter where she may go, she will always return. She will never be lost to us” 26), some of these moments occur when she is living with her deceased mother's family:

We were Kahu's guardians; whenever I was near the place of her pito, I would feel a little tug at my motorbike jacket and a voice saying ‘Hey Uncle Rawiri, don't forget me.’ (28)

⁴⁰⁴ Rawiri spends a year in Australia, and this interlude (which is not explicitly marked ‘Oceanic’ in the same way that Aotearoa and Papua New Guinea are) will be addressed later in this section. For the sake of highlighting Ihimaera's innovative – what I am calling Oceanic – narrative, it is worth comparing this theme of *travel* in the novella with its parallel in the film. Perhaps more significant than the change of which family member leaves Aotearoa, for the Oceanic aspect of the novella in which I am interested, is the re-routing from the ‘local’ (Oceanic) region to a European ‘centre’. In Caro's version, the ‘voyaging’ family member is Pai/ Kahu's father, Porourangi, who moves to Europe and becomes a well-received sculptor – although his art pieces are apparently baffling or irrelevant to his rural and unsophisticated family – and then at the end of the film he brings home a German woman who is heavily pregnant with his child. (The German girlfriend is first introduced accidentally, during a slide show of his sculpture, embarrassing the Maori teacher who the family has invited to meet Porourangi, and so the young local woman ultimately plays a comic part in the play – her braces are a physical deformity to which both Koro and the camera draw humorous attention – in which she stands no chance besides the German woman when it comes to a worldly and powerful (and handsome) man like Porourangi. In the final scene, the German woman has materialised in Whangara and in a moment without dialogue, Rawiri's girlfriend is invited to feel the baby kick inside the puku of Porourangi's girlfriend, and shares a conspiratorial ‘womanly’ smile. What exactly this is supposed to mean I am scared to try to guess. Perhaps it is a vision of a kind of future, but if it is it smacks of assimilationist intermarriage propaganda favoured by colonial powers in both Australia and New Zealand at various times and places. Perhaps it is, rather, a symbol of the sophistication/ modernisation/ adaptation of Maori – or at least *some* Maori – within a global village, but if it is, the body of the woman is then used as an object for the purpose of demonstrating an attribute or possibility for a man, which is equally as distasteful.) Contrastingly, in the novella Porourangi does not leave Aotearoa at all; although he is living in the South Island when Kahu is born, he returns “to live in Whangara but to work in the city” (Ihimaera 28. This is one of the only mentions of the proximity of the ‘town’ (Gisborne) to Whangara in the novella), and his mobility takes the form of travel with Koro around the country to attend land hearings. Porourangi remarries a Maori woman, Ana, who suggests that Kahu returns from her mother's whanau to live in Whangara, and who bears their

After a year in Sydney, Rawiri receives a phone call from Porourangi that compels him to think about returning to Whangara, but the narrative by which Maori become Oceanic is not yet complete; rather than simply journeying to Sydney to restitch non-Aotearoan ‘diasporic’ Maori into the wider narrative of the novel, whakapapa connections and historical relationships need to be established between Maori and non-Maori Oceanic people. By then, Rawiri is living with his “buddy”⁴⁰⁵ Jeff, who is not positioned as a white Australian until they move to PNG together. In fact, Rawiri describes his friend’s background in a parallel way to his own, which makes possible the assumption that Jeff is from an Oceanic community too:

Jeff was a friendly, out-front guy, quick to laugh, quick to believe and quick to trust. He told me of his family in Mount Hagen, Papua New Guinea, and I told him about mine in Whangara. (52)

However, Rawiri is about to realise the possibility of difference between residence in an Oceanic place on the basis of continued colonial exploitation (“his family in Mount Hagen”), and identification with such a place (“mine in Whangara”). Jeff’s background is made explicit for the first time when he is summoned home by his parents to help out, and the racist colonialist context that will ultimately lead to the impossibility both of communication and relationship between Rawiri and Jeff is introduced:

His mother called from Papua New Guinea to ask him to come home. “Your father’s too proud to ring himself,” she said, “but he’s getting on, Jeff, and he needs you to help him run the coffee plantation. He’s

child – another daughter - within the time span of the novel, to whom Kahu refers near the end of the text as her “sister”. Interestingly (for a conspiracy-theorist like myself), the explicit references to Ana, and the child she has with Porourangi, are subtly downplayed in the US edition of the text. For example, although in both versions as Kahu sits on the whale “she wept because she loved her baby sister and her father and Ana”, shortly afterwards in the NZ edition “she said goodbye to her Paka, her Nanny, her father and mother, her Uncle Rawiri” (107-8), whereas in the US edition she “said goodbye to her Paka, her Nanny, her father, her uncle Rawiri” (132).

⁴⁰⁵ A Queer reading of this text is both tempting and compelling, in part because almost a decade after the publication of the novella, Ihimaera publicly came out with a controversial 1998 novel *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*. Since that first novel by a Maori male that centres a gay character (lesbian Maori writer Te Awekotuku’s collection of short stories *Tahuri* had been in print since 1989) Ihimaera has published *The Uncle’s Story* in 2002, a novel that, rather than focussing on a gay Pakeha character, explores homosexuality within a Maori family context (albeit that the first homosexual relationship is framed as having been ‘introduced’ to the family via a white American man). As well as this (somewhat although not necessarily anachronistic) rereading of the text, the text itself suggests an intimacy between Jeff and Rawiri. I will return to this strand later. Ihimaera, *Nights in the Gardens of Spain*. Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, *Tahuri : Short Stories*, North American ed. (Auckland: New Women's Press, 1989). Ihimaera, *The Uncle's Story*.

had a run of rotten luck with the workers this year, and you know what the natives are like, always drinking.” (54)

Jeff’s mother’s racism relies on collapsing all indigenous/ colonised people into a singular ‘type’ (“natives”⁴⁰⁶), and this formulation creates a clear link between the situation in PNG and colonial racism globally, including the specific case of Aotearoa, in which Rawiri, of course, is a “native”. Additionally, the relation between the situation in PNG and a wider colonial structure is underscored by the type of crop Jeff’s family produces, coffee, which is consumed by – and also monetarily profits - the bourgeoisie both in PNG and its (unofficial, since ‘independence’ in 1975) colonising power of Australia,⁴⁰⁷ but also throughout the global system of capitalist imperialism that relies on exploitation of “native” land and labour and, specifically here, the production of introduced cash crops (“coffee”) for its continued survival. As Jeff and Rawiri consider Jeff’s imminent departure, a discussion about his loyalty to his family prefigures the impossibility of his escape from other kinds of loyalties, allegiances and privileges once the two men are located within an explicitly colonial context:

“But it looks like all my chickens are coming home to roost,” Jeff said ruefully.

“Family is family,” I said. (54)

⁴⁰⁶ As I will mention again in Chapter Four: Maori as Indigenous, although in the US and some Other contexts, ‘native’ is a word that is used interchangeably with ‘indigenous’, in the Antipodes ‘Native’ is an almost exclusively derogatory term, as I have already mentioned in relation to the phrase “Native Studies.”

⁴⁰⁷ The idea that Australia is a coloniser, even today, is complicated and compelling. Since Australia has recently assumed a role (and a very bossy role) within the South Pacific Forum, a body that originally brought together the heads of ‘independent’ Pacific Nations, questions about the colonial role of Australia in the Pacific, and in particular in PNG, have been reinvigorated. Although Australia is not usually included in ‘Oceania’ because of the cultural and linguistic distinctiveness of the indigenous communities there from Melanesian/ Micronesian/ Polynesian communities, whereas Maori are clearly Polynesian with links to Other Oceanic communities, it is interesting that the orientations of these two nations are becoming more and more distinct. Arguably, NZ sees itself more and more as a Pacific Nation (this is exaggerated and enhanced and perhaps catalysed, of course, by the visibility of Oceanic communities within NZ) whereas Australia is apparently trying to figure out if it is going to be best friend to the US or a part of the South East Asian region. In terms of Australia’s identity in the Pacific, President Bush’s description of Australian PM John Howard as ‘the Sheriff of the Pacific’ underlines the role that Australia is – at least perceived to – still play within the region. On the other hand, NZ has alienated both Australian and US governments by refusing to renege on its anti-nuclear stance (a move that ultimately collapsed the ANZUS Defence Treaty in the 1980s) and more recent refusals to support such things as the US-led ‘war’ on apparent ‘terrorism’. Notably, this marked divergence between how Australia and New Zealand are seen – and see themselves - in the region seems to add emphasis to the argument I will make in chapter six about New Zealand’s increasingly heightened sense of itself as being different from the ‘rest’ of the white settler colonial nations of Australia, Canada and the US.

Had Rawiri then gone straight to PNG and ‘discovered’ his shared native identity with the indigenous people there, the narrative might have proposed a romantic Oceanic-ness. However, “family is family” for Rawiri too. When he announces his intention to move to PNG, Nanny Flowers humorously but problematically calls up a set of racist stereotypes that rival Jeff’s mother’s:

“E hika,” she said. “You’ll get eaten up by all them cannibals. What’s at Papua New Guinea” – I mouthed the words along with her – “that you can’t get in Whangara?” (54)

Later, Kahu repeats this ‘joke’:

“Did you like Papua New Guinea? Nanny Flowers thought you’d end up in a pot over a fire. She’s a hardcase, isn’t she!” (68)

For Maori to think of themselves as Oceanic, then, they/ we first need to rethink years of racism directed towards indigenous people from around the Pacific that the colonial system has told them/ us (by using a ‘you’re not like them’ differentiation, or by creating a sense of competition between Pacific Islands migrants and the Maori working class in New Zealand’s cities) in order to support a mythology of harmonious relations between Maori and Pakeha.⁴⁰⁸ Upon his arrival in PNG, the explicit racism of Jeff’s family and a simultaneous identification with the indigenous people there prompts Rawiri to reorient his own allegiances and identifications, away from his friendship with a white (coloniser) Australian and towards a renewed sense of his own location within Oceania and also within the enduring colonial system. This ‘return’ to an ‘Oceanic’ consciousness – as well, perhaps, to an explicitly anticolonial orientation - through identification with the PNG “natives” eventually catalyses his physical return home to Whangara.

Rawiri’s first encounter with Jeff’s family is at the airport, when he meets Jeff’s mother and immediately recognises her attitude towards him as racism that, for white Australians in PNG (as represented by Jeff’s family and their ‘offscreen’ community), is simply a matter of skin colour:

⁴⁰⁸ I will return to this moment in the text briefly as a part of my exploration of the dynamic of connection/nonconnection between Maori and Other Indigenous groups in the section entitled “Maori Cowboys or Maori Indians?” in Chapter Four: Maori as Indigenous.

Although Jeff had told her I was a Maori it was obvious I was still too dark. As soon as I stepped off the plane I could almost hear her wondering, ‘Oh, my goodness, how am I going to explain this to the women at the Bridge Club?’ (56)

Rawiri’s comment about relative complexion belies the NZ-based rhetoric of relative ‘savagery’ that produces both his own initial ambivalence towards the indigenous people in PNG (“*although* Jeff had told her I was a Maori”⁴⁰⁹), and Nanny’s racial Othering (“them cannibals”). Despite Rawiri’s apparent ‘equality’ with his friend in Australia,⁴¹⁰ in the course of two years in PNG Jeff’s family redraws the boundaries of their relationship, and in this their racism is aided by (and responsive to; “how am I going to explain this”) the wider colonial context in PNG. The ‘us’ and ‘them’ between Maori and non-Maori Oceanic people is trumped (or perhaps eclipsed) in PNG by explicit structures of white settler racism and its exclusive institutions such as “the Bridge Club”. In this new colonial context, then, Rawiri is forced to reimagine his links both to the white settlers and also the other Oceanic communities.

Ihimaera does not present a grotesquely simplified version of Aussie racism, though, and in particular Jeff’s father is portrayed as a complex figure:

Tom, Jeff’s father, was another story, and I liked him from the start. He was a self-made man whose confidence had not been shattered by his long and debilitating illness. But it was clear he needed his son to help him. He was standing on the verandah of the homestead, resting his weight on two callipers. (56)⁴¹¹

Although Rawiri describes him with admiration (“I liked him from the start”), this is complicated, of course, by the context in which Tom lives and prospers. After all, Tom is actually the opposite of “self-made;” his ‘success’ is directly attributable to the hierarchical system of exploitative colonialism already in place in PNG, and to which his

⁴⁰⁹ emphasis added.

⁴¹⁰ This use of Australia as an equalising/ colonially neutral space is an interesting one; after all, Australia is well known for its racism against the indigenous people there as well as against migrant and refugee communities. However, perhaps this is understandable because for Rawiri, Sydney is so explicitly coded ‘Maori’, because of the number of relatives he has there. Alternatively/ as well as this, perhaps Jeff was in a position to be ‘equal’ with Rawiri where he implicitly occupied a position of colonial power, whereas in the plantation context of PNG (to paraphrase Marx) the colonial power is compelled (able? free?) to run naked.

⁴¹¹ The duty owed a father by his son is paralleled interestingly in the film in which Porourangi struggles against his father’s demands for him to stay home. (Porourangi in the novella is already committed to staying at home, and does so.)

status as a white Australian man allows him privileged access. It is interesting to note that in this introductory description Tom is inextricable from the constructed material culture of colonialism that he represents and from which he benefits. He “stands on the verandah” but can only do this by relying on “two callipers,” literal crutches that metaphorically undermine his “self-made[-ness].” Reading the father’s disability in this way opens up possibilities for rethinking his ‘illness.’⁴¹² (Interestingly, Tom’s physical health was not cited by Jeff’s mother as the reason for his “rotten luck” at the plantation; she preferred, instead, to blame deficiencies on the part of the “natives”.) Rawiri explains that “it wasn’t until weeks later that I discovered the [Parkinson’s] disease had not only struck at his limbs but also had rendered him partially blind,” (56) a configuration of colonial decay in which the gradual inability to function is paralleled by a (less obvious) simultaneous degeneration of vision. This “blind[ness]” could be about a heightened blindness to the inequalities of the colonial system (literally here, “the coffee plantation”), although Rawiri’s admission that the coloniser is an ambiguous figure (“Tom... was another story”), and the emphasis on visual differentiation as the basis for Jeff’s mother’s racism (“I was too dark”) makes possible a more generous reading that Tom is less and less able to distinguish between the “natives” and his own kind (this shift would be, of course, a form of degeneration from the point of view of the colonising community). Of course, this individual perspective is undermined – or at least violently reframed - by the reification of colonial structures at the crucial moment of a car accident in which the difference between the colonisers and those who are “too dark” is placed in sharp contrast.

⁴¹² Could this perhaps be a physical ailment along the lines of what Seri Luangphinit’s essay argues about colonial madness? Seri Luangphinit, “Tropical Fevers: ‘Madness’ and Colonialism in Pacific Literature,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 16.1 (2004): 59 – 85.

Rawiri first articulates an identification with PNG through his work on the land. As he describes the work of “putting the plantation back on its feet” (56) he first identifies himself with Jeff’s family and their project of domesticating (“tam[ing]”) the landscape:

Putting the plantation back on its feet was a challenge which the countryside really threw at *us*; I have never known a country which has fought back as hard as Papua New Guinea. I doubt if it can ever be tamed of its temperatures, soaring into sweat zones, or its terrain, so much a crucible of crusted plateaus and valleys, and its tribalism. But *we* tried, and I think *we* won some respite from the land, even is only for a short time. (56-7)

Including indigenous people (“its tribalism”) as a part of the “countryside” is a particularly colonial configuration, and the inclusive plural pronouns (*us*, *we*) locate Rawiri within that project. However, his next comment draws on a particularly Maori view of their effect on the “countryside,” which is the first moment of his own differentiation from the colonial project:

Man might carve his moko on the earth but, once he ceases to be vigilant, Nature will take back what man has once achieved to please his vanity. (57)

Whilst he is committed to the project of “tam[ing]” (“I’ve always been pretty good at hard work, so it was simply a matter of spitting on my hands and getting down to business” 56), Rawiri recognises a broader context of “vanity” which will ultimately be undermined by “Nature.” Further, because the moko is a form of tattooing that reflects genealogies and histories, for the colonisers the labour and physical structures of the plantation are an expression of their identity and history. As well as meaning tattoo, ‘Moko’ is an (affectionate) shortened form of mokopuna⁴¹³ and so perhaps the colonisers also see their genealogical and – impliedly – historical future in the “tame[d]” plantation space. Either way, the carving of this genealogy and history will be ultimately resisted by the landscape when “Nature... take[s] back what man had once achieved.”

Finally Rawiri recognises the relationship between the colonial situation in PNG and Aotearoa. He starts by describing his observations of PNG as an outsider:

⁴¹³ grandchildren/ descendents

I used to marvel at the nationalism sweeping Papua New Guinea and the attempts by the Government to transplant national identity and customs onto the colonial face of the land.

This description of marking “the colonial face of the land” reverberates with the “moko” described in the plantation context, linking the colonial plantation and “the Government,” but also implying the ultimate futility of their efforts (“Nature will take back what man had once achieved”). Further resonance between the colonial plantations and the Government is found in the metaphor of “transplanting,” which – despite Rawiri’s alleged “marvel[ling]” at the process – suggests not only that the “national identity and customs” is introduced from outside but also that the purposes served by their “transplant[ation]” will be foreign too. As Rawiri outlines the barriers to this “transplant[ation]” he uses Maori terminology to describe local configurations, and thereby effects a slippage between PNG and Aotearoa:

first, Papua New Guinea was fractionalised into hundreds of *iwi* groups and their *reos* spoken in a thousand different tongues; second, there were so many outside influences on Papua New Guinea’s inheritance, including their neighbours across the border in Irian Jaya; and third, the new technology demanded that the people had to live ‘one thousand years in one lifetime,’ from loincloth to the three-piece suit and computer knowledge in a simple step. (57)⁴¹⁴

While the first “barrier” to the “transplanting” is articulated with Maori words (“iwi”, “reo”), then, Rawiri supports the popular perception of “one thousand years in one lifetime” which is ultimately (especially with the use of ‘Orientalist’ words like “loincloth”) derived from the same set of racist assumptions as his Nanny’s “cannibals.”⁴¹⁵ Later in the chapter, however, Porourangi writes to Rawiri and describes the contemporary changes to the Maori communities in Aotearoa, and his questions about

⁴¹⁴ The phrase that “their reo was spoken in a thousand different tongues” suggests that a unitary “reo” is divided into different “tongues,” which in turn naturalises the unitariness of the “national identity” in question. I was first made aware of the implications of the metaphor of “fracture” which is frequently used to speak about multilingual nationstates in Melanesia when Geoff White asked a speaker at UH about his use of the metaphor.

⁴¹⁵ The idea of so many years ‘in one lifetime’ is alluded to in the title of the PNG writer Albert Maori Kiki’s 1968 autobiography *Ten Thousand Years in a Lifetime*. Albert Maori Kiki, Kiki, Ten Thousand Years in a Lifetime; a New Guinea Autobiography (Melbourne, Canberra [etc.]: Cheshire, 1968)..

“technology” parallel the claims of rapid “step[s]” taken by the indigenous peoples in PNG:

[Porourangi] had gone with Koro Apirana to Raukawa country and had been very impressed with the way in which Raukawa was organising its youth resources to be in a position to help the people in the century beginning with the year 2000. ‘Will *we* be ready?’ he asked. ‘Will we have prepared the people to cope with the new challenges and the new technology? And will they still be Maori?’ (59)

After including himself in the colonising “we” who attempt to “tame” the “countryside”, then recognising the “iwi” and “reo” of the indigenous peoples, Rawiri goes on to explicitly consider the relationship between the PNG and Aotearoa, recognising some of the key differences but also suggesting the articulations of the two ‘communities:’

In many respects the parallels with the Maori in New Zealand were very close, except that we didn’t have to advance as many years in one lifetime. However, our journey was possibly more difficult because it had been undertaken within Pakeha terms of acceptability. We were a minority and much of our progress was dependent on Pakeha goodwill. And there was no doubt that in New Zealand, just as in Papua New Guinea, our nationalism was also galvanising the people to become one Maori nation. (57)

The recognition of similarities with the situation in PNG (“the parallels... were very close” “in New Zealand, just as in Papua New Guinea”) bring Rawiri to a new awareness of the situation in Aotearoa. As well as this, however, the disconnections also throw specific light onto his home situation by their contrast (“except that we didn’t have to” “However, our journey was possibly more difficult”). Here Rawiri is ready to make his final move, in which he articulates the possibilities of the Oceanic frame for comparative inquiry:

So it was that in Australia and Papua New Guinea that I grew into an understanding of myself as a Maori and, I guess, was being prepared for my date with destiny. (57)

In particular, it is significant that Rawiri does not lose his sense of being Maori when he begins to identify with PNG (and Australia, as I will discuss below), but these collaborative relationships enhance his “understanding of [him]self as a Maori.”

Of course, Rawiri's enhanced identification with the indigenous people in PNG does not bode well for his relationship with Jeff or his family. After a year and a half, Jeff and Rawiri have a conversation about Rawiri's position there:

'You're getting homesick, aren't you Rawiri?' he said...
 'A little,' I replied. Many things were coming to a head for me on the plantation, and I wanted to avoid a collision. Jeff and I were getting along okay but his parents were pushing him ever so gently in the right direction, to consort with his own kind in the clubs and all the parties of the aggressively expatriate. On my part, this had thrown me more into the company of the 'natives,' like Bernard, who had more degrees than Clara had chins, and Joshua, who both worked on the farm. I doing so I had broken a cardinal rule and my punishment was ostracism. (59)

Rawiri's connection with "the 'natives'" in PNG was not general but specific; he is the only one who names any of the indigenous people in PNG, and who has a sense of their histories. In particular, the juxtaposition between Bernard's multiple degrees and Clara's multiple chins points out the ironic racism inherent to claims that the "natives" are lazy and Europeans are industrious ("you know what the natives are like, always drinking"). Further, his friendship with Jeff is complicated by the actions of Jeff's family ("family is family" indeed), and as Rawiri starts to change the pronouns by which he describes himself (he is no longer a part of the "we" who is trying to "tame" the "countryside"), Jeff is further aligned "with *his own kind* in the clubs and all the parties of the aggressively expatriate." In the eyes of Jeff's family, the risk of contamination that is feared at the initial encounter with Jeff's mother ("how am I going to explain this to the women at the Bridge club?") has become a reality ("this had thrown me more into the company of the 'natives'"). This risk to the colonial structure in PNG posed by Rawiri's in-between-ness ("Although... I was a Maori... I was still too dark") has disrupted that social structure: his exclusion from the "expatriate" scene has "thrown [him] more into the company of the 'natives'" which "[breaks] a cardinal rule" of the colonial structure, which has the consequence of ostracism. Interestingly, for this 'Oceanic' reading of the novella, at the

end of this episode with Jeff, it is not Jeff's acceptance of his departure ("if you have to go, I'll understand") that speaks most deeply to Rawiri, but the sea:

I had picked up a shining silver shell from the reef. I had taken it back to the beach and was listening to the sea whispering to me from the shells' silver whorls... I placed the shell back to my ear. *Hoki mai, hoki mai ki te wa kainga*, the sea whispered. (59)⁴¹⁶

The imminent "collision," now that he had "broken a cardinal rule" of the colonial system in PNG, comes about not long after this episode, as one of three events which convince Rawiri that he "should be homeward bound." (60) Rawiri attends a wedding reception for a "young expatriate couple" and although Clara assumed he wouldn't attend, "Jeff said I was 'one of the family' and insisted that [he] accompany them." (60) At the reception, Rawiri overhears Clara (who "made it perfectly obvious that she was embarrassed by my presence") say to a friend:

'He's a friend of Jeff's. You know our Jeff, always bringing home dogs and strays. But at least he's not a native.'
Her laugh glittered like knives. (60)

This comment secures Rawiri in his in-between place, not one of them ("dogs and strays") but also not a "native," a position from which he is forced to make a choice on the way home that evening. The "collision" he has been fearing ends up being a literal one:

We... were driving home to the plantation. Jeff was at the wheel. We were all of us in a merry mood. The road was silver with moonlight. Suddenly, in front of us, I saw a man walking along the verge. I thought Jeff had seen him too and would move over to the middle of the road to pass him. But Jeff kept the station wagon pointed straight ahead. (60)

At this point, Rawiri is one of the occupants of the vehicle, shuttered from the outside environment and protected by the encasement of the car, and yet he also has a special view of the surroundings. Perhaps an allegorical reading is possible here, in which Jeff's family keeps "pointed straight ahead" towards the "plantation" despite the presence of the literal indigenous body – "a man" – "walking along the verge." Rawiri's view of the "countryside" is no longer from the position of the "we" it had been earlier; he realises his

⁴¹⁶ The sea is telling Rawiri to return to his homeplace.

view is different to Jeff's: "I thought Jeff had seen him too... But Jeff kept the station wagon pointed straight ahead."

The "collision" has disastrous circumstances for the "man walking along the verge:"

The man turned. His arms came up, as if he was trying to defend himself. The front bumper crunched into his thighs and legs and he was catapulted into the windscreen which smashed into a thousand fragments. Jeff braked. The glass was suddenly splashed with blood. I saw a body being thrown ten metres to smash on the road. In the headlights and steam, the body moved. (60)

To follow our allegorical reading, after the body is struck by the car it "catapult[s]" towards the windscreen, shattering and staining the viewpoint by which the occupants have seen the "countryside." It seems significant that the glass is not only "splashed with blood" but also breaks "into a thousand pieces," one perhaps for each year of 'progress' brought about by colonialism ("the people had to live 'one thousand years in one lifetime'"). Of course, one would not want to follow the "collision" too closely as an allegory, given that this episode would suggest the impossibility of 'modernity' – indeed a literal 'fatal impact' – for the "iwi" of PNG.

Finally, Rawiri is forced to reckon with the impossibility of continually occupying a middle space within the sharply binarised hierarchy of PNG's colonial context: he must stay in the blood-splattered car, or he must get out:

Clara screamed. Tom said, 'Oh my God.'

I went to get out. Clara screamed again, 'Oh no. No. His tribe could be on us in any second. Payback, it could be payback for us. It's only a native.'

I pushed her away. Tom yelled, 'For God's sake, Rawiri, try to understand. You've heard the stories –'

I couldn't comprehend their fear. I looked at Jeff but he was just sitting there, stunned, staring at that broken body moving fitfully in the headlights. Then, suddenly Jeff began to whimper. He started the motor.

'Let me out,' I hissed. 'Let me out. That's no native out there. That's Bernard A cous is a co us. (60-1)

Rawiri recognises the rhetoric justifying the maintenance of the position inside the car ("Payback," "you've heard the stories"), and he also realises that Jeff's paralysis ("he was

just sitting there, stunned”) and weakness (“suddenly Jeff began to whimper”), which perhaps parallels Jeff’s refusal to engage with the politics of the plantation and Rawiri’s configuration within them, was completely different to his own perspective: “I couldn’t understand their fear.” When Jeff “start[s] the motor” of the car, in effect agreeing to the racist, exploitative and literally violent terms – as well as the “fear” - by which he will go on to inherit the legacy of the plantation, Rawiri takes his departure:

The station wagon careered past me. I will never forget Jeff’s white face, so pallid, so fearful. (61)

The colonial system in PNG operates to protect the hierarchies in place, and at the inquest it is decided that:

It was an accident, of course. A native walking carelessly on the side of the road. A cloud covering the moon for a moment. The native shouldn’t have been there anyway. (61)

The decision relies on a deliberate distortion of facts in which it is the “native” (not a named “native” of course; “native[s]” are infinitely substitutable) who is “careless,” and the moon is covered by a cloud “for a moment” despite the clear descriptions of the light in the area, both from the moon and the car, and Rawiri’s own clear view of Bernard before the “collision:” “The road was silver with moonlight,” “In the headlights and steam,” “that broken body moving fitfully in the headlights.” Later, Rawiri confirms to Jeff that that moment signalled Jeff’s inextricability from the colonial structure (““I don’t blame you... You can’t help being who you are”” 61) and he admits to himself his “sadness that a friend I thought I had would so automatically react to the assumptions of his culture.” (61)

Significantly, for the sake of the claims I am making in this chapter, Rawiri’s reason for getting out of the car is twofold:

‘Let me out,’ I hissed. ‘Let me *out*. That’s no native out there. That’s *Bernard* A *cous* is a *cous*. (61)

First, he recognises on both a personal and abstract level that he does not see a “native” but instead sees his friend “*Bernard*” this stages a refusal to view the episode from the

perspective of colonial ideology. The irony that the specific man they have struck is his friend who has been highly educated in the Western system is not lost on Rawiri, who ponders later:

All I could think of was the waste of a young man who had come one thousand years to his death on a moonlit road, the manner in which the earth must be mourning for one of its hopes and its sons in the new world[.] (61)

Further, however, Rawiri asserts not just a *familiar* but a *familial* connection: “a cous was a cous,” exactly the same words he used in Sydney to explain his affectionate relationship with relatives in King’s Cross. This familial claim clearly articulates an Aotearoa-inclusive Oceania, privileging and mobilising whakapapa relationships in order to recognise and subvert the context of colonialism. Having arrived in PNG using the language of “tribalism,” and simply seeing work on the plantation as “hard work” and “getting down to business,” Rawiri becomes aware of the racist and violent hierarchies that underpin the situation there. He connects with the “iwi” in PNG in a completely opposite way to that which sees them as “natives” – “a cous was a cous” – and this leads him to a realisation that despite his own claim of difference upon arrival (“*although* Jeff had told her I was a Maori”) and despite the in-between status he had precariously occupied during his time there (“at least he’s not a native”), his “[being] a Maori” makes him a “cous:”

And would I be next? There was nothing further to keep me here. (61)

He finally realises that his connection with the “iwi” in PNG makes him also interchangeable with them, and having made this connection with Oceania, he heads home.

None of the writers of *Mahanga*, *Opening Doors* or *The Whale Rider* - foundational texts for imagining an Aotearoa-inclusive Oceania - were resident in New Zealand at the time of writing.⁴¹⁷ *The Whale Rider*, while published in New Zealand, was

⁴¹⁷ Since writing this section I have realised that Tuwhare’s poem “Village in Savaii: Western Samoa,” which was collected in his 1972 collection *Sapwood and Milk*, also belongs in this account of early literary articulations of an Aotearoa-inclusive Oceania. I do not believe this interrupts the general claims in the

written while Ihimaera lived in New York as a diplomat. Immediately under the closing words “Hui e, haumi e, taiki e” of the New Zealand edition of *The Whale Rider*, one finds the authorial endnote: “New York 1987.” This endnote is removed from the US edition, and an entire “Author’s note” has been added that explains the occasion of the story’s writing in more detail. Indeed, in the introductory notes to their 1988 *The Penguin Book of Twentieth Century New Zealand Short Stories*, Davis and Russell explore the parameters of what counts as ‘New Zealand’ writing, and Ihimaera is cited as a writer whose work occupies an important border zone because, although his commitment and literary focus was, and is, very firmly ‘New Zealand’, he was living in the US at the time of the anthology’s publication. The editors explicitly wondered whether/ how Ihimaera’s text could count as ‘New Zealand’ writing.⁴¹⁸ As I have already mentioned, Vernice Wineera Pere was, and is, based in Hawaii, and Evelyn Patuawa-Nathan wrote from Australia. This remarkable coincidence seems too remarkable to be a coincidence. Instead, it raises new questions about Maori who reside outside Aotearoa. Reading Maori texts as Oceanic raises the question of diaspora.⁴¹⁹

section to follow, in which I focus on the very prominent and unexpected role that diasporic Maori writing has played in the development of this Oceanic perspective, and I look forward to considering the poem in later explorations of this theme. Certainly Tuwhare’s engagement with politics and contexts beyond Aotearoa has marked a great deal of his poetry, from the nuclear-holocaust focussed title poem of his first collection *No Ordinary Sun* to the poems about Martin Luther King Jr, the Antarctic and Vietnam also in *Sapwood and Milk*, and so on. Tuwhare, *No Ordinary Sun*, Hone Tuwhare, *Sap-Wood & Milk; Poems*, 2d ed. (Dunedin, N.Z.: Caveman Press, 1973)..

⁴¹⁸ Susan Davis and Russell Haley, eds., *The Penguin Book of Contemporary New Zealand Short Stories* (Auckland: Penguin, 1989).

⁴¹⁹ This section, and the direction towards which I’ve tried to shift it, is particularly interested in the investments of writers, critics and publishers in the slippage between Maori, Aotearoa, and New Zealand. This, it seems, to me, might be key to the position of ‘the diaspora’. I know this is a massive issue, and not one I can even try to get a handle on in this short time and with these few pages. However, I have been wondering if a key point is that the equation ‘Maori = Aotearoa = New Zealand’, which actually relies on *two* slippages. The first, between Maori and Aotearoa, is crucial because of the identification of Maori with Aotearoa (and each other) on the basis of indigeneity. If ‘Maori’ cannot slip into ‘Aotearoa’, the fundamental basis of tangatawhenuatanga is undermined. The second, Aotearoa = New Zealand, is also crucial, because without the ability to articulate the maintenance and assertion of an indigenous map, the implications and processes of, and resistances to, colonialism are removed (in one of the first published essays about Maori writing in English, “The Maori in Literature”, Ihimaera himself talks about the ‘two maps’ that coexist within the nation-state boundaries of New Zealand). ‘New Zealand’ will never be able to secure itself against ‘slipping’ into the spectre of Aotearoa (in my dissertation I’ve called this ‘Always Already Aotearoa’), just as Aotearoa is unable to refuse to recognize the ways in which it is inflected and shaped by ‘New Zealand’. It seems to me that the problem, in terms of diaspora and location, and in terms of whose stories get to count as

In *The Whale Rider*, Rawiri's first stop in his trip overseas is Sydney, Australia, where he meets up with several cousins. In this first leg of the journey the novella acknowledges and affirms the sizeable Maori community in Australia. Rawiri – like, perhaps, some readers of the novella – is at first genuinely surprised to find so many Maori away from Aotearoa:

I hadn't realised that there were so many other Maoris [sic] over there
(I thought I'd be the first) (51)

and this admission highlights the gap in (both Maori and non-Maori) constructs of the Maori community, in which the narratives of non-Aotearoa-dwelling Maori are simply not acknowledged.⁴²⁰

Wherever you went, the pubs, the shows, the clubs, the restaurants, the movies, the theatres, you could always count on bumping into a cousin. In some hotels, above the noise and buzz of the patrons, you were bound to hear somebody shouting to somebody else, 'Kia Ora, cous!'
(51)

Rawiri's perspective of Sydney, which is admittedly selective ("at *some* hotels"⁴²¹), at once speaks to the size of the Maori community there and 'depopulates' the city of any 'Australian' – including indigenous Australian – communities. Ultimately, for Rawiri, Sydney is peopled by relatives.

'Maori' stories, arises when the shared term 'Aotearoa' is dropped out and the shortcut equation 'Maori = New Zealand' results.

My proposed configuration of how we might read these texts as Oceanic – an Aotearoa-inclusive Oceania, and an Aotearoa-based Oceania – perhaps obscures an important third mode/ space which this apparent dichotomy leaves out, and that is the diasporic Maori community, which not only may not be in Aotearoa, but also may not even be in Oceania! I hope my bifurcation does not, then, appear to be exclusively comprehensive and fixed. I am grateful for both academic and personal exchanges with friends/ colleagues AnnaMarie Christiansen and Hokulani Aikau that have brought to my attention the complex and highly pertinent dimensions of diasporic communities for any discussion of Maori and/ or Oceanic texts. It is a regret that I do not/ cannot deal with this aspect adequately in this chapter, and hope to further expand this aspect of my future discussions of Oceanic literatures, both as I find ways to do this, and as more texts are uncovered/ produced. I am currently expanding this focus through my current engagements in a collaborative project with AnnaMarie Christiansen entitled 'This Vast Marae.'

⁴²⁰ In fact, Maori have been travelling to – and living in – Australia since the early 1800s, when young men and women would board whaling and trading ships and put down roots across the Tasman. A new vocabulary, including the transliteration Pohakena for Port Jackson (Sydney) and Ahitereiria (Australia). Actually, the fascinating essay "Loanwords used in Maori-language newspapers" lists seventeen different transliterations for 'Australia', suggesting the extent of contexts in which the place was discussed. (Jenifer Curnow, Ngapare K. Hopa and Jane McRae, *Rere Atu, Taku Manu! : Discovering History, Language, and Politics in the Maori-Language Newspapers* (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 2002).) I am grateful to Damon Salesa for pointing out that one compelling implication of significant Maori travel to Australia by 1840 is the record of conversations at the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in which Maori compared their own situations with those of indigenous Australians.

⁴²¹ emphasis added

Perhaps Rawiri's trip to Australia to (re)establish ties with the non-Aotearoa-based Maori⁴²² is an essential first step towards articulating a genuine Oceanic-ness; before moving on to Papua New Guinea and recognising the links between Maori and other Oceanic people through whakapapa and historical relationships, Rawiri must account for those Maori located away from Aotearoa. These 'travelling'/ 'travelled' Maori demonstrate and localise the relevance of Hau'ofa's central assumption that Oceanic people are natural voyagers. The politically crucial focus on an indigeneity that depends upon maintenance of rootedness in the Treaty/ sovereignty context of Aotearoa New Zealand⁴²³ can obscure the mobility that Rawiri observes and, indeed, that Ihimaera manifests in the final endnote to the New Zealand edition of the novella.

I will leave the final word for this section to Evelyn Patuawa-Nathan, whose poem "Tasman Sea"⁴²⁴ offers the kind of ambiguity that enables a number of simultaneous claims about a Maori-inclusive Oceania. The poem comes immediately after "In the Beginning", which has ended with the burial of Manu/ Louise: "He rests now in the cemetery/ at Botany. On a hill overlooking the sea." In death, Manu is still (and ultimately) foreclosed from returning, yet remains oriented towards home (as represented, Oceanically enough, by "the sea." Given its location on the following page, then, the "southern coastline" of the poem "Tasman Sea" might be New Zealand's coast or might be Australia's. This coastline is battered by winds that "hold[] back ocean barriers", and thus cut off the return of "exiles". But who are the exiles? Are they Maori, exiled in Australia, wanting to return to New Zealand? Are they Maori, exiled in Aotearoa, wanting to return to Oceania? I think either reading works just fine:

Tasman Sea.

⁴²² As well as Maori individuals and whanau scattered around the globe, there are many Maori communities that have long historical roots in their new homes; consider, for example, Ngati Ranana in London, and the Mormon enclaves in Hawaii, Las Vegas and Utah.

⁴²³ This identification and politics of indigeneity is something I will explore in Chapter Four: Maori as Indigenous.

⁴²⁴ The stretch of water between Australia and New Zealand, perhaps readable as a part of the ocean that makes up 'Oceania'.

Winds scab the rugged hills
 crouched on a southern coastline.
 Holding back ocean barriers,
 Delaying the exiles' return.

An Aotearoa-based Oceania

The other way of thinking about how Maori and Oceania might fit together is through imagining an Aotearoa-based Oceania, in which that Oceania is dynamically present within the boundaries of the nation state of NZ. Oceanic communities – and here I include Maori - in NZ are significant both in their population size⁴²⁵ and social/ cultural influence in all aspects of the country.⁴²⁶ Curiously, the relationships between indigenous and immigrant Oceanic communities is not a feature of Maori writing in English,⁴²⁷ texts by Maori tend to focus on Maori-centric or Maori/ Pakeha cultural contexts, as opposed to Maori/ Pasifika connections.⁴²⁸ The need for Maori to prioritise anti-colonial political and cultural configurations certainly affects this because those prefer a simple native/ settler or colonised/ coloniser binary for the sake of clarity. As well as this socio-political context, the emphasis away from an Aotearoa-based Oceania in favour of an Aotearoa/ NZ binary also seems to point to the specific contexts out of which most published Maori writing is coming. To put it plainly the relation between Pasifika and Maori communities is less likely to be a salient 'day to day' experience than it is for Maori in the major

⁴²⁵ Auckland is the 'largest Polynesian city in the world', for example, and one in seven NZers claims to be of Maori descent.

⁴²⁶ Some of these influences include in arts, science, music, law and sports.

⁴²⁷ With the possible exception of a glimpse in Morris's *Queen of Beauty* of a very minor – and thus quite 'flat', and perhaps a little stereotyped - Samoan character. Maybe it could be argued that Taylor's 'Pa Mai' does this too, but this reading is limited because the Samoan speaker is framed as a migrant to the extent that I would argue that Taylor privileges the consideration of an NZ-inclusive Oceania over an NZ-based Oceania. Morris, *Queen of Beauty*.

⁴²⁸ This is not true in the reverse; many Pasifika writers refer to Maori communities and characters; perhaps most notable is Wendt's novel *Ola*, in which the (Samoan) title character forms a close friendship with – and partly locates her own story in (parallel? entangled?) relation to – a Maori woman and her whanau, and his recent *The Mango's Kiss* in which a key Samoan character marries a Maori woman. Albert Wendt, *Ola* (Auckland, N.Z. ; New York: Penguin, 1991). Albert Wendt, *The Mango's Kiss : A Novel* (Auckland, N.Z.: Vintage, 2003).

Niuean writer John Pule also peoples his urban Auckland landscape with Maori families. John Puhiaata Pule, *The Shark That Ate the Sun = Ko E Mago Ne Kai E La* (Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin Books, 1992).

metropolitan centres, and indeed in the “brown” (often lower socio-economic) neighbourhoods of those centres.⁴²⁹

The relationship between indigenous (Maori) and non-indigenous (Pasifika) Oceanic communities in the neighbourhoods of New Zealand’s metropolitan centres has been less than smooth. These tensions are perhaps exacerbated most of all by economic factors. In the postwar period Maori communities were moving to New Zealand’s cities at the same time that the first sizeable migrations of Pacific Islanders arrived there too.⁴³⁰ Competition for work, particularly in the areas of unskilled, semiskilled and trade labour, persists until today, and these in turn have created a situation in which Maori and Pacific Islanders have had to scramble for the few resources available for them, in the area of jobs but also education, housing, healthcare and so on.⁴³¹ Compounding this, Pakeha racism has tended to lump ‘brown’ people together, something that all Oceanic communities have resented. Nesian Mystic satirises the racism of Pakeha crime reports in the hilarious spoken introduction track to their album *Polysaturated*:

The offender was described as Maori or Polynesian, with thick lips, a stocky build and frizzy hair. He was running away from the scene of the crime and probably lives in a garage with twenty members of his extended family.⁴³²

This is later echoed in ‘Lost Visionz’:

Treated worse than criminals cos we all look the same...⁴³³

The notorious ‘Dawn Raids’⁴³⁴ produced resentment and anxiety in Pasifika communities, but it also affected Maori communities when Maori individuals would be randomly

⁴²⁹ Someone like me (who attended schools in my local neighbourhood in which almost all of the kids came from Maori, Samoan, Tongan, Niuean, Cook Islander, Tokelauan or Fijian families), for example, has a very different sense of the similarities and differences – and the relationships - between these communities than someone in a place which is either predominantly Maori or Maori-and-Pakeha. Look to work by Maori scholar Tracey McIntosh, with the very pertinent essay “Growing South.” Tracey McIntosh, [Growing South](http://www.alumni.auckland.ac.nz/2497.html), 2003, <http://www.alumni.auckland.ac.nz/2497.html>.

⁴³⁰ Some earlier connections too; for example, Niueans served in the Maori Battalion in WWII.

⁴³¹ Another kind of competitive relationship might be seen in the response of some Maori to PM Helen Clark’s formal apology to Samoa on behalf of NZ for its colonial exploits there. For some, NZ needs to take care of its injustices to Maori first, and to apologise to Samoa before sorting through Maori grievances was ethically and chronologically unsound.

⁴³² “Introduction,” Nesian Mystic, [Polysaturated](#), Bounce, 2003.

⁴³³ “Lost Visionz,” Nesian Mystic, [Polysaturated](#).

⁴³⁴ Nesian Mystic. One moment at which this already rocky relationship was squeezed even further was the 1980s NZ government practice commonly known as ‘dawn raids’, in which police and immigration officials

stopped (usually by Pakeha police officers, ironically enough) and asked to produce papers proving their right to be there. Responses to this kind of racism and ‘lumping together’ have in turn produced their own kinds of prejudice.⁴³⁵ Johnny Sagala of Losttribe remarks in an interview that:

in the past there has been excuses not to get along. A lot of the problems of the past were because of a lack of communication. A lot of parents came across from the Islands and weren't able to speak English so they couldn't communicate so things got out of hand. But now kids are getting educated, they can communicate, they have the same friends and realise we are all the same... We're all Polynesian.

Sagala suggests that the shared urban spaces produce a new kind of consciousness: “we’re all Polynesian.”

Maori/ Pasifika relationships have not been singularly and monolithically competitive and distrustful.⁴³⁶ Many sites of collaboration and support are negotiated and

stormed Pacific Islanders’ private residences in the early hours of the morning and demanded to see papers for everyone there. These raids were backed up by immediate deportations, and examples abound of people staying at the homes of family members for the evening and being sent to the islands because they could not prove their legal status. These Dawn Raids have sparked off a great deal of creative/ artistic response from Pacific communities. Visual Arts, literature, film and theatre have been mobilised as ways of reacting to, and remembering, those days. The language pertaining to the history is also being reclaimed by some parts of the community: a South Auckland hiphop label is called ‘Dawn Raid Entertainment’, and King Kapisi, a very prominent hiphop artist, flips the ‘dawn raids’ rhetoric around and frames his own music as a ‘home invasion’, and names himself as an “overstayer” (a name/ title he uses for himself in several tracks) in the track called, provocatively, ‘Home Invasion’: “Stating the facts on this hiphop track/ It’s just this overstayer, making fat [sic] tracks/ It just a home invasion.../ conveyor of overstayer metaphors 2 floor...” (“Home Invasion,” King Kapisi, *Savage Thoughts*, Urale, 2000.). In his track ‘2nd Migration’, remembers the history of dawn raids, repositions the practice alongside Oceanic knowledge systems (thus underlining the epistemological foundations of this kind of policing practice), and once again reclaims the name ‘overstayer’; “But with that constant unnecessary misuse of government power/ Crack down on my peoples in early hours/ The classic dawnraids, in other words return you back 2 sender/ even in exile my people won’t surrender/ traditions older than the books in your archives.../ overstayers it’s out time.../ overstayers 2000, we on!.../ check out the overstayer groove...” (“2nd migration,” King Kapisi, *Savage Thoughts*.) Michelle Elleray points out the imploding of this term in later political rhetoric: ‘Home invasion’ was also significantly used as a part of a racist commentary by Prime Minister Jenny Shipley while she was still in power: Michelle Dawne Elleray, “Domestic Violence: From Katherine Mansfield to Tariana Turia,” (2001), vol.

⁴³⁵ In which, for example, common own-stereotypes would include those Pacific Islanders who claim that they are all church-going, and it is the Maori who are the criminals, and those Maori who claim that Pacific Islanders are illegal overstayers and should ‘go home’ and stop taking jobs from hardworking Maori.

⁴³⁶ Colloquially, the non-Maori migrant Pacific communities, who started to arrive en masse in the 1950s at the beckoning of the NZ government, have (conveniently, but also strategically, for both ‘sides’) more recently been referred to by a local umbrella term: Pasifika (also spelled Pasifica, Pacifika, Pacifica, Pasefika). This term is mobilised both by Pasifika and non-Pasifika communities, and although there are some obvious limitations to this kind of ‘lumping together’ (and I will expand on this within the discussion of hiphop below) of several culturally and linguistically sovereign groups, there are also important benefits of a conglomerate name like this one, such as the ability to mobilise and assume a ‘critical mass’. In this discussion, I will use the term ‘Pasifika’ to refer to NZ-based non-Maori Oceanic people, and ‘Oceania’ to

work well, and these are encouraged and necessitated in part by the appearance of what some affectionately call ‘haka hulas’, children of mixed Maori and Pasifika relationships.⁴³⁷ Politically, Pasifika communities have produced formal acknowledgements of the indigenous position of Maori in the nation of New Zealand, and

denote the community that includes both Pasifika and Maori. Although much academic work sidelines sporting discourses, I contend that the relations between Pasifika communities and Maori communities, and the position of Pasifika communities within the nation of New Zealand, are discussed most broadly, deeply and earnestly in conversations about sports, and in particular rugby. The appearance of Pasifika – and Maori – rugby players in ‘Island Nation’, New Zealand and non-Pacific teams (Wales, Australia, Italy, France etc) incite very interesting conversations about the mobilities, voyages and homes of Oceanic peoples. An opinion piece produced during the 2003 Rugby World Cup explored the kinds – and limits - of ‘repatriation’ of players to their ‘homes’, and used as its starting point the case of a player, who, when asked where he was from, replied that he had a Samoan parent and a Tongan parent, and was born in NZ. The writer commented that compulsion to ‘return’ players to their homes (which in rugby discourse often appears as phrases like “the island teams would do so much better if all their players hadn’t been poached by NZ” or “Soaiolo? Rokocoko? What kind of Kiwi names are they?”) is problematic because it refuses to recognise either the migratory routes of Pasifika families and the multiple ways in which Pasifika second/ third generations identify with ‘home(s)’, or the colonial role of NZ in the Pacific that means that players born in the islands could conceivably have been born ‘NZ citizens’. (Pacific Nations who have colonial ties with NZ (much of the colonial administration of the British Pacific was passed on to NZ as a ‘local metropole) are unsurprisingly the most highly represented in NZ’s overall demographic, most explicitly Samoa, Niue, the Cook Islands and Tokelau, but also Tonga, and Fiji. Various kinds of NZ citizenship are available to members of those Island Nations, depending on the degrees of colonial relationship with NZ at the time an individual was born. Of course, this kind of repatriation is also hypocritical/ selective, because Pakeha players would not be ideally ‘returned’ to the English, Irish, Scottish or Welsh teams, nor would their names (Somerville, Thorne, Spencer) be spotted as being ‘non-Kiwi’. (The example of Kees Meuus, the Maori rugby player with the Dutch name, is another interesting case here.) The implications of this kind of discourse are interesting for thinking about how to frame national literatures, and the ways in which multiple identifications might be mobilised by writers and yet are selectively recognised at various moments. I am grateful to friend and colleague Nadine Attewell for an invigorating, enthusiastic and thoughtful discussion on IM one day while I was crystallising my thoughts about this. We spoke from our own positions of cultural/ sporting knowledge - me about NZ rugby and she about Canadian (Ice) Hockey – and recognised significant parallels in sporting discourses about how ‘home’ functions in relation to ‘nation’ in both regional and national teams. There seemed to be two major strands to these ‘repatriations’: who counts as a ‘Canadian’ or ‘NZer’; and how/ when/ why people with relationships to Canada and NZ via birthright, residence (or, in the case of the first ever professional Innu Hockey player, and Maori players like Rima Wakarua who played for Italy in the 2003 World Cup, indigeneity) represent Other nations/ regions. Nadine and I discussed how these aspects of sports discourse might set up some ways of thinking about the ‘repatriation’ of writers/ texts to places other than Canada/ NZ. Examples of this would include Caribbean and South Asian writers in Canada (such as Canadian-based writers whose work is discussed outside Canada as ‘Caribbean writing’; or, “Ondaatje? That doesn’t sound like a very Canadian name”) and Pacific and Eastern European writers in NZ (such as “Pule?, or, Kaissapwola? That doesn’t sound like a very Kiwi name”). Neither of us wanted to refuse the possibility identification of these writers with any of their Other possible sites of identification; what seemed significant is the apparent impossibility of talking about them in relation to their ‘new’ (even if born there) nation.

Of course, as well as this kind of kneejerk repatriation on the basis of names/ appearance, there are also traces of physical racism in discussions of Pacific-descent rugby players (although less often Maori players, perhaps because of the hierarchies I mentioned earlier in relation to the perception of PNG in *The Whale Rider*): in the 2003 Rugby World Cup, when the Samoan rugby team almost upset the tournament favourites, English, the English commentators described the “South Pacific” players as “spirited warriors”; their winning streak and eventual loss in the last quarter of the game was put down to the idea that “South Pacific” players are often “explosive” but “undisciplined”. This is used to explain both the tendency of Pacific teams to lose their grip of rugby games in the second half of the game, and their very high achievements in the Sevens competitions (in which games last for fourteen minutes total).

⁴³⁷ The widely-distributed *Mana* magazine has run more than one story exploring this emerging identification.

these kinds of recognitions have gone a long way toward establishing lasting relationships between Pasifika and Maori communities and, it might be argued, are very ‘Oceanic’ because of their prioritisation of the special positions, rights and responsibilities indigeneity over individual or national ‘equality.’ Notably, particularly in the area of literary studies, this move, in which indigeneity is recognised not only by the colonising power but also by Other communities,⁴³⁸ thwarts the introduction to the NZ context of ‘minority’ and ‘multicultural’ frames that rely on ‘equal difference.’⁴³⁹

It seems significant that the only texts talking about an Aotearoa-based Oceania are produced in the liminal (at least within the context of literary studies) sites of children’s literature and hiphop, and so this discussion about the various articulations and framings of this Oceania will focus on Patricia Grace and Robyn Kahukiwa’s picture book *Watercress Tuna and the Children of Champion Street*,⁴⁴⁰ and Nesian Mystic’s 2002 album *Polysaturated*.⁴⁴¹

watercress tuna

Patricia Grace’s second children’s book,⁴⁴² *Watercress Tuna and the Children of Champion Street*, is located firmly in Cannon’s Creek, a neighbourhood of Porirua, which

⁴³⁸ Recognition of the Treaty is also a key principle of NZ’s Ministry of Ethnic Affairs (basically the Ministry that deals with people who aren’t Pakeha, Maori or Pasifika), and has been widely supported at meetings of NZ’s Other immigrant communities as well.

⁴³⁹ This will be further examined at a conference entitled ‘Biculturalism or Multiculturalism’ at Canterbury University in September 2005.

⁴⁴⁰ Patricia Grace and Robyn Kahukiwa, *Watercress Tuna and the Children of Champion Street* (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1984).

⁴⁴¹ Nesian Mystic, *Polysaturated*.

⁴⁴² The first - *The Kuia and the Spider* – was published in 1981 and although the language of the text had what might be described as a Maori-centric view, the accompanying pictorial text by Robyn Kahukiwa (also the illustrator for WT) already hinted at a subtle complication – and endorsement – of the multiplicity of the Maori community, in terms of class, residence, phenotype and temperament. Patricia Grace and Robyn Kahukiwa, *The Kuia and the Spider* (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1981)..

is in turn a predominantly Polynesian suburb of Wellington.⁴⁴³ The premise of the book is that a magic tuna,⁴⁴⁴ who dwells in the nearby creek, visits children in houses on Champion Street, and invites them to pull things out of his magical throat. The children extract various musical and cultural items specific to their own ethnic group, and end up leading their communities in a dance on Champion Street “all day and all night.” The text is one of the first books to represent the children, and the physical environments, of New Zealand’s large Oceanic neighbourhoods.⁴⁴⁵ Not only does the book highlight invisibilised ethnic groups, it also centres an urban working class (there are Pakeha children on Champion Street as well). A reading of the text in terms of its treatment of class identities would be salient here, although my reading focuses on the ethnic groups – the Oceanic-ness - of the community/ communities of which the children are a part. Of course, because of the relationship between colonialism, racism and class in the New Zealand context, these readings are inextricably linked.

Watercress Tuna suggests an Aotearoa-based Oceania through the linguistic dimension of Grace’s writing and through the visual dimension of Kahukiwa’s illustrations. The book starts with an introductory section in which Tuna leaves Cannon’s Creek (the stream after which the neighbourhood gets its name⁴⁴⁶) and journeys through a

⁴⁴³ Actually Porirua is an independent ‘city,’ although it functions with regard to Wellington in the same way that suburbs in the US function with regard to the nearby city.

⁴⁴⁴ Note that ‘tuna’ is the Maori name for an eel; it is not the same as the ‘tuna’ you find in tins at the supermarket.

⁴⁴⁵ Certainly there is some treatment of these communities in School Journals and perhaps other more recent school-targetted publications. As a brief comment on the interconnectedness of Maori and Oceanic communities in Aotearoa, a prolific contributor to the school journals for many years was Johnny Frisbie, originally from Pukapuka, who is credited as the first Pacific writer in English. Sharrad, "Making Beginnings: Johnny Frisbie and Pacific Literature."

⁴⁴⁶ The continued existence and influence of vestiges and entities from pre-urban Wellington landscapes – here, a Tuna with the “magic throat” that visits children in the late-twentieth century neighbourhood of Cannon’s Creek – is a feature of Grace’s adult fiction as well. Notably, her first novel *Mutuwhenua* (1978) a Maori woman is plagued by entities that are already a part of the Wellington landscape to which she moves when she marries a Pakeha man. Patricia Grace, *Mutuwhenua: The Moon Sleeps* (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1978). In her later (1992) *Cousins*, Wellington-based institution-raised Mata is not affected in the same way, although her sister Makareta (who was raised with their whanau) is; perhaps this suggests the need for a kind of sensitivity to the spiritual dimension of land. Patricia Grace, *Cousins* (Auckland, N.Z. ; New York: Penguin Books, 1992). This production of instances in which ‘Maori’ spiritual dimensions reside in urban areas is perhaps attributable to Grace’s own Te Atiawa and Ngati Toa ancestry (both of these iwi have turangawaewae in what is now urban Wellington/ Porirua), and certainly goes a long way towards challenging the binary in which rural = Maori/ urban = Pakeha.

series of familiar landmarks,⁴⁴⁷ each of which bears the (European) name (and thereby influence?) of the creek:

over Cannon's Creek tavern,
 over Cannon's Creek shopping centre,
 over Cannon's Creek primary school/
 and on to Champion Street.⁴⁴⁸

Each of these landmarks is also a space that speaks to a tool of colonialism: alcohol, dependency on capitalistic acquisition of goods and schooling respectively. The second part of the book recounts Tuna's interactions with different children from different Oceanic backgrounds who live on Champion Street; each of these interactions is described with parallel structure. In the first page of each interaction, the child reaches into Tuna's throat and retrieves an item that is used for her/ his style of dancing.

Tuna bounced into [names of child]'s house and opened his mouth wide.
 [Name of child] reached in and took out [an item].

In the second page of the interaction, the child uses the item, "and [begins] to dance". Several children, material items, and Oceanic backgrounds, are introduced: Kelehia takes out a kie, Karen takes out "buckled shoes", Hirini takes out a piupiu, Tuaine takes out a pate, Roimata takes out a poi, Kava takes out a hau, Nga takes out a pareu, Losa takes out an ula, Jason takes out a paper streamer, and Fa'afetai takes out an ailao afi. The names of the children are from their languages of origin, which reinforces their location within those languages, but also doesn't perhaps reflect the use of English-language names in many Aotearoa-based Oceanic communities; there are no Maori called Roger, or Samoans called Thelma in this configuration. Likewise, no mixed children are openly acknowledged. Both of these points, however, are perhaps attributable to the moment in which Grace wrote the book and the politics around language retention and maintenance

⁴⁴⁷ This explicitly locates the Native in time and place, which is the opposite of Other depictions of the Native, such as I discussed in terms of *Whale Rider*.

⁴⁴⁸ Interestingly, although 'Champion Street' is the name of a real street, in the Maori translation of the book the street name is not included as is, or transliterated, but is actually translated: te tiriti toa. (toa = champion/warrior)

at the time; after all, this book was published a year before the first Kohanga Reo was set up!

The third section of the story brings the children from their family-centric/ origin-centric spaces of the private house, out into the public space of Champion Street. Along with Tuna, they “danced and danced. Everybody danced”. The story proceeds as the children demonstrate, or perhaps exemplify, a model for Aotearoa-based Oceania: each child retains and maintains their own style, and yet joins with other Oceanians in a common space in a common pursuit (well, Oceanians and Pakeha; is this an Oceanic or national story? Perhaps both). This third section of the book privileges a shared public space, and suggests that the (Aotearoa-based Oceania) that is normalised for the children can influence the ways in which their wider communities operate: the illustrations depict a crowd dancing in which diversity of generations, cultural groups and gender is displayed. In the final part of the book, which takes up one page - “And they didn’t go to bed until the next morning” - the children are all depicted in their own beds, with the treasure they extracted from Tuna’s mouth at the ends of their blankets. Far from depicting a beige-inducing melting pot, then, the shared action of dancing in the shared space of the street is both enabled by, and supports, the maintenance of cultural distinctiveness in the family/home space. Furthermore, the text does not suggest a bland kind of ‘hey we’re all immigrants man’ assimilationist multiculturalism either. While the two Maori children (Hirini and Roimata⁴⁴⁹) are a part of the crowd, and have the same overt interaction with the Tuna as the Other children, the central role of Tuna compellingly suggests that the lingering and vibrant indigeneity of local Maori is a source of, and structuring mechanism for, the ‘dance’ in which the children and their communities participate. This vision seems resist a simplistic understanding of multiculturalism, and gestures towards the structuring

⁴⁴⁹ Hirini is a transliteration of ‘Selwyn’, and Roimata is the Maori word for tears. Perhaps these two names represent both the cultural resistances and cultural changes that are a part of what it is to be Maori.

principles of the Treaty (see Chapter Six), and also provides a manifestation of Pasifika as well as Pakeha acknowledgement of the Treaty/ Maori in Aotearoa.

The illustrations in *Watercress Tuna* are typical of artist Robyn Kahukiwa's style: vivid, with an emphasis on colour and action. The demeanour of the children is confident and active which challenges the widely-distributed image of urban Oceanic youth and children as lazy, violent, oppressed, nihilistic, disadvantaged and so on. Throughout the text, the children exhibit confidence in their own cultural backgrounds, and the environments in which they are raised – as made most visible perhaps by the 'homescapes' in which each child is visited by Tuna – further supports the experience and cultural orientations of their families. So, Kelehia's house has a woven fan on the wall, Karen's house has a shelf with old bowls on it, Hirini's house has poutama-design wallpaper and a bookshelf with a carved gourd, Tuaine's house has island-style fabric at the windows for curtains, Roimata's house has a framed picture of an ancestress and a wakahuia, Kava's house has island-design cushion covers, Nga's house has a small wooden carving on a shelf and a wooden ceremonial object on the floor, Losa's house has a woven mat pattern on one wall, Jason's house has a cabinet with a clock and animal ornaments, and Fa'afetai's house has tapa on the wall.⁴⁵⁰ That material culture stands in for cultural values and mores has extra significance because the houses themselves are all 'state houses.'⁴⁵¹ The 'indigenisation' of each house to reflect the backgrounds of their residents, and thereby become their 'homes', perhaps suggests a model for the conceptualisation of how Aotearoa-based Oceanic identities operate within the nation (or perhaps nation-sponsored or nation-subsidised) space. The maintenance of culture 'despite' location within an urban environment directly challenges the mythology of

⁴⁵⁰ Hokulani Aikau's work on the Polynesian diaspora in Utah undertakes a fascinating consideration of the relationship between patterns of displaying decorative 'cultural' objects and class.

⁴⁵¹ Houses owned and rented by the government.

urban areas,⁴⁵² and this results in the productive doubled effect of rewriting: resistance to the Other, and a simultaneous centring of the community in question.⁴⁵³

nz hip hop articulates an oceanic ‘nesian style’

New Zealand hip hop flowing with that hint of Nesian style
Represent straight where you’re from cause everyone knows it’s a must
Cause this Nesian style mooli is this style we bust...⁴⁵⁴

Despite (or because of?) being Polynesian, Maori primarily identify (at least at a national level) as indigenous rather than Oceanic, and this is exacerbated by the cultural contexts of the majority of Maori writers and critics. As I have already suggested above, very few prominent Maori-authored texts or narratives come from the mixed “Nesian” neighbourhoods of Auckland and Wellington. Hiphop artists from these areas in Aotearoa/ New Zealand are at the forefront of articulating the complex relationships between indigenous Maori and diasporic Pacific Islander urban communities.⁴⁵⁵

The neologism “Nesian”, coined in their 2002 album *Polysaturated* by Nesian Mystic, a group with Maori, Samoan, Cook Islands and Tongan members, challenges existing constructions of the relationship between indigenous and diasporic communities. Reconfiguring these communities as “Nesian” extricates the ‘island’ (-nesian) root from the western-imposed cartographic and anthropological prefixes (‘poly-’, ‘micro-’ and ‘melan-’), echoing Hau’ofa’s reframing of the (colonially-imagined) ‘Pacific’ as the

⁴⁵² Porirua, and in particular Porirua East/ Cannons Creek, would be described by mainstream discourse as one of the most ‘notorious’ urban neighbourhoods in New Zealand.

⁴⁵³ Grace’s former career as a school teacher, and her frustration with the books available for her students, is significant here.

⁴⁵⁴ “N.Z.H.I.P.H.O.P.” Nesian Mystic, *Polysaturated*.

⁴⁵⁵ The scholarly interest in Pacific hiphop has increased dramatically. April Henderson has done a lot of pioneering work through UH and Santa Cruz, but there are several other scholars also engaged, such as Tony Mitchell.

(indigenously-imagined) ‘Oceania’. Nesian Mystic also overtly challenges the European construction of ‘Polynesia’ in ‘Lost Visionz’:

Polynesian aint even a label we made up
 We were given names by the civilised discovery’s
 How can you discover what we always knew to be
 Then plant their flag on our land like its aborigine...

Polysaturated locates a “Nesian style” within the discourses of Pacific genealogical and navigation histories, as well as the discourses of marginalisation and racism in New Zealand, a conscious effort to name and frame that I believe supports this Aotearoa-based version/ dimension of Oceanic comparatism. The communities are situated within the boundaries of one nation-state or city or neighbourhood, yes, but include - and participate in - the complexity, border crossing, linguistic differences, political positionings and cultural nuances of Oceanic inquiry across the wider Pacific region.

The genre of hiphop is worth briefly commenting on, both with regard to its inclusion in a ‘literary’ dissertation, and also in terms of its built-in political/ cultural/ linguistic dimensions. Perhaps one of the most important interventions offered by the prominence of ‘Nesian’ hiphop is an interruption of the supposed binary between tradition/ orality and modernity/ print. It is difficult to contextualise the emergence of new forms of Maori – and Oceanic - cultural production without inadvertently advocating a ‘progress’ narrative that relies on a linear historical shift from ‘oral’ to ‘written’ literatures. This kind of linear progression is underpinned by the colonial trope of ‘primitive tribal culture encounters modernity’ that is still scarily perceptible in much contemporary scholarship and cultural production.⁴⁵⁶ This metaphor of movement from one form of cultural production (orality) to another (textuality), or even several others,

⁴⁵⁶ Scores of Europeans around the world flocked to movie theatres to see played out in ‘real time’ in the form of the recorded ‘first contact’ moments in the PNG highlands, and that, let’s face it, so much Western writing has been about. The encounter of the naïve (even if glorified) tribal individual or group with ‘modernity’ is a formula that fails to appropriately describe what is going on precisely because the language and imagery it employs in order to express itself is rooted in tropes of western imperial encounter/ adventure. This fascination is still alive and well: commercial companies now run a form of ‘extreme travel’ for Europeans known as ‘First Contact Adventure Tours’ in PNG and Irian Jaya.

forecloses the possibility of recognising that our oral modes of cultural production remain intact and vital.⁴⁵⁷ Further, although the explosion of introduced forms of cultural production – including print, film, painting, sculpture, photography and so on – is significant, it is problematic to present these forms as an ‘arrival point’ that has required a ‘departure’ from ‘orality,’ not least of all because critique of the ‘new’ forms can slip into a narrative of departure/ alienation from ‘real’/ ‘authentic’ forms of cultural production. As well as (quite rightly) emphasising the continuance and veracity of oral forms, recognising the ‘real’ multiplicity of cultural production (including orality) means that we don’t expect any more out of these new forms that they are able to give us, because we can rest assured that other cultural forms are also engaged in doing the business of perpetuating aspects of culture and politics.⁴⁵⁸

‘Lost Visionz,’⁴⁵⁹ the final track on *Polysaturated*, traces the various migration histories and diasporic backgrounds of each of the group members. Donald opens the track with a spoken section pertaining to his Tonganness and particularly to his feelings of dislocation, and this is replied by a series of histories: Feleti foregrounds his Samoan experience, then Awa speaks about Maori struggle, and finally Sabre delivers several stanzas of incisive and sophisticated historical commentary. Before the ‘rapped’ part of the track begins, three of the group members offer spoken (or in the case of one part of Awa’s contribution, sung) perspectives on their own identities and identifications: their

⁴⁵⁷ The strength of the regional and national kapa haka competitions attest to this vitality.

⁴⁵⁸ One massive and important aspect of orality I won’t go into here is the formal oral tradition that is maintained on marae and Maori community spaces throughout Aotearoa and the world. This whole dimension is far too huge for the scope of this project, and so I will have to satisfy myself by tipping my hat to it, and moving on to other kinds of ‘orality’.

⁴⁵⁹ This track will always mean a lot to me; a couple of weeks before presenting a conference paper about Maori and Pacific Nations Hip hop, I was speaking to my (then) 13 year old cousin Rose, to see what she thought of her first day at high school. As we spoke, I mentioned that my sister had just sent me *Polysaturated*, the debut album from Nesian Mystik. Rose straight away asked me “have you heard number 15?” She was referring to ‘Lost Visionz’. “Yes”, I said, “I have, why?”. “It’s my favourite”, she said. Ever the grad student, I reached for a pencil and paper while I asked her why this was so. “Because it’s about how being Maori’s the bomb. That’s cool man.”

own “visionz.” First, Donald opens the track by asking specifically about the implications of growing up feeling dislocated from his Tongan culture (“[his] cultural history”):

Are you educated in your cultural history? To be honest, I’m not. And all I want to know is why.

Even though I live in another country, I still acknowledge my Tongan ancestry. And even though I don’t know it a lot, or as much as I should know about my culture, just like many other people; but why?

The displacement about which Donald speaks (“although I live in another country”) is particularly exacerbated on in the case of urban (as opposed to rural) Maori, and NZ-born (as opposed to Island-born) Pacific Islanders. In the cases of urban Maori and NZ-born Pacific Islanders, discourses of ‘authentic’ identity (“or as much as I *should* know”) exclude the realities of the majority of Polynesians in Aotearoa (“to be honest, I’m not”), and it is the face of these ‘removals’ that an Aotearoa-based Oceania gains particular pertinence and utility. The majority of Maori hip hop artists are urban, and the majority of Pacific Nations hip hop artists are NZ-born.⁴⁶⁰

I’m proud to be Polynesian, and I take pride in being Tongan. But because I don’t know much about my culture, does that make me any less of a Polynesian, or a Tongan, than I am?

Reminiscent of the introduction to Wineera’s collection, Donald’s narrative, which is structured as a set of questions (the last of which may or may not be rhetorical), introduces a relationship between Tongan(ness) and (Poly)nesian(ness) that seems less of a slippage (in which ‘Polynesian’ is ‘Tongan’ and vice versa) and more like a concentric relationship. The English-language narrative is overlaid with a spoken translation (I’ve been told this is by his mother), which demonstrates both the ultimate survival – and frustrating proximity - of the Tongan language. The translation of his experience *from* English *into* Tongan signals that his experience, although in the English language, is not rendered irrelevant or hopelessly removed (and in an irreversible one-way direction) from

⁴⁶⁰ This dimension is becoming more and more central to ‘Nesian’ hip hop artists; Mareko, Scribe and so on have centred this experience for the first time. Mareko’s remarkable track “City Line”, for example, narrates a bus journey from South Auckland into the central city (on his album *White Sunday*), in which he demonstrates a sophisticated view of class, race, gender and economics in urban Auckland. Mareko, White Sunday, Dawn Raid, 2003.

Tonganness after all. As well as asking whether “not knowing about [his] culture” makes him “less of... a Tongan,” he asks whether this “not knowing” makes him less “of a Polynesian,”⁴⁶¹ implying that Polynesianness requires knowledge of *specific* (as opposed to a more general ‘Polynesian’) culture, in his case, Tongan.

After Donald’s piece, Mua Strickson-Pua (the father of Feleti, who is in the group) describes their family’s migration from Samoa to New Zealand, consistently referring to New Zealand as Aotearoa which emphasises the way that place is seen from within an Oceanic context, and also ‘indigenising’ the new home within an Oceanic language.⁴⁶² His speech begins with the statement “Samoana”, and ends, after considering their time in Aotearoa, with the statement “Fa’afetai e le Atua - Aotearoa – Samoana.” Aotearoa is thus sandwiched into the concept of Samoanness, and in particular, ‘Samoana-ness.’ From the perspective of a Samoan family, surrounded by a wider Samoan church community, in Grey Lynn, a suburb in Auckland, this focuses on an Auckland-based family and community, and yet also makes reference to the Samoan oral tradition:

Samoana. Samoa’s founded on God by Tu herself from Malaela.

He narrates his family’s migration to New Zealand,⁴⁶³ and the survival of the stories and histories of his community are as essential as their bodily survival. Strickson-Pua undscores the continued prominence of those traditions when he acknowledges his parents who “paid the price of love and sacrifice/ keeping alive our lifeline between Samoa and Aotearoa,” and he projects this continuation as essential to the survival of the “nation[]”:

⁴⁶¹ Note, too, the use of the indefinite article: he talks about “*a* Tongan”, “*a* Polynesian.”

⁴⁶² This is quite common in Pasifika hip hop.

⁴⁶³ This rememory of migration is also narrated in Losttribe’s track entitled “Summer in the Winter,” (Various, [Aotearoa Hip-Hop 1](#), 2000.) which opens with two people having a spoken conversation:

Do you remember coming here?
Not much. A little. I cried a lot...

The track goes on to describe the implications of migration, with lines like “freezing cold in my summer clothes/ from the day we came/ the plane ticket some couldn’t afford... in search of different shores...” and repeats a refrain: “Don’t let the sun go down/ Polynesians all around the world.” This attention to diasporic communities is a feature of much Pasifika hip hop.

Today, we celebrate the fruits of victory. Our family - our story - our history - lives on... Next generation, you are the hopes of our nations now...

Finally, ‘Awa’ (Te Awanui Pine Reeder) adds a sequence that contextualises the previous (and following) discussions on the track in the specifically Maori struggles of the 1970s. These took place around the same time as the major moments of Pacific Nations migration, and were exacerbated by many of the same economic and racist conditions and Donald and Feleti’s experiences. The background sound changes for Awa’s section of the track to incorporate – foreground – the songs of native NZ birds, which marks this part of the track as a specifically Aotearoa-based space.⁴⁶⁴ Just as the other members of the band name moments, places, individuals and identifications in their representation of personal/community histories, Awa references several significant events in Maori history. He begins by framing his history within a wide scope, pushing his listeners to contextualise his personal history with events prior to the incredibly controversial 1981 tour of the South African rugby team, an event that has been described as the closest NZ has come to a civil war (since, presumably, the 19th century):

Here’s an insight to a time
You’ve got to step back to before the springbok tours
Social circumstance conditioned minds had to adapt to survive
Our people at the frontlines...

This insistence on (re-)contextualising a contemporary situation by moving into a past beyond living memory is enacted and confirmed in a musical bridge in the track. Awa names major events in Aotearoa/ New Zealand history (these have all been explained in the discussion of *The Whale Rider*, above):

We do remember Bastion Point
We do remember Parihaka

⁴⁶⁴ This is the only section of the track that has a distinctive background like this; I argue that this is an example of a way in which Nesian Mystik demonstrates, with no small success, how a “Nesian style” might also adequately acknowledge the distinctive context of New Zealand’s (and perhaps Oceania’s) tendency to privilege discourses of indigeneity. As in the dependence on Maori centrality of Aotearoa-based Oceanic communities in Grace’s *Watercress Tuna*, this change in musical backing emphasises that when the Maori struggle for sovereignty fits within an account of Oceanic histories this does not force a compromise of Maori claims to a specific role (indigeneity) in that Oceania.

We do remember Waitangi
We do remember

The pronoun “we” reinscribes a centring of Maori as opposed to non-Maori, similarly perhaps to the nau/ naku distinction on which this dissertation rests. It is also possible, however, to understand the “we” as Oceania-inclusive; it is not just Awa, but all of Nesian Mystik that has produced the track, and so perhaps all of them “remember”. Being Oceanic in Aotearoa is thus tied to “remember[ing]” Maori struggles, even those that happened before arrival. This brings to mind Hau’ofa’s vision for Hawaii and New Zealand in his groundbreaking essay:

Alliances are already being forged by an increasing number of Islanders with the *tangata whenua* (indigenous people)⁴⁶⁵ of Aotearoa and will inevitably be forged with the Native Hawaiians. It is not inconceivable that if Polynesians ever get together, their two largest homelands will be reclaimed in one form or another.⁴⁶⁶

The repeated claim “we do remember” functions both as a rourou (confirming for Maori that “we” will indeed remember) and a rakau (challenging non-Maori that this history is not forgotten). Importantly, of course, the repetition of the phrase “we do remember” both describes and enacts an act of memory; it is at once a statement of confirmation addressed to those involved in the specific struggles, a challenge to the colonising power that the memory lives on, and a mnemonic device in and of itself that encourages and enables the re-memory of these events.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁵ It is interesting to note the ‘Maori hegemony’ at work here; *tangata whenua* is a Maori phrase.

⁴⁶⁶ Hau’ofa, “Our Sea of Islands.”: 34

⁴⁶⁷ The implications and possibilities of this specific mode of re-memorying through the device of orality described above was brought to the attention of my whanau in a very real way when my sister had a conversation with our younger cousin. Upon arriving at a campsite where my cousin was staying for a few days with some other whanau members, my sister was inundated (as is the custom) by lots of little cousins, but when she finally got to hugging one of the older ones, Rose, who was 13 at the time, she was greeted with a direct question. “Megan, what’s Bastion Point?” “Oh, it’s a place in Auckland.” “Oh. But why’s it important?” Rose went on to explain that she’d got the album *Polysaturated* for Christmas, and had been playing it, and her favourite song was the last one, but there was one bit she didn’t quite get. “I know Parihaka, and I know Waitangi, but what’s Bastion Point?” My sister, obviously, sat her down and explained the story behind the Point, and commented to me later that she was surprised Rose hadn’t heard of Bastion Point – how had we forgotten to tell her that story? – but more than that, my sister commented that without the album, Rose might not have heard about it for even longer. In this way, then, Nesian Mystik’s track has become a part of the oral tradition of my whanau, both as a ‘primary’ voice in the tradition, filling in a blank that we were not aware was even there, and also becoming a ‘secondary’ talking point for us older ones about how we have – or haven’t – passed on the stories to our cousins. Significantly, this entire interaction took place without a single word being placed on paper. Now, for our whanau, it would be wrong to refer to the track as anything but a part of our oral literature; indeed, because of this CD, “we will remember”.

If Maori literature in English suggests an ‘Oceania’ in all these ways, then why did I say at the beginning of my presentation that our stuff is not often talked about/referred to in “Oceanic” scholarship and discourses, including Oceanic literary criticism? Why are we – Maori - not talking about this dimension of our writing, and why aren’t our writers producing more texts that explore this part of what it is to be Maori? Where are the novels and short fiction and poetry and plays by Maori that are set in Auckland’s brown suburbs, and include mixed Maori/ Pasifika characters? Certainly, in Aotearoa right now the most noisy part of the Maori academic community is the Kaupapa Maori movement, but while the important formulation ‘Maori = Aotearoa’ in a way that can seem at once liberating because of its ability to centre Maori, it can also be limiting in terms of the Oceanic inheritances and diasporic realities of the Maori community. Also importantly, as I have already suggested, Maori communities are very often set up in economic (as well as political) competition with non-indigenous Pacific Islanders, particularly in urban settings, and this (colonially-introduced, colonially-beneficial) competition contributes to the gap between Maori and ‘Oceanic’ peoples. But surely there are more reasons than a complex version of isolationism for the way in which Maori is explicitly *not* read as ‘= Oceania’ in Aotearoa. What are these reasons? Is it something to do with the construct of Oceania?

nau te rakau: once were pacific; our sea of differences

Where I come from - although I’m perfectly open to the idea that it’s not unique to that place - there’s a joke about the impossibility of completely extricating yourself from your context. As a girl from GI (Glen Innes, a neighbourhood in Auckland city), if someone sees me doing something that reminds them of my GI roots, they’ll laugh and

say, “see, you can take the girl out of GI, but you can’t take the GI out of the girl.”⁴⁶⁸ Now, I need to state clearly that I affirm the ‘Oceania movement’⁴⁶⁹ in Pacific discourse, and acknowledge the significance of the intervention on the part of Oceanic critics,⁴⁷⁰ but when I think about how/ whether Maori writing sits within the Oceanic comparative frame, there’s a part of me that wants to crack a joke as a whispered aside... *you can take the oceania out of pacific, but can you take the pacific out of oceania?*

There might be a danger, while we (rightly, in my mind) push towards articulating a literary Oceania, of failing to pay attention to certain differences within the region. This in and of itself is a fairly simple point, not an original one,⁴⁷¹ and certainly not reason enough to get all excited about the overthrow of any Oceanic consciousness. I do not believe that the discourse of Oceania has ever claimed for itself anything other than a kind

⁴⁶⁸ Although the surest way to kill a joke is to try to explain its humour, I’m going to attempt just that. *Denotatively*, the joke impossibly refers to a specific spatial location as if it is not spatial at all (at least, not in the way we might talk about space in an english-speaking context); despite physically ‘leaving’ GI, (the joke doesn’t work if I’m in GI) the joke implies that this context did not, in fact, ever ‘leave’ me. The previously locational reference ‘GI’ has thus denotatively become a-spatial. More than this, the grammar of the joke means that it has also become an attribute; ‘GI’ has become ‘*the* GI’. Therefore, my GI-ness (and/ or perhaps ‘GI’) becomes a-spatial; as well as this, however, GI is also rendered as a-temporal. After all, the time I was there is not the same as this time in which the joke is being cracked, and yet here is GI, popping up in a later moment. But does this collapsing of the constructs of spatiality and temporality really make it funny?

No, the joke relies on one further device, and that is familiarity of the referenced location to both the joker and the jokee, and more than this, a particular set of attributes *connotatively* attached to that location. To use another example, seeing as some of the people who read this dissertation won’t be up to date on the stereotypes about GI, let’s substitute ‘GI’ with ‘Cornell’. So then, unless a situation evokes something that is popularly related to Cornell, it doesn’t work. For example, it wouldn’t be funny to make the joke if you saw me sitting in a bus, because even though busses have been a major part of my university experience, it’s not something that is generally associated as being typical of Cornell. The joke’s reliance on both people knowing the referent spatial location as well as the typical attribute of that location is thus key to the joke (which is why jokes about GI wouldn’t be funny here). It might be funny, then, – or at least I think so! - to say the joke if you bumped into me in a bookstore when I was at an exciting place on holiday after I graduate; the punchline isn’t, after all, that I’m from Cornell, because that’s not that funny; what’s funny is that you’d be implying I’m a nerd. The shared reference would be to the nerdy nature of Cornell grad life, and you would be remarking that my nerdy behaviour reminds you of Cornell to such an extent that it manages to collapse both the spatial difference between the exotic place and Cornell, and the temporal distance between my time at Cornell and my time on holiday. Significantly, because the idea of being a nerd is never explicitly referred to, it might be argued that the joke, in fact, takes place offstage. The necessity of this *shared* familiarity for an offstage joke also makes this a two-way joke, because your recognition of the trait of nerdiness betrays your own knowledge of that trait, and thus, the unspoken joke-in-reply is that it takes one to know one.

⁴⁶⁹ I mean movement in two senses of the word; a school or group of people pushing for a shared liberatory goal, and shifting/ change.

⁴⁷⁰ Among whom I definitely include myself as I attempt to envisage what a comparative Oceanic literary methodology might look like.

⁴⁷¹ Margaret Jolly and Vince Diaz have both gestured towards this necessity of recognising the inherent differences within ‘Oceania’.

of comparativism, and so it would be fraudulent to set up an argument that it is blind to specificity. So why crack a joke that proposes a caveat about the need to be careful in our use of the construct of Oceania? Rather than being interested in differences on the basis of (pre-euro-contact) ‘Oceanic’ configurations or indigeneities or cultural phenomena, my joke refers to a lingering (colonial) temporal (and perhaps spatial) context.

In short, some of the biggest differences in our sea – ‘our sea of differences’ – are the result of imperial impositions and colonial/ anticolonial histories. What I am asking is: how does our use of ‘Oceania’ account for the historical baggage from the times when Oceania was Pacific? To reframe the question in terms of the joke, scholars and writers have worked so hard to distinguish Oceanic constructs of the ocean we call home, and the course of this work has been to extricate ‘Oceania’ from the damaging Western constructs of the region – which I’ve shorthanded as ‘Pacific’ - in order to ease differentiation between the two. In this way we might argue that raising Oceanic consciousness relies on a process of reclamation and rearticulation that seeks to ‘take the Oceania out of Pacific.’ However, in our Oceanic discourse, how can/ do we account for moments in which we recognise an attribute or situation from the colonial imposition of the ‘Pacific’? Although (I would argue that) the Oceanic movement focuses on rourou, there is a need for rakau in this field as well. Acknowledging the results of colonial histories, constructs and violences potentially centres them again, just at the point at which they need to be reconfigured, but not dealing with them head on might do the construct of ‘Oceania’ even greater disservice.

I have (cheekily) subtitled this section “Once Were Pacific” for two intersecting reasons, and with an intentionally ambiguous use of the word “once.” By playing with the title of the film *Once Were Warriors*, I want to make a reference to, and invert, colonial

representations of Maori (in this case, as warriors⁴⁷²). Such representations draw, of course, on a pre-colonial ‘once.’ We Once Were Pacific: the way we used to be is not how you think we were.’ At the same time, I want to look at the more recent ‘once,’ the time of colonisation⁴⁷³ in order to suggest that ‘the Pacific’ is an important history to acknowledge. We Once Were Pacific: decolonisation is about the grappling with, not the erasure of, colonisations; it’s about re-remembering, not forgetting.

The imbeddedness of the Pacific in Oceania is significant for this project because ‘Oceania’ (indigenous map of region) shows its ‘Pacifness’ (colonial map of region), among other times, when Maori literature in English is included within its frame. The misfittedness of this inclusion points to a number of ruptures and oversimplifications in the comparative frame of Oceania. By exposing these, Maori writing in English thus offers a rakau – a weapon for defence in order to protect its position there and yet also a tool to help fix it – to Oceania. Two major kinds of ‘Pacific’ difference seem the most salient barriers to pronouncing an Oceanic comparative literary methodology in/ by which Maori writing in English might be productively read. The first is the difference of economic/ political ‘worlds’ (yes, again a western construct) in Oceania; the region contains mostly ‘3rd world’ independent states, but also includes the ‘1st/ 4th world’ states of New Zealand and Hawaii.⁴⁷⁴ The other ‘difference,’ towards which I merely gesture here, is linguistic: not between Oceanic languages, or even pidgins,⁴⁷⁵ but between imposed colonial languages (and systems). The *Pacifidinguistic* differences are perhaps

⁴⁷² Although I will mention here that I actually really like *Once Were Warriors*, and think it’s an important film. In my humble opinion, the only thing wrong with the film is that it sits alone on the shelf of films written and directed by Maori that have circulated so widely. If there were depictions of ninety other Maori stories on widely-produced films, this film wouldn’t have to be held up to such critique. Like *Whale Rider* (but also unlike it, in important ways), this film carries an enormously high ‘burden of representation’.

⁴⁷³ I am using ‘time’ here pretty un-temporally; as un-temporally, indeed, as the ‘post’ in postcolonial.

⁴⁷⁴ The position of places like Guam and American Samoa in this system of ‘worlds’ is difficult to determine.

⁴⁷⁵ Wendt has suggested that perhaps the most widely spoken language of the Pacific is Pidgin; it is lingua franca in PNG, the Solomons, Vanuatu, and Hawaii, to name a few key examples.

most visibly represented by the virtual obfuscation of French Polynesia from Oceania⁴⁷⁶ and most *invisibly* represented by the Spanish-speaking Chile-occupied Rapanui and Portuguese-speaking newly independent Timor L'este (East Timor). Removing these bodies of literature from Pacific Literary Studies because of the accident of colonising language greatly diminishes the possible kinds of comparisons within which Maori writing might be considered. This difference separates otherwise obvious companions of Maori writing in English because of the close cultural and linguistic ties of the Ma'ohi, for example, to Maori. This linguistic situation points to the necessity of using the terminology of 'Anglophone' and 'in English' in discussions of Oceanic literatures, as well modelled by the anthology *Whetu Moana; Contemporary Polynesian Poems in English*.

is this ocean big enough for the both of us? the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th pacific worlds

An enabling dimension of the construct of Oceania is that it can look at Aotearoa New Zealand and see Maori, and look at Hawaii and see Indigenous Hawaiians, effectively reversing the western gaze that sees these places in terms of their occupying nation-states. However, what this perspective potentially obscures is both the discourse around a 'real' Oceania that relies on independence – and perhaps third worldness – for its markers of 'realness,' and the relative power (and lack thereof) that a difference of 'worlds' produces. Much Oceanic discourse - while tipping its hat sometimes to Maori and Aotearoa – assumes that 'Oceanic' places have independence/ small islands/

⁴⁷⁶ This is so deeply entrenched that it inflects my previous point; my claim that Oceania includes both Hawaii and Aotearoa as first world, and all the rest as third world, does not take into account the very differently organised French 'departments' in the Pacific, that at once are 'first world' by virtue of the fact that they're officially France, and yet share more characteristics with the Pacific 'third world', in terms of an indigenous majority etc.

indigenous majority/ tropical weather/ palm trees/ cocktails with silly umbrellas.⁴⁷⁷ In lots of ways this is, of course, a useful frame; Niue, Tonga, Samoa and Tokelau have a lot in common that they don't share with Aotearoa New Zealand. For much criticism and scholarly work, Oceanic people go to New Zealand because it is a first world metropole; Auckland, then, is more similar to Los Angeles than it is to Nuku'alofa. And yet, how do we account for the Maori name/ map of the same area as Auckland, Tamaki-makau-rau?

The lingering 'Pacific' (ie colonial legacies and imperialist economics) continues to divide Oceania into two major (economic) zones: developed and developing (which, of course, inherently and inappropriately reinforces a kind of modernist progress narrative); or first and third; or the recent 'North' and 'South' (a configuration that is so irrelevant to Oceanic maps that I wouldn't even entertain using it here). Although the distinctions between the 'first' and 'third' worlds can be simplistic,⁴⁷⁸ for this discussion these terms are useful because they allow the mobilisation of another term that has been prominent in Maori⁴⁷⁹ politics: the Fourth World.⁴⁸⁰ The implications of this various 'worlding' for an Oceanic comparative frame are clear: how can comparative conversations recognise the differences within the region with regard to economic/ political difference, and at the same time valorise the cultural and historical links that are at the heart of what it is to be Oceanic? Can – and how can - a comparative methodology be usefully comparative and yet not generalise to the extent that it doesn't recognise these important distinctions?

⁴⁷⁷ I am grateful to Vilsoni Hereniko, who challenged me – after my talk at the University of Hawaii's English Department - to think more deeply about this claim, given the way in which Maori writers have better access to publishing (and related circulation) than most 'Oceanic' writers, and so 'Maori' texts are often made to stand in for (and certainly to crowd out and dominate) 'Pac Lit'.

⁴⁷⁸ The intermediary 'world' (as long as one believes the second world to have been the Communist bloc represented by the USSR and the other nations 'behind the Iron Curtain') now seems to be missing. Slemon suggests that the second world is a convenient term for thinking about the majority-white settler colonies of Australia, NZ, Canada, and the US.

⁴⁷⁹ As well as First Nations, American Indian, Native Alaskan, Hawaiian and Indigenous Australian.

⁴⁸⁰ The fourth world was 'declared' twenty years ago; Chad Allen traces the emergence of the term in his *Blood Narrative*. In an address at UH in July 2004, Barry Barclay suggested the possibility of a thing called 'Fourth Cinema', a concept that works off the theoretical school of 'Third Cinema,' and Maori filmmaker Reina Webster has also done some work on this. Barclay has also written about this in a forthcoming book, and in an 'open letter' about *Whale Rider* and Indigenous filmmaking in Aotearoa. Barry Barclay, "An Open Letter to John Barnett from Barry Barclay," [OnFilm](#) February 2003 2003..

Two possible outcomes to this scenario are least preferable, not only for a consideration of Maori texts but also ‘Pacific Literature’ in general: a power-based US/ NZ dynamic, in which Oceania is only ever represented from the point of view of the 4th world; or the development (or, perhaps, maintenance) of a weird authenticity/ orthodoxy in which the ‘real’ Pacific (Oceania?) is marked by thirdworldness, and the ‘rest’ is just the... pretending Pacific...?? This latter option is most widely employed at present (Pacific Studies is about ‘development’/ Pacific peoples all have coconut palms/ Pacific peoples all speak an indigenous language/ etc), and is pivotal for the inclusion of Maori texts within an Oceanic frame. If economic/ historical/ hegemonic marginalisation is a requirement of Oceanic-ness, then although this frame opens the space for the centring of Oceanic-specific identifications - whakapapa, cultural and linguistic relationship – at the same time it shuts them down, and operates no differently than other minority/ marginalised/ ‘poor bastard’ comparative frames. I am not suggesting that Maori should always be included in every single Oceanic thing; Oceanic places other than Aotearoa and Hawaii have plenty of similarities and shared issues that pertain only to them and their social/ political/ cultural/ ecological/ environmental conditions, after all. What I’m trying to emphasise is the importance of being explicit about whether and how various groups are included in each configuration of Oceania.

Demanding thirdworldness – or thirdworldesque-ness – raises another set of complications, that in some constructions of a ‘real’ (third world/ independent) Oceania that exclude Maori is a *simultaneous* predominance of Maori symbolism and art in the visual culture of the very same ‘Oceania’. The ‘Maori’ isn’t in Oceania and yet its/ his/ her/ their/ our image certainly is. Here, in particular, I refer to the examples of the covers of two prominent printed texts that exclude Maori in their discussions and yet mobilise a Maori image to somehow stand in for, or represent, ‘Oceania’. The first of these is

Subramani's *South Pacific Literature*, and the second is the first volume of *The Contemporary Pacific*. Whether it is *South Pacific Literature*'s image of 'what was then', or *The Contemporary Pacific*'s 'here's how we're going', these are unmistakably Maori images that weirdly stand in for an Oceania-without-Maori. The 'Maori' image is thus a glitch in the Oceanic matrix; the misplaced déjà vu that could be easily dismissed but in fact marks that someone has been fiddling with the structural code.

The front cover of Subramani's *South Pacific Literature* is made up of two 'ethnic' images of Native heads, stylistically drawing on specific modes of representation.⁴⁸¹ One of the heads on the front cover – and in nauseating shades of green, a colour not apparent in pre-acrylic-paint Maori art – is unmistakably (at least pseudo-)Maori in design. The aesthetic of the head mimics Maori carving style, its hair is in a recognisable Maori 'topknot' and it wears a Maori moko. These 'heads' are overlaid on top of a painted scene that depicts three presumably 'South Pacific' people (upon closer inspection one woman is wearing a sari/ shalwar kameez, in line with Subaramani's inclusion of Fiji Indians in his 'South Pacific') walking near a road, along which are travelling some (presumably 'modern') cars, and beside which stand a solitary lamppost, an early colonial-era civil building (a school? an arm of government? a shop?) and what looks like a(n island-style) Christian church. This cover is presumably designed to literally illustrate the book's subtitle *From Myth to Fabulation*. However, even if this was a configuration that productively understood the dynamics between oral and written literatures (and even by describing them thus, I impliedly valorise both their difference and their binarism), the use of the Maori image in particular is problematic. As I have already mentioned above, early on in his book, Subramani lumps Maori and Koorie writing together as a distinct "region" – he identifies six regions in all - and dismisses them on the grounds of their more appropriate consideration as a part of their respective

⁴⁸¹ There are two more on the back cover.

‘national’ literatures,⁴⁸² and on that basis Maori writing is not discussed in detail for the rest of the book.⁴⁸³ What, then, is a Maori head doing on the front of this text? What does it symbolise, if not a discussion of Maori writing within his ‘South Pacific’ rubric? Is the head a ‘moko mokai,’⁴⁸⁴ stolen for display purposes within a foreign context? Is it green because it feels sick to be unacknowledged? Is its position ‘on top’ of the overlaid images meaningful? If the bottom image is ‘modernity’, and thus the thing towards which Subramani apparently believes Oceanic peoples are teleologically propelled, does this mean that the Maori (or, perhaps, the inclusion of Maori in Oceania) represent something that is gone? A lost point of departure, maybe? Or a mythology that has no place in the ‘modern’ time of ‘fabulation’?

Another manifestation of an Aotearoa-exclusive Oceania represented by a Maori image is the cover of the first issue of *The Contemporary Pacific* (ambiguously subtitled *A Journal of Island Affairs*), which bears a sketched image of the prow of a carved Maori waka. As with Subramani’s text, a number of questions are raised by the position of an unmistakably Maori image on the front of a publication in which the various Oceans discussed by the various writers do not generally include Maori.⁴⁸⁵ Is it Maori or ‘Oceania’ that is represented by the waka? If Maori are not included, why not use the image of a waka from elsewhere? Does the image in fact become a spectre, standing in for

⁴⁸² “The literatures of Australia and New Zealand form the fifth region. The literatures of Maori and Aboriginal peoples share common motifs with literatures of other Pacific regions. But they ought to be viewed as belonging to the mainstream of Australian and New Zealand writing.” (Subramani, *South Pacific Literature: From Myth to Fabulation*: xi) Not only does this move damagingly locate indigenous writers as inextricable from their occupying/ colonial nation-state contexts (of which, of course, they are also a part; see Chapter Five: Maori as New Zealand), but it also suggests that the ‘other’ Pacific nations are not significant or something enough to have their own ‘national’ literatures, such as would trump the ‘South Pacific’ regional designation.

⁴⁸³ The only other mention of Maori is in his recounting of the Maori version of the Maui stories that Wendt draws on in his fictional work. I am not dismissing Subramani’s text here *per se*; I am suggesting that his own refusal to engage with Maori texts limits the value of the text for a consideration of Maori writing in English.

⁴⁸⁴ Moko mokai are the ‘shrunk heads’ traded and displayed throughout the world (many commentators suggest that Queequeg in *Moby Dick* was selling these in Boston); much energy has been expended in recent years as a part of the huge and difficult to bring these home.

⁴⁸⁵ This has started to change in very recent volumes, in which Maori content and Maori scholars have been increasingly included in the scope of the twice-yearly journal.

the thing(s) that is/ are 'lost'? Does this mean Maori are 'lost' from Oceania, or 'lost' altogether? Unlike Subramani's text, in which the layering of several images produces a juxtaposition that in turn is (presumably) representative of some kind of change, this is a stand-alone prow; the meaning of the image is not drawn from its relation to other images, but from itself (and, perhaps, its lack of relation to Other images). The positioning of the prow, cropped as it is from the rest of the canoe (or indeed, from any paddlers or water) opens up another set of questions about the direction of the waka, if indeed it is in motion. To an unknowing reader of the image, who might not be able to tell if it is the back or the front of a waka, the waka is either just arriving, on its way west, or has just left, on its way east. The ambiguity of this direction seems important if one considers the image in relation to Subramani's, in which the Maori image functions as a repository or representation of a (lost) past; does *The Contemporary Pacific* suggest that the waka is leaving from, or returning to, Oceania? What happens if the waka is read as the vessel or methodology of Oceania, when the vessel itself is not in Oceania? Does this imply it will be a Maori vessel with non-Maori Oceanic paddlers? Cargo? Destinations? Homelands? Departure points?

To return the discussion of rakau briefly to the layers of the joke with which I started – you can take the oceania out of pacific but you can't take the pacific out of oceania - we need to ensure that in our discourse the denotative Oceania in fact connotes, as well as an 'a-Pacific' consciousness, a consciousness of the 'Pacific'. Because the explanatory punchline of the joke (what 'the Pacific' actually stands in for) happens offstage, and relies on connotation, the biggest risk with the joke is that the meaning is not shared; that the implied Oceania is not the same for all participants in the conversation. At these perilous moments, the joke is either in danger of falling flat (and that always sucks!) or leading to the complicated situation in which people are laughing together, but at

different things. Specifically, it is necessary, while we continue to set up and negotiate and expand our ideas of what Oceanic methodologies might look like, to painstakingly drag out the offstage connotations into the limelight for long enough to speak them and see them and acknowledge them. Hopefully such overt recognition of how our sea is also a ‘sea of differences’ will mean that they can then head back offstage and lurk there, not interrupting the show, but a central part of every onstage reference. This is not a call for a return to the ‘Pacific’, or even a simple pot shot at the construct of ‘Oceania’. Instead it is an attempt, by a staunchly ‘pro-Oceania’ scholar, to challenge the ‘Oceania movement’ to be explicit about the Pacific histories that are an embedded part of what it is to be Oceanic.

conclusions

Oceanic Conclusions I

My proposed configuration of how we might read these texts as Oceanic – an Aotearoa-inclusive Oceania, and an Aotearoa-based Oceania – obscures an important third mode/ space that this apparent dichotomy leaves out, and that is the diasporic Maori community, which not only may be not in Aotearoa, but also may even be not in Oceania! I hope my bifurcation does not, then, appear to be exclusively comprehensive and fixed.⁴⁸⁶ It is a regret that I do not/ cannot deal with this aspect adequately in this chapter, and I hope to further expand this aspect of my future discussions of Oceanic literatures, both as I find ways to do this, and as more texts are uncovered/ produced. The discussion I started earlier in this chapter, about the possibilities of reading ‘for’ diaspora and the

⁴⁸⁶ I am grateful for both academic and personal exchanges with friends/ colleagues AnnaMarie Christiansen and Hokulani Aikau that have brought to my attention the complex and highly pertinent dimensions of diasporic communities for any discussion of Maori and/ or Oceanic texts.

direction towards which I've tried to thereby shift the conversation, is particularly interested in the investments of writers, critics and publishers in the slippage between Maori, Aotearoa, and New Zealand. This, it seems, to me, might be key to the position of 'the diaspora'.

I know this is a massive and complex issue, and not one I can even try to get a handle on in this short time and with these few pages. However, I have been wondering if a key point is that the equation 'Maori = Aotearoa = New Zealand', which actually relies on *two* slippages. The first, between Maori and Aotearoa, is crucial because of the identification of Maori with Aotearoa (and each other) on the basis of indigeneity. If 'Maori' cannot slip into 'Aotearoa', the fundamental basis of tangatawhenuatanga is undermined. The second, Aotearoa = New Zealand, is also crucial, because without the ability to articulate the maintenance and assertion of an indigenous map, the implications and processes of, and resistances to, colonialism are removed (in one of the first published essays about Maori writing in English, "The Maori in Literature", Ihimaera himself talks about the 'two maps' that coexist within the nation-state boundaries of New Zealand). 'New Zealand' will never be able to secure itself against 'slipping' into the spectre of Aotearoa (in my dissertation I've called this 'Always Already Aotearoa'), just as Aotearoa is unable to refuse to recognize the ways in which it is inflected and shaped by 'New Zealand'. It seems to me that the problem, in terms of diaspora and location, and in terms of whose stories get to count as 'Maori' stories, arises when the shared term 'Aotearoa' is dropped out and the shortcut equation 'Maori = New Zealand' results.

Oceanic Conclusions II

My best friend Tasha, who is third generation urban Maori, and her husband Johnny, who is second generation (NZ-born) Niuean, had a haircutting ceremony for their

four sons in March 2000.⁴⁸⁷ The haircutting was held on the day of their youngest son Rhuben's first birthday - the first birthday is a big occasion in Maori culture - at which time Joseph was two, LeRoy was five and 'little Johnny' was six. Tasha and Johnny provided an umu, and the godparents of each of the children cut their hair.⁴⁸⁸ The only Niuean people at the ceremony beside the boys and their sister Jessie were their father and his mother, brothers and sisters and their children, as well as two sisters who were school friends of Tasha's and mine.⁴⁸⁹ About sixty other people were there, all Maori except for Tasha's Pakeha boss and her Chinese workmate. After the haircutting itself had been completed, and before the boys' big sister Jessie came out to dance for them, came the time for speeches.

Tasha stood to speak on behalf of the parents, and after greeting the crowd in Niuean and Maori, she switched to English and observed that most of the people at the ceremony, including herself, were not Niuean and that they had performed the haircutting as well as they could, considering they did not know the language, the history, or all of the specific protocols of the ceremony. She said they hoped this had been okay with Johnny's Mum. She then talked about how her own grandmother's and mother's generations had forcibly 'lost' their Maori language.⁴⁹⁰ Tasha explained that "we [Maori] have lost all the traditions our Nannies know, and so it's important to do these things,

⁴⁸⁷ Although the ceremony is traditionally held when sons reached puberty in Niue and the Cook Islands, families in NZ have often decided to cut the boys' hair earlier, before sending them to school, or while they are still in primary school. The boys dress in suits, with their hair (which has never been cut) plaited into very thin braids and tied with ribbons, and sit on a chair which - along with the surrounding floor - has been layered with sheets, blankets, tapa, island fabrics, and tivaevae or other hand-stitched quilts. Guests are called to bring forward (generous) gifts of money and receive a lock of cut hair in return. Finally speeches, dances and an umu (feast cooked in the ground, preferably with a whole pig as part of the meat) and other island foods conclude the ceremony.

⁴⁸⁸ Godparents have an important symbolic role in the Maori community; not only does the godparent name the child, but they also have other specific responsibilities, including over if anything happens to the parents or child.

⁴⁸⁹ Stephanie and Sandy's parents come from different villages than Johnny's family, and are thus unrelated to Johnny's family.

⁴⁹⁰ In NZ, the government created policies to enforce years of abuse of Maori language and tikanga (ways of doing things) at school, which was the major factor in the virtual (although not complete! and we're fighting back!) decimation of these treasures of the Maori community. Tasha's family have spent years living in Auckland and other smaller cities around the North Island, having been alienated from their tribal land 'up north'.

even if we don't know all the meaning behind them." Finally she expressed that she wished more than anything that she had able to address them in Maori, and that Johnny could address them in Niuean, but that the very fact of holding the ceremony, and the fact that her whanau and friends had supported it, meant that there was still "something" there.

The manifestation of ceremony and culture at the haircutting, and Tasha's insistence on the importance of this ceremony as a loud marker of identity as well as a quiet measurement of what had been lost, for both the Maori and the Niuean communities, was as strong and complex a statement about identity and space as any I have ever heard or read.⁴⁹¹ What happened at this pivotal point of Tasha's speech at her sons' haircutting? What transactions took place? Were boundaries/ centres reaffirmed?⁴⁹² Importantly, what was the "something" that was still there, and why was it valued enough that its continued existence was significant? My contention is that in that moment, Maori were indeed Oceanic. Tasha's speech lamented the loss of a previously-known 'centre', and recognised both the cultural and colonial links between Maori and Niuean communities. In the mourning and simultaneous reappropriation of the symbols of the haircutting ceremony - with or without their multivalent multilevelled meaning - she delineated the new centre for these second generation urbanised Oceanic people gathered in the driveway that day.

⁴⁹¹ The recognition that our communities 'do' theory, (even) in the absence of Western theorists and academic jargon, is neatly introduced in Barbara Christian's 'A Race for Theory': "For people of color have always theorized – but in forms quite different from the Western form of abstract logic. And I am inclined to say that our theorizing... is often in narrative forms, in the stories we create, in riddles and proverbs, I the play with language, since dynamic rather than fixed ideas seem more to our liking." Barbara Christian, "A Race for Theory," *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, eds. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (London: Routledge, 1995): 457. Lots of work in Cultural Studies also seeks to acknowledge these sites of theory, and one imagines this would be an important future direction for N/P/C/S.

⁴⁹² Spickard and Fong note that Polynesian identity is formed around centers rather than boundaries, a statement that is certainly supported from many of the concepts and precepts found within different Polynesian communities. Paul Spickard and Rowena Fong, "Pacific Islander Americans and Multiethnicity: A Vision of America's Future?," *Social Forces* 73.4 (1995). At the same time, of course, these communities are forced to interact – and be dominated by – Western groups, which apply notions of border and boundary upon them. I conclude that at the point of performance of Polynesian identity, both centers and boundaries are in fact in operation.

Oceanic Conclusions III

We met with about half a Dozⁿ Cloth Plants, being the same as the inhabitants of the Islands lying within the Tropicks make their finest cloth on: this plant must be vary scarce among them as the Cloth made from it is only worn in small pieces by way of ornaments at their ears and even this we have seen but very seldom. Their knowing the use of this sort of Cloth doth in some measure account for the extraordinary fondness they have shew'd for it above every other thing we had to give them, even a sheet of white paper is of more Value than so much English cloth of any sort what ever...⁴⁹³

In the course of his circumnavigation and survey of New Zealand Cook was in constant contact with the Maoris [sic]. Beads and nails were good currency for fish and sweet potatoes, but curiously enough large sheets of tapa obtained earlier at Tahiti were the best trade articles and were valued more highly by the New Zealanders than anything else the English could offer. Thus began the first inter-island trade in native products by white men in the Pacific.⁴⁹⁴

Now it is time to conclude by ending at the beginning – or perhaps, *a* beginning, with a final word about the relationship between Oceanic and Maori literary studies.⁴⁹⁵

The ‘Oceanic’ is the first of the four frameworks I am discussing in this dissertation because the relationship between ‘Maori’ and Oceania is partly about a shared colonial experience, but where is also (perhaps more so) a familial dimension: Maori whakapapa back into the various communities of Oceania. As Hirini Moko Mead puts it:

There is honour in being part of the peoples of Polynesia and knowing that we have relatives spread across the great Pacific Ocean.⁴⁹⁶

If the whole point of Hau’ofa’s ‘Oceania’ is to de-emphasise the binarised fascination with colonisers and ‘colonised’ in favour of local constructions of the region as a space

⁴⁹³ From Cook’s Journal entry dated Monday 4th Dec 1769. James Cook, Philip Edwards and J.C. Beaglehole, The Journals of Captain Cook : Prepared from the Original Manuscripts by J.C. Beaglehole for the Hakluyt Society, 1955-1967 (London: Penguin, 1999): 218.

⁴⁹⁴ Ernest Stanley Dodge, Islands and Empires : Western Impact on the Pacific and East Asia, Europe and the World in the Age of Expansion ; V. 7 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976): 34-35.

⁴⁹⁵ I am very grateful to the roomful of people who came and supported me as I presented parts of this chapter, and in particular the following ‘conclusion’, at the English Department Colloquium in March 2004 at the University of Hawaii and Manoa. The questions asked of me, and challenges put to me, in that space were crucial not only to the way this chapter has ended up, but also to my confidence to stand and speak as an Oceanic scholar.

⁴⁹⁶ Sidney M. Mead, Landmarks, Bridges and Visions : Aspects of Maori Culture : Essays (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1997): 7-8.

overwritten by indigenous criss-crossings, migrations and navigational histories, then why would I hold this description of first contact between Cook and Maori communities as a ‘beginning point’?

The answer is simple: it is because of how, and where, this conversation – ostensibly between, or at least about, the Oceanic comparative framework and Maori texts - is taking place: in the English language, between the pages of a dissertation, at a Western university. I refuse to *not* acknowledge the context of this conversation, and I believe that positioning my field within this narrative foregrounds a compelling way of framing the three dimensions of Oceania, Maori and the West. Specifically, I propose that the story of Cook’s trade with Maori, which resulted in his astonished observation that Maori valued Tahitian tapa cloth far more highly than European trinkets, plays out in allegorical form a provocative relation between Maori, Oceanic discourse, and the academic context of the University.

When the Native – in this case, Maori – scholar approaches (or, to echo the allegory of European voyaging more closely, is approached by) the University, or indeed the specific discipline of Literary Studies, it may seem that (at least in this context) the most useful and productive trade will be between Native (here, Maori) and European knowledges: I will contribute some aspect of Maori knowledge/ perspective to academia, and in return academia will allow me access to its carefully guarded and bounded European knowledge. To the University, this is the desired and desirable exchange between itself and a Maori scholar, and, like Cook, it readies its knowledges for the point of encounter. However, this narrative suggests that in fact a ‘thing’ from which Maori most stand to value and benefit is – whatever Cook may have *intended* to trade - one of the more recent acquisitions of the university system, the ‘stuff’ of Oceania. According to our tale of tapa, it was not beads and nails that were desired by Maori on first contact; it was lengths of tapa recently obtained from Tahiti. Significantly, Maori oral traditions had

retained a memory of the existence of such large pieces of tapa, even though the temperate environment in Aotearoa made production of even scraps of tapa all but impossible for a thousand years.

To put it clearly, and to explore further the metaphors bound up in this allegory, although an approach (a Maori approach, my approach) into literary studies might be perceived to be – and represented as – the adoption of European ways of doing things.⁴⁹⁷ The Western academy, setting out in an age of European (knowledge) exploration into new waters with a colonial presumption to circumnavigate in order to ‘know’⁴⁹⁸ (as well as to improve the mode of European resource extraction), recognises that it will need to set up reciprocal relationships with those from whom it needs fresh produce and prepares the trinkets and nails⁴⁹⁹ for trade.

Significantly, the very products Cook hoped to acquire from the Maori trading communities - fish and sweet potatoes - are both used within a Maori cultural context to represent knowledge.⁵⁰⁰ Further, this trade for cultivated, prepared and ‘fished’ foods – that is, foods not in their ‘raw’ state – and so the application of indigenous labour is

⁴⁹⁷ And perhaps we might imagine that the nails of Cook’s trade are the structural elements of ‘doing things’, and the beads are the decorative.

⁴⁹⁸ Note the personalities on board each of Cook’s voyages: botanists, astronomers, etc. The ‘discovery’ of the Pacific was a combination of scientific discovery and a desire to find a more economically agreeable method of extracting resources and bringing them ‘back’ to Europe. Of course, a fair amount of Biblical ‘knowing’ took place in the Pacific voyages too!

⁴⁹⁹ Nails were a very important commodity in early Oceanic trade with Europeans, because the indigenous groups did not have access to metals in their own natural environments. This was so to the extent that Cook commented on his need to post his crew to watch the ship in case of marauding parties who would have stolen not only the spare nails, but also the very nails holding the ship itself together. Of course, had that theft taken place, they would have been stranded there, never to move again! The dimension of gate-keeping knowledge that this adds to our allegory is interesting to say the least.

⁵⁰⁰ The idea that kumara (sweet potatoes) are tied to knowledge has already been discussed. I am grateful to Glenis Philip-Barbara for a conversation years ago in which she talked about the kumara as a metaphor for knowledge. Ika most commonly means ‘fish’ (the noun, not the verb), but Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal explained to me that it has another connotative meaning in the context of our oral tradition; from highly sophisticated karakia to simple ‘children’s’ stories, a ‘fish’ stands for an idea. Te ika is the metaphoric incarnation of a revolutionary/ radical (yet also somehow pre-existent) idea; rather than being about physical fish, the appearances in the oral traditions of ika are about the pursuit of understanding and innovation. As he retold the very familiar story of Māui fishing up his fish, Charles related it to another goal, that of knowledge acquisition and theoretical debate. An ika, he suggested, is a new idea, a new concept, a new technology, a new viewpoint. This is why Māui needed to go to new waters; this is why he needed his ancestor’s jawbone. And as with all such concepts and stories in Maori cosmology, of course, the value of the ika is determined by its worth to the whole community; the proof and point of the conceptual pudding is in the communal tasting.

something upon which European explorers were also inherently dependent, and this perhaps suggests the ways in which the University – even if/ when its set out it wasn't the case – seeks, on the recent leg of its journey, not simply natives as *objects/ informants*, but also seeks Native *knowledges/ scholars*. The fish and kumara, then, were traded for tapa, a material acquired through colonial trade and perhaps a touch of souveniring exoticism, on which (at least to Cook) Maori placed an inexplicably high value. I want to suggest that this tapa obtained at Tahiti stands in provocatively for 'Oceania', given the flourishing of the paper mulberry plant from which tapa is produced throughout the Oceanic region except for most of Aotearoa. Like the kumara and fish of Aotearoa, tapa is not the same as the tree from which it comes; it relies on indigenous knowledge and expertise for its construction and value.

Now, upon seeing the tapa, Maori response was primarily one of recognition and reconnection; this 'Oceania' might exist in our oral traditions, but our location (both in Aotearoa and New Zealand) has made it all but impossible for this connection to be maintained. Scraps of Oceania are still visible, however, and as soon as the tapa/ Oceania is recognised it is valued. Indeed, for Maori/ us/ me, these moments in which Maori and Oceania are reunited suggestively complete the cycle that started when our tupuna navigated their way to Aotearoa generations ago.

So then, working from our allegory, one of the most exciting things that the academy currently offers Maori literary analysis is the inclusion of Maori within the framework of 'Oceania', a comparative context that in turn has the possibility of contributing to a reaffirmation of the whakapapa and historical links between the Maori community and our Oceanic relations. This is particularly significant because, while the (at least nominal) inclusion of Maori literature within Oceanic literary horizons is an aspect of Pacific/ Oceanic studies outside Aotearoa, the (sense of) cultural distinctiveness developed over centuries of no contact with the rest of Oceania, and the contemporary

emphasis on an indigenous/ non-indigenous bifurcation, means that – to use the academic institutional organization as an example - Maori (Literary) Studies and Pacific (Literary) Studies are not currently linked.⁵⁰¹

What, perhaps, Maori literary studies could focus on in the narrative of Cook's trade, is that Maori *did* have remnant forms of tapa, and these were accompanied by complementary/ supporting oral traditions about much larger and sturdier sheets elsewhere in earlier 'homes' before they set out on their haerenga to Aotearoa. It was this that enabled them to recognise, contextualise and value the tapa they were offered centuries later.⁵⁰²

What, perhaps, the University/ literary studies could focus on in our story about the trade of tapa and food is its own position as a constructed and mobile site for trade.⁵⁰³ This is a productive and complex space, and yet it is also not a neutral or egalitarian space. The University has become a part of the criss-crossing – the histories, the relationships, the boundaries - of Oceania, and takes its place alongside the many watercraft fashioned by indigenous and non-indigenous people there (or here). It does perform a very important role, and yet it is not a role that should be imagined to eclipse, counter, override or second-guess the reasons that indigenous people of Oceania consent

⁵⁰¹ One significant (at least nominal) exception to this is the now-disbanded 'Te Kawa a Maui', the organisational umbrella that includes Maori Studies, Samoan Studies and Pacific Studies at Victoria University of Wellington; the unit, which no longer includes Pacific Studies, is named after Maui, a demigod/ trickster figure found throughout the oral traditions of the Pacific, and who is associated with knowledge and the pursuit of betterment for the community (he's also cheeky and challenging, surely a good namesake for such marginalised departments!).

⁵⁰² Further, when Maori first came into contact with Cook's ships they did not recognise them as being captained by Cook; to Maori, it was apparent that Tupaia, the Tahitian explorer who travelled with Cook and provided translation as well as navigational services, was in charge. I am grateful to Robert Sullivan for pointing this out to me, and suggesting that I consider its place in this metaphor. I regret that I am still unsure as to exactly how this part of the story fits within this allegory, but I wonder if it emphasises the role of Oceanic practitioners and scholars already operating within the University system. It is their ability to operate within many knowledge spheres that earns them not only a place on the ship (Tupaia was highly respected by the Europeans on board, especially Cook) but also recognition of a place within the academic structure. It is not, after all, for us to second-guess Maori and chuckle at their innocence as to the 'real' captain; for Maori, Tupaia was in that position. This is, of course, not to naively downplay the issue of power in this situation; just as Tupaia was ultimately at the mercy of Cook, so too Oceanic scholars are ultimately – even if they occupy crucial roles – at the mercy of the institution.

⁵⁰³ Special thanks to Brandy Nalani McDougall for pushing and encouraging me to explore this dimension of the metaphor!

to trading in the first place. We come with our own sense of values, and have our own systems for determining the value of various products. Sometimes the thing we most desire is something the University – or literary studies - did not, at first anyway, set out to acquire, and yet it is what **we** might have decided to come for. At the end of the day, much to Cook’s astonishment, Maori – those “Oceanic” people that we are - have the power and knowledges to determine the measurement of value for various ‘cargoes’⁵⁰⁴ and this power is a mechanism of trade by which we can continue to – albeit rhetorically – navigate around the Pacific **and** Oceania, re-cementing the ties from long ago.

There are limits to this metaphor of course: I acknowledge the problematic of reinscribing the ‘antiquity’/ ‘purity’/ ‘untouchedness’ of the so-called ‘authentic’ native body when equating this kind of academic work with a story of first contact. And, there is a problem with me setting up the mobile University and the landlocked Oceanians, or the trading middlemen and the passive consuming natives. And yet, it might be a start, at least for getting the conversation going.

Tupaia was the first of thousands of Oceanic people who have decided – for whatever reason – to jump on the Western ship and see what there is to see. He was also the first indigenous Oceanian to produce a “text” on European-paper. Perhaps this – all of this - is something along the lines of what he saw when he depicted the trade between Europeans bearing tapa and Maori bearing koura⁵⁰⁵/ fish. I can imagine Tupaia recognising the significance of that moment in which Maori acquired the first *new* influx of material culture from one of their ancestral homes – tangible affirmation of oral traditions and cultural practices that had been passed down through the generations of isolation from the rest of Oceania - and choosing that as the image to record for posterity.

⁵⁰⁴ A very loaded term in the Pacific because of the anthropological fascination with what have been known as ‘cargo cults.’

⁵⁰⁵ Crayfish; in North America, lobster.

Native literature, and Native literary criticism, written by Native authors,
is part of sovereignty:

Indian people exercising the right to present images of themselves
and to discuss those images.

Craig Womack

It is our relationships to other indigenous peoples that are assisting us
to theorise identities as colonised peoples. It is our interaction with
other Indigenous Peoples and the sharing of experiences that is also
giving us a stronger commitment to work from our epistemological
base in the university.

Cheryl Waerea-i-te-rangi Smith

I regard myself as an indigenous New Zealander - I come from Wainuiomata.

Pakeha politician Trevor Mallard

A cat in a banana box will never be a banana.

*Maori activist Titewhai Harawira,
commenting on Mallard's claim.*

Despite these differences, what all of the writers share
is our connection to our homelands, our histories of colonization,
genocide and displacement, and our will to survive
and pass the treasures of our cultures to future generations.

Kateri Akiwenzie-Damm

...the [Laguna] war captain lingered behind, not to whisper to the stone
figures as the others in the delegation had, expressing their grief, but to
memorize all the other stolen objects he could see around the room.

Leslie Marmon Silko

I cry for this treasure, lost to its people and out of place in a foreign land...
Surrounded by thousands of displaced objects

Kelly Joseph

CHAPTER FOUR:
MAORI AS INDIGENOUS

‘Indigenous’ is a tremendously busy term. The word stands in for the (local) name of ‘indigenous’ communities, and it simultaneously refers to ‘indigenous communities’ as a (global) whole. Consequently, while denoting a more-than-just-Maori comparative frame as in the frames ‘Oceania’, ‘Postcolonial’ and ‘New Zealand’, the terminology of Indigenusness is also widely employed by many members of the Maori community in order to specifically refer to themselves. This means that any theoretical consideration of the term needs to be balanced against the use of the term in ‘the real world;’ this is a word that people mobilise and engage in multiple spaces. In his introduction to *The Origins of Indigenism*, Niezen foregrounds this space of negotiation:

it was neither the *community-based* research nor the *international* meetings that encouraged me to develop the topic of the international movement of indigenous peoples into a book project; rather, *it was the juxtaposition of the two.*⁵⁰⁶

On a good day, the simultaneous insistence on local (“community-based”) specificity and vision of (“international”) comparative relationships results in a productive dynamic oscillation that mutually enhances both the local and global ‘indigenous’ communities.

⁵⁰⁶ Ronald Niezen, *The Origins of Indigenism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003).: xiii; emphasis added.

On a bad day, however, the term becomes fuzzy to the point of abstraction, susceptible to hegemonic prescriptive indigenities, and eventual discursive paralysis or irrelevance. Additionally, because a shared Indigenous identity is based on a claim to sheer specificity, ‘defining’ the comparative use of the term can become impossibly oxymoronic: how do you find things you ‘share’ when the basis of your connection is your insistence on uniqueness? These “juxtaposition[s]” inflect much of my discussion about reading Maori as Indigenous.

The early pages of this chapter explore the slipperiness and complexity of the ‘Indigenous’ frame, and in particular the simultaneously comparative and specific uses of the term ‘indigenous.’ In the rourou section I consider the various ways in which indigenous writers treat the space of the museum – with its alienating architecture and simultaneous displays of objects from various Indigenous communities – and suggest that this provides a rich metaphor for the engagement with colonialism that underpins the connections between indigenous communities and, thereby, our literatures. I defer to these literary texts to suggest a ‘way through’ the theoretical predicaments already described, through their very articulations of familiar/ familial indigeness. Having proposed a way to think through the context for Indigenous-Indigenous encounters, I go on to foreground these connections as staged and articulated in specific pieces of writing by Maori that describe encounters with Other Indigenes. Three rakau of this framework are considered: the colonially-derived hierarchies that infuse current indigenous mobilities; the disconnections metaphorised by the identification of Maori with the ‘cowboys’ of Western genre movies; and the issue of colonially-introduced ‘competition’ between indigenous groups (‘comparison gone bad’).

the indigenous frame: cartographies, anthologies, methodologies

cartographies

The ‘indigenous’ in ‘the indigenous frame’ is perhaps the most vigorously and variously mapped term in this project. After all, the Pacific/ Oceanic, Postcolonial and New Zealand frames have accumulated conventional⁵⁰⁷ – if controversial, unsatisfactory or questionable – maps: the Pacific is an Ocean/ region; the Postcolonial is tied to an historical sequence of events and processes; New Zealand is a nation-state. While, clearly, the inclusions or exclusions of those maps are contestable and potentially dangerous, there is a hegemonic definition to which each of those terms generally refer, and against which one can then argue. Contrastingly, when it comes to mapping (the) ‘Indigenous’ there is perpetual open season on the territory and terrain of the term itself.

An exchange from the New Zealand Parliament chambers may seem an odd starting point for a section on mapping the indigenous, but I believe the following exchange points towards a crucial issue that Steven Leuthold euphemistically notes in his introduction to *Indigenous Aesthetics; Native Art, Media and Identity*: “the term “indigenous” presents definitional problems in a contemporary context.”⁵⁰⁸ Interestingly, and frustratingly, everyone has a different definition of what – or indeed *who* – is indigenous. (Of course, anyone who has tried to come up with a guest list to an international indigenous peoples’ event already knows this!). Enter Pakeha politician, Trevor Mallard:

GERRY BROWNLEE (Deputy Leader - National) to the **Coordinating Minister, Race Relations**: Does he stand by his statement “I regard myself as an indigenous New Zealander - I come from Wainuiomata.”; if so, why?

⁵⁰⁷ Or, cynically, ‘hegemonic.’

⁵⁰⁸ Steven Leuthold, *Indigenous Aesthetics : Native Art, Media, and Identity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998): 3.

Hon TREVOR MALLARD (Coordinating Minister, Race Relations) Yes. I suggest that the member reads the speech.

...

Darren Hughes: Has the Minister's point of view been supported by any historians?

Hon TREVOR MALLARD: I think the late Michael King's comment in *Being Pakeha Now* is quite appropriate: "Like the ancestors of the Maori, they came as immigrants. Like Maori, too, we became indigenous at the point where our focus of identity and commitment shifted to this country and away from our countries and cultures of origin." I think he put that very well.

...

Rt Hon Winston Peters: ... Does the Minister not understand how pathetic it must seem internationally when the two old parties spend all their time arguing about who is indigenous, who is native, and who is a New Zealander; and why cannot they accept that "native" means the same as it meant when the British Empire used to say: "The natives are getting restless.", and get with the 21st century?

Hon TREVOR MALLARD: I think the member, as far as the National Party goes, has a point. I thank him for his support, and I will forget why we used to call him Luigi.

Rt Hon Winston Peters: I raise a point of order, Mr Speaker. That allegation is disgraceful. It was first made by a number of rather envious people at Auckland University, even though I was the Auckland Maori rugby captain, and that is why it is a disgrace.

...

Nandor Tanczos: Is the Minister aware of the United Nations' definition of indigenous people, which refers to communities having "historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies" -

Rt Hon Winston Peters: Here we go.

...

Nandor Tanczos: There is historical amnesia in Parliament... Is the Minister aware of the United Nations' definition of indigenous people, which refers to communities having "historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies", and does he agree that, by that definition, while Pakeha cannot call ourselves indigenous or tangata whenua, we do belong here by right of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and can justly call ourselves tangata tiriti?

Hon TREVOR MALLARD: An enormous amount of discussion goes on in that area, but if one took that argument to its logical conclusion, all of those who arrived on a canoe other than the first canoe would not be indigenous.⁵⁰⁹

These excerpts foreground the limits of language available to non-Maori New Zealanders to conceptualise and express their affiliation to the New Zealand landscape. In a classic colonial turn, the Pakeha 'Race-relations Minister'⁵¹⁰ appropriates the term 'indigenous'

⁵⁰⁹ Hansard notes from the 3 August 2004 session.

⁵¹⁰ A newly created position, because apparently the Minister of Maori Affairs and Minister of Treaty Relations kept annoyingly talking about historical injustices and present-day racisms, and New Zealand

in order to express his New Zealandness; around a century ago, his forebears were doing the same thing with ‘New Zealander,’ which had until then had referred to (those whom we now call) Maori. Although this extract offers rich possibilities for exploring the relation between Pakeha and New Zealand identity, for the present chapter I focus on the “definitional problems” of the word itself that the exchange illuminates: definitions from an historian, the UN and personal understandings all overlap as the Members grapple with the term.

In particular, the excerpt emphasises the extent to which the meaning of the term ‘indigenous’ is somehow always up for grabs: rather than acknowledging current uses and definitions of the term, Mallard believes himself to have the right and the ability to produce his own definition, and to argue “logical[ly]” with certain existing definitions when they are suggested: “if one took that [UN] argument to its logical conclusion, all of those who arrived on a canoe other than the first canoe would not be indigenous.” The distinctly “[il]logical conclusion” Mallard reaches seems less significant here than the confidence with which it is reached and asserted. Indeed, the slipperiness and political resonance of the term ‘indigenous’ compels many commentators to establish their own definitions⁵¹¹ and a brief consideration of some of these explicit attempts at definition is instructive.⁵¹² In his thorough *Invisible Indigenes; the Politics of Nonrecognition*, in which he explores how “states worldwide act to reduce the numbers of indigenes for a

wanted someone official who could bleat about how much we love one another and (to paraphrase Governor Hobson at the signing of the Treaty) how ‘we’re all one people’; we’re all New Zealanders.

⁵¹¹ Sometimes in specific sections with such titles as “A note on Terminology” (Gerald R. Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness : An Indigenous Manifesto* (Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 1999).: xxv) and “Some Preliminary Terminology” (Allen, *Blood Narrative: Indigenous Identity in American Indian and Maori Literary and Activist Texts.*), “Terminology” (Devon A. Mihesuah, *Indigenous American Women : Decolonization, Empowerment, Activism.* Contemporary Indigenous Issues (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003).).

⁵¹² As in the case of Mallard and his canoes, the presumption of a definitional vacuum and the production of (unsubstantiated) definitional ‘final words’ are key aspects of these passages. For example, Devon Mihesueh, in her *Indigenous American Women*, interestingly re-glosses ‘Native Americans’: “which signifies anyone born in the United States”. (Mihesuah, *Indigenous American Women : Decolonization, Empowerment, Activism.*: xxi) The point here is not that she is necessarily *wrong*, but that she assert her definition without recognising any competing definitions (and in particular, the wide usage of the term ‘Native Americans’ in strategic, organisational, legal, community and individual identifications).

variety of reasons,⁵¹³ Miller explicates the multiple ways in which ‘indigenous’ has been defined by various academic disciplines and governing bodies, and notes that “the conception of indigenous can be manipulated to serve state and international interests.”⁵¹⁴ There is immense political oomph in mapping the category ‘indigenous,’ in terms of resistance to the sovereignty of the nation-state that the term itself implies as well as in terms of the (perceived⁵¹⁵) ‘opportunities’ available to ‘indigenous’ peoples.⁵¹⁶

Similar definitional problems are apparent when cartographers attempt to map the ‘indigenous’ with the bluntness of quantitative demographics. Somewhat surprisingly, these counts of ‘indigenous peoples’ are often not explained but instead are simply offered, or asserted, apparently to speak for themselves. Miller provides a great deal of numerical detail from various sources, including figures for national, regional, hemispheric and international totals:

Although it is difficult to determine how many indigenous people there are in the world because of the conceptual problems in determining just what indigenous means, Maybury-Lewis estimates that 5 percent of the current world’s population is indigenous. His count is in reference to “descendants of peoples who were marginalised by the major powers and especially expanding empires”. Dr Erica-Irene Daes, former chairperson-rapporteur of the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations, provides the same 5 percent figure... These [Maybury-Lewis’s] figures yield a total of 257,416,000 indigenous people worldwide.

A publication of the International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), however, gives a considerably smaller, although still large, figure of 153,780,00[0], some 3 percent of the world’s population. A third publication suggests that there are over 5,000

⁵¹³ Bruce G. Miller, *Invisible Indigenes : The Politics of Nonrecognition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003): 9

⁵¹⁴ Miller, *Invisible Indigenes : The Politics of Nonrecognition*: 9

⁵¹⁵ Here we encounter the myth of the gravy train and the opportunist indigenes. The exponentially higher number of indigenous people passing for ‘white’ compared to the number of white people passing for indigenous is one way to question this line of thought. Sherman Alexie writes, in his poem “The Unauthorized Autobiography of Me”:

So many people claim to be Indian, speaking of an Indian grandmother, a warrior grandfather. Suppose the United States government announced that all Indians had to return to their reservation. How many of these people would not shove that Indian ancestor back into the closet? (Sherman Alexie, *One Stick Song* (Brooklyn: Hanging Loose Press, 2000): 24)

⁵¹⁶ We might think here about the discourses around the Akaka Bill, which would extend the status of ‘indigenous people’ to Native Hawaiians: some claim that this recognition includes economic, educational, cultural and financial benefits for Hawaiian people.

indigenous groups, with a combined population of 300 million – 350 million.⁵¹⁷

Smith's, Burke's and Ward's introduction to the edited volume *Indigenous Cultures in an Interconnected World* offers a headcount without explaining the source of the figure or, indeed, what 'counts' as Indigenous:

While there are approximately 350 million Indigenous persons across the world, they comprise only 6 percent of the world's population.⁵¹⁸

Niezen comments on such feats of mind-numbing number-ness:

Those who attend international meetings on the rights of indigenous peoples are sometimes told that these peoples include some three hundred million members of at least four thousand distinct cultures. Whether or not we accept this estimate as accurate, the number of groups that can be identified as 'indigenous' is considerable, and writing on the topic immediately poses an ethnographic challenge.⁵¹⁹

The striking difference of up to 100 million indigenous people depending on which equation is used becomes even more significant when one considers that often the term 'indigenous' is used to mean just the Fourth World nations subsumed by New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States. For many maps of the indigenous, then, the demographic would look more like approximately six and a half million.⁵²⁰ Because of the incredibly wide range of possibilities for mapping the 'indigenous' world, it seems more prudent to focus on the anthologies that select on the basis of the writers being 'indigenous' (and including Maori), and then to consider various practices and implications of the multiple configurations of the indigenous in the methodology section.

⁵¹⁷ Miller, *Invisible Indigenes: The Politics of Nonrecognition*: 11-12

⁵¹⁸ Claire Smith and Graeme K. Ward, *Indigenous Cultures in an Interconnected World* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000): 2.

⁵¹⁹ Niezen, *The Origins of Indigenism*: xii.

⁵²⁰ Using rough population estimates of 600,000 Maori; 400,000 Hawaiians; 1 million Aboriginal Canadian; 400,000 Aboriginal Australian; 4 million American Indian/ Alaska Native: from census information of each nation state. Clearly, there are all kinds of issues around 'counting' indigenous people, many of which are highly inaccurate and unwieldy, and so this is only the roughest of guesses; my point is to distinguish the scale of this kind of figure vis a vis the multi-million figures given in many texts. There is very active debate around the sources and parameters of these kinds of 'census data' figures, in particular in the US after the 2000 census in which the possibility of 'checking multiple boxes' has led to further complexity. Population counts are also affected by pressures such as the effect of blood quantum-derived definitions in Hawaii and several Indigenous nations in the US and Canada, and issues around recognition and status etc. For example, Indigenous women in Canada experienced a legislated loss of Indigenous status (in the eyes of the Canadian government) if they married a non-Indigenous man.

It is impossible to speak of mapping the term ‘indigenous’ without paying close attention to indigenous cartographies and in particular the tendency toward (what I call) ‘geographical doublethinking,’ in which we can see two simultaneous maps of the same landscape.⁵²¹ Although the cartography section of each chapter in this dissertation attempts to account for how the particular comparative frame is ‘mapped,’ the emphasis by indigenous peoples on very material, tangible, *land* adds a dimension – a specifically cultural and political dimension – to the stakes and possibilities of mapping the term. In August 2003, a forum was held in Hawai’i during which ‘geographical doublethinking’ was explicitly articulated:

The forum’s most electric moment came during the closing statements, when Osorio, responding to shouted protests from some audience members — including cries of “traitor!” directed toward the supporters of the Akaka-Stevens bill — pointedly declared: “There are no traitors on this stage ... don’t attack the people who are speaking one way or another, *they’re all patriots up here.*”⁵²²

The idea of Indigenous “patriots” - and their implied opposite, “traitors” – is mobilised in this example as a way of underpinning the connections between Hawaiian people with vastly different views of the proposed Akaka Bill, and this centres affiliation to land rather than to a nation-state. Osorio did not mean the speakers are patriots to their occupying state, the US,⁵²³ but that they are patriots to Hawaii.

In his introduction to *nuanua*, Wendt proposes a way of grappling with the ‘post’ of ‘post-colonial,’ which compellingly suggests a way of thinking about the ‘nation’ of ‘settler nations,’ in which indigenous and non-indigenous nations coexist:

For me the *post* in post-colonial does not just mean *after*; it also means *around, through, out of, alongside* and *against*. In the new literatures in English it means all of these.⁵²⁴

⁵²¹ Look to Chapter Five: Maori as Postcolonial for further discussion of bilingually *naming* the landscape, which is tied to this geographical doublethinking.

⁵²² Derek Ferrar, [Tv Forum Airs Divergent Views on Federal Recognition](http://www.oha.org/content.asp?contentid=70), 2003, <http://www.oha.org/content.asp?contentid=70>.

⁵²³ This kind of nation-state patriotism is grotesquely manifest, for example in the US Patriot Act.

⁵²⁴ Wendt, [Nuanua : Pacific Writing in English since 1980](#): 3

Wendt's "alongside"-ness suggests the possibility of conceiving a cartography of the indigenous world. This multi-levelled vision is certainly not new for Maori, who have long imagined New Zealand to be in relationship with another space that occupies the same geographical boundaries, Aotearoa. Although the more salient site of pre-Pakeha identity was a more localised tribal/ subtribal area, the traditional concept of 'Aotearoa'⁵²⁵ is used (and has been since contact) in order to imagine the Maori world which coexists with/ alongside the Pakeha world, enabling the Maori community to retain a history of survival and centrality which is impossible when the Maori world is merely a subset of New Zealand.⁵²⁶ Hirini Moko Mead, a Maori scholar and commentator, writes:

I am... committed to my country, to the land we call Aotearoa⁵²⁷

One clear statement about the rhetorical power of the name 'Aotearoa' in the contemporary decolonising project is found in Ihimaera's introduction to the second volume of the Te Ao Marama series:

In no other period in Maori history have our people moved so far and so fast. The signs are everywhere – and we are still moving. We are regaining Aotearoa.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁵ Aotearoa, literally, 'the land of the long white cloud', was so named by the explorer Kupe's wife, upon seeing the cloud formations over the much bigger land mass than the islands they had come from.

⁵²⁶ Geographical doublethinking also means the 'nation' can be more complex; there is scope for multiple realities of what it means to be Maori within 'Aotearoa,' unlike when Maori are locked in as a sub-group of the nation-state of New Zealand, and therefore having to relate as a somewhat unified - or at least unifiable - entity. The expediency of claiming a degree of homogenousness in order to articulate particularity as a group – and the colonialist assumption of the uncomplicated and blobbish Other - can override the possibilities of intra-group diversity in the context of a racist colonialist nation-state. And, Miller would remind us, there are multiple reasons why a nation-state would be very happy to delegitimize claims to indigenosity through the creation of a false 'authenticity' to which few relevant people could ever measure up.

The strategy of 'strategic lumpiness,' of course, threatens to explode all the time; look to the struggle over the definition of 'iwi' when urban Maori and tribal organizations competed for fish money; also, consider the multiple interventions by members of the Maori community (and in writing that word 'community' as a singular, of course, I have reinscribed a kind of monolithness) calling for attention to be paid to the diversities of gender, class, sexuality, education, residence, language, and so on. Indeed, these issues are central to many Maori creative texts.

⁵²⁷ Menzies, Sturm, Hulme and Mead, "Four Responses to *the Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse*": 332. Likewise in the Australian context, Gilbert's anthology is dedicated "For Aboriginaland." Kevin Gilbert, *Inside Black Australia : An Anthology of Aboriginal Poetry* (Ringwood, Victoria, Australia ; New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1988)..

⁵²⁸ Witi Ihimaera, "Kaupapa," *Te Ao Marama 2: He Whakaatanga O Te Ao*, eds. Witi Ihimaera, D.S. Long, Irihapeti Ramsden and Haere Williams (Auckland: Reed, 1993):. 8. Kokiri = to move in the same direction.

The sheer significance of land to geographical doublethinking is crucial, because a central dimension of indigeneity is the link to a particular area of land. We tell stories about our ties to the land we inhabit and these link us strongly and filially to that land.

From Papahānaumoku (She Who Births Islands) and Wakea (Sky Father) came the islands of Hawai'i. From the islands came the taro plant, and from the taro came the Hawaiian people. *We were born from the land* our grandmother, whom we must care for and respect.⁵²⁹

Aborigines inherited this land long before the great ice-age, disproving the theory of the land bridge immigration path, in agreement with the Aboriginal story that we have *always* been here.⁵³⁰

Ko Papatuanuku.
Ko Papatuanuku.
Te whenua, te whenua.
Te Wahine tino hirahira.,
Te Wahine Atua,
Te ihi, te mana, te wehi,
Ko Papatuanuku te tino whaea
O te Taiao.⁵³¹

The geographic boundaries that the nation state system has developed are not – except in the case of islands or single-nation continents, such as New Zealand and Australia respectively, and even then questionably⁵³² – the same boundaries as those of the indigenous world.⁵³³

As native peoples we were now restricted by national and political boundaries that did not exist before colonization. There was no Canada, United States, or Mexico, for example. And nations such as the Yaqui, Okanogan, and Mohawk weren't falsely divided by these boundaries as they are now, their lands separated by two international borders.⁵³⁴

⁵²⁹ Haunani-Kay Trask, "Biography," *Reinventing the Enemy's Language*, eds. Joy Harjo and G Bird (New York: Norton, 1997): 519.

⁵³⁰ Kevin Gilbert, "Introduction," *Inside Black Australia: an Anthology of Aboriginal Poetry*, ed. Kevin Gilbert (Ringwood: Penguin, 1988): xix.

⁵³¹ Mihi Edwards, "He Haka Mā Te Wāhine," *Toi Wāhine: The Worlds of Māori Women*, eds. Robyn Kahukiwa, Kathie Irwin and Irihapeti Ramsden (1995): 7.

⁵³² Look, for example, at the recent move towards the term "Indigenous Australians" and/or "Black (or Blak or Blaq) Australians"; not only does this move the discourse from the generic 'Aboriginal', but it allows space for non-Aboriginal (here I use the term as a proper noun, not an adjective) Indigenous Australians, namely Torres Strait Islanders (and perhaps Indigenous Tasmanians).

⁵³³ Consider the presence of a 'New Zealand Maori' team in the Rugby League World Cup, competing alongside other nations, and whose players are eligible for either the 'Maori' team or the 'New Zealand' team. There are numerous other examples in organisations such as the United Nations, whose members of the Indigenous group could also potentially (even simultaneously) be members through the representation systems of their nation states.

⁵³⁴ Joy Harjo and Gloria Bird, *Reinventing the Enemy's Language : Contemporary Native Women's Writing of North America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997): 26.

The implications of the overlaying of maps at the border crossing is explored in Cherokee writer Thomas King's short story "Borders," in which a child and mother try to cross into the nation-state of the US, and the mother refuses to acknowledge the European-charted nation-states. The US border guard (who is characterised as a cowboy as he approaches the car: "he swayed from side to side, his feet set wide apart, the holster in his hip pitching up and down"⁵³⁵) demands that they recognise the primacy of his map over their own, and they engage in a dialogue in which the mother asserts her own cartography which the "border guard" in turn cannot conceptualise:

"Citizenship?"
 "Blackfoot," my mother told him.
 "Ma'am?"
 "Blackfoot," my mother repeated.
 "Canadian?"
 "Blackfoot."

The conversation is repeated by both the US and Canadian "border guards" several times over the course of the story, because neither group will allow them to pass into their respective nation-states without acknowledging those own maps.

"Now, I know that we got our Blackfeet on the American side and the Canadians got Blackfeet on their side. Just so we can keep our records straight, which side do you come from?"
 I knew exactly what my mother was going to say, and I could have told them if they had asked me.
 "Canadian side or American side?" asked the guard.
 "Blackfoot side," she said.⁵³⁶

The mother and child end up occupying the literal border zone, spending two nights living in their car outside the duty free shop between the two border checkpoints.

"Borders" points very clearly to the issue of power with relation to geographical doublethinking: although this ability to see multiple maps on the one landscape – for the purpose of retaining an earlier one which also contains the cosmologies necessary for

⁵³⁵ Thomas King, "Borders," *Nothing but the Truth : An Anthology of Native American Literature* eds. John Purdy and James Ruppert (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2001): 291.

⁵³⁶ King, "Borders.": 291-2.

cultural survival⁵³⁷ - is retained, the power differential between the two (or more) cartographic communities has a real, pragmatic effect. They are unable to move into Canada or the United States without, in effect, renouncing their own map. A Canadian “border guard” is very clear as she insists on the hierarchies of these maps, in effect relegating “Blackfoot” into an ethnic sub-category of citizenship in a nation-state:

“Citizenship?”

“Blackfoot.”

“I know,” said the woman, “and I’d be proud of being Blackfoot if I were Blackfoot. But you have to be American or Canadian.”⁵³⁸

The child recognises the possibility of ‘strategically’ acknowledging the US/ Canada map for the sake of passing through the border, although the apparatus of the occupying nation-states rules this kind of declaration ineligible:

I told Stella we were Blackfoot and Canadian, but she said that that didn’t count because I was a minor.⁵³⁹

It would have been easier if my mother had just said “Canadian” and been done with it, but I could see she wasn’t going to do that.⁵⁴⁰

The gratuitous insistence on the border is underscored as a US official makes available the opportunity to ‘admit’ an appropriate citizenship without having to note it down:

“It’s a legal technicality, that’s all... I can understand how you feel about having to tell us your citizenship, and here’s what I’ll do. You tell me, and I won’t put it on the form. No-one will know but you and me.”⁵⁴¹

The officials are willing to forego the bureaucratic measures as long as the mother and child will admit allegiance to either side, thereby acknowledging the primacy of that map. This emphasises the purely rhetorical and ideological space of the border and, importantly, the European-derived map of that landscape.

This story does not end up a stalemate, however: King suggests the possibility of moving beyond this insistence on the cartography of the nation-state. After a two day

⁵³⁷ See Hau’ofa’s essay “Pasts to Remember” in *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts* for an excellent and complex exploration of the landscape as a cosmological/ historical text. Borofsky, *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts : An Invitation to Remake History*..

⁵³⁸ King, "Borders.": 293.

⁵³⁹ King, "Borders.": 292

⁵⁴⁰ King, "Borders.": 291

⁵⁴¹ King, "Borders.": 292.

standoff, the media is called in and the US border guards are embarrassed into allowing the mother to reinforce their own cartography:

The guard who came out to our car was all smiles. The television lights were so bright they hurt my eyes, and, if you tried to look through the windshield in certain directions, you couldn't see a thing.

"Morning ma'am."

"Good morning..."

"Citizenship?"

"Blackfoot."

The guard rocked back on his heels and jammed his thumbs into his gun belt. "Thank you," he said, his fingers patting the butt of the revolver. "Have a pleasant trip."⁵⁴²

The conclusion of the episode suggests the possibility of effecting real change – of restructuring the hierarchies between the indigenous and nation-state maps – through the continued insistence of indigenous cartographies through this kind of struggle.⁵⁴³

Another implication of 'geographical doublethinking' is that it releases the texts produced within indigenous communities subsumed by a particular nation-state from being read only as a part of that nation-state's literature. In Gilbert's introduction he notes that the white 'settler' writers have more in common with other white (European *or* settler) groups than with the indigenous community, providing both a basis, and a set of implications, for indigenous literary criticism:

... a white South African poet's voice is easily identifiable with his English, Dutch or American counterpart... Aboriginal poets, on the other hand, can be identified with the freedom poets of the lately decolonised countries⁵⁴⁴

A significant consequence of 'geographical doublethinking' is that it allows the possibility of indigenous configuration without the need to organise around the

⁵⁴² King "Borders." : 296.

⁵⁴³ Further examples of geographical doublethinking are found in texts such as Patricia Grace's short story "Journey," in which an old man recalls previous uses of the urban landscape in Wellington Patricia Grace, The Dream Sleepers (Auckland, N.Z. ; New York, N.Y., U.S.A.: Penguin Books, 1986).; JC Sturm's poem "On the building site for a new library," in which the demolition of an older building on land that has been 'reclaimed' from the harbour by earthquakes compels her to recognise all previous habitations on the same space ("Thankful that we never knew/ Didn't have to forget/ Trees gardens buildings/ Yes, even buildings/ Before these ones/ Or what the site was like -/ And could be again/ So they warn us -/ When it was sea, all sea/ And only sea.") J. C. Sturm, Dedications (Wellington, N.Z.: Steele Roberts, 1996).; and Hawaiian poet Joe Balaz's poem "Da Mainland to me," in which a protagonist refuses to refer to the US continent as "da mainland," declaring at the end that "Hawaii is da mainland to me." Joe Balaz, "Da Mainland to Me," boundary 2 21.1 (1994): 134.

⁵⁴⁴ Gilbert, "Introduction.": xviii.

chronological events of colonisation (precolonial, colonial, post/ neocolonial) which problematically emphasise the experience of colonisation.

anthologies

It is possible to assume that the meaning of ‘indigenous’ will be extrapolated from its use in a given project. Four literary anthologies explicitly collect writing from ‘indigenous’ communities: Trixie Te Arama Menzies’s 1996 *He Wai: a song*, Lee Maracle’s and Sandra Laronde’s 2000 *My Home as I Remember*, Kateri Akiwenzie-Damm’s and Josie Douglas’s 2000 *Skins: contemporary Indigenous writing*, and Akiwenzie-Damm’s 2003 *Without Reservation: Indigenous Erotica*. Several collections of essays mobilise the term ‘indigenous’ in their title, and the resulting ‘anthologies’ of critical writing is similarly crucial to the establishment of who/ where ‘counts’ as properly – comparatively⁵⁴⁵ - indigenous.⁵⁴⁶ The publication of these ‘indigenous’ literary anthologies is logistically difficult, and thus it seems particularly significant that each of these anthologies comes from small, indigenous-run presses. On the one hand, the majority of publishing houses ultimately privilege the ‘national’ text, and these anthologies are explicitly ‘not-national.’ At the same time, the logistics of selection, publication and distribution across the borders of nation-states, and across the dominant

⁵⁴⁵ Because of the issue I have already raised, that ‘indigenous’ is simultaneously employed to talk about a comparative category as well as to stand in for the name of a specific group, I will be clear that – unless I announce an exception - in this section I focus on collections that talk about the comparative category.

⁵⁴⁶ This work of determining the configurations of the ‘indigenous’ could certainly stand to be applied to other levels of indigenous categorisation, such as at the level of the nation-state. This approach might consider, for example, which Aboriginal Nations are/ aren’t included in Grossman’s *Blacklines: Contemporary Critical Writing by Indigenous Australians* (Michele Grossman, [Blacklines : Contemporary Critical Writing by Indigenous Australians](#) (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2003).) or which American Indian communities are included in Mihesuah’s *Indigenous American Women: Decolonization, Empowerment, Activism*. (Mihesuah, [Indigenous American Women : Decolonization, Empowerment, Activism](#). Hana O’Reagan writes about the uniqueness of Ngai Tahu within the broader frame ‘Maori’, and an interesting future project would be to produce a ‘Ngai Tahu’ literary criticism. Certainly this is the work that Craig Womack’s impressive *Red on Red* compels us to do; I look forward immensely to the opportunity to find ways of ‘translating’ Womack’s work into a Maori context, perhaps with a view to establishing ‘iwi’ and/ or ‘neighbourhood’ separatisms. Womack, [Red on Red : Native American Literary Separatism](#). However, for now I will focus on the ‘international’ comparative category.

‘Commonwealth’ and ‘North American’ English-language publishing circuits, are complex.

It cannot be a matter of coincidence that these literary anthologies are all edited by women, and two of them explicitly collect women’s writing. Indigenous women’s organizations are at the forefront of pan-indigenous collaborative movements, from ongoing networks, exchanges and conferences, to specific moments such as the Beijing Declaration of Indigenous Women that came out of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women⁵⁴⁷ or the quilting exhibit at the Planet IndigenUs festival in Toronto,⁵⁴⁸ and on to the establishment of online communities.⁵⁴⁹ Very often, indigenous women writers (with a few notable exceptions) are not accorded value in the ‘national’ literary structures of their occupying nation-states. Additionally, organisations and fora such as the World Council of Indigenous Peoples,⁵⁵⁰ the League of Nations and International Labour Organization,⁵⁵¹ and the United Nations Working Group on

⁵⁴⁷ A copy of this declaration can be found at <http://www.twinside.org.sg/title/dec-ch.htm>.

⁵⁴⁸ *Images Tell the Stories: Thread has a Life of its Own* displayed quilting by Inuit women in Baker Lake, Nunavut, Canada, and Santali women in Dumka District, Jharkhand, India. The exhibition was in the York Quay Gallery, as a part of “Planet IndigenUs; An International Multi-disciplinary Arts Festival,” which in turn was co-produced by Harbourfront Centre and Woodland Cultural Centre in August 2004.

⁵⁴⁹ The issues of access to computer technologies and internet connections notwithstanding, the internet has provided a rich and relatively easy way for indigenous women to collaborate. For example, the World’s Indigenous Women’s Foundation at <http://www.sixkiller.com/> the Indigenous Women’s Network at <http://www.indigenouswomen.org/> and Indigenous Women for Justice <http://www.indigenouswomenforjustice.org/>. There are also more specific organizations, that mobilise around a particular issue or institutin, such as the Anglican council of Indigenous Women (http://www.episcopalchurch.org/41685_3009_ENG_HTML.htm) which is tied to the Episcopal church of the USA, or the Indigenous Women’s Environmental Network and the women’s groups that focus on Nuclear-free activism. Writing from and about the latter movement in the indigenous Pacific is collected in Zola de Ishtar’s *Pacific Women Speak Out: for Independence and Denuclearisation*. Zohl Dè Ishtar, Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom. New Zealand Section., Disarmament and Security Centre (New Zealand) and Pacific Connections (Organization). Pacific Women Speak out for Independence and Denuclearisation (Christchurch, Aotearoa/N.Z.

Annandale, NSW, Australia: Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (Aotearoa) : Disarmament and Security Centre (Aotearoa) ; Pacific Connections, 1998)..

⁵⁵⁰ Allen treats this organization in his *Blood Narrative*.

⁵⁵¹ Niezen, The Origins of Indigenism.

Indigenous Populations⁵⁵² are certainly important as sites of collaboration and relationship, and as vehicles for international diplomacy, but to focus on these organizations downplays indigenous women's organizations at both the international and local levels.⁵⁵³ This critical invisibilisation⁵⁵⁴ further compounds the already existing marginalisation of indigenous women, about which Ani Mikaere writes in her well-thumbed and well-distributed Masters thesis, *The Balance Destroyed*:

While colonisation is the reality for all Maori... it has impacted on men and women differently. As Linda Smith puts it, while "oppression by race is not, on the surface, gender-specific [i]t does... have different ways of defining the roles to be played out by men and those to be played out by women." For Maori women, colonisation has resulted in a lethal combination of oppression by race with oppression by gender.⁵⁵⁵

When Mikaere goes on to examine the relationships between Maori Women and Pakeha Feminists, she introduces an 'indigenous' voice through which the experience of Maori can be not only articulated but held in a wider frame:

A Cree woman, Winona Stevenson, expresses the relationship between colonisation and the sexual oppression of indigenous women in the following way: "I believe that while feminists and Indigenous women have a lot in common, they are separate movements. Feminism defines sexism as the Big Ugly. The Indigenous Women's movement sees colonization and racial oppression as the Big Uglies... Sexual oppression was, and is, one part of the colonization of Indigenous Peoples."

⁵⁵² Alexander Ewen, *Voice of Indigenous Peoples : Native People Address the United Nations : With the United Nations Draft Declaration of Indigenous Peoples Rights*, 1st ed. (Santa Fe, N.M.: Clear Light Pub., 1994)..

⁵⁵³ In Niezen's *The Origins of Indigenism*, for example, the words 'women' and 'gender' do not appear in the index. The closest thing is 'female genital mutilation', with one entry, and surely a telling representative term.

⁵⁵⁴ I would not want to imply that all male indigenous theorists completely invisibilise women; Taiaiake Alfred includes a discussion in his *Peace Power Righteousness* in which he gestures towards the relationship between gender and colonial violence: "Men bear a special guilt. Many have added to Native Women's oppression by inflicting pain on their wives, daughters, mothers, and sisters... Gendered violence is endemic in most societies, but the fact that our cultures were founded on gender equality and respect makes it a special betrayal in Native communities." Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness : An Indigenous Manifesto*: 35

⁵⁵⁵ Annabel Mikaere and University of Auckland. International Research Institute for Maori and Indigenous Education., "The Balance Destroyed : The Consequences for Māori Women of the Colonisation of Tikanga Māori," Thesis (M. Jurisprudence), Published Jointly by the International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education and Ani Mikaere, University of Waikato, 1995., 2003.: 126

This relationship between sexism and colonialist racism results in limited opportunity for

Indigenous women to participate in ostensibly ‘Indigenous’ organizations. Mikaere asks:

Why, then, do Maori women remain largely absent from consultative and advisory bodies set up by the Crown to provide Maori input into decision-making processes?⁵⁵⁶

Why, indeed, do indigenous women – either individually or in organizations - remain largely absent from analyses of ‘indigenous’ movements and literary communities? These are precisely the reasons that indigenous women – both Maori⁵⁵⁷ and non-Maori⁵⁵⁸ - have

⁵⁵⁶ Mikaere and University of Auckland. International Research Institute for Maori and Indigenous Education., "The Balance Destroyed : The Consequences for Māori Women of the Colonisation of Tikanga Māori.": 130

⁵⁵⁷ In the Maori community, as well as Ani Mikaere’s work, Ngahua Te Awekotuku’s crucial collection of essays *Mana Wahine Maori* has deeply inflected, and created space for, discussions of Maori ‘feminisms’ in the academy. Ngahua Te Awekotuku, *Mana Wahine Maori : Selected Writings on Maori Women's Art, Culture, and Politics* (Auckland: New Women's Press, 1991). Her creative collections, *Tahuri* and *Ruahine*, have also been groundbreaking; *Tahuri* was the first creative publication that foregrounded sexuality, and in *Ruahine* she rewrites – in order to re-centre – traditional narratives of “Mythic” Maori women. Te Awekotuku, *Tahuri : Short Stories*. Ngahua Te Awekotuku, *Ruahine : Mythic Women* (Wellington, N.Z.: Huia, 2003). Robyn Kahukiwa and Patricia Grace collaborated on a similar project to Te Awekotuku’s latter book, in their 1984 *Wahine Toa*, a multigenre (written text and illustrations) exploration of “women of Maori myth.” Robyn Kahukiwa and Patricia Grace, *Wahine Toa : Women of Maori Myth* (Auckland, NZ ; New York, NY: Viking Pacific, 1991).. Kathie Irwin has also written extensively about Maori women, including the essays “Towards Theories of Maori Feminisms” and “Becoming an Academic: Contradictions and Dilemmas of a Maori Feminist” in Middleton and Jones’s *Women and Education in Aotearoa 2*. Kathie Irwin, "Towards Theories of Maori Feminisms," *Feminist Voices : Women's Studies Texts for Aotearoa/New Zealand*

eds. Rosemary Du Plessis and Phillida Bunkle (Auckland ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). Kathie Irwin, "Becoming an Academic: Contradictions and Dilemmas of a Maori Feminist," *Women and Education in Aotearoa 2*

eds. Sue Middleton and Alison Jones (Wellington, N.Z.: Bridget Williams Books, 1992).. Ripeka Evans gave a lecture entitled “The Negation of Powerlessness – Maori Feminism, A Perspective” as a part of the 1993 Auckland University Winter Lecture Series, and scholars such as Glynnis Paraha, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Leonie Pihama and so on have also been central to the development of a conversation about these matters in the University context.

In terms of specifically *literary* studies, Miriama Evans’s essay in *Wahine Kaituhi* is (perhaps) the first piece by a Maori woman that attends specifically to Maori women’s writing. Evans, Ramsden and Evans, *Wahine Kaituhi: Women Writers of Aotearoa (New Zealand)*.. Jon Battista has done a lot of bibliographic and surveying work in the area: “Nga Ahorangi” in *Hecate* 23 (1) and “Te Pukapuka Kahui Korero” in *Hecate* 23 (2) is a two-part bibliography of Maori women’s creative writing, with substantial introductory comments; this bibliography differs, in Battista’s words, “from previous works of its type which tend to record, not only original work by Maori authors, but also books written about Maori subjects.” Jon Battista, "Nga Ahorangi: A Bibliography of Maori Women's Creative Writing; Whakaputanga Tenei Mo Nga Whaea, Tamahine, Tamariki," *Hecate* 23.1 (1997).., Jon Battista, "Te Pukapuka Kahui Korero," *Hecate* 23.2 (1997).. Powhiri Rika-Heke has published critical articles that focus on Maori women’s writing, including the essay “Margin or Centre?” which is made up of two parts, the first of which “deals with the historical origins of Maori literature” in general, and the second of which “deal specifically with selected excerpts from Maori women’s literature, in English, which shows our diversity, our concerns, our struggles and our aspirations as women in and of Aotearoa.” Rika-Heke, "Margin or Center? 'Let Me Tell You! In the Land of My Ancestors I Am the Centre': Indigenous Writing in Aotearoa ..". Reina Whitiri’s essay “A Sovereign Mission; Maori Maids, Maidens Mothers” investigates the ways in which “Maori women... were coerced into playing a particular role in the colonization process.” (Whaitiri, "A Sovereign Mission: Maori Maids, Maidens, and Mothers.": 377). MeiLin Hansen’s forthcoming PhD thesis (through the University of Auckland) on Maori women and New Zealand drama will undoubtedly offer, and open up, new scope for relevant critical discourse.

focussed on the specific experience of women, and they are also the reasons that indigenous women's writing communities and publishing cooperatives have emerged, such as the Spiral Collective,⁵⁵⁹ Waiata Koa,⁵⁶⁰ the Tamaki Makaurau Maori Women Writers' Festival,⁵⁶¹ and Native Women in the Arts.⁵⁶² This whole discussion points again to the possibilities of comparative inquiry: the consideration of Maori texts within 'Indigenous' anthologies and literary collaborations necessarily centres Indigenous women, which in turn foregrounds - and provides space to further theorise - the role of Maori women within the field of Maori writing in English.

Trixie Te Arama Menzies's *He Wai: a song* was published in 1996, and collects texts from a number of writers from Aotearoa, Hawaii, Tonga, Samoa and Canada. In the introductory remarks, Menzies explains the meaning behind the title of the collection:

Kahukiwa, Irwin and Irihapeti Ramsden coedited a collection entitled *Toi Wahine; The Worlds of Maori Women*. Kahukiwa illustrated the book, and Irwin and Ramsden edited the text contributions. Once again, this was a multi-genre collection, including poetry, fiction, academic essays and memoirs. Robyn Kahukiwa, Kathie Irwin and Irihapeti Ramsden, *Toi Wahine : The Worlds of Maori Women* (Auckland, N.Z. ; New York: Penguin Books, 1995)..

Te Pua, a Maori women's literary journal that came out of the University of Auckland, enjoyed a tenure of 3 volumes between 1992 and 1994. As far as I am aware, critical work that focuses on this journal has not been undertaken, and I look forward to contributing to this particular conversation when I get home.

⁵⁵⁸ For example, Devon Mihesuah (*Indigenous American Women*), Haunani-Kay Trask (*From a Native Daughter*), Aileen Moreton-Robinson (*Talkin' Up to the White Woman*), Rayna Green (editor of *That's What She Said*), Joy Harjo and Gloria Bird (editors of the anthology *Reinventing the Enemy's Language*), and Sandra Laronde (co-editor of *My Home as I Remember* and founder and artistic producer of the organisation 'Native Women in the Arts,' to name a very few.

Mihesuah, *Indigenous American Women : Decolonization, Empowerment, Activism*., Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter : Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* (Monroe, Me.: Common Courage Press, 1993)., Aileen Moreton-Robinson, *Talkin' up to the White Woman : Indigenous Women and White Feminism* (St Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 2000)., Rayna Green, *That's What She Said : Contemporary Poetry and Fiction by Native American Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984)., Lee Maracle and Sandra Laronde, *My Home as I Remember* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2000)..

⁵⁵⁹ The Spiral collective famously agreed to publish Keri Hulme's *the bone people* when the novel had been refused by other publishers. A later booklet entitled *Wahine Kaituhi; Women Writers of Aotearoa* includes biographies of New Zealand women writers, including Maori and non-Maori. The (untitled) essay by Miriama Evans about Maori women's writing is included in this booklet.

⁵⁶⁰ Described in the introduction to their anthology *He Wai, a song* as "an Auckland-based Maori women artists and writers group, formed at the time of the seminal KARANGA KARANGA exhibition, 1986. Our name, which refers to the dawn chorus, was given us by the late Hohi Pine Whaanga-Kaa." Menzies and Waiata Koa (Literary group), *He Wai = a Song : First Nation's Women's Writing : A Waiata Koa Collection* : 9 and back cover.

⁵⁶¹ Jon Battista describes this gathering in the introductory comments to her bibliography "Nga Ahorangi." Battista, "Nga Ahorangi: A Bibliography of Maori Women's Creative Writing; Whakaputanga Tenei Mo Nga Whaea, Tamahine, Tamariki."

⁵⁶² Sandra Laronde's organization, based in Toronto. www.nativewomeninthearts.com

Often at a hui will come a call from the floor, ‘He wai! he wai!’ The people are asking for a song to ‘moisten’ the atmosphere, to bring a feeling of celebration and humour into the proceedings.⁵⁶³

Certainly waiata are often chosen and initiated by women, and when Menzies locates the anthology within the context of Maori (literary) protocol, she subtly reframes the written English-language texts within the social – as well as aesthetic (“celebration and humour”) - function of waiata.⁵⁶⁴ Despite its ‘firstness’, the book “makes no claim to be a comprehensive collection of First Nations Women Writers,”⁵⁶⁵ and rather than sketching out particular political or cultural connections, or foregrounding material or cultural struggle, the somehow less politicised language of “friend[ship]” is mobilised in order to

⁵⁶³ Menzies and Waiata Koa (Literary group), He Wai = a Song : First Nation's Women's Writing : A Waiata Koa Collection: 9. Hui = a meeting or gathering.

⁵⁶⁴ The healing and spiritual/ political dimensions of waiata – where the waiata comes at the end of a speech or talking in order to support and recalibrate the community - are elaborated in Patricia Grace’s *Dogside Story*. At the end of the novel when the causes of the community’s disconnections have been exposed, Grace demonstrates the role of waiata within the world of the narrative, by describing the reasons and levels around choosing a waiata to sing. However, because the waiata comes at the end of the novel, after all of the tensions and complexities and gashes have been exposed to the reader, the waiata at the end also performs a meta-waiata function, healing and ‘setting right’ the world of the ‘world,’ including the narrative of the novel but also readers themselves:

It’s time for the song.

But who will it be? What will it be?

... It’s time for the song. Which song and who will begin it?

It won’t be Arch or Wai or Tini to begin. They’re still recovering from their deliveries, from the hard words said, from the revelations made. They’re relieved it’s done and are free to remember their deaths. They need time.

It’s not up to Amiria and Babs who are still in their tissues, needing days, weeks, months, and help, to lift themselves...

It won’t be Te Rua who also needs recovery time, which will be time in water... He’d like to be gone but the time hasn’t arrived yet when he can get up and leave, go and find his daughter. He has to see it through to a first song, then to a coming down through more talk, more songs, until it’s time.

So who will begin this particular ending?

It won’t be any of the younger ones because they know they haven’t lived long enough to take such responsibility. They can only wait.

It won’t be Cass, or any other newcomer...

It’ll have to be Atawhai, who is old enough to understand the extent of bruising, experienced enough to read the faces and know the right moment and the right song...

The first song could be a love song to warm the spirit, followed by songs that will rouse it. After a time it won’t matter who begins the songs as one picks up from the one before. The singing is likely to continue until the tide has turned and high water rises full above the sharp rocks, dark spaces, shifting weed, and spills out through the opening.

It will continue until there has been enough time, and when that time has come, people will leave at intervals and in twos and threes so that exit is not too sudden, so that the house is not left too suddenly alone...

(Grace, Dogside Story: 299 – 301)

⁵⁶⁵ Note the use of the Canadian-derived term ‘First Nations’ in order to describe the indigenous women of all of these places.

explain and configure the international Indigenous connections demonstrated in the anthology:

This book is a song of celebration among women friends... in the ten years since Waiata Koa was formed we have gathered friends, and friends of friends who have also become friends.⁵⁶⁶

Perhaps “friend[ship]” enables a somewhat gendered structure of relations between the women, the texts, and the contexts, and evidenced by the epithet “women friends.”

Perhaps, too, this decision is explained in the final phrases of the introduction, in which a subtle form of resistance is espoused which potentially reframes the seemingly benign politics of “friend[ship]:”

[This book] is about the mana of women, the enormous resilient strength of the life-givers and nurturer, powerful but never aggressive, peaceful but never passive.⁵⁶⁷

The texts are multi-genre, including poetry, song lyric, non-fiction and fiction, attesting to Battista’s observations about the relationship between Maori cultural production and formal considerations:

Nga Ahorangi [Battista’s bibliography] serves to challenge existing European based classifications and to question how meanings, in whatever form, are imposed and constructed for Maori in general, and for Maori women as a group.⁵⁶⁸

The majority of writers in the anthology are Maori,⁵⁶⁹ and they are joined by women from several different “First Nations” Konai Helu Thaman from “Tonga,” Momoe Malietoa Von Reiche from “Western Samoa,” Haunani-Kay Trask from “Hawai’i,” “Little Pine Cree Nation” poet Beth Cuthand and “Ojibway” writer Kateri Akiwenzie-Damm. Interestingly, there are no writers from the continental United States. The last text in *He*

⁵⁶⁶ Menzies and Waiata Koa (Literary group), *He Wai = a Song : First Nation's Women's Writing : A Waiata Koa Collection* : 9.

⁵⁶⁷ Menzies and Waiata Koa (Literary group), *He Wai = a Song : First Nation's Women's Writing : A Waiata Koa Collection* :9.

⁵⁶⁸ Battista, "Nga Ahorangi: A Bibliography of Maori Women's Creative Writing; Whakaputanga Tenei Mo Nga Whaea, Tamahine, Tamariki."

⁵⁶⁹ Interestingly, one writer is Joan Metge, a Pakeha woman scholar who has worked with and in several Maori communities, and whose anthropological work is well regarded. Metge, whose contribution is an essay on whakatauki, is included in the collection on the basis of her relationship with Te Rarawa, and iwi in the Far North. Under her name, in the section where writers identify their tribal affiliations, she is clear: “Te Rarawa (atawhai)/ Celtic, English.” In this context ‘atawhai’ (which literally means ‘care’) is a reciprocal relationship of mutual caring.

Wai is “from turtle island to Aotearoa” by Kateri Akiwenzie-Damm, a choice that ties a specific articulation of inter-Indigenous connection in one particular text with the bringing-together of various “First Nations” writers (in this anthology the term is used for all Indigenous people) in the volume. Akiwenzie-Damm’s poem both reinforces and demonstrates ‘pan-indigeneity’ not through homogenisation but attention to specificity.⁵⁷⁰

Lee Maracle’s and Sandra Laronde’s 2000 *My Home as I Remember*,⁵⁷¹ published by Native Women in the Arts, suggests a Hemispheric focus for indigenous collaboration and networking. Although a Maori poet, Jillian Tipene, is included in the collection, the remainder of the pieces (the anthology includes writing and images) are from the US (including Hawaii), Canada (including First Nations, Inuit and Metis) and Mexico. The collection is divided into five sections: “poetry,” “artworks,” “poetry,” “artworks,” and “short stories.” Reflecting on the theme of ‘home’ that undergirds the collection, in the “Preface” Maracle sets up the major thematics that connect the pieces:

The braiding together of Home, Memory and Native Women in this book has such simple and elegant significance.⁵⁷²

The relationship in particular between ‘home’ and ‘women’ is made clear, both in terms of physical location (“Many of the Native women in this text began their lives in communities from which they are removed but far from alienated,” and in relation to a more metaphoric kind of ‘home:’

Home is for us origin, the shell of nurturance, our first fire and the harbinger of our relationship to the world. Home is the domain of women. As such it shapes our governance and the way we engage the world and shape our relationships to it.

⁵⁷⁰ This relationship between the local and global indigenous will be treated in more depth soon. I hope to return to more deeply consider Akiwenzie-Damm’s poem later, as I expand my project started in the upcoming section “kanohi ki te kanohi.”

⁵⁷¹ Maracle and Laronde, *My Home as I Remember*.

⁵⁷² Maracle and Laronde, *My Home as I Remember*: i. The metaphor of “braiding together” seems particularly gendered to me, as an outsider researcher, and yet I would want to do more research into the practices of the communities represented in Canada in order to make a clear claim about whether this conception of the anthology is, indeed, gendered in particular ways.

Throughout the Preface, Maracle uses inclusive plural pronouns “we” and “our” as she delimits the connections between the writers, which has the effect of constructing a common set of principles and values. Although these pronouns can tend to produce hierarchies of readership and – impliedly – insiderness to the communities represented,⁵⁷³ they do not in this case function in a coercive way. Instead, just as *He Wai* was from – and framed by – a specifically Maori context, so too this collection is surely rooted in North America:

From stone sings out the story of the whole of Turtle Island and our relationships to earth, flora, fauna, sky and star worlds.

In her “Introduction,” Sandra Laronde also uses an inclusive “we” in the first paragraph (“Home is at the centre of our lives. It is about people, land, culture, and what we dream. The way in which we remember ‘home’ is crucial.”), and in the second paragraph this shifts to include the reader:

In *My Home as I Remember*, readers will find recurrent motifs and concerns as expressed in memoir, poetry, fiction, song and visual art... We are guided to varying landscapes... We will hear from different generations of women.

Laronde names the communities involved: “First Nations, Inuit and Metis women artists... indigenous women contributors from New Zealand, Hawai’i and Mexico.” Interestingly, the terminology she uses to refer to these communities is “nations” in one paragraph and “indigenous territories” in another. The language of “territories,” reinforcing as it does the physical parameters of land, is not used as often as it might in inter-indigenous discourse, in which “nation” – with the possibilities of being inextricable from assertions of sovereignty and yet the limitations of its (English language) root in Europe – is more widely used. The biographies of the writers are fuller than in the other anthologies, and include quotations from the writers themselves.

⁵⁷³ Refer, for example, to my discussion about the treatment of Deirdre Nehua’s short story by the *Te Ao Marama* editors, in Chapter Two: Always Already Aotearoa.

*Skins; Contemporary Indigenous Writing*⁵⁷⁴ was co-edited by Kateri Akiwenzie-Damm and Josie Douglas, and co-published by Kegedonce Press (Canada) and Jukurrpa Books (Australia). In her preface, entitled “We Remain, Forever”, Akiwenzie-Damm describes the work as “multi-dimensional”, and notes that:

the writers come from diverse cultures and histories, from the far north of Canada to the South Pacific Islands of Aotearoa. Despite these differences, what all of the writers share is our connection to our homelands, our histories of colonization, genocide and displacement, and our will to survive and pass the treasures of our cultures to future generations.⁵⁷⁵

The writers are “American Indian, First Nations, Inuit, Maori and Aboriginal;”⁵⁷⁶ Douglas gathered the Australian writing and Akiwenzie-Damm collected the rest. The political significance of the writing is foregrounded in the introductory essays; writing is described as “a form of activism”, and Douglas describes a dual audience for the texts:

They challenge mainstream perceptions of Aboriginal literature, but also challenge our own communities and cultures by holding up a mirror to the spoken and unspoken realities of our lives.⁵⁷⁷

Kateri Akiwenzie-Damm produced a second anthology in 2003, once again co-publishing with an indigenous press; this time it was Huia Publishers (Aotearoa). *Without Reservation: Indigenous Erotica*⁵⁷⁸ includes “erotic poems and stories by 40 First Nations indigenous writers from New Zealand, Australia, USA and Canada.” The volume, which includes a variety of poetry and short fiction, is an important step for the field of indigenous publishing because it collects writing within a particular topic as opposed to solely for its creation by an indigenous writer. The introductory piece “Erotica, Indigenous Style” does not lay out or justify the reasons for collecting this particular

⁵⁷⁴ Akiwenzie-Damm and Douglas, *Skins : Contemporary Indigenous Writing*.

⁵⁷⁵ Akiwenzie-Damm and Douglas, *Skins : Contemporary Indigenous Writing*: vi.

⁵⁷⁶ Although the various Aboriginal languages have different words to denote themselves, the term ‘Koori’ (or sometimes ‘Koorie’) is often used instead of Aboriginal.

⁵⁷⁷ Akiwenzie-Damm and Douglas, *Skins : Contemporary Indigenous Writing*: x.

⁵⁷⁸ Akiwenzie-Damm, *Without Reservation : Indigenous Erotica*.

group of writers from these specific spaces; she simply explains her process for producing a book of erotica:

I realized one could live and die as an Indigenous person and not come across a single poem or story by an indigenous writer from Canada, the US, Australia, Aotearoa (aka New Zealand)... I know, I looked.⁵⁷⁹

In her description of erotica, Akiwenzie-Damm appropriates an inclusive plural pronoun

“we”, impliedly producing not just an anthology but a “we” (indigenous) reading public:

So what is Indigenous erotica? It’s about the loving, sexual, ‘dirty,’ outrageous, ribald, intimacies of humanity and sexuality that we all crave. It shows *us* as *we* are: people who love each other, who fall in love and out of love, who have lovers, who make love, have sex, break hearts, get *our* own hearts broken, who have beautiful bodies.⁵⁸⁰

This passage, confidently speaking to – and centring - an implied Indigenous audience (“us,” “we,” “our”) marks the significance of the anthology in the light of this project: the possibility of shifting away from being “the natives” described by Peters. In an essay in 1978, Patricia Grace wrote about her decision not to write about sex, starting with a discussion of the existing texts by colonial writers who objectified Maori women. Grace wrote:

I am only worried about the heaped up effect, so that in the meantime it is more important for me to write about other relationships with the hope that better balance is obtained. After all, sex is important in all societies – cousins are not, elders are not.⁵⁸¹

It seems significant that, twenty five years later, “better balance” has perhaps been obtained, and colonial power dynamics and indigenous networks have shifted enough to make the publication of a collection of erotics to “us” and “we” possible. Finally, having applauded thus the move to *stop* justifying and explaining the indigenous, the writers collected in the anthology do include Kanaka Maoli (Hawai’i) and an American Samoan writer, and these expanded inclusions seems an important articulation of the Indigenous United States.

⁵⁷⁹ Akiwenzie-Damm, *Without Reservation : Indigenous Erotica*.: xi.

⁵⁸⁰ Akiwenzie-Damm, *Without Reservation : Indigenous Erotica*. xii; emphasis added

⁵⁸¹ Ihimaera and Grace, "The Maori in Literature.": 82.

methodologies

The complexity of the term ‘indigenous’ is well demonstrated by considering the subtitles of two widely distributed texts: Aileen Moreton-Robinson’s *Talkin’ Up to the White Woman; Indigenous Women and Feminism*⁵⁸² and Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s *Decolonizing Methodologies; Research and Indigenous Peoples*.⁵⁸³ Moreton-Robinson’s formidable volume *Talkin’ Up (to) the White Woman*⁵⁸⁴ is, according to the cover, subtitled “Indigenous women and feminism”. However, on the title and biographical pages inside the book, the subtitle is “Aboriginal women and feminism.” On the page of bibliographic information, a third alternative is found: “indigenous women and white feminism.” The shifts between these three titles rely on two substitutions, the first of which is “Indigenous” for “Aboriginal” and the second of which is “feminism” for “white feminism.” While the latter is a case of making explicit a previously unmarked category (“feminism”) that has been naturalised as “white,” the former substitution relies on the two terms “Indigenous” and “Aboriginal” being synonymous to the extent that they can stand in for each other. Inside the text, Moreton-Robinson confirms that she uses ‘Indigenous’ to mean ‘Aboriginal’:

In the book I use the term “Indigenous women” to refer to Aboriginal women who identify as such and are accepted by the community as such.⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸² Moreton-Robinson, *Talkin’ up to the White Woman : Indigenous Women and White Feminism*.

⁵⁸³ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research Methods and Indigenous Peoples*.

⁵⁸⁴ The title of the book is *Talkin’ Up to the White Woman* on the front cover, biography page and inside title page, but is *Talkin’ Up the White Woman* in the bibliographic details. In the notes to her mobilisation of the phrase in the title, she writes: “I have used Australian Indigenous English in the title of the book and in the titles of the chapters as a way of giving recognition to, and maintaining, cultural integrity within the text. The title of the book, “Talkin’ up” means to speak back.” (187) The difference between “talkin’ up” and “talkin’ up to” seems significant.

⁵⁸⁵ Moreton-Robinson, *Talkin’ up to the White Woman : Indigenous Women and White Feminism*: 187. The comment that follows, that she does not include Torres Strait Islander women in ‘Indigenous,’ confirms that she is not using ‘Aboriginal’ in the same ‘pan-Aboriginal’ (global indigenous) way that Josie Douglas does in her introductory essay to the anthology *skins; contemporary indigenous writing*. While Kateri Akiwenzie-Damm (Canada) refers to the writers in the anthology as “Indigenous” writers, in Australian Josie Douglas’s adjoining essay, they are “Aboriginal.” Although for Australians (and Canadians) this is an unproblematic substitution, it is difficult to read the Douglas essay - in which she writes about “Aboriginal people” and “Aboriginal writing” - and imagine that Maori are included in her discussion.

Another book that uses ‘indigenous’ in its subtitle is Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s *Decolonizing Methodologies; Research and Indigenous Peoples*. In most reviews and descriptions of the book, including that on the website of its publisher, Zed Books, the word ‘Maori’ (let alone Ngati Porou) doesn’t actually appear at all; she is instead, apparently, an ‘indigenous’ researcher. What does ‘indigenous’ mean in this case? Smith uses the word ‘indigenous’ as she writes about research in the opening lines of her text:

The word itself, ‘research,’ is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary. When mentioned in many indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful. It is so powerful that indigenous people even write poetry about research. The ways in which scientific research is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history for many of the world’s colonized peoples.⁵⁸⁶

Smith’s ‘indigenous’ is different to Moreton-Robinson’s; while she continually draws on her own local indigenous (Maori) context, her vision is clearly global and collaborative: for Smith there is a thing called “the indigenous world.” How can Indigenous mean two completely different things? How can we construct a map of the ‘indigenous’ if the word is used in such different ways?

Mudrooroo (Colin Johnson), who writes from Australia,⁵⁸⁷ suggests the possibility of seeing this dual usage as a productive oscillation, rather than as competing or oxymoronic. In an interview appended to his 1997 *Milli Milli Wangka; The Indigenous Literature of Australia*, Mudrooroo explains his preference for using the term ‘Indigenality’ in lieu of ‘Aboriginality’. Janine Little and Nicole Ferrier ask him about his preference for the term ‘indigenous,’ and suggest some possible limitations of ‘Indigenality:’

Can I come back to your use of ‘Indigenality’ instead of ‘Aboriginality’? I think on one level the primary difficulty in using

⁵⁸⁶ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research Methods and Indigenous Peoples*: 1.

⁵⁸⁷ In her *Dhuuluu Yala*, Anita Heiss discusses Mudrooroo’s claim to indigenous status in Australia. Heiss, *Dhuuluu-Yala = to Talk Straight : Publishing Indigenous Literature*. This is an important conversation for people in Australia to grapple with, but for the purposes of my project I recognise that Mudrooroo’s claims come from a person with immense investments in Indigenous writing and insights into the history of that written literature.

‘Indigenality’ is that you lose the politically powerful term ‘Aboriginal’, as well as having a lot of confusion potentially produced by your having to speak about, or for, the other Indigenous race.⁵⁸⁸

It is unclear who the ‘other Indigenous race’ in this extract might be; perhaps it is Torres Strait Islanders (who are often included in the term ‘Indigenous Australian’ along with Aboriginal people) or perhaps it is the wider global Indigenous community.⁵⁸⁹ Regardless, Mudrooroo insists that the umbrella term ‘Indigenous’, is powerful precisely because of its slipperiness:

I don’t see any problem with that. It means *Indigenous people of Australia* will have to go and find out what *indigenous people elsewhere* are doing.⁵⁹⁰

The word, then, means both things; it is the local and the global. Further, Mudrooroo exploits this slippage between ‘local Indigenous’ (“Indigenous people of Australia”) and ‘global Indigenous’ (“indigenous people elsewhere”).

“indigenous people of [blank]”: local indigenous

Often, as in Moreton-Robinson’s text, ‘indigenous’ actually means, or ‘stands in for,’ the people of the specific area in which it is uttered. So, ‘Indigenous’ in Aotearoa means Maori, or maybe Moriori, or maybe Atiawa, indigenous in Hawai’i means Native Hawaiian, Indigenous in Ithaca is American Indian or Haudenosaunee or Cayuga, Indigenous in Australia means Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander, or perhaps Koorie, Nyungah, Murri and so on. In this way, ‘Indigenous’ as a word actually demonstrates a kind of indigeneity of its own; like the things it describes (or compares), ‘indigenous’ is indigenous ‘to’ somewhere. I think it’s actually kind of clever that the word ‘indigenous’

⁵⁸⁸ Mudrooroo, *Indigenous Literature of Australia = Milli Milli Wangka* (South Melbourne, Victoria: Hyland House, 1997)..

⁵⁸⁹ Or perhaps it is Germaine Greer, who in an extraordinary recent publication *Whitefella Jump Up* declares herself to be an indigenous Australian; indeed, she is apparently so ‘influenced’ by Indigenous Australians that she takes on the name ‘whitefella’. Hmm.

⁵⁹⁰ Mudrooroo, *Indigenous Literature of Australia = Milli Milli Wangka*: 216; emphasis added.

does(performs) what it means: the word refuses to be separated from the context – the land – in which it is used. Chad Allen writes about this insistence on specificity: an indigenous theory declares its independence from dominating discourses by *localizing* its theoretical position.⁵⁹¹

This refusal to stay generic (or even maybe comparative) is the point where Indigenous Studies parts company with generalising schema like the European construction of the savage (however noble we may or may not be) or the New Age movement: the indigenous is not a general, generic or reductive frame that lumps us all together but it is, instead, very specific.⁵⁹²

Mobilisations of the term ‘Indigenous’ standing in for the name of a specific community abound. Mudrooroo follows Moreton-Robinson by glossing ‘indigenous’ with the names of local indigenous communities:

Even when I use the singular ‘Indigenous’ as here, it is but an encoded word which may be decoded, or deconstructed, into many component parts: *Koori* (New South Wales and Australia), *Nunga* (South Australia), *Anangu* (Central Australia), *Yolngu* (Arnhem Land), *Murri* (Queensland), *Nyungar* (south-western Australia), *Yamadji* (mid-western Australia), *Wonghi* (eastern Western Australia), and other groups, which form a network through which information is exchanged, though not independence. It is only through this network that a common Australia-wide Indigenous representation may be theorised and actualised.⁵⁹³

In the index of Heiss’s *Dhuuluu-Yala* the term is extra busy and stands in for two completely different ‘indigenous’ communities: two separate citations are given for ‘indigenous organizations,’ one of which deals with Indigenous Australian organisations, and the other of which is a section on organizations in Canada. In particular, Smith makes clear that the English-language term is a salient umbrella for those (inherently

⁵⁹¹ Allen Allen, Blood Narrative: Indigenous Identity in American Indian and Maori Literary and Activist Texts: 216; emphasis added.

⁵⁹² Indigenous Studies doesn’t– or it *shouldn’t* – seek to say “hey look! Maori stuff is exactly like American Indian stuff in all these ways! Hey we’re all the same after all, aye!” This kind of lumping is particularly dangerous because it reproduces the violence of assimilation that is inflicted on us in our respective nation states (“hey when we focus on these samenesses and squish out the specificities we’re all ‘just’ American/Canadian/ NZers/ Aussies” etc).

⁵⁹³ Mudrooroo, Indigenous Literature of Australia = Milli Milli Wangka: 50.

comparative) ‘indigenous’ communities - who unlike the ‘Maori’ community - include a number of different language groups:⁵⁹⁴

In some contexts, such as Australia and North America, the word indigenous is a way of including the many diverse communities, language groups and nations, each with their own identification within a single grouping.⁵⁹⁵

In his treatment of the word ‘Aboriginal’ in *Us Mob: History Culture Survival – An Introduction to Indigenous Australia*, Mudrooroo asks: “what is this word but an ideological construction which is part of the historical process of naming the Other in Australia?”⁵⁹⁶ He places the term in a genealogy of terminology in Australia, including terms such as ‘Indians’, ‘savages’ (“sometimes modified by ‘noble’ or ‘abject’”), aborigines (“with a small ‘a’”), ‘natives’, ‘Myalls’, and finally Aboriginals or Aborigines:

until the 1960s when the politicised Other, seeking a subjectivity within the International Black movement (to some extent read ‘American’), seized on the term ‘blacks’, which has endured in Queensland (where there are other ‘blacks’) and in the newspapers. Again, ‘blackfella’ remains popular among some groups, though there are other Aboriginal groups who dispute any term signifying blackness.⁵⁹⁷

⁵⁹⁴ In *Decolonizing Methodologies* Linda oscillates, as I have already mentioned, between writing from the perspective of ‘Maori’ and ‘Ngati Porou’. Now, both ‘Maori’ and ‘American Indian’ (to take two pertinent examples) are constructions that are relevant and contextualisable only within the context of European colonialism. Rather than attempting to undermine these important designations or community identities, I believe it is crucial to point out their already *inherent* umbrella-ness and comparative-ness, which brings together certain groups by virtue of their accident of being included within certain nation-state boundaries. It might be more appropriate to recognise two *simultaneous* ‘indigenous comparative frames’ at work. Which frame – the primary or secondary identification group; Te Atiawa or Maori - is truly ‘indigenous’? When comparing a Bub Bridger poem with a Joy Harjo poem, are we talking about a Ngati Kahungunu/ Muscogee comparison, or a Maori/ American Indian comparison? I think in both cases both are possible, and this is an important nuance of the term.

⁵⁹⁵ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples.*: 6

⁵⁹⁶ Mudrooroo, *Us Mob: History, Culture, Struggle: An Introduction to Indigenous Australia* (Sydney: HarperCollins, 1995): 7.

⁵⁹⁷ Mudrooroo, *Us Mob: History, Culture, Struggle: An Introduction to Indigenous Australia.*: 7-8. In the context of Australia, the search for an appropriate umbrella term for the indigenous people there has resulted in a number of substitutable terms. While certainly the term ‘Aboriginal’ is still in use in some contexts, the identification as ‘Black’ or ‘Black Australians’ has been used in a number of contexts: anthology titles provide examples of this usage: Jack Davis, *Paperbark : A Collection of Black Australian Writings*, Uqp Black Australian Writers (St Lucia, Qld., Australia: University of Queensland Press, 1990).. Gilbert, *Inside Black Australia : An Anthology of Aboriginal Poetry*, Josie Douglas, *Untreated : Poems by Black Writers* (Alice Springs, NT: Jukurrpa Books, 2001).. Sue Abbey and Sandra Phillips, *Fresh Cuttings : A Celebration of Fiction & Poetry from Uqp's Black Writing Series* (St. Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 2003).. One implication of using ‘Black’ as a designation, of course, is the large field of ‘Black’ Studies in the United States that focuses purely on African and African Diasporic communities. (I am very grateful to Jade Ferguson for her illuminating discussions about Black Canadians, and look forward to her published scholarship on this topic.) For US-based ‘Black’ studies, Blackness is exclusively about Africa and Africanness. This exclusive formulation, supported of course by hegemonies that already invisibilise the study of indigenous, Commonwealth and non-Atlantic communities and spaces in North America, means

Mudrooroo later ties the word ‘Indigenous’ into this genealogy of terms:

‘Indigenous’ is a word which has come into prominence over the last few years in order to give us a common term to Us Mob. In our languages there is no common word for all of the Indigenous people of Australia, or even of Australia itself, and every English word which has been used is but a term to render us into a commonality.⁵⁹⁸

‘Indigenous’ is not reserved to refer to the conglomerate of communities who are all subsumed within the same occupying nation-state, though: a crucial quality of indigenusness is its tie to *specific* place.⁵⁹⁹ One is never merely indigenous; one is

that the Australian use of the term is simply ignored. (So people ignorantly – or arrogantly, from my grumpy point of view – think they know all there is to know about ‘Black’ literature, for example without having read anthologies entitled *Paperbark; Writing from Black Australia, Inside Black Australia*, and *untreated; poems by black writers*. One also feels compelled to wonder what these scholars might make of the term ‘blackbirding’ that is about the European enslavement of Black peoples from around Melanesia.) The use of ‘Black’ is even more weirdly executed in US publisher Arcade’s 1990 edition of Indigenous Australian writer Sally Morgan’s remarkable (auto)biographical book *My Place*. Sally Morgan, *My Place*, 1st Arcade ed. (New York: Arcade Pub., 1990).. Rather than allowing for – or indeed foregrounding - the possibility of two (or more!) ‘Black’ communities on the planet, the front and back covers of the text make the novel appealingly familiar by collapsing the Black communities of the African diaspora and the Black communities of Australia. On the front cover the book is boldly described as “The Australian *Roots*”, a claim that might interest an American readership, but compromises the particularities of indigenous vis a vis diasporic communities. (This distinction is made clear in Chad Allen’s tripartite definition of ‘indigenous’, which allows room – but appropriately differentiated room – in the definition for both communities.) The major critical quotation on the front cover is by Alice Walker, whose vague endorsement of the book (“A sad, and wise, and funny book... unbelievably and unexpectedly moving”) impliedly endorses the appropriateness of its description as ‘The Australian *Roots*’. (It also condones the ignorance of the US reading public about this issue; it is unlikely that a readership with any familiarity with the situation in Australia would find the narrative “unexpectedly” moving.) On the back cover, after a New York Times Book Review quotation pronounces the book to be “a historical document”, Walker is quoted at greater length:

This sad, and wise, and funny book is of inestimable value in comprehending the solid relatedness of the global community, the oneness of spirit of all ‘Aboriginal’ peoples whether in Australia or elsewhere, and the inhuman was of genocide that white supremacists on every continent have waged against us...

The compulsion to generalise the experience of indigenous (or, as Walker puts in inverted commas for unclear reasons, ‘Aboriginal’) people as solely an experience of shared oppression is understandable, and yet it subtly undermines the very specific experience about which the book is written: there are no inverted commas around Morgan’s ‘Aboriginal’; Aboriginality is a hierarchised and legislated racial term that has specific meaning in terms of Australian colonialism. Walker moves on to comment about the attributes of specific characters, in a way that I find difficult to imagine as reproducible in reverse; one wonders whether such racist characterisation would be tolerated as commentary about a work of African American fiction:

Her stories of the resourceful Arthur, the spacy and spunky Glad, and most of all her so definitely and beautifully ‘coloured’ grandmother, Nan, make me happier that ever to be one of the ‘blackfellas’ of the earth, myself. It’s a book with heart.

This final slippage, in which Walker blithely (indeed, ‘happily’) co-opts the term ‘blackfella’ (a specific term from ‘Indigenous Australian English’), emphasises (at least for me) the distance rather than collaboration between the two Black communities which Morgan and Walker apparently represent. (And what the heck ‘coloured’ means here or what it’s doing in inverted commas I am too scared to even imagine.)

I am grateful to Hilary Emmett for bringing to my attention the Afrocentrism of scholarship about ‘Blackness,’ and to Jade Fergusson for challenging me in my understandings of Blackness in Canada.

⁵⁹⁸ Mudrooroo, *Us Mob: History, Culture, Struggle: An Introduction to Indigenous Australia*: 6-7.

⁵⁹⁹ I am grateful to Teresia Teaiwa for highlighting this at the NEH *Teach the Indigenous Pacific* workshop, and the *Learning Oceania* conference.

indigenous *to* somewhere.⁶⁰⁰ Multiple layerings of specificity tie ‘indigenous’ to a specific place, or specific places; we might say that the writer Patricia Grace, for example, is indigenous to the Pacific, to Aotearoa, to New Zealand, to Te Atiawa territory, and to Plimmerton.⁶⁰¹ These mobilisations of the term ‘indigenous’ are fascinating, and I look forward to exploring them further elsewhere in later projects. Because my focus in this dissertation is on the comparative frame, however, after acknowledging the ‘specific indigenous’ I will follow the lead of Cheryl Waerea-i-te-rangi Smith and turn to the global indigenous frame:

It is our relationships to other indigenous peoples that are assisting us to theorise identities as colonised peoples. It is our interaction with other Indigenous Peoples and the sharing of experiences that is also giving us a stronger commitment to work from our epistemological base in the university.⁶⁰²

It is through the commitment to networks at the global level, after all, that we will be able to “theorise identities” as Maori.

“indigenous people elsewhere”: global indigenous

For most of the past 500 years the indigenous people’s project has had one major priority: survival.⁶⁰³

⁶⁰⁰ I don’t want to suggest here that *conscious* knowledge or experience on the part of the individual is essential to this dynamic. I have yet to hear of anyone who asked to *not* be told where they’re from; the kinds of reasons that many indigenous people have been denied that knowledge is tied up with colonialism in the first place and so sending out the authenticity police, demanding ‘proper knowledge’ of specific place doubly penalises the already disadvantaged indigenous person. Perhaps this is where our double comparative frame comes in; maybe there is scope within the idea of indigeness that it can rest sufficiently on a claim to Indian-ness, or First Nations-ness, or Maori-ness, and so on.

⁶⁰¹ This is even further complicated in Other cases, like that of my friend Nalani, a Hawaiian poet. There are important reasons to say that she – and her work - is ‘indigenous’ to the United States, but there are also important reasons to argue that she is not. (All of these reasons are busy being rehearsed and nuanced and complexified right now, as the Hawaiian nation grapples with the Akaka Bill.) Whether my friends Sina and Fanua, American Samoan poets, are indigenous to the US or Samoa or American Samoa or Tutuila/ Manu’a or some Other configuration of ‘place’ is just about anybody’s guess. If a Maori person, for example, is indigenous by virtue of being Maori, what if – like my Ngapuhi Maori poet/ scholar friend Anna - they are born in Australia and raised in the US? Is she indigenous to Aotearoa or to here? Is she an Indigenous American? (Devon Mihesueh’s phrase from her book *Indigenous American Women*.) Or is she Indigenous, in America?

⁶⁰² Cheryl Waerea-i-te-Rangi Smith, "He Pou Herenga Ki Te Nui: Maori Knowledge and the University," 349, University of Auckland, 2002.: 317.

⁶⁰³ Smith DM Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples.: 107.

From the moment that Christopher Columbus first drafted the ethic of contact between the world of western Europe and the indigenous world, those scriptwriters began to create a fantasy in which the colonisers were the heroes and Indigenous Peoples were either the villains, or irrelevant to the telling of the story.⁶⁰⁴

Linda Tuhiwai Smith and Moana Jackson are both Maori, and Maori had no contact with Europeans until 1642, and even then Tasman just did a sail-by; it was not until 1769 that Cook actually came on shore. Why, then, do Smith and Jackson place themselves within an imperial history of much longer duration? On what basis can a Maori articulation of colonialism begin with Columbus in the Caribbean? Enter (again) Maori politician, Winston Peters.

The contribution of the Right-leaning Maori MP Winston Peters to the debate about whether Pakeha are ‘indigenous’ and the commentary that follows about his personal history in the extract from the NZ Parliament Chambers treated above demonstrates that it is impossible to sanitise the term ‘indigenous’ from its colonial roots. Mallard may be seeking a way to express how much he loves Wainuiomata⁶⁰⁵ and how he identifies as a New Zealander, but for Peters the word ‘indigenous’ cannot help but shift very quickly into Imperial configurations of nativeness (“‘native’ means the same as it meant when the British Empire used to say: ‘The natives are getting restless.’”), regardless of his expressed desire to dismiss the issue and “get with the 21st century.” The slippage of “indigenous” (a ‘positive’ term in the NZ context) into “native” (a derogatory term in NZ) reinforces that the identification *as* ‘indigenous’/ ‘native’ is a feature of, and indeed dependent on, European colonial configurations (“the British Empire used to say”) of the Other (“the natives”). Peters introduces into the discourse of indigeneity the particular history of colonialism in which very different and specific

⁶⁰⁴ Moana Jackson, "Research and the Colonisation of Māori Knowledge," *Te Oru Rangahau; Maori Research and Development Conference*, ed. Te Pūmanawa Hauora (Massey University: Te Pūtahi- -Toi, 1998), vol.: 71.

⁶⁰⁵ A suburb of Wellington.

communities have been viewed as a singular entity (“the natives”) regardless of differences between the various groups pushed into that category.

However, Peters’s relationship with the term cannot stop there with an historical context: in the present day ‘we’ are not all, in fact, (indigenous) ‘New Zealanders’ in the way proposed by Mallard (and perhaps by Peters himself). Despite his determination to “get on with the 21st century,” Peters finds himself to be inextricable from some very twentieth-century dimensions of his own Maori identity; Mallard replies his comments by alleging that Peters had formerly attempted to pass for white: “I thank him for his support, and I will forget why we used to call him Luigi.” Despite his indignant response, whether Peters actually passed for Italian is, ultimately, neither here nor there for the issue of indigenusness. Instead, the significance of the discussion about passing is that it comes at the end of a chain of references. Mallard’s attempt to adopt (and thus redefine the terrain of) the term “indigenous” quickly and unavoidably slips from a positive identification with landscape to an Imperial configuration of the term “natives” and then to the situation in which Maori pass for ‘not-Maori’ in order to gain access to things from which they are restricted on the basis of their position as colonized (dare I say ‘indigenous’) people in a white-majority racist nation. This sequence points to the instability of the term ‘indigenous,’ but also, crucially (especially for claims like Mallard’s) the impossibility of removing that term from the real lived experience of colonialism, exploitation and racism.⁶⁰⁶ The term ‘indigenous’ is thus inseparable from

⁶⁰⁶ There is a great deal of literature about Maori deciding to ‘pass’ for white (or, perhaps a more appropriate form of off-white); Patuawa-Nathan and Ihimaera both write about individuals who pass as Spanish and French. In her autobiographical works *Mihipeka: Early Years* and *Nga wa raruraru: Time of Turmoil*, Mihi Edwards describes at length her passing for Italian: “I will watch the Pakeha and see how they dress. I must copy them if I am going to be a Pakeha. So already I have started to be a Pakeha. My name is now Anne Davis, not Mihi Davis. The lady at the agency didn’t ask me if I was a Maori, and I didn’t say a word. Maori people do not have the same privileges as the Pakeha. So I have to hide my identity – to better myself.” (Mihi Edwards, *Mihipeka : Early Years* (Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin, 1990).: 125) “I had learned to hate the colour of my own skin. It was a terrible price to pay, to turn my back on my own colour. I resented having to be ashamed of being Maori, but I had to do it. I would say I was Spanish or Italian – anything but Maori.” (Edwards, *Mihipeka : Early Years*.: 142-3)

the history by which certain people were rendered ‘Other’ by European colonisers, and this history forms the basis of the UN definition quoted by Tanczos.

Definitions of ‘indigenous’ often focus on this colonial etymology or history of the term. Smith, for example, in the introductory lines quoted earlier, substitutes “indigenous” in one sentence with “the world’s colonized people.” Leuthold, in his *Indigenous Aesthetics*, provides a narrative history of ‘indigenous’, starting at a point he calls “Originally,” at which time “the term referred to traditions, implements, natural specimens, and so forth that are native to a particular region of regions.”⁶⁰⁷ Ultimately, Leuthold proposes a contemporary meaning of the term, which presumably is the definition he relies on throughout the book:

Currently, “indigenous” refers to people who are minorities in their own homeland, who have suffered oppression in the context of colonial conquest, and who view their political situation in the context of neo-colonialism.⁶⁰⁸

In his *Blood Narrative; Indigenous Identity in Maori and American Indian Activist and Literary Texts*,⁶⁰⁹ Chad Allen proffers a general definition that echoes that of Smith and Leuthold (“Indigenous peoples can be defined as those populations that were already resident when Europeans or other colonizers invaded, occupied, and/ or settled their traditional territories”), but he goes on to grapple with the “limit[ation]” of the sheer breadth of this definition, and suggests that the process of colonialism itself has produced three distinct ‘indigenous’ groups:

Such a general definition of indigeneity – “original inhabitants” – is of limited use, however, when applied to examples of colonial relations in specific geographical locations and during specific historical time periods.⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁷ His example for this “original[.]” meaning is the mask as an “indigenous art form or ritual object” in specific exemplary regions: “much of Africa and the Americas.” Whether this intended to be an exhaustive list of spaces in which the mask is an “indigenous art form” is unclear, although given the production of masks in “much of” Asia and the Pacific, one hopes not.

⁶⁰⁸ Leuthold, *Indigenous Aesthetics : Native Art, Media, and Identity*: 3. This “current” meaning doesn’t include a lot of room for an articulation of indigenous diaspora.

⁶⁰⁹ And also in his earlier article “Blood as Narrative/ Narrative as Blood: Declaring a Fourth World.” Chadwick Allen, “Blood as Narrative/ Narrative as Blood: Declaring a Fourth World,” *Narrative* 6.3 (1998)..

⁶¹⁰ Allen, *Blood Narrative; Indigenous Identity in American Indian and Maori Literary and Activist Texts*.

Allen distinguishes between three groups: “indigenous peoples who have become minorities in lands they once controlled” (Maori, American Indians, Guyanese Indigenous groups, Mapuche etc); those “who have remained majority populations in their own homelands” (we might think of Kenyans here, or Samoans⁶¹¹), and “indigenous peoples who were dislocated to foreign territories, where they may have displaced other indigenous peoples (becoming, in effect, settler themselves) and where they may have become either majority or minority populations” (diasporic African communities, as well as victims of Pacific Blackbirding and so on, and perhaps Bikinians in Rongerik and Gilbertese/ I-Kiribati in Fiji; perhaps indentured labourers too?). This configuration is useful because it allows him to focus on one of these particular groups whilst acknowledging those in the other two. Allen translates his tripartite structure into a roll-call of particular groups in the third category (what would often be called ‘Fourth World’):

New Zealand Maori and American Indians fall into the last category of indigenous minorities, along with Alaska Natives and Native Hawaiians in the United States, First Nations peoples in Canada, and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in Australia. Other, perhaps less obvious indigenous minorities include the Smaller Peoples in the Russian Federation, Sami in the Scandinavian countries, and Ainu in Japan.⁶¹²

The Fourth World is a useful configuration, and is most often used as shorthand for ‘Indigenous peoples of Canada/ NZ/ Aus/ US’; that is, the Fourth World subsumed by the white-majority english-speaking settler-colony first world. The indigenous writers of Kateri Akiwenzie-Damm’s anthologies fit this bill. In *Skins; Contemporary Indigenous Writing*, she and Josie Douglas include “American Indian, First Nations, Inuit, Maori and

⁶¹¹ What about Japanese? Bolivians? Chinese? What about the distinction between different ethnic groups in nation states like Nigeria, Papua New Guinea or Fiji? Sure, the leaders may be nonwhite and originally from a locale within the boundaries of the nation-state, but this doesn’t mean that all ‘indigenous’ people under their jurisdiction are, in turn, ruled by their own people. I remember an Ogoni activist coming to speak at the university marae in Auckland, telling us about how Shell had come to take their lands for resources. Speaking to a room (or a wharenui) full of Maori, we understood what was going on: these Ogoni people were indigenous like us!

⁶¹² Allen, Blood Narrative: Indigenous Identity in American Indian and Maori Literary and Activist Texts. But where are the American Samoans, Chamorro, etc?? Given that Tokelau is a part of NZ’s territory, are Tokelauans indigenous to NZ?? Shouldn’t Moriori be included too??

Aboriginal.” *Without Reservation: Indigenous Erotica* includes “erotic poems and stories by 40 First Nations indigenous writers from New Zealand, Australia, USA and Canada”. However, Dan Taulapapa McMullin, a San Francisco-based writer from American Samoa is included in *Without Reservation* too. This raises an interesting question. When we’re talking about indigenous peoples in the US, are Native Hawaiians included? What about American Samoans, or Chamorro or Carolinians, who all live within the territorial boundaries of the US?

In the collection that he co-edited with Hermann Muckler, *Politics of Indigeneity in the South Pacific* (which is memorably subtitled *Recent problems of identity in Oceania*), Erich Kolig stages a roll call of the indigenous Fourth World. He ponders the “normal[]” connotations of the term ‘indigenous,’ albeit with an overuse on a passive voice to the extent that it is never clear who or how these specific groups are “[brought] to mind” or “attached”:

Normally the term indigeneity brings to mind minorities of surviving indigenes embedded in, and encapsulated by, first world, industrialised countries such as Canada, the United States of America, Australia and New Zealand. The indigenes are Indians, Inuit, Polynesian Hawaiians, Australian Aborigines and Maori. But if one casts the net somewhat wider, one would find also perhaps Bushmen of South Africa [does anyone still use this terminology?], South-American Indians, Ainu of Japan, jungle-dwellers [??] of South-east Asia and the Philippines. To all of these groups often the label 4th world societies is attached.⁶¹³

This list echoes Allen’s, and the configuration of the anthologies, but then Kolig goes on to speak about indigenous people of the UK, summarily expanding the possibilities of inclusion to a point where, while his claims might be understandable in the strictest sense, the word ‘indigenous’ seems to cease having political impact:

However, claims to indigeneity, together with cultural revivalist features, are also heard from Britain and Ireland: the so-called Celtic revival relies on a notion of forming a cultural stratum supposedly older and more ancient than Britishness, Englishness or Anglo-Saxonness.⁶¹⁴

⁶¹³ Erich Kolig and Hermann Muckler, eds., *Politics of Indigeneity in the South Pacific : Recent Problems of Identity in Oceania* (London: Piscawatay, 2002):15.

⁶¹⁴ Kolig and Muckler, eds., *Politics of Indigeneity in the South Pacific : Recent Problems of Identity in Oceania*

indigenous: the impossible dream?

But can ‘indigenous’ really include all of these possibilities? How can this term describe such massive set of things without stretching itself too thin,⁶¹⁵ or diluting itself out of existence? Smith writes about this use of the term, and while recognising its possibility in a strict definitional sense, she returns the argument to the issue of anticolonial struggle:

It [the term] has been coopted politically by the descendents of settlers who lay claim to an ‘indigenous’ identity through their occupation and settlement of land over several generations or simply by being born in that place... Nor do they actively struggle as a society for the survival of indigenous languages, knowledges and cultures.⁶¹⁶

At this point, is ‘indigenous’ so broad and comparative that it doesn’t actually ‘mean’ anything other than its own umbrella-ness? When those who have perpetrated the 500 year long colonial process to which Smith and Jackson refer are potentially recognised as

⁶¹⁵ The West is always looking for new (far-away) Natives when the old ones start to assimilate too much, and so the category is always expanding: Western media and tourism industries pump out images of communities from areas such as the ‘trouble spots’ of Latin America, and ‘hilltribes’ of Thailand, China, Laos, and Malaysia. Popular books and films continue to produce and circulate ‘new’ Indigenous groups such as that of ‘Yali’ from PNG in Jared Diamond’s *Guns Germs and Steel*. Jared M. Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*, 1st ed. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1997).. Who has not been stuck watching the West mesmerising itself over Rigoberta Menchu, Chiapas uprisings, and cheap three day walking trips in the ‘highlands’ of Thailand and China, to watch some ‘native’ people live as if they had never been impacted upon by Western civilisation?

In this way, then, Indigenous is used as a substitute for ‘tribal’. But ‘tribal’, with a focus on traditionalism (and the exotic – consider the genre of ‘tribal’ tattoo art), demands an authentically pure body preserved from antiquity without any vestige or tinge of the colonial process, and this compulsory anachronism raises questions about whether eg Maori and Indians might have stopped being ‘tribal’ (most of us live in cities now and don’t speak our own languages at home, after all). Would this mean we are no longer properly ‘indigenous’? Allen raises this issue in explicit relation to the UN definition of indigenous peoples that insists on continued adherence to ‘traditional’ lifestyles and landscapes:

Under the UN’s criteria it is difficult to classify as indigenous most individuals and groups who have identified themselves as indigenous minorities in the post-World War II era. For example, it is unclear under the UN’s definition exactly what it might mean for the majority of contemporary American Indians or New Zealand Maori, who live, work and study in major urban centers among majority European-descended and other minority populations, to “live more in conformity with their [own] particular social, economic and cultural customs and traditions that with the institutions of the [First World] country of which they are form a part.” (Allen, *Blood Narrative: Indigenous Identity in American Indian and Maori Literary and Activist Texts*: 214-5.)

A similar doubly-penalising gesture is apparent in the NZ government’s insistence that a group must prove continued use of particular seabed and foreshore areas in order to be granted customary title, despite the fact that it was actions of the Crown that disrupted the maintenance of physical ties to substantial stretches of the areas in question. Tainui, for example, has pointed out that it was precisely the Government’s confiscation of their lands adjoining various waterways that would now, in 2004, prejudice a claim of continued use.

⁶¹⁶ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*: 7.

‘indigenous’ too, the term seems to have been stretched too thin; at this point, it has become an essentially empty term in the vein of Culler’s ‘empty terms’ I introduced in Chapter One. Is this the way that ‘indigenous’ works? Is it so necessarily broad that it’s effectively empty?⁶¹⁷ As tempting as it is to declare an indigenous comparative frame the impossible dream, it is important to consider the huge number of ways in which the frame is already articulated, in global community organizations, writing networks, political-legal configurations, cultural exchanges, scholarly and intellectual networks, and so on. Smith points to the possibilities of existing alliances and, recognising the need to develop an articulation of indigenous that is not hegemonic and homogenising, she engages the plural form ‘Peoples’:

The final ‘s’ in ‘indigenous peoples’ has been argued for quite vigorously by indigenous activists because of the right of peoples to self-determination. It is also used as a way of recognizing that there are real differences between different indigenous peoples. The term has enabled the collective voices of colonized people to be expressed strategically in the international arena. It has also been an umbrella enabling communities and peoples to come together, transcending their own colonized contexts and experiences, in order to learn, share, plan, organize and struggle collectively for self-determination.⁶¹⁸

Allen also ties indigenousness to political and material utility:

This is a struggle over definitional control (who will be allowed to define themselves as ‘indigenous’) in which the stakes continue to be high: the right to claim tangible resources such as land, minerals, timber, and fisheries, as well as the right to claim intangible but nonetheless highly valuable political, social, and symbolic resources such as authenticity and legitimacy.⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁷ Allen gestures towards this point in the conclusion to his *Blood Narrative*, in which he ends by considering the draft, and then final, version of the Solemn Declaration of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples. Allen points to the increased generality in the second version: “the final version amends the draft’s bold marks of specific indigeneity into less distinctive evocations of pan-indigenous identity.” (207) Later, he is more blunt about the stakes of such dilution:

Stated plainly, the final version lacks grounding in a specific indigenous land base and thus in a specific indigenous political entity, a people or a nation defined by their connection(s) with specific lands. The loss of such specificity is the loss of a clear marker of indigenous difference – really, the loss of the indigenous trump card, physical and spiritual longevity in the land – making it easier for settler governments, multicultural or Third World coalitions, and other entities either to ignore the Solemn Declaration’s narrative definition or to absorb it into their own agendas. (216)

⁶¹⁸ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples.*: 7.

⁶¹⁹ Allen, *Blood Narrative; Indigenous Identity in American Indian and Maori Literary and Activist Texts.*: 9.

The idea that colonialism is a central unifying feature of indigenous communities is clear, but for understandable reasons many commentators wish to suggest further similarities, aside from the shared experience of colonialism. Maori scholar, psychiatrist and writer Mason Durie writes about the articulation of an ‘indigenous’ identity that does not endlessly centre the coloniser. Like Smith, he starts by underscoring the diversity within the global indigenous community:

While there are significant differences in the circumstances of indigenous peoples in New Zealand or in Tonga, or between Australian Aborigines and native Fijians, or between native Hawaiians and native Americans, or between the Nisga’a of Canada and the Saami of Norway, there are commonalities that serve to emphasise the experiences shared by First Nations peoples in the so-called fourth world... A history of colonisation is a frequent staring point.⁶²⁰

Durie goes on to suggest, however, another point of similarity and therefore a potential site for collaboration that does not undermine the indigenous insistence on specificity.

But the commonalities between indigenous peoples are based on more than simply legally based categories of rights, or the prevalence of lower standards of living, or the experience of colonisation. Colonisation – for all its consequences – represents a relatively brief moment in the longer memories of indigenous peoples. A more fundamental starting point, and one that is widely shared by indigenous peoples, is the sense of unity with the environment... Human identity is an extension of the environment within which they live, and the ancestors are to be found as much in the world around as in the lives of those long since departed.⁶²¹

In *Peace, Power and Righteousness; an Indigenous Manifesto*, which deals with Indigenous North America, Taiaiake Alfred introduces ‘indigenous’ within the context of various local, regional and international terms, thereby also avoiding the equation of indigenous identity solely with colonialism. After declaring his intention to “whenever possible... use terms from indigenous languages, out of respect for the people’s struggle to free their minds,” he recognises the need to be clear about the terms that make sense beyond the linguistic boundaries of a particular nation, with a mixture of etymological and political reasons:

⁶²⁰ Mason Durie, *Ngā Kāhui Pou Launching Māori Futures* (Wellington, N.Z.: Huia, 2003): 271.

⁶²¹ Durie, *Ngā Kāhui Pou Launching Māori Futures*: 272.

In broader discussion I will use various terms: ‘Indian’...; ‘Indian’ is also a legal term, and in common use among indigenous people in North America); ‘native’ (in reference to the racial and cultural distinctiveness of individuals, and to distinguish our communities from those of mainstream society), ‘American Indian’ (in common use and a legal-political category in the United States), ‘Aboriginal’ (a legal category in Canada; also to emphasize the primacy of the peoples who first occupied the land), and ‘indigenous’ (in global contexts, and to emphasize natural, tribal, and traditional characteristics of various peoples).⁶²²

For Alfred, the term ‘indigenous’ is one collaborative identification among many, and its definition is very wide. Alfred finishes the section on terminology by commenting that “all are quite appropriate in context and are used extensively by Native people themselves,” a statement in which an easy slippage between ‘Indigenous’ and ‘Native’ gestures towards the unmarked Hemispheric and Continental focus of his work.⁶²³

⁶²² Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness : An Indigenous Manifesto*: xxxvi. Alfred engages in a little etymological work too, as he explains his use of the term ‘Indian’:

(it should be noted that the area known as India was still called ‘Hindustan’ in the fifteenth century; the term ‘Indian’ as applied to indigenous Americans is derived from Columbus’s original name for the Taino people he first encountered, ‘una gente in Dios’, or ‘Indios’, meaning ‘a people in God’) (xxvi)

⁶²³ Although the word ‘Native’ might be used interchangeably with ‘indigenous’ here on the North American continent, for example, it remains a problematic word in Aotearoa, still condescending and pejorative. This is something I’d forgotten until I went home for a visit and gave a baseball cap with ‘native’ stitched in the front – that I’d purchased at a Powwow and had thought was pretty cool – to my friend Tasha. ‘Indigenous’ is often substituted by/ for words like Native, indigene, aboriginal, first peoples, stateless peoples and so on. The propensity for (and perhaps insistence on) slippage between itself and Other terms is striking. Perhaps the most tautological configuration is the intro to the Akaka Bill, in which Native Hawaiians are defined as ‘aboriginal indigenous native’. The ‘meaning’ of the term is thereby inferred from the meaning of these Other terms. The slippage between ‘Indigenous’ and ‘Native’ is quite common: the collection of speeches entitled *Voice of Indigenous Peoples* is subtitled *Native People Address the United Nations*, and Leuthold’s *Indigenous Aesthetics* is subtitled *Native Art Media and Identity*.

Sometimes a word explicitly tied to one place is employed in another place; the wide adoption of the language of the Canadian-derived First Nations (or First Peoples) is a key example of this. For example, Makere Stewart-Harawira writes about “tangata whenua, or first peoples” (20) in her dissertation. Makere Stewart-Harawira, “Globalisation and the Return to Empire : An Indigenous Response = Te Torino Whakahaere, Whakamuri ” PhD, University of Auckland, 2002.. The question needs to be asked about what is lost/ gained in these transactions. While this language makes explicit the articulation of ‘firstness’ (such as that which is central to the UN definition quoted by Nandor Tanczos above), for example the dimension of land (whenua) that is foregrounded in the Maori phrase ‘tangata whenua’ is sidelined to the point of mere inference.

Obviously, this discussion is focussing only on substitution of terms in the English language; I am not accounting here for Hispanophone, Francophone or any other designations. The exception to this Anglophone-centrism is in an etymology of the term provided by Miller in his *Invisible Indigenes*, in which he traces its etymology through to the related (or originary) political mobilisation of the Spanish term ‘indigenismo’:

The term dates to the period of revolutionary Mexico in the early to mid-twentieth century and is the product of non-Indian theorists, led by anthropologist Manuel Gamio and articulated in the first Interamerican Indigenist Congress held in Mexico in 1940. *Indigenismo* was tied to a commitment to noncoercive national integration acculturation of Mexican Indians... Nevertheless, the term now has different connotations and is in use internationally.

(Miller, *Invisible Indigenes : The Politics of Nonrecognition*: 11)

And what happens when our global indigenous writing, activism and struggle pays off? At the ‘Indigenous Identity’ panel at the Planet IndigenUs festival in Toronto, August 2004, Makka Kleist of Greenland asked the audience whether her community would stop being indigenous the minute they gained political independence from Denmark. Perhaps it was a rhetorical question, but it points to an important contradiction of global indigenous collaboration: the major focus of the relationships is our resistance of colonialism, the fruition of which will render our ‘indigenous’ alliances out of a job. Exploring the possibilities of connection beyond colonialism is more complex than producing a simple system of inclusions and exclusions.

Competing and crucial notions of indigeneity continue to be played out around the world, a notable recent example being the 2000 uprising by Indigenous Fijians who rejected the Fijian-Indian domination in Fijian government and business.⁶²⁴ Perhaps ironically, given that indigenesness is inextricable from land, mapping ‘Indigenous’ is not a spatial undertaking, but is instead a rhetorical, linguistic, definitional issue. The impossibility of accounting for ‘the indigenous world’ by pointing to places on a map is in part tied to the fact that indigenous groups tend to be subsumed, cut across and absorbed by Other (western-style) nation states. Indeed, the appearance of the term ‘Fourth World’ attests to indigenous resistance to a cartographic ideology that works on the premise that every place on the globe is colourable by one ‘nation-state’ crayon or the other; no colours would overlap or leave uncoloured space.⁶²⁵ However, we have seen that this is only part of the definitional conundrum. Niezen’s *The Origins of Indigenism* explores the

⁶²⁴ Linda Tuhiwai Smith has a useful discussion about the term ‘indigenous’ in her *Decolonising Methodologies*: 7.

⁶²⁵ Perhaps, for the sake of definitional specificity, the ‘indigenous’ of the chapter title is more properly ‘English-speaking Fourth World Indigenous’. For the purposes of this chapter, whilst acknowledging the large number of places this leaves out, I will focus on those Maori, Black/ Aboriginal/ Torres Strait Islander, First Nations/ Aboriginal/ Inuit, and American Indian/ Alaska Native/ Hawaiian indigenous minorities that dwell within the auspices of the first world nations of New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States respectively.

roots of the concept of the indigenous, and for him this concept is inextricable from paradox and juxtaposition:

It was neither the *community-based* research nor the *international meetings* that encouraged me to develop the topic of the international movement of indigenous peoples into a book project; rather, it was the *juxtaposition of the two*.⁶²⁶

The destabilisation of the characterisation – and/ or perhaps originary location – of the ‘indigenous’ at “the juxtaposition” seems to counter (paradoxically? juxtapositionally?) the crucial insistence on “permanence and [an] ability to stay close to [] cultures and homelands” that enables indigenous communities to claim indigenosity in the first place.

One serious option is to declare the term ‘indigenous’ dead in the water; it has this impossible endless oscillation between the local and the global, and is being used in an infinite number of configurations. The implications for those teaching and reading ‘indigenous’ literatures are clear: on what basis could one come up with a syllabus of ‘Indigenous’ writing? Who would be included? Who wouldn’t? What would a methodology look like? Importantly, this methodological stalemate is exacerbated by the very insistence of uniqueness and specificity on which a claim to being indigenous is based. If an ‘Indigenous’ reading of a text focussed on a set of concerns or histories or formal features, for example, whose concerns or histories or forms would they be? Powhiri Rika-Heke demonstrates this stance of insisting on a Maori centre, in her “Margin or Centre? Let me tell you! In the land of my ancestors I am centre.” This is echoed in the introduction to the third volume of Ihimaera’s anthology *Te Ao Marama*:

The concepts of centre and margin are challenging ones for any minority culture. English post-colonial and post-modern methodologies have defined the centre in majority terms as that which is mainstream. Maori literature, like many indigenous literatures, is, by this definition, not the centre. *From our perspective* Maori literature *is* the centre – for if you are Maori and looking out, you do so from your own centre. This

⁶²⁶ Niezen, *The Origins of Indigenism*: xiii.

is the subversive viewpoint we have taken. *We wish to look at things our way, from the inside out, not from the outside in.*⁶²⁷

If an insistence on this commitment to occupying one's own 'centre' is crucial to indigenusness, then, how is it possible to articulate what is shared between a number of communities who have the same commitment to their own centres? Any attempt to provide some scaffolding inside our 'empty' term is ultimately resisted by the fact that this necessarily comes out of a particular view of the world, or set of principles/ histories/ values that thereby challenges the sovereignty of any of the indigenous groups it then includes. In this way, then, an Indigenous reading or methodology is eternally foreclosed; the shared insistence on cultural specificity makes impossible any further move. Smith has reminded us that this paralysed stance is impossible, however, because real indigenous people engage the word in all manner of collaborations:

It has also been an umbrella enabling communities and people to come together, transcending their own colonized contexts and experiences... Thus the world's indigenous populations belong to a network of peoples.⁶²⁸

How, then, can we make peace with this term to the extent that it is possible to imagine how an 'Indigenous' way of reading a Maori text might look without a constant reversion to a 'Maori' reading? In his 1995 *Us Mob: History Culture Struggle – an introduction to Indigenous Australia*, he writes about the need for an umbrella word for Indigenous Australians, in a section that speaks also to the use of the term 'indigenous' in a global sense.

'Indigenous' is a word which has come into prominence over the last few years in order to give us a common term to Us Mob. In our languages there is no common word for all of the Indigenous people of Australia, or even of Australia itself, and every English word which has been used is but a term to render us into a commonality. I too am guilty of this, but until the time comes when we have our own word for Us Mob, I use indigenous, which simply means originating in or from a country and thus is descriptive of Us Mob.

⁶²⁷ Witi Ihimaera, "Kaupapa," *Te Ao Marama 3: Te Puawaitanga O Te Korero*, ed. Witi Ihimaera (Auckland: Reed, 1993): 15; emphasis added.

⁶²⁸ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples*: 7.

Mudrooroo's proposal that we use 'Indigenous' "until the time comes when we have our own word"⁶²⁹ is complicated because that "time" is eternally foreclosed by the fact of the multiple communities (and thus languages) that comprise the 'indigenous' in the first place. Despite the impossibility of achieving a 'monolingual' indigenesness on which appropriately indigenous terminologies and configurations ("our own word[s]") are dependent, and despite the rejection of singular terms in the English language all of which ultimately have been used "to render us into a commonality", something needs to be the placeholder in the necessarily empty space of articulating the impossible collaborative identity of constitutively separate entities. Mudrooroo suggests that 'indigenous' is a useful term here, albeit held up and loudly marked by inverted commas⁶³⁰ for its tendency to homogenise, and for the sake of continuing with the chapter, I will agree to it.

nau te rourou: pronouncing autochthony

For reasons already laid out, the term 'indigenous' is complicated and - ultimately - it seems a bit of a theoretical stalemate. However, 'indigenous' people all around the world *are* collaborating and engaging in mutual recognition on the basis of their 'indigenesness.' Why? How? On what bases? In order to find a way through the theoretical foreclosures I have outlined above, I turn to the texts: in a section entitled "despite these differences:" connections, histories, survivals,' I explore the museum as an exemplary mode and space of connection between indigenous texts and communities. In particular, I suggest that the concurrent negotiation of the museum space by indigenous communities, each with a simultaneous view to their own treasures and their colonial context, compellingly metaphorises the moments, stakes, parameters, structure and

⁶²⁹ This is reminiscent of Alfred's comment about his preference for indigenous languages but the impossibility of avoiding English.

⁶³⁰ Where's Alice Walker with her inverted commas when you need her?

substance of indigenous-indigenous connection. Finally, in the section “kanohi ki te kanohi,” I focus on key moments of indigenous-indigenous encounter in indigenous texts. The presence of particular elements/ themes/ strategies in the wider body of Indigenous literature might emphasise their presence – or perhaps the significance of their presence – in Maori writing in English. By focussing on Maori texts I do not intend to exclude or undermine the writing of Other indigenous communities, but rather I hope to avoid generalisation and thereby to more fully and more explicitly interrogate the ways in which one specific indigenous nation (and its maturing written literature) is both asserting, and being shaped by, encounters with indigenous Others.⁶³¹

“despite these differences:” connections, histories, survivals

In her introduction to *Skins*, Akiwenzie-Damm suggests three specific dimensions shared by the indigenous texts collected in the anthology:

The writers come from diverse cultures and histories, from the far north of Canada to the South Pacific Islands of Aotearoa. *Despite these differences*, what all of the writers share is our connection to our homelands, our histories of colonization, genocide, and displacement, and our will to survive and pass the treasures of our cultures to future generations.⁶³²

This simultaneous attention to sustained “connection to our homelands” and to “histories of colonization” is central to connections between indigenous communities, and to their (our) respective decolonisation.⁶³³ Rather than attempting an exhaustive account of “decolonising,”⁶³⁴ I focus specifically on resistance to the museum, and anticipate that this

⁶³¹ Wendy Rose, a Hopi poet, for example, has written poetry about the literally displayed bodies of Indigenous women Truganniny (from Tasmania) and Julia (from Mexico).

⁶³² Akiwenzie-Damm and Douglas, *Skins : Contemporary Indigenous Writing*: vi.

⁶³³ Decolonisation in indigenous texts produces and manifests explicit resistance to colonial exploitation. Note that these two (pro-indigenous and anti-colonial, to put it bluntly) are also the central bases for Kaupapa Maori methodologies, as I expressed in the Introductory chapter.

⁶³⁴ Certainly, these aspects cannot be treated exhaustively in a single chapter. Furthermore, different configurations of the connections between indigenous texts and communities are possible - and indeed crucial - to the ongoing vitality and relevance of the field of indigenous literary studies. For example, consider the possibility of reading Indigenous texts in terms of ‘magical realism’, something that Kay Yandell demonstrated at the 2004 ACLA meeting.

will prove exemplary for the sake of recognising the connections between indigenous struggles.⁶³⁵ While the politics and space of the museum is already heavily theorised,⁶³⁶ I believe it is instructive to turn to the literary writing of indigenous people in order to explore the dynamics of the museum space as a simultaneous moment and metaphor of Indigenous resistance to colonialism. The large number of texts about the museum by Indigenous writers attests to the immediacy and vitality of resistance in this area.

Before I proceed with exploring the indigenous treatment of museum space,⁶³⁷ I want to foreground the way in which Indigenous communities concurrently grapple with the museum space, each with a simultaneous view to their own treasures and their *own* colonial context, and each recognising and invoking the need to (re)connect with these items on display. I want to suggest here that as indigenous peoples apprehend both the specificity of their familial items (and thereby cultures) and the construction of the Native within the colonial project (as manifest in the architecture and scale of the museum), the forging of indigenous connections in non-Indigenous museums compellingly

⁶³⁵ There are several other shared tropes and themes upon which I could have focussed. For example, poetry that directly addresses (and accuses) specific individuals about their colonising practices. This poetry tends to be angry, sharp and specific, and is often directed against European(-descent) individuals whose colonial exploitation takes the form of 'New Age' cooptation of Indigenous belief systems and/ or White politicians. For example: Phil Kawana's "Cultural Sensitivity" (in Phil Kawana, Attack of the Skunk People (Wellington: Huia, 1999).), Monica A. Ka'imipono Ka'iwi, "'Hey, Haole Lady...'" Whetu Moana: Contemporary Polynesian Poems in English, eds. Albert Wendt, Reina Whaitiri and Robert Sullivan (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003)., Chrystos's "Today was a bad day like TB," (in John Purdy and James Ruppert, Nothing but the Truth : An Anthology of Native American Literature (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2001).) and Lisa Bellear's "Mr Prime Minister (of Australia)" and "Ode to Nelson Mandela." (in Lisa Bellear, Dreaming in Urban Areas, Uqp Black Australian Writers (St. Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 1996).). Some Indigenous texts treat the colonial exploitation of space as treated in indigenous writing that satirises the process of colonialism by staging its ironic reversal. For example, Patricia Grace's story "Ngati Kangaru" (in Akiwenzie-Damm and Douglas, Skins : Contemporary Indigenous Writing.), Carter Revard's story "Repossessing Europe" (in Purdy and Ruppert, Nothing but the Truth : An Anthology of Native American Literature.), Hershman John's poem "The Wooden Duck," (Hershman John, Paradise Lost; New and Selected Poems (unpublished: nd).) and Featherstone's short film *Baba Kiueria*. Julian Pringle and Geoffrey Atherden, "Baba Kiueria (Barbecue Area)," ed. Don Featherstone (Sydney: 1986), vol., eds. Australian Broadcasting Corporation and Moorabbin College of TAFE.

⁶³⁶ My future work in this area will pay closer attention to this theorising.

⁶³⁷ Given the emphasis of my dissertation, the texts I foreground are Maori, with some reference to texts by Other indigenous writers. I look forward to undertaking a separate project that would more evenly (and deeply) treat texts from across a number of indigenous communities.

metaphorises the moments, stakes, parameters and substance of indigenous-indigenous connection. The indigenous visitor enters the museum space – which suggestively stands in for colonialism – with a particular view to reconnecting with the treasure from which they have been alienated by the system of colonialism with all of its institutional processes, its matrices of classification and its presumption to display. This museum space, then, operates as a site where indigenous-indigenous collaboration and connection takes place, in which we find ways to support each other's aspirations of reconnection with our respective histories and losses.

I feel very strongly that colonialism is necessarily at the centre of 'pan-indigenous' identity, not because it belongs at the centre of how specific indigenous communities think about themselves, but because it is the basis of inter-community connection. I have already outlined the limitations of trying to 'fill in' the empty term 'indigenous' in previous sections; my major concern is the tendency to homogenise indigenous communities as connecting 'because we all love the earth mother' regardless of our actual cosmological beliefs about the earth or about mothers. At what point are we performing a European-imagined "native" (as in the ones Peters might say are getting restless)? Respective colonial contexts continue to inflect indigenous-indigenous connections, and the metaphor of the museum helps us further recognise this: after all, these connections are dependent on particular linguistic and economic factors. To refuse to recognise this colonial context takes the heat out of the politics of resistance and decolonisation in which our communities are involved, and for which we collaborate. Certainly there are spaces outside of colonialism where indigenous communities might meet, but these meetings are dependent on first encountering and recognising each other in the content of (de)colonisation. Surely the focus on reconnection with familial things, the acknowledgement of the colonial context, the ultimate desire for return, repatriation and reframing of those familial things and the recognition of Others similarly engaged,

parallels the Kateri Akiwenzie-Damm's explanation of indigenous connection above. I hope that the depths of this metaphor will become apparent as I continue with this discussion of indigenous literary treatment of the museum.⁶³⁸

In the space of the museum, 'outsiders' can comfortably and non-confrontationally consume the exotic and static display of indigenous communities, cultures and 'artefacts.'⁶³⁹ The museum visitor, by virtue of their entrance into the space of the museum, becomes implicated in – and complicit with – the process of colonial display. Unsurprisingly, given the colonial anthropological and ethnographic roots of the public museum, the 'visitor' is ordinarily assumed to be an outsider to the communities represented there; because of the simultaneously exotic and commodified representation of the material culture, the 'outsider' visitor is effectively a 'tourist/ consumer.' But who counts as an 'outsider'? What kinds of 'insiders' might also visit the museum?⁶⁴⁰ Cultural

⁶³⁸ This metaphor has multiple implications beyond those I can treat in this chapter; I look forward to exploring it in greater depth in a separate project.

⁶³⁹ Even where such display is 'live' and includes living breathing bodies. Wendy Rose and Sia Figiel have treated the practice of displaying 'live' exhibits in museums.

⁶⁴⁰ In the introductory chapter to his *Blood Narrative*, American scholar Chad Allen relays an anecdote about his visit to a Maori performance at the War Memorial Museum in Auckland in which two competing – or perhaps simply coexisting – (insider and outsider) modes of experiencing 'culture' in the space of the museum became apparent. Allen participates in the consumption of the spectacle on offer, but poses his own 'knowingness' as a parameter within which he conducts himself. Throughout his recreation of the "occasion" in question (he uses the word 'occasion' deliberately, after Salmond) he posits his own 'knowing' – perhaps 'consciousness' – of the colonial space of the museum:

Although I lived for almost a year within a block of the museum, I avoided the Maori concert regularly performed there until the week before my return to the United States. Given the museum's central location on the New Zealand tourist trail, I feared the concert would disappoint because it would not feel "authentic." As I predicted, the concert's sizable audience consisted of European and Asian tourists, most of whom had arrived at the museum on commercial tour buses. Also as I predicted...

(Allen, *Blood Narrative: Indigenous Identity in American Indian and Maori Literary and Activist Texts*: 15)

On the one hand, Allen's 'knowing' of 'what's really going on here' is implicitly derived from the project of his book (subtitled, after all, *Indigenous Identity in American Indian and Maori Literary and Activist Texts*), by which one might assume he has a complex and perhaps 'insider' vision in terms of things "indigenous". He enhances this scholarly understanding by asserting his relationship with the space in question ("I lived for almost a year within a block of the museum"); no "commercial tour bus[]" for him, he will walk from his 'local' place of residence. Allen's use of active verbs asserts his own conscious participation in the process ("I avoided", "I feared", "I predicted", "Also as I predicted", "I became aware"). This active participation in the occasion is contrasted with that of "the tourist audience", whose designation as "European and Asian tourists" at once distances them from the Maori performance they are about to watch, but also sets them apart from his own location. His identification with these "tourists" is ambiguous; in relation to the Maori school group stands to respond to the performers, he is shuttled back to the position of the outsider ("Unknown to

proximity to the objects in a museum becomes more complex (or, at least, differently complex) when the visitor to the museum is a member of the community from which an object comes. In particular, the indigenous visitor often enters the space with tremendous political and critical savvy.⁶⁴¹ Because the museum both materially inherits the ‘things’ of colonialism,⁶⁴² and ideologically trades in colonial representation, for indigenous communities the museum space is inextricable from thieving, appropriation, and broken contracts. J C Sturm, who describes the shaping of a stone flax scraper in her poem “Splitting the Stone,” remarks as a literal parenthetical aside:

(Some can still be found
With other missing things
In various museums)⁶⁴³

The parenthetical aside is part of a poem in which Sturm describes the shaping of a flax pounder in the present time, and so the acknowledgement of “missing things” is contextualised by the maintenance of cultural knowledges (including material cultures and their related expertise) outside that space. Kelly Joseph, walking through the Met in

me or the other tourists”), yet as he recognises the unfurling of reciprocal Maori protocols Allen’s conscious knowledge of ‘what’s really going on’ kicks in and distinguishes him again (after all, he has lived in the country for a year!): “Suddenly, I became aware that much more had been at stake.” Whilst Allen presumably sits quietly, “the Maori man’s voice rang out over the tourist’s conversations,” at which point Allen has stopped being a “tourist” and moves back to the position of translator and cultural informant for the reader of his text:

In eloquent Maori, he formally addressed the concert troupe... Although the performers were caught off guard, they quickly assessed the situation and lined up below the stage to listen politely.

Because of his insider knowledge – he not only understands the language, but can appraise its ‘eloquence’! – Allen’s separation from the “tourists” is complete: unlike him, “the tourist audience, who had been told that the concert was over... was visibly confused... Others openly expressed their discomfort.” Finally, his insider knowledge enables him to affiliate with the insiders: “once reframed, *at least for certain readers*, the concert could function as an activist event.”

Some museums do try to make allowances for certain ‘insider’ visitors, either through bilingual signage or other institutional benefits. For example, since they have installed a 28th Maori Battalion ‘B Company’ exhibit, complete with several photos, the Rotorua Museum allows free entry for whanau of those memorialised in the displays. This means that whenever any members of my whanau are in Rotorua we can visit the photo of my Uncle Paul.

⁶⁴¹ Look, for example, at Robert Sullivan’s poems “Goldie (1)” and “Goldie (2),” in which he undertakes not only an art critique of a particular famous painter of Maori individuals, but also treats much wider knowledges (both Maori and Western). Sullivan, *Star Waka*.

⁶⁴² Of course, the term ‘inherit’ here is a euphemism to end all euphemisms.

⁶⁴³ “Splitting the stone,” in Sturm, *Dedications*: 15.

New York City, describes a “lost” waka huia⁶⁴⁴ displayed among the other items of the museum:

I cry for this treasure, lost to its people and out of place in a foreign land... Surrounded by thousands of displaced objects[.]⁶⁴⁵

In the moment of encountering an object or performance in the space of the museum, the (knowing⁶⁴⁶) indigenous visitor experiences a simultaneous *distance* on the basis of the colonial architecture and structure of the museum (“missing”, “lost”, “foreign”, “displaced”), and *proximity* on the basis of kin/ cultural/ landscape ties (“some can still be found”, “I cry for this treasure, lost to its people”).

The architecture of the museum goes a long way towards establishing and maintaining its colonial roots and ambitions, and produces formal (and very tangible) distance between communities and displayed objects through its (naturalised) organization of space. This (colonial) architecture is apparent at the ‘macro’ level of building design and layout, and the ‘micro’ level of display cases and labelling. Often styled after a ‘Classical’ structure, built of white stone and with columns, jutting eaves and high doorways, the physical girth and height of the museum building, and its exaggerated structural elements, produce an uncompromising (and especially in the context of the New Zealand landscape, markedly foreign) architectural silhouette. The ‘Classical’ architecture of the museum marks the space as separate, accountable to another history, and – importantly in a try-hard settler colony like New Zealand – similar to similar structures throughout the Empire and/ or ‘the West.’⁶⁴⁷ In their poetry about the

⁶⁴⁴ A waka huia (literally, a vessel for the huia – a huia is an extinct bird with highly prized tail feathers) is a carved container with a base and lid, shaped a bit like along almond, and is used to store feathers and other treasures.

⁶⁴⁵ Kelly Joseph, "Transient," *Huia Short Stories 5*, ed. Huia Publishers. (Wellington: Huia, 2003): 149.

⁶⁴⁶ The participation of indigenous and/ or ‘knowing’ consumer/ tourists is ambiguous: is the ‘knowing’ tourist excused from complicity as a tourist with complicity in the colonial process that manifests itself in such display, on the basis of that ‘knowing’? To put it another way, does understanding the colonial dimension of museum display immunize one from absorbing the colonial representations of indigenous communities, or from participating with a colonising gaze on the objects/ bodies?

⁶⁴⁷ Roger Blackley’s essay “Beauty and the Beast” treats this topic well: “By installing its collection of antique casts in 1878, Auckland was effectively catching up with the art culture of adjacent colonial cities.”

British Museum, Ihimaera and Potiki are clear that the colonial function of the museum is not lessened by the arrival of the indigenous visitor; indeed, this arrival throws the colonial trappings and architecture of the museum into starker relief. In her poem “Flight”, Roma Potiki draws attention to the imperial history represented by the statues in the front of the British Museum:

We have flown halfway round the world
to stand among lions./ /
They face us
stone and chiselled granite
the grins of an empire
holding the keys to a house of treasures.⁶⁴⁸

Ihimaera similarly acknowledges and asserts the colonial – and specifically Victorian – enterprise of the British Museum:

Make way, Britannia, Albion, Victoria Imperatrix,
make way our putatara are braying to bring down
your walls⁶⁴⁹

Ihimaera’s Biblical allusion to Joshua’s aural attack on the walls of Jericho, in which trumpets are replaced by traditional Maori instrumentation, suggests that the walls of the museum both enclose and assert the ‘enemy.’⁶⁵⁰ After wandering through New York City,

Joseph describes the “austere, grey” Met as she approaches it from Central Park:

I make my way intuitively towards an austere, grey building squatting
on the edge of the dry late-summer trees. For some reason I am drawn
to it like a magnet. I remember seeing the building from the bus earlier,
and a sign now tells me it’s the Metropolitan Museum.⁶⁵¹

The familiar architecture of the museum, for Joseph, is recognisable from a distance before she realises the specific name of this museum. The ‘universal’ colonial museum, then, is a familiar figure that overrides the context of specific landscape.

Roger Blackley, "Beauty and the Beast: Plaster Casts in a Colonial Museum" *On Display: New Essays in Cultural Studies*, eds. Anna Smith and Lydia Wevers (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2004): 43. Blackley’s essay also contains considerable detail about the visit of Maori to the museum, which promises to prove a valuable resource as I further explore this metaphor.

⁶⁴⁸ Roma Potiki, "Flight," *Whetu Moana: Contemporary Polynesian Poems in English*, eds. Albert Wendt, Reina Whaitiri and Robert Sullivan (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003): 162.

⁶⁴⁹ Witi Ihimaera, "Oh Numi Tutelar," *Whetu Moana: Contemporary Polynesian Poems in English*, eds. Albert Wendt, Reina Whaitiri and Robert Sullivan (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003): 82.

⁶⁵⁰ Further, a parallel might be imagined between Ihimaera’s adaptation of the Biblical story and the use of literary texts in English: A Western-derived narrative and formula for righteous struggle is mobilised and recontextualised both *in* and *by* the words of the poem.

⁶⁵¹ Joseph, "Transient.": 147.

Once inside the building, further conventional structures - in particular the physical structures of compartmentalisation and 'preservation' - code the space as a 'museum.' The museum case becomes a literally invisible, yet ultimately insurmountable, feature of museum architecture.⁶⁵² Tellingly, indigenous writers very often describe the glass display units of the museum as they describe the artefacts within: in this context, their encounter with their own items is always already framed by colonialism. Joseph describes the interior of the Met:

The space is full of truncated marble bodies, ancient orange-black vases with ecstatic scenes, and other relics labelled and neatly ordered... The next room contains artefacts from Africa, the Americas and Oceania... my eyes flit over the cases, searching... I weave in and out of glass display cabinets, barely noticing their contents.⁶⁵³

JC Sturm, in her poem "At the Museum at Puke-ahu," describes a hall of taonga at the Auckland War Memorial Museum:

And all the old taonga
Moved restlessly
In their glass-caged sleep...⁶⁵⁴

The anaesthetising effect of the "glass-cage[]" on the taonga is acknowledged but is also contradicted/ challenged by the "restless[ness]" of the taonga. Similarly, when Sullivan describes the resurrection of the museum-based waka in "Waka 99," he prophesies that they:

⁶⁵² As does the labelling that goes with the case. Indigenous Australian poet Lisa Bellear writes about protocols of classification in "Artist Unknown" (*Bellear, Dreaming in Urban Areas*), as does Silko in *Almanac* as well as *Gardens in the Dunes*. Leslie Silko, *Almanac of the Dead: A Novel* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991)., Leslie Silko, *Gardens in the Dunes: A Novel* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1999).. In their essay "Native InFormation," joannemarie barker and Teresia Teaiwa explicitly tie together the colonial systems of classification and their own positions as 'representatives' of their 'native' communities in the academy. As in the texts about museums, they describes the architecture of the building in order to metaphorise access to certain kinds of space; with their references to cataloguing and display, they collapse together the institutions of the museum and the university:

Our protagonists, our heroines, Vanishing-Indian and Native-in-Formation walk through the hollow halls of the academy. They pass some closed doors, some doors that are wide-open, some doors that are ajar. They exchange knowing glances as they pass rooms in which their ancestors' bones are numbered and catalogued. They exchange knowing glances as they pass rooms in which their contemporaries are the centrepieces on the smorgasbord at glamorous receptions. "I was invited to that party," Native-in-formation whispers. "I know," nods Vanishing-Indian, "they've already numbered and catalogued me."

(Teresia Teaiwa and joannemarie barker, "Native Information," *Inscriptions* 7. Enunciating Our Terms: Women of Color in Collaboration and Conflict (1994):. 37.

⁶⁵³ Joseph, "Transient.": 148-9.

⁶⁵⁴ "At the Museum at Puke-ahu," in Sturm, *Dedications*.

...come out
 from museum doors smashing
 glass cases⁶⁵⁵

Perhaps the paradox of the impenetrable transparency of the glass suggests the frustratingly proximate, yet foreclosed, encounter with the familial object.⁶⁵⁶ A far less transparent case holds the objects described in Morey's "ture te haki," a poem that directly addresses "battle pendants hidden in wooden boxes," stored in the depths of a museum building.⁶⁵⁷

As these texts recognise and lament the barrier of the display or storage case, however, they simultaneously foresee the future release of the item from the museum. The restlessness of the objects in Sturm's "At the Museum at Puke-ahu" is not nihilistic frustration with the "glass-cage[]", but is attributed to "Dream[s]" of future repatriation and thereby underpinned by a specifically decolonising teleology:

... Dreaming of their prime
 Of release and being
 Taken home

Similarly, Morey's "ture te haki" addresses "battle pendants" stored in a museum, and attributes agency – and specifically, a desire to return - to the flags themselves:

you sit and wait for darkness to go quickly
 for light to fall on your ruined threads⁶⁵⁸

⁶⁵⁵ "Waka 99," in Sullivan, *Star Waka*.

⁶⁵⁶ A key example of the treatment of the museum in the American Indian context is Silko's *The Almanac of the Dead*, in which the repercussions of the theft of the "little grandparents" resound throughout the text. In one episode, a delegation from the community from which they were taken travels to see them in a museum, and the architecture of the museum is emphasised:

The glass case that held the stone figures was in the center of the museum's large entry hall. Glass cases lined the walls displaying pottery and baskets so ancient they could only have come from the graves of ancient ancestors... The delegation walked past the display cases slowly and in silence. But when they reached the glass case in the center of the vast hall, the old cacique began to weep, his whole body quivering from old age and the cold. He seemed to forget the barrier glass forms and tried to reach out to the small stone figures laying dreadfully unwrapped. The old man kept bumping his fingers against the glass case until the assistance curator became alarmed. The Laguna delegation later recounted how the white man had suddenly looked around at all of them as if he were afraid they had come to take back everything that had been stolen. In that instant white man and Indian both caught a glimpse of what was yet to come.

(Silko, *Almanac of the Dead: A Novel*: 33)

⁶⁵⁷ Barry Barclay's feature film *Te Rua* treats the issue of museums and repatriation. Barry Barclay, "Te Rua," ed. Barry Barclay (1991), vol., ed. John O'Shea.

⁶⁵⁸ Kelly Ana Morey, "Ture Te Haki," *Whetu Moana: Contemporary Polynesian Poems in English*, eds. Albert Wendt, Reina Whaitiri and Robert Sullivan (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003): 145.

Despite the claim halfway through the poem that there is “no way for you to come home,” the poem sets up the possibility of return in the first lines, in which the observations that “... you fly your flags of history” is immediately qualified by the prophetic “for now,” and this is repeated at the end of the poem after their imminent return is named:

the flags are quiet
for now ...

The poem is framed by ellipses at the beginning of the first and end of the last lines, a formal marker that insists on the impossibility of severing the period of being “hidden in wooden boxes/ in blackened rooms” from the time before, and thereby also indicating that this is not the end of their history. Just as the flags came from a particular historical moment of resistance, the possibility of their return to participate in similar resistance is suggested.

Joseph’s “Transient” describes the narrator’s connection with a waka huia which retains possibilities of agency and movement (“it has a mighty presence. I know now that it has been calling me”), and explicitly parallels the entrapment of the beloved object within the design of the museum, and the narrator who is struggling with homesickness:

I cry for this treasure, lost to its people and out of place in this foreign
land. And I cry for myself, thousands of miles from home, struggling to
stay strong but failing miserably. I don’t know how I’ve strayed so far
from my beginnings.

The identification the waka huia is enhanced as the narrator describes her ‘transparent’ – and yet insurmountable - disconnection from the surroundings, which is strikingly similar to the position of the waka huia inside a glass case: “The room dissolves behind a beaded curtain of tears.” Having explicitly identified herself with the waka huia,⁶⁵⁹ the narrator:

deliberately make[s] a decision. Surrounded by thousands of displaced
objects, I know what must be done.
The following day I book a one-way ticket home.

⁶⁵⁹ And after “the homeless guy” she encountered before entering the museum, whom she gave some money, hands her a handkerchief. The regular appearance of homeless people (see also Jean Riki’s story “Te Wa Kainga: Home,” for example) in texts about disconnection, and texts written by Maori outside Aotearoa, is quite striking, and deserves further consideration.

The possibility of return is different for the narrator than for the museum object, and yet having made the clear connection between herself and the waka huia, this too seems an expression of eventual return. While “Transient” deals most overtly with the issue of Maori who live outside Aotearoa, the suggestion of a metaphorised link between ‘objects’ in the museum and the position of the colonised in a colonial context is compelling and productive in similar texts that deal with the museum. The hope of return, then, is about the hope of eventual escape from the constrictions and tourist-consumer demands of the colonial context for the object, but also the community of which the taonga are a part.⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁶⁰ In her “Lei Niho Palaoa,” Hawaiian poet Brandy Nalani McDougall addresses the Lei Niho Palaoa (whale tooth lei) at the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, and she starts by lamenting the material conditions of the item:

You have lived through decades under glass
a velvet bust replacing the one
you once held with love.

Ironically, while the “velvet bust” which the museum uses as a substitute for a human wearer is renounced for its artificiality, the Lei itself is imbued with a history and memory (“you once held with love”). The mode of direct address (“you”), from poet to Lei Niho Palaoa, underscores the claim – and possibility – of relationship with the thing that is displayed as an artefact, thus rupturing the unspoken contract of the museum space, in which the visitor encounters ‘inanimate’ objects that have been neatly classified and translated into exotic spectacle. McDougall refuses to allow the “glass” and the “velvet bust” to diminish the histories – and literal bodies – not only represented by, but manifest in, the Lei:

A thousand strands
of our people’s hair was given
to plait your chains; a palaoa offered
a tusk for your hook-shaped pendant

The “glass” and “velvet bust” are trumped by the phrase “our people”; the “glass”-mediated encounter between a singular poet/ narrator’s voice and single ‘exhibit’ is reframed when the wider community and cultural context through the subtle shift of the individuating pronoun “you” to the shared pronoun “our.” The introduction of an entire community both reconfigures the relationship between the poet and the Lei, and also asserts that the Lei is no longer a singular inanimate object, but is literally inextricable from the bodies implied by “a thousand strands/ of our people’s hair,” and the sheer size of the remainder of the “palaoa [who] offered/ a tusk.” After acknowledging the component materials of the Lei, McDougall foregrounds the construction of the Lei, and the artistic and cultural expertise, that underpins that construction:

Your crafters chanted prayers as they worked:
measuring each hair, blending each end
into a new braid, searching the bone
for fractures, carving the inverted arc
of your hook. The days they spent show
the generations of knowing your art.

The recounting of the process of creating the Lei foregrounds the expertise inherent to the piece, and not only the recognition of that expertise but a sense of how it works on the part of the narrator. Significantly, despite the “decades under glass,” the knowledges required for its construction remain crucial: on the one hand, the “days [the “crafters”] spent... knowing your art” continues to “show/ the generations” – such as the poet herself – the “art” of the construction of such a Lei. On the other hand, the confident and studied recitation and understanding of the process of construction by a Hawaiian poet refuses to limit the importance of the Lei to passively “show[ing]/ the generations”, but actually suggests the maintenance of “knowing your art” on the part of the poet. Indeed, it is tempting to read the “art” of crafting poetry itself to be a compelling maintenance of the artistic tradition by which the Lei was made; certainly McDougall’s “measuring”, “blending”, “searching” and “carving” of words implies that the process of her writing echoes that of the other “crafters”. (Further explication of this possible reading, of course, would need to be carried out by Hawaiian scholars; this is the point at which I reach my limit as a Maori scholar and recognise that the

This relationship between the return of stored objects and resistance in their originary and rightful communities is central to Sullivan's "Waka 99" which predicts a "resurrection" of waka. They emerge from museums and also, inseparably, from Other places where they are kept:

If waka could be resurrected
they wouldn't just come out
from museum doors smashing
glass cases revolving and sliding
doors on their exit

they wouldn't just come out
of mountains as if liquefied
from a frozen state...

Sullivan's waka depend on their physicality for the resistance that leads to "resurrection;" their bulk is what enables them to "smash[]" cases and doors on their exit. Significantly, though, the waka are not resurrected *solely* as material objects; their 'return' "from museum doors smashing/ glass cases" and "out of mountains" is necessarily accompanied by the "resurrection" of a community. Indeed, the poem is set up so the first three and a half stanzas are grammatically dependent on this human "resurrection:" "If waka could be resurrected/ they wouldn't just come out.../ they wouldn't just come out.../ the resurrection wouldn't just/ come about this way:"

the resurrection would happen
in the blood of the men and women
the boys and girls

who are blood relations...
of the men and women from the time

further depths of this reading requires far greater familiarity with the appropriate contexts.) Finally, McDougall shifts the focus back to the present material conditions of the Lei, but these can no longer be considered without due recognition of the community with which the Lei is – literally, given its construction from human hair – genealogically connected.

So, sit proudly in your museum room.

Your people will come for you soon.

The prophesy of eventual return is made explicit in this final couplet. The move back to the "museum room" has compelled a repositioning of both the poet and Lei. They no longer share a pronoun; whereas the Hawaiian people were previously "our people[]" – the people of the poet and the Lei - now the Lei is reisolated: "your museum room." However, the poet is no longer a singular addresser, but speaks from the position of a community: "your people" – in the final movement of the poem, suggesting that the Lei Niho Palaoa is not a passive memento of history, but instead has actively intervened in the relationship between the addresser and her community.

Brandy Nalani MacDougall, "Lei Niho Palaoa," *Whetu Moana : Contemporary Polynesian Poems in English* eds. Albert Wendt, Reina Whaitiri and Robert Sullivan (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003).

of Kupe and before.
The resurrection will come out of their blood.⁶⁶¹

While it is impossible to put the colonial dimension completely to the side, in certain moments this can be rhetorically upstaged by recognition, reconnection and repatriation. Museum items exceed the boundaries of Western anthropological categorisation and display when the invisibilisation of the humanity inherent in, and represented by, the material creation of the objects – an invisibilisation upon which the museum is necessarily so insistent – is challenged by the indigenous visitor who refuses to accept this kind of erasure. The indigenous encounter could be thwarted by the architecture of the building itself that establishes and maintains the colonial space of the museum, but indigenous communities find ways around this by introducing protocols through which the space can be recoded appropriately. This is the kind of reframing described by Allen in his introduction to *Blood Narrative*, in which he recognises that despite the overtly exotic and colonial representation in which the performance at the museum had been engaged, the reception of that performance by a Maori school group, in the Maori language, and in a ‘Maori way’, effectively reframed the performance:

The unexpected deployment of Maori language, dialogue between Maori speakers, and the recognizable conventions of *whaikorero* and *waiata* shifted the focus of the concert from a primarily “tourist” performance to a significantly “Maori performance, serving distinctly Maori purposes.”⁶⁶²

The shift in (Allen’s framing of) this performance is a paradigmatic shift. Reflecting on his visit to the Museum concert party performance, Allen claims that:

...once reframed, at least for certain readers, the concert could function as an activist event. The active presence of the Maori school group disrupted the ‘museumification’ of Maori culture for tourist consumption, and it revealed the text of the staged concert as a potential force for galvanising the younger generation’s sense of its *Maoritanga* (Maori identity). Strikingly, this shift in the concert’s

⁶⁶¹ Sullivan, *Star Waka*: 109.

⁶⁶² Allen, *Blood Narrative; Indigenous Identity in American Indian and Maori Literary and Activist Texts*: 14.

interpretive ideological frame occurred not covertly but openly, literally over the heads of the tourist audience.⁶⁶³

For Maori, the protocol of the powhiri is often mobilised in the literary re-enactment of such encounters, because this governs and mediates the establishment of relationship. In “At the museum on Puke-ahu,” JC Sturm conducts Sturm subtitled her poem “he waiata mo nga taonga”⁶⁶⁴ and structures her poem according to the protocols of the powhiri ceremony.

Establishing relationship with these objects depends on the recoding of the objects as familiar and familial items, and the recoding of the museum space as a space in which these relationships can be (re)established. Ultimately, this challenges the extent to which the structures of the museum cannot remove the objects from their communities; given the identification of indigenous people with ‘lost’/ stolen objects, this provides a compelling and salient site of resistance. Certainly the involvement of indigenous peoples in the museum staff and with control over exhibits and display can make certain kinds of reconnection and rekindled relationship possible. Another outcome – and enabler - of the introduction of indigenous protocols is the recoding of the museum space as a treasurehouse/ pataka. Joseph describes the waka huia at the Met as a treasure (“It is then that I spot the taonga – the waka huia... I cry for this treasure”⁶⁶⁵), Ihimaera similarly invokes the term of ‘treasures’ to describe museum objects (“to the land of our Treaty partner where our treasures have been plundered”⁶⁶⁶) and in her poem “Flight,” Roma Potiki describes the statuary outside the museum that are “holding the keys to a house of treasures.”⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶³ Allen, Blood Narrative: Indigenous Identity in American Indian and Maori Literary and Activist Texts.: 14.

⁶⁶⁴ Literally, a song for the treasures.

⁶⁶⁵ Joseph, "Transient.": 149

⁶⁶⁶ Ihimaera, "Oh Numi Tutelar.": 82.

⁶⁶⁷ Potiki, "Flight.": 162.

“Kanohi ki te kanohi”: indigenous people encounter each other for a change.

What of the museum space as a metaphor for indigenous-indigenous connection? Although I have argued above that the colonial context of the museum is a valuable metaphor for indigenous peoples, its value depends on its ability to establish and articulate the relationships *between* indigenous communities. Indigenous visitors to the museum gravitate towards the items that have been taken from them, and their reconnection and reframing – as well as recognition of the very real and obstructive colonial context – is underpinned by, asserts and maintains the specificity upon which indigenusness depends. In that space of the museum, however, it is impossible to *not* acknowledge a much wider context of parallel – even if not identical – losses and violences. So, Joseph’s connection with the waka huia is inextricable from acknowledging the Other communities also ‘represented’ in the museum:

I cry for this treasure, lost to its people and out of place in a foreign land... Surrounded by thousands of displaced objects[.]⁶⁶⁸

In the building that Joseph has described as chaotically busy with tourists and school groups, the waka huia is “surrounded” by these “thousands of displaced objects,” which privileges the encounter with objects from particular communities over the tourist/consumer culture and environment of museum visitors. Indigenous Australian poet Lisa Bellear dedicates “Artist Unknown:”

For all indigenous/ colonised artists inspired by a visit to the Art Gallery of New South Wales to look at Destiny Deacon’s work[.]

For Bellear, the very specific and local experience of visiting one specific exhibit(ion) in one specific gallery has implications and meaning for “all indigenous/ colonised artists.”

This recognition that Other communities have been treated similarly is also foregrounded in Silko’s *Almanac of the Dead*, in which the Laguna delegation to a

⁶⁶⁸ Joseph, “Transient.”: 149.

specific museum in order to visit the “little grandparents” stolen and displayed there, and as they approach the grandparents, they notice their surroundings:

The Laguna delegation later reported seeing sacred kachina masks belonging to the Hopis and the Zunis as well as prayer sticks and sacred bundles, the poor shrivelled skin and bones of some ancestor taken from her grave, and one entire painted-wood kiva shrine reported stolen from Cochiti Pueblo years before.⁶⁶⁹

The attention paid to the specific “little grandparents”⁶⁷⁰ for the sake of the cultural integrity and balance of the specific Laguna community is the overriding point of the journey to the museum, and the acknowledgement of similar thefts is also important.

After the rest of the delegation leaves the museum space,

the war captain lingered behind, not to whisper to the stone figures as the others in the delegation had, expressing their grief, but to memorize all the other stolen objects he could see around the room.⁶⁷¹

That the “war captain” is the one who remains behind seems significant. While the reconnection with the “little grandparents” is most important for *this* community, the political and cultural resistance required to decolonise in this way depends on recognising and seeking out connections with the communities whose disconnections are similarly represented – and maintained – by the colonial context.⁶⁷²

It can be tempting (especially for the coloniser) to imagine that indigenous peoples always ‘encounter’ non-indigenous peoples, and that in those interactions all kinds of relations and identities are mediated, projected, hierarchised, negotiated and complicated. In the microcosmic moment/ space of colonial encounter, specific bodies and environments take on metaphoric and metonymic proportions. The analysis of indigenous/ non-indigenous encounter is important work, and has been crucial to colonial discourse analysis, and certainly it seems the museum metaphor provides ample space for

⁶⁶⁹ Silko, *Almanac of the Dead : A Novel*.: 33.

⁶⁷⁰ Which the museum curator was insistent on “cataloguing” as a “lithic.”

⁶⁷¹ Silko, *Almanac of the Dead : A Novel*.: 33-34.

⁶⁷² Many such texts could be cited here, such as Wendy Rose’s poetry about Truganinny and Julia, and Robert Sullivan’s forthcoming work on Tupaia.

thinking this through further. However, a singular focus on this configuration serves to reinscribe the centrality of the *non*-indigenous in the production of indigenous ethnic identities. Indigenous people end up being endlessly ‘encountered’ and (endlessly ‘encounterable’), and their bodies and environments are only ever able to stand in for much ‘bigger’ forces, by which they are rendered monolithically ‘Native’, and against which they can assert little agency. Indigenous groups are brought together, both physically and linguistically, through the colonial system that paradoxically seeks to control them by a dual dynamic of fragmentation (through the implementation of hierarchical categories) and generalisation (through the figure of the Native). Through their explorations of indigenous-indigenous encounter, indigenous writers and anthologists provocatively suggest innovative and potentially radical ways of configuring these relationships.⁶⁷³

Once they have come together within the context and space of colonialism, the negotiation of collaborative and comparative relationships begins, and several texts by indigenous writers articulate these connections.⁶⁷⁴ Specifically, moments and spaces of encounter between indigenous groups suggest and complicate a burgeoning and sophisticated ‘indigenous’ identity that focuses at once on collaboration and specificity. Maori poet Hinewirangi Kohu, for example, addresses American Indian women in “Sisters.” The poem is an invitation to connect:

⁶⁷³ Certainly Ihimaera’s *The Uncle’s Story* articulates key moments of indigenous-indigenous encounter, and the possibilities of such encounter. In this novel, the connections between Aotearoa and the Americas are articulated in two parallel stories: one in which a Maori soldier (the ‘Uncle’ of the title) meets - and has a sexual relationship with - a white American soldier in the Vietnam war; and the other in which indigenous artists join together at a conference and struggle within that space with the two issues of ongoing (if smiling) colonialism, and homophobia in indigenous communities. In the conference, a pan-indigenous (or ‘comparative indigenous’) moment or connection is mobilised in order to deal with internally divisive/oppressive issues (internal to “indigenous”, as well as to each community), both of which are manifestations of (internalised) colonialism. Queer participants at an indigenous artists’ conference collaborate on an intervention to ‘decolonise’ the heterosexist culture of the gathering, a move that emphasises and nuances the potential political and cultural implications of this kind of encounter. I had hoped to speak about this novel at greater length in this project. However, although the limits of scope and time restrict me in this regard for this dissertation, I look forward to foregrounding this novel in later - and more expansive - treatments of this topic.

⁶⁷⁴ Although I focus on Maori writing here, texts such as Silko’s *Almanac of the Dead* and Akiwenzie-Damm’s “from turtle island to aotearoa” are key to this kind of ‘pan-indigenous’ articulation.

May we meet
 Kanohi ki te kanohi
 face to face
 ihu ki te ihu
 breath to breath
 Tihei Mauri ora.

In these final lines, the oscillation between Maori and English language and the setting of the Maori away from the margin underscore the possibilities of – albeit imperfect – translation, the retention of local specificity (here, the Maori language and cultural tradition⁶⁷⁵), and the separateness (and yet interconnectedness) of two entities. In this way, she simultaneously suggests an indigenous “we”, centres indigenous (specifically Maori) terms by which relationships might proceed, and leaves the nonnative completely out of the frame.⁶⁷⁶

In Chapter Three: Maori as Oceanic, I introduced the specific role that our diasporic writers have with regard to articulating ‘comparative’ connections with communities and regions outside of Aotearoa. Evelyn Patuawa-Nathan and Jean Riki are Sydney-based writers and they both describe encounters with Indigenous Australians. In her 1979 poetry collection *Opening Doors*, Patuawa-Nathan includes two such texts: “Aboriginal on the last Train Home”⁶⁷⁷ and “Education Week.” Riki’s short story “Te Wa Kainga: Home” focuses on the events of one evening in the experience of a Maori woman living in Sydney, and is collected in *waiting in space; An Anthology of Australian Writing*⁶⁷⁸ exactly twenty years after Patuawa-Nathan’s text.

Patuawa-Nathan’s poems both focus on the experience of specific Aboriginal people, with little intervention on the part of the poet in order to make a connection

⁶⁷⁵ ‘Kanohi ki te kanohi’ is a phrase that is widely used to talk about the importance of face-to-face encounters. ‘Tihei Mauri ora’ is an expression from the oral tradition – and that is often used in formal orality - that invokes our originary traditions.

⁶⁷⁶ I focus on Maori writers in this section, and have chosen only a few texts on which to concentrate. Certainly there are many more texts towards which I could have directed my attention; I look forward to doing this as I expand this part of my project.

⁶⁷⁷ There is a note to this poem: “This poem has previously appeared in *Mana* as “On the last train home.”

⁶⁷⁸ Jean Riki, “Te Wa Kainga: ‘Home,’” *Waiting in Space: An Anthology of Australian Writing*, eds. Paula Abood, Barry Gamba and Michelle Kotevski (Annandale Pluto Press, 1999)..

between the Indigenous Australian and New Zealand experience. Perhaps the closest to explicit articulation of indigenous-indigenous connection is in “Education Week,” in which the poet’s narrator (whom I presume to be Patuawa-Nathan, given that she was a teacher) and her “class of twenty four,/ Aboriginal boys and girls... visit the local jail.” “Education week,” the formal name of an externally-imposed specific time for learning in which schools determine to further enhance their “education” of the children, is reframed by the “boys and girls,” who challenge the idea of institution-controlled “education” by “reach[ing] among comments/ for names of cousins/ and brothers/ and fathers.” Their recognition and reading of the names – genealogies and histories – through “comments” demonstrates a form of renegade/ alternative/ subaltern literacy, which in turn reflects back on, and marks out, the parameters of knowledge in schooling institutions. The title “Education Week” is thus ironised, rendered a hopelessly unfulfillable – and arrogant – presumption to control and disseminate all knowledges. One further reading of this resistance is possible, though, because the poet-speaker is explicitly inserted into the text: “My class of twenty four,/ Aboriginal boys and girls/ and I,” in which case the “I” of the teacher is also affected by this reframing. “Education week” has been reframed, but it has also been reversed: the teacher – the Maori teacher – has learned something from the “reach[ing]” of the children. This kind of “education” is reminiscent, perhaps, of Smith’s comment that:

it is our relationships to other indigenous peoples that are assisting us to theorise identities as colonised peoples. It is our interaction with other Indigenous Peoples and the sharing of experiences that is also giving us a stronger commitment to work from our epistemological base in the university.⁶⁷⁹

Rather than being simply an agent of the institution of schooling, the “I” of the poem has experienced her own “Education week,” being reminded of, and modelled, this

⁶⁷⁹ Smith, “He Pou Herenga Ki Te Nui: Maori Knowledge and the University.”: 317.

indigenous alternative literacy. This has implications for her position within the schooling system as a teacher, but also, significantly, for her identification as an Indigenous person.

Riki's short story "Te Wa Kainga: Home" is divided into three sections, the first of which begins with the phrase "The way of the story is this:"⁶⁸⁰ and then a story drawn from Maori oral literature, which in turn figures the "way" of the "story" set in urban Sydney which Riki goes on to tell. The originary framing story is about "Hinenuitepo, goddess of the Underworld" (18) who dreams while she lies in Rarohenga ("that sunless place through which only the dead will pass") that she is:

sitting on a rock at the edge of the sea, the place ruled by Tangaroa, te moana.

A cloudless sky lightens in hue, for the sun had risen, blocking her vision for a moment with the brilliance of its rays. Her uncovered shoulders submit to the warmth of its touch because, in the realm of dreaming, all things are possible. (18)

The second and third sections are both inflected by the structure of this story, and both start with a short poem. In particular, each section narrates an interaction made possible by being forced by the structure of the city to "wait:"

You do a lot of waiting when you live in the city... Living in the city means you are always waiting, waiting, waiting. Franz Kafka believed that time spent waiting was a break from the business of living. He believed that we should cherish these breaks because they unburden us from the toil of our everyday existence. (18)

Kafka's sense of waiting as a "break from the business of living" introduces the significance of "waiting" in the story, although it cannot speak to the colonial and economic situation of diasporic Maori in urban Sydney: this section is followed by the words "But then Kafka never had to wait for the 380 bus to Bondi at 4am in the winter cold of a Darlinghurst morning." (18) There is no "break from the business of living" for the indigenous person living in a colonial context; full retreat from that context is impossible. Rather than experiencing 'empty' "breaks", in both sections of the short story a few moments with someone who is 'accidentally' encountered when made to wait

⁶⁸⁰ Riki, "Te Wa Kainga: 'Home'."18. Further references embedded in text.

brings about a new sense of identification and connection.⁶⁸¹ The encounters are fleeting, like the “sun... blocking [Hinenuitepo’s] vision for a moment with the brilliance of its rays,” although the “vision” that is “block[ed]” is that of “everyday existence,” which in turn enables a new kind of vision. The “business of living” is both escaped and underscored by these encounters, and the return to “everyday existence” is with this renewed vision that is not more clear as much as it is more deep.

The second section begins with a poem entitled “Tama’s hands,” and focuses on a train ride, although unlike Patuawa-Nathan’s poem “Aboriginal on the last Train Home,” the passengers are Maori. The poem foregrounds the theme of disconnection, and introduces the connection and “waiting” on which the section focuses:

Brothers, sister
Indigenous child
on foreign shores
cut off from your roots
walking among the briefcases and the suits...(18)

Briefly, Marama - whose name means light, or understanding - is on her way home with bags of groceries when the train she is riding stops in a tunnel and the lights go out; the darkness of the train carriage evokes Rarohenga, “that sunless place.” It is this forced “waiting” which brings about the first chance encounter:

Marama can feel a hand snaking over her shoulder in the direction of her open handbag. The lights come back on. Marama grabs the wrist of a tattooed hand... The hand beneath the tattoos is poly-brown, like her own. The owner is a young Maori boy, decked out in Nike tracksuit and T-shirt dominated by the words, *Once Were Warriors. Now and Forever.* (19)

Marama questions the boy, Tama,⁶⁸² about the meaning of his tattoos (“Tama, do you know what these tattoos stand for?” “Her voice is shaking, “Not until you tell me what these tattoos mean”), about which he knows nothing, having acquired them from a “mate

⁶⁸¹ This idea of “cherish[ing] the breaks” is an important aspect of James George’s fabulous novel *Hummingbird*, in which “Kingi looks across the table at the group he has come to know to varying degrees in the last few weeks. The two women bookending the young man with the tattooed face. He smiles to himself, realising that the most personal threads of his life have been spent in accidental moments. Kingi who falls from the sky.” (James George, *Hummingbird* (Wellington, N.Z.: Huia Publishers, 2003): 318)

⁶⁸² Tama is a common name for a male; it also literally means ‘boy,’ and so the “Tama” of the train and the poem in some ways stands in for all (such) Maori youths.

of mine’s girlfriend.” In the context of Australia they are deemed generically ‘indigenous’ (people on the train don’t intervene in their heated encounter “as if adhering to an unspoken, silent agreement that forbids their involvement in a public display of aggression, especially if this display is between two black people”), and yet the basis of their connection is very specifically Maori; they are not “black”⁶⁸³ but “poly-brown.”⁶⁸⁴ Tama eventually struggles free of Marama’s grip, and she is left on the train, imagining two specific images: Tama’s acquisition of the tattoos, and the traditional tattooing of a “young Maori warrior.”⁶⁸⁵

[Marama’s] tears come for the men and women, for Tama’s and her own ancestors, their tupuna, who underwent great physical pain for the honour of being tattooed with their whakapapa, their genealogy. (20)

The explicit relationship between tattoos and whakapapa suggests that the interaction about the acquisition of tattoos speaks also to the dispossession that results from not knowing one’s whakapapa. Finally, the “break” achieved through being forced to wait is ended, and “Marama weaves her way through the seats and steps from the train.”

That Riki’s protagonist interacts with this young (‘dispossessed’) Maori youth in the first section before going on to encounter an Indigenous Australian man (and, through memory, his “missus”), interestingly parallels the section of *The Whale Rider* I discussed in the previous chapter, in which Rawiri needs to connect with diasporic Maori in Sydney before being able to connect with the Indigenous people in PNG. Before the second section, then, in which Marama encounters Ron, an Indigenous Australian man, Marama acknowledges specifically Maori disconnections and histories as metaphorised and exemplified by “Tama’s hands.” The third section starts with a poem that brings together the overarching theme of “cherish[ing] these breaks” of waiting, and the title of the story:

An Hour to Kill
Home is where the heart is
home is where the heart

⁶⁸³ In the context of Australia, of course, this implies Indigenous Australian.

⁶⁸⁴ Poly here is short for Polynesian.

⁶⁸⁵ Further exploration of this image of the ‘warrior’ would be compelling, especially given the “Once Were Warriors” T-shirt worn by Tama.

home is where the
 home is where?
 Home is
 home... (21)

Marama sits with Nick – the nature of their relationship becomes more clear as the narrative progresses – on a park bench in Hyde Park,⁶⁸⁶ and their “waiting” seems more in line with Kafka’s “break from the business of living:”

They have an hour to kill before the cinema session begins. They take the time to absorb what is around them in their own silent way. (21)

A leisurely description of various goings-on around the park is interrupted by the approach of an old man:

An Aboriginal man with grizzled greying afro hair approaches the couple on the park bench. He’s a little shaky on his feet. Behind him, the Sydney skyline looms large, like the skeletal remains of a capitalist banquet. (21)

The description of Sydney as “skeletal remains” – and an earlier description of the “dying light of the afternoon” - explicitly parallels that of Rarohenga, “that sunless place through which only the dead will pass.” As she did with Tama, Marama comments on his skin as a first point of connection; in a general sense it is “dark,” but it is not “poly-brown” like theirs: “His skin is so dark that if skin were a drink, his would be hot chocolate.” (21) The remainder of the story is interspersed by brief ongoing descriptions of the other activities in the park, which broadens the scope of who might also be “waiting;” this becomes one story of many possible stories of connection and disconnection in the Sydney landscape.

After Ron asks for a cigarette and they give him one, “Nick asks the man to sit in the space left on the bench,” and Ron “wait[s]” with them; he too enjoys a “break from the business of living.” However, like Marama, for Ron this “break” is an opportunity to dwell on less mundane matters (“He sits on the park bench and begins to tell Marama and Nick about his life”), and yet is inextricable from the “business” of colonialism (“For their sakes he does not tell them all of it”):

⁶⁸⁶ Clearly, the English colonial history is written all over the landscape here: the endless substitutability of landscapes in the colonies with their ‘namesakes’ in the metropole – and indeed with each other – is quite mind-boggling.

Ron's people have land north of Sydney. He comes to the city for a change of pace, to see his kids, to pop in on his older sister, to wipe himself out with his brown bottled pain relief. And to remember. (22)

He narrates the story about how his "missus," Daphne, passed away. In contrast to Tama's lack of knowledge about his background, Ron's indigeneity is located in specific place, and as he shares his story Marama makes connections between his background and her own. First, the connection is on the basis of similar feelings of connection to their respective lands:

"Is your homeland near the sea, Ron?" asks Marama. She is thinking of her own homeland, Aotearoa, Maui's fish, te ika a Maui, that floats in the blue warmth of the Pacific Ocean. (22)

Ron's response reframes the scale of the city skyline in relation to the natural features of his homeland, and like Marama his focus is on his "own homeland:"

"The sea?" he asks. You wanna know about the bloody sea, you should come and see my place up north sometime. Do ya surf, Nick? Man, you should see the waves we get. Bigger than any of those bloody things!" He makes a sweeping arc with his arm across the skyscrapers that make up the Sydney skyline. It appears that concrete and steel are no match for the waves they have up north. (22)

After acknowledging their "own homeland[s]," the connection between them as Indigenous people is made possible:

"Are you Maori, Marama? You are! Hey, I'm going to a hangi tonight."

"Lucky you. I haven't been to one for ages." ...

You two ever had damper done in a hangi? Beau-di-ful... You can even put emu egg in the mix too, you know. Wrap it up in banana leaves, whack it in the ground with the rest of the hangi...

You two better watch out. There are restaurants in town that'll charge you an arm and a leg for my people's tucker. (22-23)

The cultural practice of the hangi has been indigenised to the Australian context, in effect producing a 'hybrid' form of sustenance ("emu egg... [wrapped up] in banana leaves... with the rest of the hangi"). When Ron describes the resulting feast as "my people's tucker" it becomes unclear whether the "hangi" about which he speaks is the imported cooking style of the Maori hangi, or an approximation of a similar form of Indigenous cooking.

Once they have acknowledged their respective relationships with the lands – and sea – and then recognised a close cultural connection (the hangi), Ron and Marama start to share their traditions with each other. As the conversation unfolds, they go through a process of remembering and affirming their own traditions, after being reminded of them by an aspect of the other’s tradition, and in this way they establish an ‘indigenous connection’ without homogenising that indigeneity:

Ron’s people have land north of Sydney... She was thinking of her own homeland, Aotearoa... (22)

“Are you Maori, Marama?... I’m going to a hangi tonight... you can even put an emu egg in the mix... You two better watch out. There are restaurants that’ll charge you an arm and a leg for my people’s tucker. (22-3)

“See, when a blackfulla looks at the land, he doesn’t see a loaf of bread that ha can cut up with a bunch of fences or nuthin’... My people, we liked it just the way it was, and we wanted to keep it that was, that’s all.” (23)

Ron’s words lead Marama to recall a Maori tradition... “My people saw things the same way. We had rahui for fences.” (23)

“My [Ron’s] people believe we are made up of three things. There is the heart, the mind, the spirit...” (23)

Finally, the time of “waiting” – the “break from the business of living” – is over: “The Town Hall clock strikes away the hour.” (23) Marama and Nick leave, and they leave Ron in the space where they took their “break:”

They turn back to see Ron standing by the park bench. He is watching them leave and is waving his arm in a farewell. (24)

Marama and Nick are not unchanged by their encounter with Ron; his discussion of the sea inflects the description of their movement to the cinema:

[Marama’s] words are drowned in a sea of exhaust fumes... Marama and Nick surf the crowds of people on George Street until they reach the entrance to the cinema. (24)

nau te rakau: ??

I have had a really hard job coming up with a subtitle for this rakau section, and I wonder if this is tied to the difficult time I had writing the entire chapter. As I approached the dissertation, it seemed that the Indigenous chapter would be, in many ways, the least difficult to write: not because it lacks depth or breadth or complexity, but because it is a comparative framework to which I already felt very committed, and in which I already felt I operated. As I sat to write, though, I bumped up against all of the theoretical predicaments I have outlined in the lengthy framing section of this chapter. Suddenly a chapter that I had thought would be all rourou all the time became a big fat rakau. And yet, as I have emphasised in the introductory chapter, a rakau is a weapon but also a tool. I started again, painstakingly gathering critical and literary texts, trying to make sense of this indigenous comparative frame. Recognising that the widespread use of the terminology of indigenusness both outweighed and challenged the theoretical predicament in which I found myself, I have tried to fashion a metaphor that will help find a way through this. Several of the rakau have thus been treated by being turned inside-out, but there remain a few lingering *disconnections* that seem to warrant a mention. Their value, to me, lies not only in the extent to which they gesture towards specific gaps and disconnections, but also in their capacity to insure this from against becoming dangerously – smooshingly - monolithic.

decolonizing methodologies: circulations and hierarchies

In the previous chapter I asked, ‘you can take the Oceania out of Pacific, but can you take the Pacific out of Oceania?’ The question was intended to illuminate the vestiges of colonialism (Pacific) that remain within the ways in which we theorise an (indigenous-

centred) Oceania, and it seems a similar question needs to be asked here in the context of Indigenous relations. The systems of colonialism have been very different in each context, and have set up, and maintain, circulation and hierarchies that continue to control mobilities and – ultimately – the parameters of indigenous-indigenous connection. To use our museum metaphor, while the things that all Indigenous communities seek to retain are ultimately enclosed in cases and catalogued, each item, and group of items, experiences vastly differential modes of encasement, kinds of labelling, and even prominence of display.⁶⁸⁷ This means that the parameters of the comparative indigenous frame are shaped in large part to past and continuing circulation histories. Stolen properties that are now displayed in museums travelled along the economic and cultural trade routes that underpinned colonialism, and these histories deeply inflect why, for example, I work within the English-language indigenous scholarly communities of North America, for example, rather than those who speak Japanese, Spanish or French.

Not only *historical* colonial contexts affect contemporary indigenous-indigenous relationships; the nation-states within which we are subsumed also affect these kinds of mobility. Often the overriding factor is economic – the people who get to attend ‘indigenous’ conferences etc are those who can afford the plane ticket – and yet there are also (often subtle) political and ideological inflections as well. A crucial example of the continuation of colonial circulations of capital and people is found in the title of Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s *Decolonizing Methodologies*, a text which is not only globally mobile, but whose mobility is already anticipated - and perhaps pre-emptively compromised for - in the spelling of the word ‘decolonizing.’ Even in the NZ edition of the text, decolonising is spelt with a (Z) ‘zed/ zee’, instead of the (S) ‘ess’ that is the correct spelling in New

⁶⁸⁷ When I went to visit the British Museum in London, I was astounded to find out that there is no permanent exhibit, for example, of Maori or any other Indigenous Pacific items. This despite the massive collection of our items they retain. Barry Barclay’s remarkable film *Te Rua* deals with this issue of repatriating stored objects when the carved panel at the centre of the film is held *in the storage basement* of a museum in Germany, as does Morey in “ture te haki.” !!

Zealand. A text written by a Maori scholar in NZ is spelt in ‘American’. On the one hand, we might talk about publishing and markets and numbers of purchasers and cataloguing and so on, but on the other, it is interesting to note that the text seems to be dependent on a US-centred mobility. This reproduction of the familiar hierarchies set up by the colonial/ globalisation system within a resistant, anti-colonial, literally ‘decolonising’, indigenous text is fascinating, and perhaps a little disturbing.

Another kind of hierarchy is that of relative size and power, and the prominence of the Maori community is metaphorised in the museum space in many museums outside New Zealand (although certainly not only overseas). Some texts point out that Maori objects are treated dismissively in the museum space because of the relatively small size of the community and its home (is)lands of Aotearoa New Zealand. The compartmentalisation of the space results in a competition between Maori and Other ‘colonised’ places in terms of regional distribution, and Maori and European in terms of era. In this way, the battle of relative scale enacts a process of invisibilisation in which the Maori visitor is left to wonder at the position of Maori in relation to the regional/ artistic/ temporal ‘cannon’ of the museum. Although the expected statuary and material objects are duly encountered, and the relative ‘smallness’ of Maori is recognised in that context, the writers – in the vein, perhaps, of Hau’ofa’s refusal to accept the mythology of “islands in a far-flung sea” - refuse the assumed perceptions of physical size and subvert the systems of measurement by which such comparisons seem logical.

Several Maori writers grapple with this belittling. In “Transient,” Joseph wanders through a number of galleries in the Met before reaching the waka huia that has impelled her visit:

The space is full of truncated marble bodies, ancient orange-black vases with ecstatic scenes, and other relics labelled and neatly ordered... I move through the rest of the Greek and Roman art... The next room contains artefacts from Africa, the Americas and Oceania. I

try to concentrate on some African masks but my eyes flit over the cases, searching... *Though diminutive in size*, and easily swamped by larger objects, it has a mighty presence. I know now that it has been calling me.⁶⁸⁸

The relationship that the narrator describes between herself and the waka huia (“it has been calling me”) ultimately overtakes the colonial internal structures of the museum. Despite her encounter with the “relics labelled and neatly ordered,” the “calling” from the waka huia compels and enables her to refuse the discipline of such colonial “order[ing]” by experiencing them according to her own “label[ing]” and “order”: “my eyes flit over the cases, searching.” Ihimaera also refutes the issue of smaller size when he writes about the British Museum in “O Numi Tutelar”, in which the scale of the ceremonial proceedings he describes far outsizes – even if not ‘literally’ – the architecture of the museum itself:

So here we are
climbing upward the Museum opening unwilling
to the dawn, the kai karanga calling, the warriors
pulling us in & Maramena asks, “How can our
culture so small survive in this treasure house
of many cultures?”
(The answer is simple: Godzilla was wrong
size does not matter)

Later in the poem, he challenges the physical dimensions of size by focussing on “psychic” size instead:

And in the great hall
for the first time we see the past before us
the treasures of our ancestors a Pharaonic ransom
of immense psychic power

This “immense psychic power” parallels the “mighty presence” of the waka huia in Joseph’s story. The “immens[ity]” is juxtaposed later in the poem, when Ihimaera parallels the literal marginalisation of the Maori gathering with the physical constriction of its venue:

(and Roma and I halfway around the world
to read in a stairwell)⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸⁸ Joseph, “Transient.”: 148-9.

⁶⁸⁹ Ihimaera, “Oh Numi Tutelar.”: 82.

In Roma Potiki's own poem "Flight" the imagined cultural transformation of space ruptures the scale of the room ("stairwell") in which the Maori have been "fitted:"

We have been lovingly fitted into a small room
but a small room it is...
Red kokowai and suddenly
the room fills with the movement of the sea,
forests and tupuna sighing and whirling slowly above us.⁶⁹⁰

maori cowboys or maori indians?

The identification between Maori and Other Indigenous groups is significant and wide-ranging, but it is not entirely absolute. As I argued in the previous chapter, when Nanny Flowers in *The Whale Rider* asserts a racist position vis-à-vis the indigenous communities in PNG ("all them cannibals"⁶⁹¹), it is important to recognise that indigenous communities do not naturally and/ or completely identify with all (dimensions of) Other Indigenous communities on the basis of shared indigeneity. While it might be nice and utopic to imagine this is so, it is also misleading and restricts the possibility of recognising either the limitations of the indigenous frame, or the extent to which these limitations are potentially imbued by the very colonialism that brought about the category of 'indigenous' in the first place. In particular, some Maori texts articulate an affiliation with 'cowboys' more than with 'Indians,' which I do not believe suggests a simplistic identification with colonisers as much as it foregrounds the disconnections and disidentifications. Focussing on moments of *dis*-identification does not, in my view, paralyse or contradict the work of the indigenous comparative frame. Rather, it opens up the possibility of discussing the specific nature of indigenous identifications and the complexities of local, regional and national specificities.

⁶⁹⁰ Potiki, "Flight.": 162.

⁶⁹¹ IhSmaera, *The Whale Rider*.: 54.

Several texts treat this topic to some degree – look to Grace’s *Potiki*, Ihimaera’s *Bulibasha*⁶⁹² and *The Whale Rider* for prominent examples. A parallel and just as dangerous treatment of the comparative relationship between Maori and Indians is found in Jacq Carter’s “Comparatively Speaking, there is no Struggle,”⁶⁹³ in which a Maori person is instructed to ‘recognise’ that the Maori situation is not ‘as bad’ as that of other peoples around the world, including American Indians. For the purposes of introducing this idea, though, I will focus on Ihimaera’s short story “Short Features,”⁶⁹⁴ a series of vignettes about the movies. The second of the four parts of the text is titled “Nobody wanted to be Indians,” and focuses on the Western genre. Within the series of episodes, Ihimaera treats the relationship between Maori attendance – and valorisation – of the movies, and the depictions of non-Europeans available to them through the silver screen. For the narrator and his friends, the masculinity epitomised by the cowboys, then, is particularly appealing:

Our husky cowboy idols were laughing Burt Lancaster, Kirk Douglas, Alan Ladd and Audie Murphy. Willie Boy and I would toss each other for who would play the hero and who would play the villain like Jack Palance or Richard Widmark. (221)

The ‘Indians’ of the ‘Cowboys and Indians’ genre have been displaced – yep, the vanishing Indian – and the battles are, at least for the first section of the story, in which identifications are being established, all between white men. The implications of these idols for girls is a part of these identifications: “Trouble was that our cousin Georgina always wanted to play the heroine parts and she wasn’t exactly what we had in mind.” (221) When Indians are introduced into the scene, they are first a source of divisiveness between the Maori boys:

⁶⁹² Witi Tame Ihimaera, *Bulibasha : King of the Gypsies* (Auckland ; New York: Penguin Books, 1994)..

⁶⁹³ Jacq Carter, "Comparatively Speaking, There Is No Struggle," *Whetu Moana: Contemporary Polynesian Poems in English*, eds. Albert Wendt, Reina Whaitiri and Robert Sullivan (Auckland: University of Auckland, 2003): 40.

⁶⁹⁴ Witi Ihimaera, "Short Features," *Te Ao Mārama5: Te Tōrino*, ed. Witi Ihimaera (Auckland: Reed, 1996).. Further references embedded in text.

Willie boy and I always had our hardest battles over who would play who when we wanted to re-enact those westerns in which the cavalry rough the Red Indians. (221)

The Maori viewers allied themselves with the “cavalry,” as the films undoubtedly encouraged them to do:

How we would cheer and yell and throw peanuts when, at the last reel, the cavalry would appear to save the fort!.. just before the last attack by those varmit injuns you’d hear a bugle and on they would come, the cavalry. (221-2)

Despite - or indeed because of – the colonial context in Aotearoa New Zealand, the audience appears to identify wholly with “the cavalry” against the “varmit injuns,” and the language of Indians “attack[ing]” and Europeans “sav[ing]” the fort underscores this identification. The humorous recognition that Georgina is not “what [they] had in mind” for the part of the heroine has not translated to see the similar – and perhaps similarly humorous - dynamics of impossible identification with the white men.

Finally, the narrator outlines his perceptions of “the Indians,” letting out a long line of stereotypes and observations:

The white man was always right in the Westerns and only in a very few were the Indians anything other than wrong. The Indians smoked peace pipes, but you know they were as mean as snakes. Not only that, but they were an illiterate lot. All they could say was ‘How’ or ‘Heap big medicine’ and they communicated by smoke signals instead of by telephone. They were mean sons of a bitch. (222)

The recognition that the ‘cowboys’ operate in another context is not a recognition the narrator affords the Indians. Their conduct and technologies are (humorously) judged according to the contemporary norms enjoyed by Maori: “[l]itera[cy],” “telephone”. Interestingly, this simultaneous identification and disidentification relies on the “white man” being rendered timeless (the usual position of ‘the native’) and the Indians being set in a specific time. In the final sequence, there is an admission of the wider racist colonial context in which the disidentification takes place, although the reminiscent mode of the narrative suggests that this insight comes from the voice of a wider perspective, looking

back. After describing the practice of white actors and actresses ‘playing indian,’⁶⁹⁵ the possibilities of ‘playing white’ are considered:

When we came out of the theatre Willie Boy and I saw ourselves as white, aligning ourselves with our heroes and heroines of the technicolour screen. Although we were really brown, we would beat up on each other just to play the hero.
Neither of us wanted to be the Indian.

The boys are merely ‘playing’ white, though, in the same way that the white actors are merely playing Indian. Although they are able to recognise the ‘real’ whiteness of the actors (“they weren’t really Indians at all but simply... all browned up”), their “real[] brown[ness]” is elided by their own imaginations. Indeed, the final line “neither of us wanted to be an Indian” suggests the recognition of the connection, at the same time that that connection is hysterically and categorically avoided: “we would beat up on each other just to play the hero.” The boys’ identification with cowboys, then, ultimately leads to an expression of self-hatred and self-rejection; the movies are doing the job of colonialism very well.

To be explicit, I am not arguing that Ihimaera is uncomplicatedly allying the Maori boys with white cowboys because the films portray ethnographically appropriate representations of Indians and the boys have sat down and figured out the machinations of homogenisation and colonialism and power as they decide with whom they will identify. Indeed, the sequence is highly ironic, and Ihimaera is exploring a particularly heightened form of racism that results in the *mis*-identification with Europeans which in turn supports the invisibilisation of parallel colonial dynamics at ‘home.’ The text seems intensely critical of the limited possibilities for indigenous-indigenous connection given the colonial context of the film industry; perhaps the section could be more transparently (but far less interestingly) called “Nobody wanted to be *those* Indians as they were depicted on screen.” Disconnections and differences happen for a multitude of reasons. Our colonial

⁶⁹⁵ Look to Deloria and Huhndahl for more on this. Philip Joseph Deloria, Playing Indian (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998)., Shari M. Huhndorf, Going Native : Indians in the American Cultural Imagination (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001)..

experiences share many important similarities, and some of these have meant that our struggles are parallel in certain ways but different in others.⁶⁹⁶ There are also disconnections because of the practical results of colonialism: different colonial languages are spoken by different communities, and this can limit (although certainly not completely thwart!) the possibilities of indigenous-indigenous connection. In terms of our museum metaphor, we might think about the relative hierarchies of museum exhibits and display practices, and certainly film is – in important ways – another kind of museum-like representation. This, though, is exactly my point: disconnections occur for all number of reasons, not all of them solidly and cosmologically deserved, but all of them about the inability to be extricated entirely from the operations of colonial power. This is not to suggest that colonial maps cannot be challenged and reframed – look at the mother in King’s “Borders”! – but that honest and open consideration of the ongoing processes of colonialism, and our own attention to our own specificities, is essential to that process.

indigenous conclusions

indigenous conclusions I

How comparative is the comparative indigenous frame? Indigeneity is (arguably) conceptually opposed to recognising Nation-States, but it is also bound up in that recognition. A pertinent example of this is the unevenness of the inclusion Native Hawaiians as ‘indigenous’ to the US: anthologies such as *Reinventing the Enemy’s Language* include Native Hawaiian pieces, whereas those such as *Nothing but the Truth* do not. Similarly, the basis on which all of these indigenous communities (Maori,

⁶⁹⁶ For example, I am thinking about the incredibly different rhetoric around anticolonialism in Hawaii – where a recognised monarchy was illegally overthrown – and in Aotearoa, where a Treaty was signed and then breached.

American Indian, Indigenous Australian, Aboriginal Canadian) are brought into a comparative relationship is the nation states by which they are subsumed. One related issue that is pertinent to the comparison of Maori with other indigenous groups is that (arguably, given the importance of iwi identification) while indigenous groups in the US, Canada and Australia are already internally comparative, bringing together within a nation state tens or hundreds of language groups, nations, tribes and histories, Maori writers share (at least versions of) one Maori language and so on. What this means for the ‘applicability’ of indigenous criticism from outside Aotearoa – which need to deal with ‘internal comparison’ to Maori texts remains, as far as I am aware, unexplored.

indigenous conclusions II

In my Aunty’s house, over the washing machine, is a poster with a black and white photograph of an American Indian woman standing on a rock and looking directly back at the viewer. Written underneath the picture are words by Chief Seattle: “When the last tree has fallen, when the last river has dried, and the last fish caught, then men will learn that they can't eat money.” In my friend Tasha’s previous house, beside the kitchen doorway, was a poster with a stylised illustration of a dreamcatcher and another ‘American Indian’ aphorism. In an American (Indian) context these posters might seem clichéd, or a case of obscene commodification and commercialisation of Indigenous cultures. I can see those arguments, but I think there is another kind of connection going on in each of these cases. What is it? What specificities are underscored? What – to turn to the frame of the chapter – are the global and local indigenesness claims that are salient in each of the contexts? The posters in my Aunty’s and friend’s houses are explicit

assertions of a deep connection, but on what are those connections based? This question, far from rhetorical, has both guided and thwarted me throughout this chapter.

... the Americans
 Are really doing their homework/
 Before they decide to colonise us
 (but this time I really mean most kiwis/
 i.e. 85.1% of the population according
 to the 1996 census) it doesn't mean/
 much to the rest it's still going to be
 a colony

Robert Sullivan

Post-colonial can only mean one thing: the colonizers have left. There is rather compelling evidence that in fact this has not occurred.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith

Before one can adequately analyze 'indigenality,'
 postcoloniality itself must be considered.

Jace Weaver

Waiho marire ki a mahi nga runanga, taihoa pea ka rite te Rangatiratanga o te motu nei ki to Haiti, whai taonga, whai mana, whai ture, tatemea e tohe ana matou ki te taha tika, tera pea te Atua e tiaki i ona tamariki kiri mangu, e noho ana ki Aotearoa.

Te Hokioi newspaper, 26 April 1863

I feel particularly touched by the welcome I received from the Maori people and it will long live in my memory. There is a lot to learn from the culture of Maori people, a culture has such vitality, strength and beauty: the vitality, the strength and beauty of resistance. I was happy therefore that my lectures on 'The Politics of Language in African Literature' coincided with Maori language week. Long live the language and the struggling culture of the Maori people!

Ngugi wa Thiong'o

The indigenous peoples of 'settled' colonies, or 'First Nations,' have in many ways become the *cause celebre* of post-colonialism.

Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin.

CHAPTER FIVE:
MAORI AS POSTCOLONIAL

Postcolonial Theory has not been framed as a Good Thing in much Maori critical work, and so from the start I'll point out that this chapter presents far more scope for talking about rakau than rourou. There are, I believe, compelling and challenging reasons to think about the possibilities of this comparative frame for Maori writing in English: Postcolonial criticism not only foregrounds but *centres* an acknowledgement of colonisation and thereby proffers tools and questions that might newly illuminate certain aspects of Maori texts. Furthermore, certain roots of the field are strongly embedded in vigorous anti-colonial struggle. These potentials, however, are constrained by a mutual theoretical disconnect: much Postcolonial work does not acknowledge that Maori writing is (similarly/ sufficiently) *colonial* because when it looks at New Zealand it is blind to Aotearoa, whereas much Maori scholarship refutes that the Aotearoa New Zealand colonial context is temporally or structurally *post* the situation of colonialism, in which case 'Postcolonial' is a powerful misnomer. In her seminal "Ko Taranaki te maunga: challenging post-colonial disturbances and post-modern fragmentation," Leonie Pihama argues that:

few Maori people use the term to describe or locate their work, rather Maori works tend to be labelled as 'post-colonial' by Pakeha... Numerous writers have sought to justify the use of the term 'post-colonial,' however those justifications are unconvincing for many

indigenous peoples who live day to day experiencing colonial oppression.⁶⁹⁷

On the one hand, our assertion of continued colonialism is a very important intervention into a field that does not seem to recognise our experience. On the other, at risk of sounding like a Postcolonial Apologist (or even a Postcolonial Evangelist or Zealot), in this chapter I seek to questioningly explore how/ whether postcolonial studies in its current incarnation might be useful for Maori literary studies and, further, what the (albeit unrealised) potential of the field might be for future work. Maori literary studies needs to ascertain whether there is, in fact, a baby in the Postcolonial bathwater.

Because of the scope and (relative) power of the 'Postcolonial' within the academy,⁶⁹⁸ and the strong objection to the Postcolonial frame by some Maori, this chapter is organised very differently to the others. Indeed, desperate situations call indeed for desperate structural remedies. First, rather than conducting the analysis of the Postcolonial in the same way I have the Oceanic, Indigenous and New Zealand frames, I suggest the reasons why this frame is so difficult to talk about, and indeed what the stakes might be of even including this chapter. This is not a cop-out, in order to avoid painstakingly considering the various formations of the field. I have spent a considerable amount of time working through many of the key (and not-so-key) critical, theoretical and literary texts of the field, and this reading necessarily and deeply inflects my claims in this chapter. I anticipate that this chapter will find itself newly worked and differently manifest in several forms over the next few years, as the field of Postcolonial Studies continues to hold sway of the discussion of a great deal of Anglophone writing including, of course, Maori. Specifically, there will certainly be time to return to the intended work

⁶⁹⁷ Leonie Pihama, "Ko Taranaki Te Maunga: Challenging Post-Colonial Disturbances and Post-Modern Fragmentation " *He Pukenga Kōrero: A Journal of Māori Studies* 2.2 (1997): 8.

⁶⁹⁸ Certainly it is inaccurate to imagine that Postcolonial Studies is dominant within either literary studies or the wider academy, and yet perhaps we might take a leaf out of Teaiwa's book (when she declares there to be a Polynesian hegemony within Pacific Studies) and talk critically about the extent to which Postcolonial Studies is the dominant mode/ space within which non-European literatures are taught/ funded/ published and so on.

of the “got frames?” section if this kind of return seems necessary, over the next few years.

Further, although I consider the rourou before the rakau in the dissertation chapters that explore the Other three frames, the sheer prominence of the rakau makes it appropriate⁶⁹⁹ to acknowledge and foreground the rakau first, before suggesting a few possibilities for reading ‘Maori’ as ‘Postcolonial.’ In the rakau section I focus on the exclusion of Maori texts and contexts from the usual scope of Postcolonial Studies, and the rejection of Postcolonial Studies on the part of Maori scholars. I hope that this discussion will not simply rehearse previous critiques of regional representativeness (although I do not necessarily refute these), but that it will challenge the current configurations and operations of Postcolonial Studies. In the rourou section, I suggest that while the frame has often been unhelpfully mobilised with (or, indeed, without) regard to Maori texts themselves, there *are* articulations of this frame in Maori texts: the affinities with anti-colonial movements in the canonically ‘postcolonial’ world as expressed by Maori writers; and, briefly, the possibility of grappling with crucial issues in Maori literary production through the consideration of Postcolonial criticism. Before beginning with the ‘Postcolonial frame,’ however, I want to account for the inclusion of this chapter in the dissertation at all. I believe foregrounding my struggle with the chapter itself may be instructive as we move to consider the Postcolonial frame.

the postcolonial frame: the chapter that nearly wasn’t

I changed my mind about whether I would write (and then whether I would include) this chapter multiple times over the course of writing the dissertation. On the one

⁶⁹⁹ And expedient – it is difficult to separate an introduction to the framing of the field from the explicit and resounding critiques of that formation.

hand, Maori texts will continue to be distributed, introduced, taught, explored, and theorised as Postcolonial texts whether I like it or not. This 'Postcolonial' frame is used very widely, and certainly there is a close and intertwined relationship between Postcolonial theories and Oceanic, Indigenous and New Zealand critical and theoretical scholarship. Indeed, outside of the Pacific classroom, this is the primary space/ mode in which these latter three are taught and discussed. The prominence of the Postcolonial frame in published and public literary critical approaches to Maori texts, and also the engagement (or refusal to engage) with the frame in much Maori writing about critical methodologies, suggests that careful consideration of the possibilities and limitations of the frame is needed. Refusing to engage with this field seems ultimately self-limiting for the literary scholar, because of the (relatively) singular position Postcolonial Studies occupies within university-based literary studies, as the voice/ space for literatures from outside England and Euroamerica. On the other hand, this chapter continually threatens to overwhelm the rest of the dissertation, since, given the sheer size of the field, it demands significant scope and depth of exploration, and there would seem to be a potential risk that deeply delving into 'The Postcolonial Problem' could repeat the very sidelining of Maori material that leads to the cynicism of much Maori and Indigenous academic work with regard to Postcolonial Studies in the first place.

My decision to write, and then include, this (short) chapter ultimately rests on my desire to not *not* have a Postcolonial chapter. I am concerned that the field of Postcolonial Studies, if not consigned to its own chapter (however arbitrary the imposed structural boundaries of chapters that delimit these frames might be), could be understood as a meta-frame. Perhaps a reader would assume that a dissertation that focuses on Oceanic, Indigenous and New Zealand texts and contexts is, in a meta-comparative way, a 'Postcolonial' dissertation and would thereby permit the 'Postcolonial' to discursively cannibalise these Other three comparative frames and their related fields of study, texts

and contexts.⁷⁰⁰ To be explicit, while the Oceanic, Indigenous and New Zealand frames are indebted in particular ways (theoretically, pedagogically and institutionally) to Postcolonial Studies, crucial aspects of each of these frames resist being entirely accounted for by the ‘Postcolonial’ to the extent that *not* including this chapter could allow for a damaging assumption of the Postcolonial uber-umbrella. The refusal to recognise Postcolonial(ism) as an all-encompassing field (whether we imagine its presence as a monolithic bounded field or whether, after Foucault’s conception of power, perhaps, we imagine its presence to be more uncentred, multi-dimensional, dispersed, implicit) is a potentially productive outcome of my configuration of *multiple* comparative frames. After all, once the Postcolonial is excused (disallowed) from speaking for all aspects of each context in which it is mobilised, it can be recognised as an important and productive comparative frame; one frame among many pertinent frames that shape and are shaped by the various discourses around Maori writing in English.

Postcolonial Studies transmutes, metamorphoses and remakes itself every time you try to map it. Its very nature, at least in its original intention, is to be just such a large amorphous blob, providing (to shift metaphors) a lattice through which light can stream, from and on the various parts of the world which have been caught up in the colonial process of the past five centuries. Referring to key readers in a field is particularly instructive because in this regard a “reader” relies on a claim to a kind of exhaustiveness for its authority more than does, say, a more specific exploration. They become the theoretical canon-makers of a theoretical field: ‘major’ theorists contribute to them (and indeed the opposite also applies, recognition as being ‘major’ becoming tied to publication/ inclusion in such volumes); themes and hierarchies of these themes are entrenched as the ‘real’ (even ‘authentic’) areas of interest in the subject; and a whole

⁷⁰⁰ And not necessarily all together or in the same way: as I sought feedback on earlier drafts, one person suggested the ‘postcolonial’ frame could be dealt with as a part of the Indigenous chapter, and one suggested it could be a part of Chapter Six: New Zealand.

generation of young scholars are fed this diet of selected truths/ countertruths, and write from the 'background' they have amassed from reading these short extracts.⁷⁰¹

How, then, do these readers attempt to account for a field whose identity as a field relies on itself not being a field as such? A clear answer to this tension is the claim that a crucial aspect of the field is its very multiplicity. So, for example, in *The Postcolonial Studies Reader*, a foundational Postcolonial collection edited by Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin in 1995, the editors point out early in their general introduction that:

the term 'post-colonial' is resonant with all the ambiguity and complexity of the many different cultural experiences it implicates, and... it addresses all aspects of the colonial process from the beginning of colonial contact...

Postcolonial theory involves discussion about experience of various kinds: migration, slavery, suppression, resistance, representation, difference, race, gender, place, and responses to the influential master discourses of imperial Europe such as history, philosophy and linguistics, and the fundamental experiences of speaking and writing by which all these come into being. None of these is 'essentially' post-colonial, but together they form the complex fabric of the field.⁷⁰²

Another reader for the student of this area is Williams' and Chrisman's *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*. Published one year earlier, it includes less 'sections'⁷⁰³ and the editors openly describe how they attempted to select for inclusion: "The texts included were chosen because of the range they represent".⁷⁰⁴ This 'range' is defined in terms of chronology of publications, different stances taken to the topic(s), different 'complexity', and what one might call a range of locations: metropolitan/ overdeveloped world and colonial/ developing world; academic/ institutional and cultural/ political.⁷⁰⁵

⁷⁰¹ The claims I am making here about 'readers' are clearly tied to the claims I make throughout this dissertation to anthologies.

⁷⁰² Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, "General Introduction," *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, eds. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (London: Routledge, 1995): 2.

⁷⁰³ Theorising Colonised Cultures and Anti-Colonial Resistance, Theorising the West, Theorising Gender, Theorising Post-Coloniality: Intellectuals and Institutions, Theorising Post-Coloniality: Discourse and Identity, Reading from Theory.

⁷⁰⁴ Williams and Chrisman, *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*: ix.

⁷⁰⁵ Williams and Chrisman, *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*: ix.

The everchanging and shifting territory of ‘the Postcolonial’ continues to be a crucial articulation of its very definition in later collections. In an introduction to the co-edited 2000 collection *The Pre-occupation of Postcolonial Studies*, Kalpana Seshadri-Crooks writes:

While there is no doubt that the field has grown rapidly in the past few years, producing its own journals, conferences, book-publishing series, and jobs (the recent spate of readers and anthologies, of which this volume is a part, bears testament to the phenomenon), the field itself remains undefinable and amorphous in its outlines.⁷⁰⁶

Let me be explicit about how I write about the Postcolonial as a *frame* I have been clear in the introductory chapter to this dissertation that I am interested in interrogating various comparative *frames*. While I could only concur with those who would insist upon Postcolonial Studies as magically unframeable (perhaps even the antiframe), in this dissertation I am characterising these four approaches to Maori writing in English as ‘comparative frames’ for a particular and specific reason. Therefore, in order to contain my own examination of the field, and simultaneously to reinforce the ultimately multiplicitous nature of the field⁷⁰⁷ through my refusal to provide an all-encompassing summary of that field, I focus on aspects that closely pertain to Maori literary studies.

The issue of intended audience – and the refracted ways in which our imagined audiences affect our writing – has been very prominent in my decisions about what to emphasise in this chapter. On the one hand, I have been mindful that many sections of the Maori academic community have very little patience with the field of Postcolonial Studies, and on the other I have been mindful that while some scholars within Postcolonial Studies have an interest in hearing these kinds of perspectives on the field, some will read this chapter as an outdated and superficial rejection. In this chapter I am trying to speak to both of these tensions, and it seems that one specific contribution of my

⁷⁰⁶ Kalpana Seshadri-Crooks, "At the Margins of Postcolonial Studies: Part 1," *The Pre-Occupation of Postcolonial Studies*, eds. Fawzia Afzal-Khan and Kalpana Seshadri-Crooks (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000): 4.

⁷⁰⁷ Or, cynically, the field’s pretensions at multiplicity whilst effectively operating as a bounded (or at least bindable) unit.

work in literary studies – or perhaps, the future work towards which this dissertation gestures – is the attention paid to texts. I believe that when we pay attention to certain articulations we find that – despite the bad PR both ways – there are indeed affinities between ‘Maori’ and ‘Postcolonial.’ In the remainder of this chapter, then, I will first outline some of the major reasons for disconnections so far, and then I will gesture towards some of these Maori-Postcolonial affinities, including those expressed in early Maori writing about colonialism, and those found in writing such as the poetry of Hone Tuwhare. This chapter is noticeably the shortest in the dissertation: these are baby steps, but that’s better than no steps at all.

nau te rakau: post? colonial?

As a Maori undergraduate student I wondered how and whether my lived experience (as a young Maoriwoman) could/ would/ should intersect in a meaningful way with my academic experience. When I first encountered Postcolonial Studies I thought I had found a space where this intersection could occur between my study and my life, and this seemed to be evidenced by the subject matter itself, the participation of native/nonwestern scholars in the production of discourse, and the apparent aims and methods of the discipline. As I read more postcolonial writings, however, I began to see that the actual material experience of colonisation seems to have been drowned in a big river of something else: inexplicably ‘high’ theory, hierarchies of oppression, and a constant refusal to engage with the spatial or political dimensions that would allow productive consideration of Maori. Later, at the first year English graduate student colloquium during my first semester at Cornell, it was expounded almost weekly that Postcolonial Studies is a ‘growth’ industry in the academic ‘market,’ which struck me as paradoxical: was postcolonial studies - of all areas of study – simply another, new, trendy pathway to

certain academic ‘achievement’ as evidenced by publications, niche jobs and nice salaries? Obviously, there is a huge chasm between my earlier giddy perception of Postcolonial Studies as a safe space for honest and incisive articulation of the silenced Maori voice, and how it operates in the university setting in 2004. The questions that propel me through this section are clear: What do I, as a Maori student/ scholar/ teacher/ writer, do with postcolonial studies? What does postcolonialism, as a (lucrative) academic field, do with me?

postcolonial?: Maori and postcolonialism

The most pressing issue when bringing ‘Postcolonial’ into the space of Maori literary studies is to reconcile the shared griefs of colonisation with the resounding under-acknowledgement of both the Pacific and the Fourth World (and thus, Maori) on the part of Postcolonial Studies. A large number of Indigenous critics critique the notion of the Postcolonial because of the denotative implications of the suffix ‘post,’ which they argue blinds the discourse that follows to the continued experience of colonialism in much of the Indigenous world. Linda Tuhiwai Smith is very prominent in this critique:

Post-colonial can only mean one thing: the colonizers have left. There is rather compelling evidence that in fact this has not occurred.⁷⁰⁸

Although the common response is that the ‘post’ in postcolonial is a-temporal, or else post-(firstmomentof)colonial, the focus on certain kinds of ‘independence,’ and blindness to currently-colonised Indigenous communities does seem to be a big problem. I have not heard Postcolonial critiques of the US war on Iraq, for example, that have considered the massive impact the military expansions needed to support that war in the US colonies of Hawaii and Guam. Perhaps Leonie Pihama is right when she draws attention to this disconnect:

⁷⁰⁸ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples.*: 24.

Numerous writers have sought to justify the use of the term ‘post-colonial,’ however those justifications are unconvincing for many indigenous peoples who live day to day experiencing colonial oppression.⁷⁰⁹

At the same time as insisting its a-temporality, Postcolonial Studies seems to be very temporal indeed. Indeed, despite the claim of Postcolonial Studies to – as Robert Young distils it – “shift the dominant ways in which the relations between western and non-western people and their worlds are viewed... [Postcolonialism] means turning the world upside down,”⁷¹⁰ the field can be understood as representing and manifesting yet another kind of marginalisation that is not upside-down at all, but very familiar. In Smith’s words:

[In] the Western academy... which has constructed all the rules by which the indigenous world has been theorised, indigenous voices have been overwhelmingly silenced.⁷¹¹

Indeed, the “silenc[ing]” of Maori within the field suggests that, for Maori, Postcolonial Studies seems ultimately to operate in a similar way as colonialism.

postcolonial?: postcolonialism and Maori

In Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin’s *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies*, the only entries under which ‘Indigenous’ appear are a single designated entry (‘aboriginal/ indigenous peoples) and a brief cameo in ‘Third World’. However, the entry on ‘aboriginal/ indigenous peoples’ is a one-page-long description in a book that takes the same length to define the next term, ‘abrogation,’ and twice as long to discuss ‘frontier,’ and that one-page treatment is very cursory anyway. The entire page is spent listing terms which are used to refer to Indigenous peoples in various places, and the only comment (and not a particularly clarifying or insightful one) apart from this monster list of names is the statement that “Indigenous peoples are those born in a place or region (OED).”⁷¹² A

⁷⁰⁹ Pihama, "Ko Taranaki Te Maunga: Challenging Post-Colonial Disturbances and Post-Modern Fragmentation ".: 11.

⁷¹⁰ Robert Young, *Postcolonialism* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003):. 2.

⁷¹¹ Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples*:. 29.

⁷¹² Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies*, Key Concepts Series (London ; New York: Routledge, 1998):. 4.

single sentence at the very end of the ‘Third World’ entry signals the existence of the term ‘Fourth World’. One wonders how this can be, in a dictionary with 109 separate entries, and after writing that Indigenous peoples are in “an even more marginalized position than... other post-colonial peoples,”⁷¹³ which is clearly reminiscent of the “cause celebre” status the same editors accorded Indigenous people in 1995. Two references are appended to the end of the ‘aboriginal’ entry, pointing the reader to other relevant entries in the book: “See settler colony, Third World”. I argue that Postcolonial Studies has refused, or is unable, to “see” Maori because of this very split: indeed, it seems to me that the diversion into these two terms is deeply significant. Maori are invisible in the ‘settler colony’ because we are Indigenous; and Maori are invisible in ‘the third world’ because we are from the Pacific.

“see settler colony”

As well as the fourteen sections into which *The Postcolonial Studies Reader* is divided, attesting to the breadth of the theoretical field,⁷¹⁴ the coupling of several of the themes demonstrates the editors’ perceptions of the relationships between some of these topics, including the seventh section, ‘Ethnicity and Indigeneity.’ The introduction to the section starts by describing these as “two of the most vexed and complex issues in post-colonial theory.”⁷¹⁵ To the editors, the pertinent issue for both of these concepts is to determine who is in each group, and to what extreme:

Whether some groups and not others are entitled to the term ‘ethnic’, and whether the indigenous group of an invaded colony are the only ‘truly colonised’ group.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹³ Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies*: 232.

⁷¹⁴ Issues and Debates, Universality and Difference, Representation and Resistance, Postmodernism and Post-colonialism, Nationalism, Hybridity, Ethnicity and Indigeneity, Feminism and Post-colonialism, Language, The Body and Performance, History, Place, Education, and Production and Consumption.

⁷¹⁵ Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*: 213. One wonders how this statement can be used to introduce their *seventh* section (of fourteen), and why then they are squashed together. At no point do they justify what led them to pair these concepts.

⁷¹⁶ Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*: 213.

First the editors attempt to deconstruct the binary of center and margin, thereby ‘fuzzing’ the lines around the ideas of ethnicity and indigeneity. They then go on to remark that:

The indigenous peoples of ‘settled’ colonies, or ‘First-Nations’, have in many ways become the *cause celebre* of post-colonialism. No other group seems so completely to earn the position of colonized group, so unequivocally to demonstrate the processes of imperialism at work.⁷¹⁷

This type of claim - even if it was true, as might be demonstrated by an increased profile of Indigenous groups in books such as theirs - fails to recognise that Indigenous people are not interested in competing with a prize for ‘worst oppressed’ and have never mobilized along these lines. Finally they explain that one of greatest problems is that we keep falling “into the political trap” of essentialism, an ironic statement after the generalising comments of the previous sentence, and a statement which, by virtue of having been constructed in the passive voice, places the blame back to us for our fate.

Some Postcolonial scholars have focussed on examining the role of the ‘white’/ settler nations, and the paradoxes, internal contradictions, and tensions which arise when settler nations attempt (or not) to identify themselves as ‘postcolonial.’ The situation of the settler states is compared either with the ‘colonised’ or ‘coloniser/ metropole’ nations,⁷¹⁸ and discussions often focus on how the settler states provide an interesting way to question the appropriate use of the ‘post’ in ‘post-colonial’, because of their historical relationship with the ‘metropole’, compared with ‘true’ (post)colonial states. From Engels through to McClintock and beyond, critics and commentators have carefully delineated a substantive difference between ‘settler’ and ‘native’ nations. In 1882, Engels wrote that:

The colonies proper, i.e., the countries occupied by a European population - Canada, the Cape, Australia - will all become independent; on the other hand, the countries inhabited by a native population, which are simply subjugated - India, Algeria, the Dutch, Portugese and Spanish possessions - must be taken over for the time

⁷¹⁷ Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*: 214.

⁷¹⁸ Several of the ‘settler’ nations have indeed performed as external colonisers themselves, for example NZ in Samoa, US in Puerto Rico, South Africa in Namibia.

being by the proletariat and led as rapidly as possible towards independence.⁷¹⁹

When Engels characterises countries “occupied by a European population” as mutually exclusive from “countries inhabited by a native population,” he forecloses the possibility of recognising the Fourth World. Williams and Chrisman’s introductory chapter exemplifies this trend of thinking, when they wonder whether or not to include Australia, New Zealand and Canada in their little box of ‘postcolonial countries’.

Economically and politically, their relation to the metropolitan centre bore little resemblance to that of the actual colonies. They were not subject to the sort of coercive measures which were the lot of the colonies, and their ethnic stratification was fundamentally different. Their subsequent history and economic development, and current location within global capitalist relations, have been very much in a metropolitan mode, rather than a (post-)colonial one.⁷²⁰

A similar division between ‘settler’ and ‘native’ nations is wrought by Mishra and Hodge, as they critique the earlier vogue term ‘Commonwealth literature’ for its ambiguity:

[t]he term also occluded the crucial differences between the ‘old’ and the ‘new’ Commonwealth, between White settler and Black nations that typically had a very different and more difficult route into a different kind of independence.⁷²¹

[I]t is especially important to recognise the different histories of the White settler colonies which, in turn, for these settler colonies, was not the imperial centre but the Mother Country. What an undifferentiated concept of postcolonialism overlooks are the very different radical differences in response and the unbridgeable chasms that existed between White and non-White colonies.⁷²²

Whether these “White” settler nations are defined as “the colonies proper,” as by Engels, or according to Williams and Chrisman definition as ‘other’ than “the actual colonies,” the implication is the same: the settler colonies are a completely different kettle of fish.

This focus on the settler colonies as white/ colonial states, and categorical differentiation from “the actual colonies,” strongly impacts the ways in which (if indeed

⁷¹⁹ Engels “To Karl Kautsky”. *The Marx- Engels Reader, second edition*. Ed. Robert C Tucker. New York: Norton, 1978: 676. Although the definition of whether it is a dominant settler or nonsettler group that designate ‘the colonies proper’ varies, the ultimate difference between the two colonial ‘types’ is clear.

⁷²⁰ Williams and Chrisman, *Colonial Discourse and Post -Colonial Theory : A Reader* : 4.

⁷²¹ Vijay Mishra and Bob Hodge, "What Is Post(-)Colonialism," *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory*, eds. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994): 276.

⁷²² Mishra and Hodge, "What Is Post(-)Colonialism.": 285.

at all) Postcolonial Studies is able to imagine the Indigenous issues which are central to these settler nations or include Maori in its scope of what counts as of ‘properly colonial.’ That these ‘settler’ states are historically and materially different to the ‘native’ states is true, and unrefuted. What is at issue here is the way in which this dichotomy invisibilises the internally colonised groups. To which kind of nation do Maori belong: would Mishra and Hodge characterise me (or Patricia Grace) as “White settler” or “Black”? By concentrating on the whiteness/ ‘metropole ness’ of the settler states, and not recognising the variegated experience of ‘nationhood’ in such settler colonies, postcolonial discourse has been unable to adequately envisage the Indigenous populations. As I will argue at more length in Chapter Six: Maori as New Zealand, it is ludicrous to account for the present situation of New Zealand, or Australia, without considering – indeed centring - the historical and present situations of the Maori or Indigenous Australian communities respectively.

Furthermore, rendering (post)colonial situations into this binary of ‘settler/ White/ European’ nations and ‘native/ Black’ nations depends on the blind usage of the European-devised ‘nation-state’ in the first place. Refusing to imagine that groups may exist outside of, indeed transcend, the present nation-state model, prevents this framework from acknowledging the existence of Indigenous people within the borders of the ‘settler’ states, which in turn renders it unable to distinguish between the experience of the (now dominant) settler group and the Indigenous group(s). As long as ‘Postcoloniality’ is imagined according to a nation state system, it is unable to consider that these groups may have had economic, political, historical and spiritual experiences - specifically, in this context, colonial and/ or postcolonial experiences - which differ in scale and nature to those of the nation-states which currently claim the right to draw and defend borders which subsume them. For further elucidation of this point, see the section on ‘geographical doublethinking’ in Chapter Four: Maori as Indigenous.

In her influential essay “The Angel of Progress: Pitfalls of the Term ‘Post-colonialism,’” Anne McClintock acknowledges the sustained coloniality of the settler colonies:

Break-away settler colonies can, moreover, be distinguished by their formal independence from the founding metropolitan country, along with continued control over the appropriated colony (thus displacing colonial control from the metropolis to the colony itself). The United States, South Africa, Australia, Canada and New Zealand, in my view, break-away settler colonies that have not undergone decolonization, nor, with the exception of South Africa, are they likely to in the near future.⁷²³

However, while she alludes to the idea that there is ‘something’ or ‘someone’ which is still being colonised, when she writes of this “continued control”/ “colonial control,” McClintock holds the discussion about Indigenous people (assuming that’s what she is talking about, because who/ what else is there to colonise or “control”?) without actually naming them. While the distinction between the “metropolitan colony” and the “appropriated colony,” between which the “breakaway settler colony” may be found, potentially allows space for acknowledging the separateness of the Fourth World (as the “appropriated colony”), this potential is limited by the equation of the “settler colonies” with the names of particular nation states. This results in the coding of these nationstates as “settler” and this in turn obscures the “appropriated colony” also resident there.⁷²⁴ The ultimate effect of discussing such contexts without naming the Indigenous communities (“The United States, South Africa, Australia, Canada and New Zealand”) is that successive treatments drawing on McClintock’s model have often unconsciously duplicated the invisibilisation.

Perhaps more precarious, though, is McClintock’s assertion that these ‘White colonies’ will not undergo decolonisation. According to her, the only place this may

⁷²³ Anne McClintock, “The Angel of Progress: Pitfalls of the Term ‘Post-Colonialism’,” *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory*, eds. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994): 295.

⁷²⁴ A further limitation of McClintock’s formulation is that Maori are limited to being “appropriated” only by the *immediate* colonial power (ie New Zealand), which narrows the scope for talking about the interface between Maori and other ‘colonial’ powers through the matrices of globalisation.

happen is South Africa, which stands out from the rest of the group as the only nation state with the majority non-white population. In stating this, McClintock sets the definition of ‘decolonisation’ as shaped by the parameters and histories intrinsic to “deep settler colonies,”⁷²⁵ not imagining that decolonisation might be a process that is expressed and developed according to its local context.⁷²⁶ For McClintock, presumably, the only way a “break-away settler colony” can “decolonis[e]” is to function (and perhaps look) like another kind of colony (presumably the kind that has ‘independence’). While decolonisation will certainly take on a different shape in the case of settler states, particularly in terms of their different Indigenous groups, Indigenous-settler histories, access to (dominant) power and so on, McClintock’s prediction that Indigenous groups are unable to decolonise by virtue of their numeric insignificance subtly transforms the rhetoric of invisibility into the rhetoric of fatal impact⁷²⁷/ extinction. Either way, Indigenous communities are given no hope of actually surviving the process of colonisation.⁷²⁸ Doesn’t sound like a very useful formulation for Maori so far, does it?

“see... Third World”

The way in which Postcolonial Studies talks about Oceania is that it (generally) doesn’t, but it is difficult to describe exclusion because it is a negative claim. How many times do I need to point out ‘see! we’re not there – or there – there’ before I sound

⁷²⁵ “Deep settler colonies” is what McClintock calls those nations elsewhere called ‘native’ colonies.

⁷²⁶ Ironically, of course, she refers to this idea of homogeneous decolonisation within a few sentences of laying out the difference between the colonies.

⁷²⁷ The theory of a fatal impact is an ‘explanation’ for the apparent decimation of indigenous people upon contact, and is rooted in ideas about European superiority, indigenous vulnerability as proof of inferiority, and the ‘inevitability’ of the extermination of indigenous communities. It is a convenient sort of theory to have when you need to justify the ethics of slaughter and thievery for the folks back home.

⁷²⁸ Why do the very people who write to reinvigorate and redisplay their own (or someone else’s) tongues fall so easily into a trap of uncritically (or only semicritically) imagining what it is that a word like ‘decolonisation’ (or related terms like independence, sovereignty, and self-determination) might mean? Why can they not perceive that it may not denote the right to sovereignty and self-governance *within* the boundaries of a nation state system (as in the case of ‘deep settler state’ decolonisation, and the phenomenon of neocolonialism), but that it may in fact involve emancipation *from* it?

convincing?⁷²⁹ How many singular examples of inclusion can be proffered in defence before the overwhelming exclusion is effectively challenged? From informal verbal lists of colonised places in the context of lectures, questions and discussions (Africa, South Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean and maybe Ireland are the places that get the airplay), to formalised tables of contents, class syllabi, anthologies, collections of essays and conference panels, Maori writing is for the most part ignored on the basis of this double-invisibilisation: the Pacific is seldom mentioned at all;⁷³⁰ Postcolonial discourse itself, and the sites from which the theorists who dominate the field have emerged, have retroactively invented ‘cradles’ of postcoloniality in South Asia, Africa, Latin America, Palestine/ Israel and the Caribbean,⁷³¹ and ‘parents’ of the empire(s) from Western Europe. Course descriptions, anthologies, edited volumes and websites which have been formed around this idea of postcoloniality most often focus on these ‘hotspots’, leaving people in the Pacific, Atlantic and Indian Oceans, most of the Middle East, Eastern Europe, North America, Central America, and the bulk of Asia, to discursively fend for themselves. Certainly it has not always been this way. Michelle Elleray reminds us that:

while the South Seas constituted a narrative that circulated in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British society, that historical circulation has become all but invisible to our own society.⁷³²

So what happened? Where did we go? How has one third of the earth’s surface been reduced to a marginal presence in the teaching and publication patterns of Postcolonial Studies?

⁷²⁹ Of course, this refers to visible presence. The invisible presence of our impact on Western modes of thinking is another issue. “I would argue that ‘we’, indigenous peoples, peoples ‘of colour’, the Other, however we are named, have a presence in The Western imagination, in its fibre and texture, in its sense of itself, in its language, in its silences and shadows, its margins and intersections.” Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples: 14

⁷³⁰ It never fails to surprise and annoy me that the Pacific, which after all covers a third of the earth’s surface, is excluded from conversations, even though some early critics from these other Other places recognised the importance and interest of, for example, Vincent Eri’s *The Crocodile*.

⁷³¹ With the notable and admittedly problematic exception of Ireland.

⁷³² Michelle Dawne Elleray, "Unsettled Subject : The South Pacific and the Settler," 2001.: 7.

The reasons for this exclusion are complex, although I would like to suggest a few in passing. The reason is *not* that there has not been a written literature; there has. It is also *not* that there has been no connection between Oceanic and Other Postcolonial writing communities; the mobility of Ulli Beier between PNG and Nigeria would seem to challenge that, as would the mobility of critics such as Umelo Ojinmah⁷³³ and the prominence of Oceanic writer/ critics such as Albert Wendt. It is also *not* that scholars working in and on the Pacific have not drawn on, conversed with, and contributed to, Postcolonial Studies. Scholars such as Subramani, Paul Sharrad, Radhika Mohanram, Chadwick Allen, Albert Wendt, Juniper Ellis, Briar Wood, Chris Bongie and Susan Najita, to name a few, have done innovative and foundational work drawing – and contributing to – Postcolonial Studies through their specific focus on the Pacific.

So, then, if these aren't the reasons for the marginalisation of the Pacific, what are? First, visibility and prominence are tied to size. Hau'ofa's work suggests that the relatively small population size in Oceania is a key reason for exclusion from external frames. Indeed, cynically, the profile of Pacific Nations is such that even if we *had* attended the foundational events such as Bandung and the Tricontinental, it is doubtful that anyone would notice.⁷³⁴ This latter, the Tricontinental, draws attention to the problem of a rhetorical overemphasis on continents in much Postcolonial discourse, which in turn has produced an inability to verbalise the Ocean.⁷³⁵ Certainly there are also pragmatic

⁷³³ Ojinmah's book *Witi Ihimaera a changing vision* comes out of a dissertation he wrote bringing together African and Maori writers in the 1980s. Umelo Ojinmah, *Witi Ihimaera : A Changing Vision*, Te Whenua Series, No. 7 (Dunedin, N.Z.: University of Otago Press, 1993)..

⁷³⁴ This relative size issue is crucial to a lot of Oceanic marginalisation. For example, in the contexts of US Ethnic Literary Studies, there was a posse of Oceanic people at the 2004 MELUS conference, but noone attended the Pacific panels, and noone even imagined that we might be staying at the hotel for the same conference. The only attention we got was the loud exclamations of delight and amazement at the registration desk, as the ladies there asked us to pronounce again and again our long and beautiful and exotic names.

⁷³⁵ This was revisited for me at the recent 'Questions of Comparison' conference in which Lisa Lowe spoke about "The Intimacies of Four Continents," the title of her current research project. Interestingly, when she was pushed on her exclusion of the Pacific, she admitted that she hadn't focussed a lot on genocide. The presumption to speak for Oceania in this way epitomizes the attitude Hau'ofa calls "islands in a far-flung sea." I hazard a guess that if I ever said something so inappropriate and inaccurate about the discourses and histories surrounding one of her beloved 'continents' I would have been run out of town.

reasons to do with publishing circuits and mobility to attend conferences, and one wonders which is the chicken and which the egg, between an increased profile of the Pacific in Postcolonial Studies and an increased circulation of scholars, books and writers. Of course, once these ‘pragmatic’ issues are raised, the question of colonially-introduced economic inequalities compound the problem. Finally, it seems to me that much of the anticolonial struggle in Oceania has been somewhat out of sync with the independence movements in the middle decades of the twentieth century. Aotearoa New Zealand achieved various kinds of ‘independence’ in the 1900s and then in the 1940s, and some colonies remain colonies through to today. For example, there are the US ‘possessions’ and territories, French Polynesia, Australia’s and New Zealand’s dependencies, and so on.⁷³⁶

The urgency of decolonisation in parts of Oceania could, indeed, benefit greatly from some of the theoretical tools proffered by Postcolonial Studies. At the same time, the debates around Temaru’s election to a government position in French Polynesia,⁷³⁷ to point to a specific example, or the issues around the jurisdiction of the British courts in Pitcairn that have gained special attention this year, to point to another, would presumably be of interest to the wider community of postcolonial scholars. In particular, given the roots of Postcolonial Studies in anticolonialism, it seems to me that the current and urgent

This kind of emptying out of the Pacific is exactly what has enabled the testing of nuclear weapons by external powers, since 1946 until the present day.

⁷³⁶ This does not mean that Oceania has not been making good use of Postcolonial Studies in its current incarnation. For example, look to Kareva Mateata-Allain’s work on Post(-)colonial theory and French Polynesian women’s writing, (Kareva Mateata-Allain, "Ma'ohi Women Writers of Colonial French Polynesia: Passive Resistance toward a *Post(-)Colonial Literature*," *Jouvert: A Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 7.2 (2003).) Albert Wendt’s engagement with the terminology and theoretical possibilities of Postcolonial Studies, and so on.

⁷³⁷ Furthermore, it will be interesting to track the process of Oscar Temaru, longtime independence activist who was recently elected to the top job in Tahiti/ French Polynesia. Temaru’s government was even more recently overthrown, and news reports about the entrance of an armed combatant into the government chambers at the time of Temaru’s ousting describe the event – in which noone was hurt - as a performance. It would be fascinating to interrogate this situation with regard to Sinavaiana’s work on clowning in Samoa, and Hereniko’s work on clowning in Rotuma. Caroline Sinavaiana, "Where the Spirits Laugh Last: Comic Theatre in Samoa," *Clowning as Critical Practice: Performance Humour in the South Pacific*, ed. W Mitchell (Pittsburgh: University Press, 1992). Vilsoni Hereniko, *Woven Gods : Female Clowns and Power in Rotuma*, Pacific Islands Monograph Series ; No. 12 (Honolulu: Center for Pacific Islands Studies, School of Hawaiian, Asian, and Pacific Studies University of Hawaii Press, 1995).

crisis in French Polynesia, as I write the final words of this dissertation, should be of interest to politicised Postcolonial scholars. The overthrow of an elected Independentist local government, the refusal of the French President to recognise that election and subsequent installation of pro-French leader, followed by widespread protests and finally the dispatching of French military to ‘control’ the situation is the thing that anti-colonial struggle is made of, isn’t it? Surely we have learned from colonialism that the moments when our attention is distracted (such as when Postcolonial scholars exert most of their focus on the situation in Iraq at the present time⁷³⁸) can be the moments when the greatest amount is taken.

nau te rourou: “making a fist of it;” postcolonial connections

In 1863, during the peak of the wars in New Zealand, the editor of the Kingitanga⁷³⁹ Maori-language newspaper *Te Hokioi*, Wiremu Patara Te Tuhi, encouraged his readers in fighting to resist colonialism by pointing to Haiti as a successful example of anticolonial struggle. Lachy Paterson provides translations of excerpts from the editorials in March and April 1863:

Now that island possesses law and its independence [rangatiratanga] is established; its flags have been raised; also, the councils [runanga] of that place are working for the good of the country. The chiefs [rangatira] have unified their word; the law has effect; its many harbours are rich.⁷⁴⁰

Let the tribal councils [runanga] work quietly; wait and perhaps the independence [rangatiratanga] of this island will be like Haiti’s, possessing wealth, authority and law, because we exert ourselves for

⁷³⁸ At the SPACLALS conference in Apia, 2004, Seri Luangpinith presented a fascinating paper that tracked the various implications of the US-led invasion of Iraq for the Pacific.

⁷³⁹ The Kingitanga is the Maori King movement, one of the modes of resistance against colonialism, and a political and identificational movement to which certain iwi subscribed.

⁷⁴⁰ *Te Hokioi o Niu Tirene e Rere atu na*: 24.3.1863, in Lachy Paterson, "*Kiri Mā, Kiri Mangu*: The Terminology of Race and Civilisation in the Mid Nineteenth Century Maori-Language Newspapers," *Rere Atu, Taku Manu! Discovering History, Language and Politics in the Maori-Language Newspapers*, eds. Jenifer Curnow, Ngapare K. Hopa and Jane McRae (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2002): 91.

the right side; perhaps God will protect his black-skinned children living in Aotearoa.⁷⁴¹

Maori identification with the situation in Haiti is not articulated on the basis of shared indigenusness or geographic region, but instead on the shared basis of anti-colonial struggle. (The obvious danger of suggesting or producing a slippage between ‘anticolonial’ and ‘postcolonial’ looms here, and yet perhaps recognising the relationship between these two will enable a different way of apprehending ‘the Postcolonial.’) As he explores the creation of language to account for the European-introduced category of ‘race,’ Paterson points to the slippage in terms used for the Indigenous Arawak, between “‘taua iwi maori’ (that native race) and ‘tau[a] iwi kiri mangu’ (that black-skinned race)” and the corresponding slippage in terminology used for the enslaved African population between “‘nga mangumangu o Awherika’ (the blacks of Africa)” and “‘taua iwi kiri mangu’ and ‘nga maori’.” Paterson argues that the mobilisation of this racialised language produces a(n anti-)colonial affinity between Maori and (non-Indigenous) Haitians on the basis of their being ‘non-white’ within the racist context of colonialism:

semantic divisions between ‘native’ and ‘black’ were broken down: all non-whites (by implication Maori also) are kiri mangu in an ethnopolitical sense in contrast to all kiri ma.

Despite the exclusion of Maori from discourse about the process of decolonisation of the ‘Third World,’ Maori identification with anti-colonial struggle in the places and modes privileged in postcolonial theory is articulated through Maori poetry, fiction and musical texts.⁷⁴²

⁷⁴¹ Paterson, "Kiri Mā, Kiri Mangu: The Terminology of Race and Civilisation in the Mid Nineteenth Century Maori-Language Newspapers.": 91.

⁷⁴² As well as noting the specific claims of identification with anticolonial struggle ‘overseas,’ another way to think about the relationship between Maori and Other Postcolonial texts would be to consider parallels between texts that treat various ‘local’ contexts. The formal, linguistic, metaphoric and political parallels between Friel’s play *Translations* and Morey’s short story “Cartography” comprise an excellent example of striking resonances between particular canonical Postcolonial texts and Maori texts.

One writer who articulates this relationship between decolonisation in Maori and ‘native colony’ contexts is Hone Tuwhare, the first Maori writer to publish a collection of writing, whose 1978 collection *Making a Fist of It* includes two poems that specifically treat the colonial situation in Africa. His own political commitments to Marxist thinking perhaps suggest how he made these connections:

“Marxism gave me a real sense of place, you know,” Tuwhare remembers. “I had a sense of belonging – being part of a particular class of people.”⁷⁴³

In his introduction to *Deep River Talk; Collected Poems*, Frank Stewart attributes this political commitment for the broader contexts about which Tuwhare writes:

Before the war was over, Tuwhare had become a fully certified boilermaker, and thus a member of the union; and in the union trade shops he was recruited into the Communist party. The railway party opened Tuwhare’s eyes to politics, to social injustice at home and around the world, and to the problems of working class people.⁷⁴⁴

While this connection between Tuwhare’s writing and politics is an important point, I would suggest that more than simply “opening [his] eyes,” the significance of his exposure and commitments to Marxist thinking is not only Tuwhare’s heightened awareness of “politics, social justice at home and abroad, and... working class people” but a particular configuration of the connections *between* these dimensions.

The poem “Making a Fist of It” appears in the collection of the same name, and bears an explanatory note: “Soweto, Alexandra, Alice: Johannesburg, June/ July 1976.” A short narrative focussed on an imagined moment in the middle of the 1976 Soweto uprisings, the poem has at its centre a “black girl-baby” who is on a road beside the bodies of her parents. The baby wakes “involuntarily” into an environment of violence, marked in particular by the tools of warfare: “strange objects”/ “strange harsh sounds” that later come into focus as “a police bullet,” “tear gas,” “a gun,” “the cocking of a gun,” and “rifles.” The explicit relationship between capitalist industry and police violence is

⁷⁴³ Hone Tuwhare, *Deep River Talk : Collected Poems* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994): 5.

⁷⁴⁴ Frank Stewart, “Introduction,” *Deep River Talk: Collected Poems (Hone Tuwhare)* (Auckland: Godwit, 1993): 4.

figured both by the dual killers that “rattle” in her father’s lungs – “gold-dust and/ tear gas” – and by the later stanza focussed on the reactions of “The diamond-mine owners” to the financial implications of this resistance to the colonial system:

*Godverdomme! Three thousand blacks absent from
work today! Seventy transport buses burnt and destroyed!
Profits will plummet. Rome, Paris – yes, and the Bahamas
vacation holiday is OUT this year.*

The linking of these financial implications to mobility within a broader geographical context underscores the global colonial orientation of these figures. Specifically, the mobility between the ‘periphery’ and the European metropolises (“Rome, Paris”) is truncated by the uprising, as is the possibility of mobility to “the Bahamas,” where they would benefit from that aspect of the colonial project that produces “holiday” spaces for consumption by colonial tourists.

The baby is described as “soft and beautiful” at the beginning of the poem, and this softness and beauty are taken away and then fought for (“no longer soft or beautiful,” “her kicking has become hard and ugly”), until she is described again at the end of the poem as “beautiful.” In the opening stanzas, the baby operates according to instinct: she “involuntarily/ stiffens waking herself from sleep,” “greet[s] strange objects around her,” and laughs (“Everything seems terribly funny”). In the second stanza, these instinctual movements (“remembering fingers”) become more specific, as she searches for milk: “fingers press vainly into slack breasts/ of air for food.” At the end of this opening section, “Gurgling sounds trail off,” and while the baby is still described as “soft and beautiful” in the next section, while she attempts to get the attention of her dead parents, the reader knows that a moment of crisis is inevitable (“a hungry baby-mouth orbiting will not/ rendezvous today nor lock on to a nose-cone nipple”). The third section marks the shift in the baby’s temperament, and the meaning behind the title of the poem is suggested: “Making fists of rage the black girl-baby... kicks.” As the baby’s response to the environment heightens (“her kicking has become hard and ugly,” “a gun blossoms in

her hands”), the surroundings are marked by silence (“a silence gathers... the silence deepens”) that is broken only by the italicised interruptions of the “diamond-mine owners.” Finally, the baby’s response to her context is no longer desperate and chaotic but determined, focused and resolute:

Rifle butt firm on the ground for support, the black girl-
baby is climbing up. She has only one knee on the ground
now.

Significantly, the same weapons that have killed her parents (“her mother lies... a police bullet buried hungrily/ between her breasts”) provide her with the means to “climb[] up.” The final line of the poem suggests a moment of victory – “See, the black girl-baby is standing up: beautiful” – at the same time as it gestures towards the tragedy that the baby “is standing up” (impliedly for the first time) at that very moment and place at which her parents are killed. The determined “standing up” of the baby is a stark contrast to the body of her mother, who lies “untidily, and in abandonment.” Ultimately, then, the baby has retained that beauty from before (“soft and beautiful” “:beautiful”), but her ability to “climb[] up” comes in part from her holding the “rifle-butt firm on the ground for support,” and this “firm[ness]” negates her earlier – and vulnerable - “soft[ness].”

Several layers of meaning may be explored in the narrative of the poem, and I argue that while readings of the poem that focus on the specific context of the Soweto uprisings and apartheid in South Africa are pressing and productive, the poem can also be read as an allegory of anticolonialism in Africa and thereby, perhaps, beyond Africa as well. In particular, and in line with the link between Tuwhare’s engagement in Marxism and his articulations about colonialism, while the baby “climb[s] up” she is surrounded by a larger group of resisters whose bodies are marked (like her father’s) both by their racialisation and their work: “Behind her black work-hardened hands fist a forest/ of rifles, waving.” The individual baby “making fists of rage” has heightened meaning when paralleled with “hands fist[ing] a forest/ of rifles.” Presumably these “black... hands”

could be South African, or African, but they could also be more broadly the racialised hands of colonised subjects. So, while both “O Africa” and “Making a Fist of it” explicitly treat the specific situation of Africa/ South Africa respectively, they are also intimately related to, and resonant with, colonial, oppressive and resistant movements elsewhere. Similarly, in their widely-distributed⁷⁴⁵ “Azania,” for example, the Aotearoa-based reggae band Herbs remembers the struggle of Steve Biko and Mandela, and assert solidarity in that specific struggle:

Azania – bow to the freedom fighters
 Azania – liberation soon come
 Azania – bow to the brothers and sisters
 Azania -

Maori can identify with the mobilisation of an originary name (“Azania”) for a nation as a form of struggle against the imposition of an English name, and the lyrics of this song are thus enabled by, and affirming of, the parallel struggle in Aotearoa against New Zealand.⁷⁴⁶

The possibilities of bringing the Postcolonial frame into relationship with Maori writing in English seem to rest in the *anti*-colonial struggle with which many Maori writers already identify. Whether scholars working in the field of Postcolonial Studies are comfortable with the substitution of the prefix ‘anti-’ for ‘post-’, in order to find a starting point for conversation, remains to be seen. Certainly it would enable expressions of Māori

⁷⁴⁵ This song is on their ‘best of’ album.

⁷⁴⁶ Herbs’s lyrics treat French nuclear testing in the Pacific, Parihaka (their “Parihaka” was recorded with Tim Finn, and it was this Pakeha artist’s association with the single that gave it mainstream success; the song was later referenced by Te Kupu in his “Horified One:” “waiata o Parihaka going much deeper than Tim Finn”), the occupation of Bastion Point (a photograph of the eviction of Maori from Bastion Point was the image on the cover of one of their albums) and so on. As an extremely influential reggae band in Aotearoa New Zealand, Herbs popularised not only the musical form but also the explicit anti-colonial politics that are crucial to reggae, and in doing so paved the way for the expression of explicitly political lyrics and innovative musical sampling for the hip hop, reggae and related musical practitioners that are active in the Aotearoa New Zealand scene today. (For example we might think of Salmonella Dub, King Kapisi, Che Fu, Dread Beat, Nesian Mystik, Trinity Roots, Kachafire, and Kora.) Indeed, the crossover between these styles in Aotearoa New Zealand, beyond the Caribbean historical roots of hip hop itself, has been assured by the prominence of hip hop artists such as Che Fu, who is a practicing Rastafarian and whose lyrical content continually articulates the relationship between reggae and rap. Che Fu points to his early memory of standing at the side of Bob Marley’s concert stage in Auckland as a crucial moment in his orientation to music. The explicit politics embodied in this music, such as the single “Chains” that he co-created with DLT, makes connections between Caribbean anti-colonial struggle (through the music, form and much of the language) and the Indigenous Pacific, especially with regard to nuclear testing.

aspirations with regard to colonialism, and perhaps (because rakau are tools as well as weapons) it would re-inject some of the politics into Postcolonial Studies.

postcolonial conclusions

In an essay I wrote at the end of my first semester at Cornell, in which I tried to think about postcoloniality and what it might mean for me and for my communities – which at the time I defined as “my family, the neighbourhood where I grew up, my tribe, te iwi Maori, Indigenous people” - I tried to point out that the academic field of postcolonial studies has largely ignored and invisibilised us so far, and I tried to construct a way in which postcolonial studies might attempt to conceptualise indigeneity. At the time, I wrote:

Maybe by the time I leave Cornell I will have more of a handle on it... or maybe this will be a perpetually incomplete ‘work in progress’ that stays with me far beyond this place. For me, though, what is important is that the voices of my communities are heard, and that we have the opportunity to access the resources we may need that are held within Western institutions and systems of knowledge. As I have tried to point out, the addition of our unique perspective can only be a good thing, both for us and for the academy. After all, as we know, there is more than one side to every story.

Every one of these postcolonial projects - refusing to talk about us, concentrating on the settler populations on our land, denying us the possibility of (prescribed) decolonisation, focussing on continents rather than an ocean-inclusive globe – marginalises Maori, and anything which results in invisibilisation ultimately perpetuates the colonial project. Whether it is an English missionary, a British queen (and her entourage of governments, laws and storytellers), an American multinational, or a concept debated in a white university is neither here nor there to those of us who are colonised, excluded and disempowered. The practice of writing out and/ or ignoring the experience of Indigenous and Pacific communities has the *effect* of being yet another colonial invention, whatever

the intentions or motivations of the individuals involved in the field. Maori literary studies will either have to argue very hard for a (safe) space in a relatively powerful field (let us remember than there are more Postcolonial Literature courses than Indigenous Literature courses at the university level), or else face uncertain implications if the current popular line of rejecting that field is continued. If we choose to resist the postcolonial paradigm, that is up to us, but we need to be clear about what it is we're rejecting.

Let me be blunt: this chapter has not been an account – exhaustive or otherwise – of the field of Postcolonial Studies. Instead, I have merely suggested some specific dimensions of Maori writing (and Other kinds of texts) in English⁷⁴⁷ that resonate at least with the anticolonial dimension of Postcolonial Studies. My claims, and much more importantly the claims of Maori writers, inherently resist the specific limitations of Postcolonial work I have described, and yet it is my hope that some of this work of addressing these issues will be taken on by interested Postcolonial scholars (both within and outside of Indigenous and Pacific Studies), and will provide room for serious introspection on their part. I am excited by the possibilities of these interactions, and I am genuinely committed to making the best possible use of the rich discourses offered within this comparative frame. However, while these potentials are multiple and exciting, I insist that Maori literary Studies is not *yet* institutionally strong enough to volunteer to be the poultice for the internalised colonialisms of Postcolonial Studies.

postcolonial conclusions II

The 'Postcolonial' is an area of study, and a state of being, which has been birthed by labour pains felt by the non-Western worlds, and at times aided by 'native' delivery staff, but the hospital and suite in which the process has taken place is a colonial one. The

⁷⁴⁷ Attempting to delineate the construction of the entire field would, additionally, reproduce/ replicate the large number of texts that already account in some detail for the development of Postcolonial Studies.

legendary Polynesian figure of Maui was destined to overcome the mortality of humankind, but his father made a mistake in his tohi rite (a naming ceremony), at which point his mother knew that even though he would do great things, he would fail at the great emancipatory act he was destined for. Whatever postcolonialism's appointed task(s) may have appeared to have been (decolonisation?) during its gestation, then, this fact of its birth in a Western system surely throws its destiny into disrepute. Once the giant machine of Postcolonial Studies has chomped us up and spit us out, where are we? Further, if it does not even bother to eat us, if it does not recognise that we are here, do we still exist? Who sits and operates the machine? Will we have access to that control panel, or is it a waste of energy to even bother trying? Is meddling with this machine tantamount to voluntarily undergoing academic colonisation?

As a potiki, though, I can still make my claim to be the cheeky one, to push for more... I would like to imagine that it is (at least theoretically) possible for Postcolonial discourse to be useful to Maori, and further that we can use it to better aid our complex and many relationships with aspects of the 'wider' 'global' (post)colonial world. I look forward to the day when the power differentials between such fields are realigned to the extent that we can once again say:

Waiho marire ki a mahi nga runanga, taihoa pea ka rite te Rangatiratanga o te motu nei ki to Haiti, whai taonga, whai mana, whai ture, tatemea e tohe ana matou ki te taha tika, tera pea te Atua e tiaki i ona tamariki kiri mangu, e noho ana ki Aotearoa.

A society can be said to have come of age when it begins to live
by the light of an imaginative order of its own.

Charles Brash

Whatever is true vision belongs, here, uniquely to the islands of New Zealand.
The best of our verse is marked or moulded everywhere by peculiar pressures – pressures
arising from the isolation of the country, its physical character, and its history.

Alan Curnow

‘But won’t they imitate Shelley and Tennyson, and Mrs Browning?’
‘At first, naturally. When they belong to their own country you will hear what you will
hear.’

Rudyard Kipling

Pakeha you
Milton directing your head
Donne pumping your heart
You singing
Some old English folksong

JC Sturm

Much of the story of New Zealand is a Commonwealth story,
but we’ve never entirely been a British model.

Steve Braunius

New Zealand life will be greatly enriched when we can learn to see ourselves and the
country through the eyes of a number of Maori writers and it may well be that Maoris can
help us find ways we wouldn’t have found for ourselves.

Bill Pearson 196??

Maori writing is the poutokomanawa of contemporary New Zealand literature.

Witi Ihimaera

Jet flight, crossing the line, skyscrapers, the land of Hollywood and westerns and
the songs with the names, names, names with which Palmerston North, Marton, Foxton
couldn’t hope to compete unless a spark of imagination, kindled somewhere...

set the place alight like a bushfire.

The Maori names – Wanganui, Waikato, Tuatapere, Taranaki – were more
powerful because they were welded to the place by the first unifying act of poetry and not
stuck on like a grocery label...

Janet Frame

And the question I ask myself is, does a resonance remain?
Is soil forever stained by blood?

Sam Neill

CHAPTER SIX:
MAORI AS NEW ZEALAND

In New Zealand, Maori writing is most often found alongside Other writing from ‘New Zealand’, especially in anthologies, writers festivals, school curricula and university syllabi. Therefore, if this project is to examine the major comparative contexts of Maori writing in English, I need to consider the relationship between Maori (writing) and New Zealand (writing). ‘Maori literature’ and ‘New Zealand literature’ shares less in a temporal or historical sense, like the other frameworks treated in this dissertation, than in a geographic/ spatial/ ‘national’ sense. Despite the failed prophecy “he iwi kotahi tatou” issued at Waitangi in 1840, and echoed in the popular refrain ‘we are all New Zealanders,’ Ansley points out that

we are all New Zealanders only because we share the same territorial limits.⁷⁴⁸

Because of the critical investment in a New Zealand ‘national literature’, the present chapter is the one that fits the least well within this comparative project,⁷⁴⁹ and yet I

⁷⁴⁸ Bruce Ansley, "Who Are You?," *The New Zealand Listener* Sept 13-19 2003..

⁷⁴⁹ New Zealand Literature has been imagined as a ‘national’ literature, because, as Elleray notes: “studies of early Australian and New Zealand literature have historically sought to define the ways in which the national canon distinguishes itself from British literature and thereby authenticates itself as local.” Critical investment in this distinction have often relied on an assumption that the writers and literatures, like their linguistic medium are, ultimately, British, and in New Zealand letters this is clearly not so.

believe that a new way of reading is provocatively suggested despite, or perhaps because of, this misfittedness.

Can one argue, for the sake of including the present chapter within this dissertation, that New Zealand literature is in fact ‘comparative;’ that ‘New Zealand’ is a comparative frame? The frames treated in the previous three chapters inherently assume difference between their constituents: no-one would claim that the Oceanic, Indigenous or Postcolonial categories are monolithic or that they are made up of ‘same’ parts; they don’t get figured as things other than umbrellas or categories. However, ‘New Zealand’ is founded on a (white-majority English-colonised settler nation-state Anglophone) model of nationhood that assumes and privileges a discourse of reducibility to sameness. As the Treaty was signed at Waitangi, after all, Governor Hobson repeated to each signatory the words that would become New Zealand’s national mantra: *he iwi kotahi tatou*.⁷⁵⁰ How, then, can I argue that New Zealand is comparative?

In this chapter I contend that because of the Treaty of Waitangi⁷⁵¹ the document that ‘birthed’ the nation and established⁷⁵² a foundational national structure that is

⁷⁵⁰ ‘We are one people.’ The problems with this statement are well rehearsed.

⁷⁵¹ Problematically, I have used the definite article “the.” The two versions of the Treaty/ Tiriti (one in English and one in te reo Maori) bear little meaningful resemblance to one another, to the extent (unsurprisingly) that what English-speakers thought they were getting/ giving, and what Maori-speakers thought they were getting/ giving, are two very very different things. As well as this, many iwi did not sign the Treaty/ Tiriti (some, such as my iwi, had already negotiated with the New Zealand Company, the privately operated brainchild of the renegade Wakefield brothers, and others simply refused to sign), but despite this the British Crown declared in 1840 that it was the basis of lawful ‘peaceful cession’, and thus New Zealand was born. Because the English responsible for taking the Treaty/ Tiriti to iwi residing in the South Island of New Zealand did not get back to the north in time to make the boat that headed back to England, in order for the British Parliament to make the necessary declarations and statutes, that island was claimed according to terra nullius (the International Law doctrine of ‘first in first served’; this was the basis of English involvement in Australia in 1788, to the surprise of the indigenous people there). Despite this, the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, and its Amendment in 1984, has been an important basis on which Maori have been able to negotiate a relationship with the Crown. Although in the 70s the catchcry from some Maori was ‘the Treaty is a Fraud’, by the later 1980s it was ‘Honour the Treaty’. Now the Treaty (or, super-problematically, its ‘principles’, which were defined by an all-white group of judges in the Court of Appeal for the purpose of interpreting a statute which referred to such ‘principles’ without determining what these might be, or how they might be determined; the NZ government is in a constitutional bind in that if it claimed to follow the ‘actual words’ of the Maori version of the Treaty, it would, in that moment, be legally nullified) is a key feature of Aotearoa-New Zealand society. Rather than referring to the document by the shorthand Tiriti / Treaty, which would recognise the ‘firstness’ of Maori, I use the phrase the other way around, as a way of signalling the historical hegemony of the Treaty community.

⁷⁵² At least in the eyes of the Crown.

predicated on, and endlessly references, the relationship between Maori and non-Maori, any ‘New Zealand lit crit’ is necessarily/ inherently/ always-already comparative. Importantly for me, this line of argument presents an opportunity to develop a way in which the methodological uses of the Treaty in the social sciences, education and policy might be expanded and challenged in order to find its place in the humanities. It is my firm belief that the Treaty framework is pertinent to academic work beyond the literal ordering and disciplining of researchers’ bodies and methodologies, and in this chapter I will suggest how a Treaty-infused/ Treaty-organised/ Treaty-structured literary studies might look.⁷⁵³ Indeed, it seems there are significant implications for the conception of New Zealand, as well as New Zealand literary studies, if New Zealand literature - and its inclusions/ dismissals of Maori literatures (both in English and Maori) – is reframed according to a Treaty paradigm as ‘comparative’. Nationhood and national identity have already been complicated and challenged in several areas of NZ literary studies, and New Zealand literary critic Terry Sturm notes that:

new kinds of cross-cultural, cross-disciplinary, and comparative analytical studies are emerging, positioned outside earlier nationalist and later post-colonial models, exploring the relationships (and differences) amongst literatures founded on settlement: in Australia, Canada, the United States and elsewhere.⁷⁵⁴

Indeed, this chapter is intended to support and further extend those complications of the ‘nation’ already underway.

Although this chapter is concerned with arguing for the comparativeness of a frame rather than evaluating an already comparative one, it is structured like the others. The first section briefly sketches the cartographies, anthologies and methodologies of ‘New Zealand’ literary studies; the second considers possibilities of how the Treaty can be mobilised as a metaphorical structuring device for New Zealand national

⁷⁵³ In the present climate, furthermore, it seems counterintuitive, indeed inappropriate, to conduct a discussion of a Maori topic without recourse to the Treaty.

⁷⁵⁴ Terry Sturm, *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, 2nd ed. (Auckland ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998): xvi.

consciousness/ literary studies; and finally I suggest ways in which a Treaty-based/ Treaty-infused New Zealand literary criticism might be at once a weapon and a tool in the critical treatment of both Maori and non-Maori texts.

the new zealand frame: cartographies, anthologies, methodologies

cartographies

What, or where, or who, is the ‘New Zealand’ in ‘New Zealand Literature’? As a ‘national’ literature according to the conventions of a nation-state, ‘NZ Lit’ is made up simply of texts from within clear political (and, given the island-ness of NZ, geographic) boundaries. This mapping, however, is not as simple as it sounds, because ‘New Zealandness’ is not, after all, a natural category but is instead dependent on a whole set of acknowledged and suppressed histories: drawn, undrawn, hidden and incinerated maps.⁷⁵⁵ This means that at the same time as a cartographic representation of NZ seems straightforward, this belies – and is ultimately foreclosed by – the ‘not-nation-ness’ that characterises any postcolonial nation. Often, Maori literature is treated as an optional add-on - a branch, wing, arm or department of a wider ‘New Zealand Literature’ – and this sense of a singular cartographic vision has been exacerbated by the prominence and preoccupation of non-Maori NZ literary scholars for several generations. In an essay that Witi Ihimaera cites as a motivation behind his writing career, Pakeha NZ literary critic Bill Pearson writes:

New Zealand life will be greatly enriched when we can learn to see ourselves and the country through the eyes of a number of Maori writers and it may well be that Maoris can help us find ways we wouldn’t have found for ourselves.⁷⁵⁶

⁷⁵⁵ Indeed, the varying treatment of the material texts of the Treaty provides a compelling and rich metaphor for the ways in which the nation has regarded the Treaty to be a kind of map.

⁷⁵⁶ Bill Pearson, "The Maori and Literature 1938-65," *Essays on New Zealand Literature* ed. Wystan Curnow (Auckland: Heinemann, 1973): 137-8.

An important function - and indeed, arguably an expected by-product - of the increase in Maori scholars and writers within the field of New Zealand Literary Studies will be to interrupt this monocultural style of mapping with the articulation of a Maori ‘map.’

Much discussion by Maori⁷⁵⁷ about ‘New Zealand’ explicitly mobilises the metaphor of mapping. The two-dimensional material object of a printed map is compellingly ‘overlay-able’ by Other maps a way that suggests the relationship between Maori and non-Maori maps of the place. Ihimaera’s 1978 essay contribution to Michael King’s *Te Ao Hurihuri*⁷⁵⁸ starts by posing the existence of two maps within the physical boundaries of the present NZ nation-state:

There are two cultural maps of our country, the Maori and the Pakeha.
The Pakeha map is dominant...⁷⁵⁹

This draws on a long tradition of imagining two parallel and separate maps – Maori and non-Maori⁷⁶⁰ – which in turn relies on the articulation of not one but two distinct ‘national’ communities occupying the same landscape.⁷⁶¹ As I have already introduced in Chapter Three: Maori as Indigenous, the more salient site of pre-contact identity was a

⁷⁵⁷ Well, not only Maori. Bill Mansfield writes that “the Crown/ Maori relationship is more akin to the relationship between neighbouring countries. The relationship between countries which share boundaries or are in close proximity to each other is enduring for the foreseeable future. It can be close or distant, warm or cool, friendly or unfriendly, cooperative or difficult, intense or limited, and so on – but it cannot be escaped. This analogy with neighbouring countries has its limitations in that it focuses on the interactions of people and their governing bodies occupying separate and defined geographical or territorial spaces, whereas the relationship between the Crown and Maori and between Maori and other New Zealanders is about the interactions of people occupying the same geographical space or territory.” Bill Mansfield, “Focusing on the Future,” *Living Relationships = Kōkiri Ngātahi: The Treaty of Waitangi in the New Millennium*, eds. Kenneth Coates and Paul McHugh (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1998): 208.

⁷⁵⁸ The placement of this essay is significant; it’s not within a ‘literary’ collection but a ‘Maori’ collection. Perhaps this is what enables Ihimaera to theorise in this way, instead of ‘talking back to’ non-Maori New Zealand (for example) texts and critics?

⁷⁵⁹ Indeed, Sigrid Markmann was apparently so impressed with it that she borrowed sections of the essay for unsignalled inclusion in her own essay, “On Women’s Writing in Aotearoa/ New Zealand.” A less generous reading of the striking resemblances between this essay and Ihimaera’s would perhaps consider it a case of plagiarism. Markmann starts her essay: “There are two cultural maps in New Zealand: Maori and Pakeha. The dominant one is drawn by the Pakeha...” Sigrid Markmann, “On Women’s Writing in Aotearoa/ New Zealand,” *English Postcoloniality: Literatures from around the World*, eds. Radhika Mohanram and Gita Rajana (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996): 165.

⁷⁶⁰ Throughout this chapter I am arguing that the style of biculturalism in which I am interested (and, perhaps, invested) is predicated on the relationship of two entities, Maori and non-Maori, which I believe to be the core relationship that is at stake in terms of the Treaty.

⁷⁶¹ Of course, a significant consequence of such ‘geographical doublethinking’ is that it allows time to be configured without needing to organise around the chronological events of colonisation (precolonial, colonial, post/ neocolonial), which problematically centres the experience of colonisation.

localised tribal/ subtribal area, the traditional concept of ‘Aotearoa’⁷⁶² is mobilised (and has been since contact) as a way of imagining – asserting - this “Maori nation” which coexists with/ alongside the non-Maori world.⁷⁶³ Hirini Moko Mead, writes, for example:

I am... committed to my country, to the land we call Aotearoa⁷⁶⁴

A clear statement about the rhetorical power of the name ‘Aotearoa’ in the contemporary decolonising project is found in Ihimaera’s introduction to the second volume of the *Te Ao Marama* series:

In no other period in Maori history have our people moved so far and so fast. The signs are everywhere – and we are still moving. We are regaining Aotearoa.⁷⁶⁵

According to this configuration, Aotearoa is something that has always existed and has been obscured or removed somehow; the anti-colonial/ decolonising process thus mobilises the language of “move[ment]” and “regaining.” For further exploration of this point, consider the section on ‘geographical doublethinking’ in Chapter Four: Maori as Indigenous.

The continued existence of Aotearoa enables the Maori articulation of a history of survival and centrality that is impossible when ‘Maori’ is a mere subset of ‘New Zealand’.⁷⁶⁶ In the B-side to the widely played single, ‘Whakakotahi’, the hiphop group

Upper Hutt Posse explicitly links the discourse of mapping to national configurations:

Fuck New Zealand - don’t call me a Kiwi
Aotearoa is the name of the country
Maori are we, tangata whenua

⁷⁶² Aotearoa, literally, ‘the land of the long white cloud’, was so named by the explorer Kupe’s wife, upon seeing the cloud formations over the much bigger land mass than the islands they had come from.

⁷⁶³ The name of the land occupied by this parallel is Aotearoa, which has led to the – somewhat awkward – designation ‘Aotearoa New Zealand’ in order to linguistically suggest the same relation. Also used as Aotearoa-New Zealand, Aotearoa/ New Zealand and New Zealand Aotearoa. The politics of dashes, slashes, and ordering is reminiscent perhaps of the conundrum of the postcolonial post-colonial post/colonial (post)colonial that I considered in the previous chapter.

⁷⁶⁴ Menzies, Sturm, Hulme and Mead, "Four Responses to *the Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse*." : 332.

⁷⁶⁵ Ihimaera, "Kaupapa."(1993): 8; kokiri = to move in the same direction.

⁷⁶⁶ This is not an ‘imaginary homeland’ configuration akin to the Aztlan of Chicana/o communities or Kahikinui for Hawaii; Aotearoa is not displaced by time or space from the present everyday ‘New Zealand’. (Maori have Hawaikinui and Rangiatea as our ancestral and spiritual homeland, after all.)

People of the land, keepers of the fire – te ahi kaa!⁷⁶⁷

An explicit insistence upon the discursive differentiation between ‘New Zealand’ and ‘Aotearoa’ is thus paralleled by simultaneous resistance to the assimilationist ‘Kiwi’ of New Zealand-ness, and assertion of the specific indigenous (“tangata whenua”/ “te ahi kaa” of Aotearoa-ness. The idea of a Maori ‘nation’ is explored and advanced in hip hop duo Dam Native’s “Behold My Kool Style,” Teremoana Rapley supports the lyrical content with a sung chorus that mobilises the language of nationhood:

We’ve come along way from the days when everyone wants to be down with that Dam Native. Horified one with the will... to uplift our Maori nation.⁷⁶⁸

The colonial history that resulted in the coexistence of two maps also resulted in – and maintains – differential power to enforce or observe the boundaries and/ or contours of each map. In contrast to Kahukiwa’s painting that depicts the two maps as the same size, then, in his essay Ihimaera names the Maori map first but plainly states that, while both maps ‘exist’, one map is more “prominent” than the Other. In her short story “A Way of Talking,” Patricia Grace describes the existence of parallel maps but similarly places them within a context of the power relations inherent to the Pakeha-dominated country. As two sisters travel to visit the home of a Pakeha neighbour the older, more worldly and urban dwelling sister tells the younger to listen for their neighbour’s particular ‘way of talking’ to (and presumably about) them.⁷⁶⁹ For the first time, the younger sister realises that the differential ‘way of talking’ in fact encodes and marks a distinct ‘way of seeing.’

Mapping ‘New Zealand’ is a complex issue in this context of multiple maps, because the usual models for nationhood demand the mutual exclusivity and recognisability (let alone recognition) of ‘national’ borders. For the European-derived

⁷⁶⁷ Upper Hutt Posse, *Whakakotahi/ E Tu*, Kia kaha productions, 1993..

⁷⁶⁸ Dam Native, *Behold My Kool Style*, Tangata Records, Auckland, 1997..

⁷⁶⁹ It is worth noting that in the relationship between two sisters (or two brothers), the elder is the tuakana and the younger is the teina. The tuakana/ teina relationship is widely acknowledged as a feature – both as an instance/ site, and a metaphor – for knowledge acquisition in a Maori context. (Much Maori pedagogy work emphasises this relationship.)

settlers in a colonial nation, relationship with the landscape is based on possession rather than familiarity (and here I refer to both familiar-ness and familial-ness).⁷⁷⁰ This means that settler relationship with landscape does not rely on spatial proximity in terms of physical distance, and hinges instead on conceptual/ ideological proximity. The imagined path between the colonies and the metropole (Britain and often, specifically, London) is more concretely and accessibly devised than the journey between New Zealand and places much closer in a strictly geographic sense:⁷⁷¹ settlers in New Zealand wrote about London as if it were just beyond the horizon, as opposed to more culturally and – colonially - distant places such as the Pacific Islands, the United States, Canada, Central/ Latin America, Asia or Africa.⁷⁷² For many non-Maori New Zealand writers and critics,

⁷⁷⁰ Robert Hay's "A rooted sense of place in cross-cultural perspective" offers a fascinating account of the ways in which a very specific group of non-Maori South Island farmers on Banks Peninsula articulate their relationship to the land. Hay explores this group through the 'sense of place' research undertaken by some geographers, and ultimately suggests that *this* example of Pakeha relationship with land is, while substantively different because of the added cosmological connection Maori describe, akin to 'indigenous' articulations of the same. Robert Hay, "A Rooted Sense of Place in Cross-Cultural Perspective," Canadian Geographer 43.2 (1998).

⁷⁷¹ This is reinforced by the politics of citizenship/ visas and airline travel: it is not much more expensive to travel to London from Auckland than it is to travel to Los Angeles, Singapore or many of the islands in the Pacific.

⁷⁷² This continues today, where many (particularly, but not only, white) New Zealanders travel to Europe and reside in London and are familiar with that landscape and culture much more than, for example, the landscapes and cultures of Central Australia, the Cook Islands, Tokelau or Indonesia. New Zealand passport carriers have access to two year working visas for the UK. Only recently were NZers able to work in their own professions, however (except for nurses and teachers, because the UK had shortages of these and the NZ system of training is considered to be very good). This meant the 'colonials' who came from New Zealand continue to provide cheap labour for manual jobs, something many young NZers are happy to do for the privilege of being close to 'real' history and 'real' architecture and so on; all that the metropole represents. Complicating this, there is a 'grandfather clause' whereby having a UK-born parent or *grandfather* earns eligibility for the 'right to abode', which upgrades the NZer from a 2-year to a 4-year visa, and can then be used to apply for citizenship, and also has always allowed the visa-holder to practice in their own occupation. This actually sets up another kind of 'proximity' to the 'homeland' of the UK. Because, although there has been a steady trickle of UK immigrants to NZ since 1814, the most recent 'boom' since WWII means that many 'Kiwi kids' have access to (or already hold) UK passports or rights of abode, a hierarchy of Commonwealth-ness becomes apparent when groups of friends – who up until then have all just been 'New Zealanders' - move over to do their 'OE' (Overseas Experience) and while some can earn decent money and stay for longer, some clearly cannot. The ability to conduct an alchemy of genealogy and produce an English grandparent becomes, then, a veritable skill in NZ; often people will joke about the enhanced 'marriageability' of those with access to a UK (and thus EU) passport. It is perhaps notable, too, that this ascent to 'insideness' in the metropole *by descent* is a very different construction of Englishness than, for example, is the construction of Americanness, in which case nationality depends on birthplace. (I am not eligible in the US, for example, for any kind of consideration other than 'New Zealander' despite having an American great-grandparent.) A very practical (and yet also, of course, ideological) origin of this form of nationality by descent is discussed by Elleray, who quotes an account, related to Amasa Delano by Folger and reported in *A Narrative of Voyages and Travels, in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres* (Boston: E G Howe, 1817): "'Who are you?' asked Folger. 'We are Englishmen.' – 'Where were you born?' – 'On that island which you see.' 'How then are you Englishmen, if you were born on that island, which the English do

the price of this commitment to a European (or specifically British/ English, or broader European-and-American) intellectual and cultural (including literary) context is paid by their inability (or perhaps refusal) to recognise New Zealand's regional context.

This dogged insistence on a particular kind of map in which the pink bits of the world, circa 1925, are all that matters seems irreconcilable with another kind of map, in which the islands in question are clearly located in the Pacific. Mark Williams attempts to account for this tension in his *Leaving the Highway; Six Contemporary New Zealand Novelists*:

Much of the argument about cultural identity in this country rests on a conflict between a sense of tradition which would preserve the *essential links of white culture to its European past* and an opposing 'post colonial' sense which would purge local writing habits of Eurocentrism and privilege the indigenous tradition that is considered more appropriate to a *Pacific country*.⁷⁷³

Over time, the "Pacific" geographic location has become a more and more insistent dimension of national identity. 'Logical' proximities of distance that make New Zealand "a Pacific country" have been underscored by political and ideological proximities as well. In part, this could be due to the increasing proportion of the community that affiliates to the Pacific region by blood, but on a wider scale 'New Zealand' (and here the majority by far is Pakeha New Zealanders) has chosen, in a number of crucial instances, to shape its foreign policy according to principles held by the 'region' rather than by its usual political (read: white, englishspeaking) 'allies'. The most salient example of this is

not own, and never possessed?" – 'We are Englishmen because our father was an Englishman.'" (quoted in Elleray, "Unsettled Subject : The South Pacific and the Settler.": 109.) This is not to say the incorporation of those with English descent into Englishness is unproblematic (and of course I am not even dealing here with the possibilities of descent also from nonwhite communities), and Elleray's dissertation explores this tension. It is also worth pointing out that, although these contemporary visa regulations are ostensibly on the basis of Commonwealth-ness, this applies to New Zealand because of its position as a *white* member of the Commonwealth; the regulations are constructed so the 'descendents' of Great Britain will enjoy easy passage to the metropole. I owe this insight to Pius Adesanmi. It also seems pertinent to observe that even the fact of my own familiarity with all of these UK regulations, and their various changes and amendments over time, and the *stakes* of these regulations, is testimony to the prominence of this issue in NZ.

⁷⁷³ Mark Williams, *Leaving the Highway; Six Contemporary New Zealand Novelists* (Auckland: AUP, 1990): 12; emphasis added.

the nuclear free policy that eventually ruptured the ANZUS defence alliance and the decision to not support the recent US invasion and occupation of Iraq.⁷⁷⁴

Sam Neill speaks about this shift in national identity in his documentary of New Zealand film, *Cinema of Unease*:

We now have a more independent foreign policy, including a nuclear-free policy. There's a Maori renaissance. And we have, I think, a developing sense of where we are and who we are. We live in Polynesia.⁷⁷⁵

Significantly, Neill's survey of the intellectual, political and cultural terrain foregrounds the role of political stances in the negotiation of national identity ("a more independent foreign policy", "a nuclear free policy"), and yet this does not single-handedly make New Zealand a Pacific nation.⁷⁷⁶ He must first turn to another shaping factor in New Zealand's national character – the relationship between Maori and non-Maori, about which I will talk much more in this chapter – by acknowledging the influence of the "Maori renaissance." This "renaissance" (in the 1970s and 1980s) not only insisted on an attention to the local in a way that diverted attention from Britain and from a mythology of magnanimous monoculturalism, but also – on the basis of the claims I have made about Maori and Oceania in Chapter Two – culturally recontextualised the islands of New Zealand as part of the Pacific region.⁷⁷⁷ Unfortunately, Neill asserts a change in national identity in which "*who* we are" - it is difficult to include the "Maori" of the "renaissance" in this "we", because the "renaissance" is described as an external kind of pressure - is

⁷⁷⁴ This stuff gets murky; although NZ does not, and did not, support the attacks on Iraq, NZ peacekeepers and some military are in the Middle East for the purposes of supporting the 'war on terror' as a result of the trade towers/ Afghanistan freak out. This means that while NZ is able to pat itself on the moral back for its own independent decision making with regard to Iraq, there are New Zealand bodies and floating things (mm – battleships? frigates? dinghies?) in the gulf.

⁷⁷⁵ Sam Neill and Judy Rymes, "Cinema of Unease," ed. Sam Neill (Wellington: New Zealand Film Commission, 1997), vol., eds. Paula Jalfon and Grant Campbell.

⁷⁷⁶ After all, New Zealand did not become a part of France or Canada because, like them, it didn't support the US attack of Iraq.

⁷⁷⁷ When and how the islands of New Zealand stopped being framed as the South Pacific is unclear, although one wonders if it was quite early. (Of course, non-NZers have often assumed these islands are a part of the region in stereotyped climactic ways: I bought a polar fleece at the Gap in New York City when I came as a prospective student in March 2000 and the sales assistant was very concerned that I might not have anywhere to store it while I went home to 'the tropics' before returning to NY in the Fall.)

preceded by “*where* we are.” It is only after bringing together these aspects that he can pronounce his acknowledgement, as a settler, of a differently-focussed map: “We live in Polynesia.”

In the same way that Ihimaera writes “we are still moving,” Neill’s redrawn map does not reflect a shift in land or sea, but a shift in vision, and this relies on a tie between the spatial map (“we live in Polynesia”) with a temporal one: “We *now* have... And we have, I think, a *developing* sense of...” Geographic boundaries become national at a particular moment (or series of moments) that require narration as a starting point. When mapping Western style nation-states their boundaries may need spatiality, but their ‘births’ require temporality. Nations need maps, then, but they also need timelines. Starting/ Birthing/ Originary moments of nationhood are multiple and spread over a long period of time. Writing his ‘Lady at Wairakei’ in 1892, Rudyard Kipling noted that after over half a century of sustained – and in some regions significant – Pakeha presence, the Europeans still didn’t have a connection to the land in such a way as to make their voices a distinct voice:

It is no easy work to weave the souls of men into their surroundings. So far they [the Fates] have done little. The men don’t belong to the mountains and the plains and the swamps and the snow passes and the fiords and the thick fat grazing land...⁷⁷⁸

At the same time, he predicted that the Europeans would eventually find the time not just to write, but to write from a connection with the NZ landscape:

‘Won’t that be a rather old story?’ I demanded.
‘Of course it will (Eve loved Adam very much, I remember), but you forget what the hills and the clouds and the winds and the rain and the sun can do. Remember how nearly some parts of this land run into the tropics, and wait till you hear them sing.’ (24)

‘But won’t they imitate Shelley and Tennyson, and Mrs Browning?’
‘At first, naturally. When they belong to their own country you will hear what you will hear.’ (25)

⁷⁷⁸ Rudyard Kipling, “One Lady at Wairakei,” *Oxford Book of New Zealand Short Stories*, ed. Vincent O’Sullivan (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992): 24. Further references embedded in text.

They were old tales, but upon each lay the stamp, inimitable and indescribable, of a new land and of fresh minds turning the thought, old as Adam, to lights as new as the latest road across the mountains. (26)

In his famous poem “The Skeleton of the Great Moa in the Canterbury Museum, Christchurch,” Allen Curnow echoes this prediction of an imminent connection with the place:

Not I, some child, born in a marvellous year,
Will learn the trick of standing upright here.⁷⁷⁹

Most often, being a good settler nation, a form of violence is declared to be the primary marker of the temporal birth of ‘New Zealand-ness.’⁷⁸⁰ For some, this violence is the Boer War, for others it was WWI or WWII.⁷⁸¹ For some, it is internal violence, such as the New Zealand/ Land/ Maori Wars of the 1860s,⁷⁸² or major points of government suppression, such as the storming and ransacking of Taranaki in the 1860s which led eventually to the storming and ransacking of the ‘King Country’ and Bay of Plenty, the 1881 storming and ransacking of Te Whiti and Tohu’s settlement at Parihaka, or perhaps the 1916 storming and ransacking of Rua Kenana’s settlement at Maungapohatu.⁷⁸³ This

⁷⁷⁹ Allen Curnow, “The Skeleton of the Great Moa in the Canterbury Museum, Christchurch,” *An Anthology of New Zealand Poetry in English*, eds. Jenny Bornholdt, Gregory O’Brien and Mark Williams (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1997): 400.

⁷⁸⁰ This despite the several ‘peaceful’ moments that could be marked: no Statutory holidays celebrate, and few history books remember 1852, when NZ got its own parliament, or 1901, when New Zealanders voted to not become a state of the fledgling federation of Australia, or 26 September 1907 the day NZ became a Dominion, or 1931, when NZ was granted full independence or even 1947 when it was adopted by the NZ parliament, or the NZ Constitution Act 1986, or even 2004 when the right to appeal to the Privy Council was rerouted to a Supreme Court of our very own.

⁷⁸¹ There has recently been (to coin a perhaps inappropriate metaphor) an explosion of Maori texts that treat WWII: for example, Patricia Grace’s forthcoming *Tu*, James George’s *Hummingbird*, Taika Waititi’s film *Tama Tu* and so on.

⁷⁸² The nomenclature of the wars of resistance has changed from Maori Wars to Land Wars to New Zealand Wars. The ‘Maori’ Wars was a limited designation because it was not, in fact, only Maori who were fighting. The ‘Land’ Wars attempted to acknowledge sense of the stakes of the Wars, although they weren’t ‘only’ about land; although land was central to the equation (both in terms of what was being defended and what was taken as ‘retribution’ for its defence) the struggle was about sovereignty, governance, law and so on. Finally, the ‘New Zealand’ wars attempts to locate the wars within the discourse of nation, and to highlight the participation of all ‘New Zealanders’ in the Wars (even if a little anachronistically; the only people referred to as ‘New Zealanders’ at the time of the wars were Maori). Now acknowledged to be better dated as 1840s – 1880s.

⁷⁸³ The role of Parihaka in NZ’s national consciousness has been extremely fraught. In Aotearoa, of course, Parihaka has been remembered. However, Parihaka has been a suppressed history in New Zealand: although some commemorated the events in writing at the time (such as Jessie Mackay’s parodic poem “The Charge of Parihaka”), it was then left out of the histories taught at schools and universities, popular histories and so on. The suppression of this history is treated by a number of contemporary Maori writers. In her “He Waiata tenei mo Parihaka,” JC Sturm writes:

Have you heard of Parihaka?...

history of internal violence is gaining increasing acknowledgement, especially as frustrated non-Maori scratch their heads and wonder aloud about how come Maori have gotten all grumpy, when for so long there was apparent ‘racial harmony’ such that New Zealand was the envy of the British Empire in this regard.⁷⁸⁴

If you haven't heard of Parihaka,
 Be sure
 Your grandchildren will
 And their children after them./
 History will see to that.

(Sturm, *Postscripts.*: 58)

Apirana Taylor writes about the specific role of schooling in this suppression, and the stakes and parameters of its telling in his poem “Parihaka:”

We never knew about Parihaka
 It was never taught anywhere
 Except, maybe, around the fires
 of Parihaka itself at night.
 When stories are told
 of the soldiers who came with guns
 To haul us up by the roots, like trees,
 From our land,
 Though the prophets called ‘Peace Peace’
 It was never taught at school
 It was all hushed up
 How we listened to the prophets
 Tohu, Te Whiti
 Who called ‘Peace!’
 Rire, rire, pai marire
 But the only peace the soldiers knew
 Spoke thru the barrels of the guns
 Threatening our women, children.
 It was never taught or spoken
 How we were shackled,
 Led away to the caves, and imprisoned
 For ploughing our land.

(Taylor, from the CD *Parihaka*; because I do not have a copy of the written poem, I have transcribed it from the CD, and so the formal layout of the poem may be different than noted here. Apirana Taylor, *Parihaka*, HRL Morrison Music Trust, 2000.)

The first English language play by a Maori playwright, Harry Dansey’s 1972 *Te Raukura*, deals specifically with the storming of Parihaka, and Dick Scott’s 1975 popular history *Ask that Mountain*, and for many non-Maori – and, importantly, for many Maori – this text was their first introduction to the events there. Dick Scott, *Ask That Mountain : The Story of Parihaka* (Auckland: Heinemann, 1975).. Tim Finn and Herbs collaborated on a song entitled “Parihaka” which was released in 1989. An exhibition entitled *Parihaka – the Art of Passive Resistance* was held at the City Gallery in Wellington from August 2000 until January 2001, and is now on display at Puke Ariki, the Museum in New Plymouth, Taranaki. A book and CD were produced in relation to this exhibition, and the CD collects a number of compositions pertaining to Parihaka (including the Herbs and Tim Finn song), along with a number of poems and stories by Maori and non-Maori writers.

⁷⁸⁴ The ‘naturalness’ of a map of New Zealand – not that its nationhood is somehow ‘natural’, but that its mapping is a clear procedure because of its island-ness – means that interrogating of the cartography of New Zealand is fruitfully explored not only by considering its imagination in the framing of critics, writers and commentators, but also by an awareness of key symbols and tropes of nationhood.

anthologies

Anthologies of New Zealand writing have been absolutely instrumental in shaping the literature of the country.⁷⁸⁵ An active history of anthologising – poetry collections and short story collections,⁷⁸⁶ as well as some cross-genre and drama collections – has not only collected and distributed certain texts within the brand ‘New Zealand’, but has also called for a large number of introductory essays, each of which grapples with, and advocates, a certain construction of ‘New Zealand.’ Mark Williams attributes the foundations of criticism in New Zealand to these essays:

Colonial professors had established no critical culture that might have usefully contributed to the reception and evaluation of a New Zealand literature. Criticism in this sense began with reviews in *The Triad* and the *Bulletin* and with the anthology introductions that, because of the long-standing absence of a professional critical scene directed at local works in the universities, have been so important in shaping New Zealand literary and critical consciousness.⁷⁸⁷

The inclusion of Maori writing (in either language) in the/ a New Zealand literature framework,⁷⁸⁸ evidenced most famously in the groundbreaking *Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse*,⁷⁸⁹ is perhaps attributable to a vague obligation to ‘include’ Maori,⁷⁹⁰ but the inclusion and critical consideration of Maori writing in ‘NZ’ anthologies and

⁷⁸⁵ A very good record of NZ lit anthologies may be found in John Thompson’s “Bibliography” included in Sturm’s *Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*. Thomson organises a section on anthologies into ‘The pre-1940 traditions’, ‘Anthologies of the 1930s – 1950s’, ‘Anthologies of the 1960s and 1970s’, ‘Anthologies of ‘Maori and South Pacific Writing’, ‘Anthologies of women’s writing’, and ‘Specialised anthologies.’ John Thompson, “Bibliography,” *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, ed. Terry Sturm, vol. 2 (Auckland Oxford University Press, 1998)..

⁷⁸⁶ The short story is an important genre in NZ; Lydia Wevers’s introduction to the short story in Sturm’s *Oxford History* is a good place to start exploring this genre. Lydia Wevers, “The Short Story,” *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, ed. Terry Sturm, vol. 2 (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1998)..

⁷⁸⁷ Mark Williams, “Literary Scholarship, Criticism, and Theory,” *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, ed. Terry Sturm, vol. 2 (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1998): 702.

⁷⁸⁸ Albeit a latter and often begrudging acknowledgment.

⁷⁸⁹ This anthology provoked numerous responses, some of which I will treat in a later section of this chapter.

⁷⁹⁰ CK Stead famously explained that he would have included Maori writing in his early anthology but – alas for Maori writers – he was selecting on the basis of quality. This came back to haunt him in the form of the later 11th hour kamikaze withdrawal of writing from the ‘big four’ of Pacific lit (Hulme, Ihimaera, Grace and Wendt) from the 1994 anthology that Faber questionably asked him to edit. Stead’s refusal points to a major issue, though: how does an ideologically-motivated decision to include Maori texts relate to the need for ‘quality’?? (Yes, I’ll leave that as a rhetorical question.)

collections is still very much dependent on the goodwill, politics, and/ or interest of the editor.

The politics of inclusion and exclusion in anthologies of a 'national' literature are tense and complex, and very different to collections of writing from the various comparative frames treated in the previous three chapters, because pacificness, indigenusness and postcolonialness are all salient and pertinent but (arguably, perhaps) are not reinforced in a political sphere in the same way as is nationality. Whereas "the indigenous" (to choose an example) category is umbrella-ish, nationhood is imagined and reinforced through specific citizenship and residence; vested interests to include/ exclude are tied to national fantasies, and the refusal of entry into anthologies is a matter of exclusion from an (imagined) nation for which one already has the unequivocal right to a passport. In this way, exclusion of Maori texts from 'New Zealand' anthologies is not simply about limited acknowledgement of (or refusal to acknowledge) a particular constituent group of an umbrella framework, but is rather about masking the existence of an intra-national identity that refracts and complicates a monolithic (non-Maori) national consciousness. Struggle for inclusion is thus about visibility in the already-occupied 'inside' (one is already a NZ writer because one has a NZ passport) and needs to counter policing by assimilationism (*he iwi kotahi tatou*) and hegemonic privilege. To be clear, an anthology of New Zealand literature that includes only a limited number of (or no) Maori texts does not reject them because they are not New Zealand texts in the eyes of the collector, but because New Zealandness is deemed to be (adequately or appropriately) representable by those non-Maori texts that have been chosen. Nationality has not trumped ethnicity (let alone indigenusness) here, but has obliterated it.

Maori writing belongs in New Zealand anthologies on the basis of two different, although not mutually exclusive, claims. Maori are citizens of the nationstate of New

Zealand and so belong in the anthologies on the basis of demographic representativeness. Around 15% of New Zealanders are Maori, so we might expect that a fair number of writers in each New Zealand anthology will be Maori. This ‘right to inclusion’ on the basis of citizenship – which Maori were granted in the third article of the Treaty – has particular implications for the late inclusion of Maori texts in New Zealand anthologies, as outlined in Chapter Two: Always Already Aotearoa. However, a relatively small number of texts by Maori writers are included in ‘New Zealand’ anthologies, and an even smaller pool of writers whose texts are ever included: Ihimaera, Grace and Hulme in fiction; and Tuwhare, Taylor, Hulme and perhaps Potiki in poetry. Indeed, something of a ‘Maori canon’ has been established, which can only have bad implications for the (perceived) depth and breadth of New Zealand literature and – especially – for the field of Maori literary studies.⁷⁹¹ Clearly, these canonical Maori writers are the first published (English-language) writers, which means that the texts – and thereby the thematic and formal concerns – of younger writers are being excluded. More complex than this, though, is that despite their continued – very often continually groundbreaking – contributions to Maori letters, these ‘first’ writers are often represented in anthologies by their earliest works. While these texts were significant at the time of their publication, and retain value because of that, the intersection of a small number of writers *and* a concentration on their earlier works can ‘lock Maori in’ to a politics of a particular period, whereas non-Maori get to be represented at multiple temporal and political positions.⁷⁹² For example, of the

⁷⁹¹ Look, for example, at the titles of the theses that have been published on Maori writing in English, including: Julia Helen Calvert, "Contextualising Māori Writing: A Study of the Prose Fiction Written in English by Witi Ihimaera, Patricia Grace, Keri Hulme and Alan Duff," PhD, University of Waikato, 2002.; Michelle Maria Keown, "Taku Iwi, Taku Whenua, Taku Reo: The Construction of Māori Identity in the Novels of Witi Ihimaera, Patricia Grace and Alan Duff," MA, University of Waikato, 1996..

⁷⁹² I am grateful to my mother for this insight, who took a Women’s Studies course at university in which the only writing by Maori women they read were from the 1980s, whereas non-Maori women were granted temporal, spatial, economic and political complexity. She pointed out that this impliedly locked Maori women into a particular political stance which, while strategically crucial and significant in its time, does not reflect the moves since that time or, indeed, before it. In this way, Māori are once again rendered the European-imagined timeless placeless Native, although the fixed mould is from the 1970s/ 80s instead of the pre-1800s.

28 writers collected in McLeod and Manhire's 1997 anthology, Ihimaera is 13th, Grace is 15th, and Hulme is 16th. Of the 31 writers in Barrowman's 1996 anthology, Ihimaera is 10th,⁷⁹³ Grace is 12th, Hulme is 16th, Te Awekotuku is 26th and Duff is 27th. Small clusters of 1970s/ 1980s Maori writing are thus buried in the middle of chronologically-arranged tables of contents, an exotic glimmer of revolution which ends up reinvigorating – and being eclipsed by – the Pakeha writers. In the introduction to his *Picador Book of Contemporary New Zealand Fiction*, Fergus Barrowman both explains and demonstrates this way in which (non-Maori) 'New Zealand' literature has cannibalistically acquired its literary fuel from Maori writers:

The boom was in large part ignited by Keri Hulme's novel *The Bone People*. First published in 1984 by a feminist collective, it quickly achieved levels of sales previously recorded only by the autobiographies of Sir Edmund Hillary and All Black Colin Meads, never by serious local fiction. When this home success was validated by the award of the 1985 Booker Prize and spectacular international sales – New Zealanders are always reader to trust overseas experts than their own elbows – publishers were suddenly hungry for new New Zealand fiction.⁷⁹⁴

Barrowman submerges the explicit Maori claims of Hulme and her novel below their "local[ness]," their 'New Zealand-ness,' at least for the purposes of reviving tired New Zealand writing. The New Zealand – not Maori - literary scene is invigorated by Hulme's success. Some remarkably *non*-Maori 'New Zealand' anthologies have come out despite the very active Maori writing scene: between two fiction anthologies co-edited by Marian McLeod in 1987 and 1997, for example, the Maori fiction writers remain Grace, Hulme and Ihimaera, the latter only added for the 1997 collection; and in Morrissey's 2000 *Flamingo Anthology of New Zealand Short Stories*, only Grace and Ihimaera are included,

I believe a similar problem can be seen with the teaching of Maori texts: Grace's *Potiki* is an incredible text, but it comes out of, and speaks to, a particular historical moment and so should be contextualised in these terms. Likewise, the widespread teaching of Ihimaera's early stories and Tuwhare's early poetry in NZ classrooms should be clearly marking these as speaking to, and from, a specific historical moment, and should ideally be taught alongside later works of their own and of Other Maori writers. As I already suggested in Chapter Two, refusing to contextualise these texts collapses the forty year span of Maori writing in English into a moment of perpetual encounter, of perpetual birth, of perpetual first-ness.

⁷⁹³ Wendt is 11th, filling out the 'brown section.'

⁷⁹⁴ Fergus Barrowman, *The Picador Book of Contemporary New Zealand Fiction* (London: Picador, 1996): vi.

despite the publication of Orbell's *Contemporary Maori Writing*, Long and Ihimaera's *Into the World of Light* four volumes of creative work in the *Te Ao Marama* anthologies, and three Huia anthologies by that time. Although one might hope that Maori might fare better in collections of women's writing, and this does indeed ring true for Trudie McNaughton's 1989 *In Deadly Earnest: A Collection of Fiction by New Zealand Women, 1870s – 1980s*, which included Blank, Bridger, Grace, Sturm and Hulme, several of these are no better at including Maori women than Maori are included in the 'general' anthologies. In the 2003 *Bosom Buddies: Women's Stories about Friendship, Love and Life by top writers*, an anthology put together for the express purposes of raising money for the Breast Cancer Research Trust, the only *Maori* "top writer[]" is Patricia Grace.

At the same time, Maori writing resists assimilatory colourblind citizenship in a national New Zealand canon on the basis of distinctive indigenesness,⁷⁹⁵ as novelist Patricia Grace insisted in 1978, when she wrote that: "we [Maori] need to be contributors on the national scene, and *surely have more right than anyone* to be contributors."⁷⁹⁶ Later, in his 1992 'Kaupapa' in *Te Ao Marama 1*, editor Witi Ihimaera shifts the discourse from the *right* of Maori writing to be included in the national canon, to his assertion of a central role as the primary supporting post of the meetinghouse of New Zealand Literature:

Maori writing is regarded as the poutokomanawa of contemporary New Zealand literature...⁷⁹⁷

⁷⁹⁵ Indeed, Mudrooroo cautions against comparison of local indigenous texts with local settler writing; he states this plainly: "it should not be compared to the majority literature".

⁷⁹⁶ Ihimaera and Grace, "The Maori in Literature."83; emphasis added.

⁷⁹⁷ Ihimaera, "Kaupapa.": 14. Poutokomanawa = main post supporting the ridgepole of a meeting house; often the carved poutokomanawa depicts an important shared ancestor. Invoking the metaphor of a meetinghouse seems significant in the light of this chapter, in which I am arguing for a reconsideration of NZ lit as a space in which two distinct, yet related, bodies of literature meet; that is, where Maori and non-Maori writing come together and negotiate a relationship. "The literature of the aboriginal people of North America defines America" Harjo, *Reinventing the Enemy's Language : Contemporary Native Women's Writings of North America*.: 31. It is indeed the 'poutokomanawa' in two ways; for Māori speakers, who can access the meaning of the editor's metaphor, Māori writing is indeed an important architectural/ engineering/ aesthetic support of the nation's literature, yet for non-speakers of te reo, it exists as a separate inaccessible entity. Ihimaera's phrase ends with the words "... the absence of Māori anthologies is telling. It remains as difficult as ever for Māori writing to be published in Aotearoa", which expands his discussion of limited access to Māori literature beyond (yet through) language to the practical limits of publication. This points to a poer inequality to which I will speak throughout this chapter.

Although the short story has been an important and popular genre of creative production in New Zealand letters⁷⁹⁸ - both for Maori and non-Maori writers and audiences - Allen Curnow's 1960 *Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse* achieved great prominence as a formative New Zealand literary anthology. The 1985 edition of the poetry anthology, edited by Wedde and McQueen, was also trailblazing, in particular for the decision to include Maori material. In his introduction to the volume, Wedde writes that "the need for Maori content was obvious and problematical." Certainly this edition included far more material by Maori writers, in both languages. Indeed, the issue of language became crucial to the extent that when Wedde talks about "Maori content" he means texts in the Maori language:

The need for Maori content was obvious and problematical. The difficulty of translation of context has been mentioned.⁷⁹⁹

This marked change brought about a (relatively) great deal of critical response, including, of course, from Maori, and a collection of excerpts entitled "Four responses to *The Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse*" is included in the second (non-fiction) volume of *Te Ao Marama*. These four Maori "responses" are markedly different from each other, a

⁷⁹⁸ Look especially to writers such as Katherine Mansfield and Frank Sargeson, exclusively writers of short fiction, whose texts are lauded as 'foundational' to the national literary history. In her essay on the genre in Sturm's *Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, Lydia Wevers notes that:

The proliferation of short story anthologies in New Zealand over the last two decades lends substance to a recent claim that New Zealanders have a 'longstanding preference for the short story.'... The quantity of published short stories and of writers who have specialized in the short story suggests that as a form the short story has enjoyed a privileged status in New Zealand and, more than the novel, been the genre in which the preoccupations of a colonial and post-colonial literature have worked themselves out."

(Wevers, "The Short Story": 245.)

Many of New Zealand's key writers have produced short stories: as well as Mansfield and Sargeson, look, for example, to non-Maori writers Janet Frame, CK Stead, Vincent O'Sullivan, Dan Davin, Bill Manhire, John A Lee, Roderick Findlayson, Albert Wendt, Maurice Duggan, Maurice Gee, Fiona Farrell, Marilyn Duckworth, Stephanie Johnson, Joy Cowley, Fiona Kidman, Owen Marshall, Shonagh Koea, Elizabeth Knox, Barbara Else, Anne Kennedy, Peter Wells and Emily Perkins. Prominent Maori writers of the genre include Witi Ihimaera, Patricia Grace, Apirana Taylor, Keri Hulme, Ngahua Te Awekotuku, Alan Duff and Briar Grace-Smith. The Huia anthologies of short stories will surely introduce new formidable writers, such as Anton Blank, Paula Morris, Kelly Joseph, Kelly-ana Morey, Zion Komene and so on.

⁷⁹⁹ Ian Wedde and Harvey McQueen, eds., *The Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse* (Auckland: Penguin, 1987).. Indeed, when Miriama Evans was added to the McQueen/ Wedde editorial panel for the 1989 *Penguin Book of Contemporary Poetry*, the number of Maori writers in English did not increase in any great amount.

fact that suggests the wide variety of Maori views and investments in the field. Interestingly, most of the comments relate to the Maori-language texts and do not consider the English-language texts so deeply. Terry Sturm notes that:

the strongest message the anthology carries, for those who need reminding, is that New Zealand has two languages, that – at least as far as poetry is concerned – the older, indigenous language has never been silenced, and is currently a medium of vigorous, renewed creative activity.⁸⁰⁰

Sturm pays particular attention to the ways in which the Maori-language texts are integrated into the overall form of the anthology as a whole. Hirini Moko Mead admits that “one cannot take offence at the appearance of Maori texts in the book,” but “question[s]... the role of mediator played, perhaps with great innocence, by Margaret Orbell.”⁸⁰¹

Perhaps she is not sensitive to Maori feelings about being legitimised by a Pakeha academic. They did not need her to stand them up. There are Maori writers and poets who could have done that for them.⁸⁰²

The focus on the implications of including Maori-language texts seems to overshadow the English-language Maori writers collected in the volume. In a later essay reflecting on the process of constructing the anthology, Wedde writes about the effects of the Maori language pieces for recontextualising the Maori writing in English:

Also continued up the present are compositions in Maori (about 20 percent of the book, including translations) whose oral and ‘folk’ qualities are admitted on their own terms. Maori poets who write in English are read in contexts that seem, suddenly, ‘right.’⁸⁰³

Of course, the question of *to whom* these writers newly seem “right” is obvious but not perhaps as important as the commitment to talking about the Maori-authored texts in both languages in relation to each other.

⁸⁰⁰ Menzies, Sturm, Hulme and Mead, "Four Responses to *the Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse*." : 330.

⁸⁰¹ Menzies, Sturm, Hulme and Mead, "Four Responses to *the Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse*." : 331.

⁸⁰² Menzies, Sturm, Hulme and Mead, "Four Responses to *the Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse*." : 331.

⁸⁰³ Ian Wedde, *How to Be Nowhere: Essays and Texts 1971-1994* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1995): 63.

methodologies

New Zealand literary critical methodologies are introduced, summarised, and thematised in Mark Williams's chapter "Literary scholarship, criticism and theory" which is the new addition to the second edition of Terry Sturm's formidable *Oxford History of New Zealand Literature*. In the introductory essay to the second edition, Sturm explains the reason for this extra chapter:

The very substantial increase in critical writing is reflected partly in the individual entries (especially those for Janet Frame and for Maori writers), but also in the general bibliography... Particularly notable, throughout, is the increased international critical interest in New Zealand writing, much of it under the umbrella of burgeoning studies of post-colonial literature. This general expansion of critical writing, often theoretically informed and sophisticated, itself generated the decision to add a new section, 'Literary Scholarship, Criticism and Theory'.⁸⁰⁴

Williams traces New Zealand criticism in thematic epochs that echo, perhaps, the fiction treated by the criticism about which he writes: 'Colonial to National 1840 – 1933'; 'Nationalism and Modernism 1933 – 1970s'; and 'From Post-provincialism to Post-modernism 1970s – 1995'. The chapter is valuable and yet takes too much for granted: it includes no introductory or concluding remarks that might contextualise his discussion and the significance of the milestone dates (1840, 1933, 1970s, 1995) and what they reveal/ obscure. In this way the structure of his chapter neatly organises, but also confines and guards, those things that fit within the periods he creates, and does not allow for literary critical histories (or indeed any kind of national histories) beyond or outside of its (his) parameters. For Williams, apparently, the criticism of New Zealand literature unfolds according to a set of notches on a timeline, and the criticism can be shaped and packaged according to a singular, linear and uncontested national trajectory. A conceptually linear thread of New Zealand's history is at the centre of the essay, and the 'colonial' is always viewed from the perspective of the European immigrant; for

⁸⁰⁴ Sturm, *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*: xvii.

Williams, the experience of coming to a national consciousness is about a psychological turn from the metropole to the Antipodes.

In a sense, the problems of how to narrate the experience of the *new world* encountered by colonial writers were theoretical in nature and such authors were acutely aware of the inadequacies of inherited cultural paradigms and reading practices to their situation, producing texts which question the nature of literature, its meanings, conventions, and procedures in the *newly confronted world*.⁸⁰⁵

For the texts and critics within Williams's horizon, the 'colonial' period is about discovery, newness and the taming of a new environment, and so the writing and criticism is tied up with the establishment of, and adjustments to, 'New Zealand' in Aotearoa, from the perspective of New Zealand as opposed to Aotearoa.

Somewhat expectedly, then, Williams's chapter does not - cannot - treat Maori writing with much more than a casual wave. Notably, I think, he does not elaborate on, or name, the burgeoning criticism that focuses on Maori texts both domestically and offshore, let alone the admittedly scarce but impressively feisty writing by Maori critics; this despite Sturm's introductory comment about "the very substantial increase in critical writing is reflected partly in the individual entries... especially those for... Maori writers." Although it might be argued that because the criticism about which he writes is solely about English language literature its genealogy should be traced back through to European - and specifically British and Irish - literary ancestries, this does not seem a sufficient reason to exclude Maori (or indeed Samoan or Dalmatian or Niuean or any Other) literary history and criticism, especially given the addition of a chapter on "Maori literature" in the same volume.⁸⁰⁶ Where the essay does mention Maori texts, they are always subjected to the analysis of non-Maori critics, and within an apparently "postcolonial" frame, a frame which is important enough to receive cursory mention by

⁸⁰⁵ Williams, "Literary Scholarship, Criticism, and Theory.": 697.

⁸⁰⁶ Jane McRae, "Māori Literature: A Survey," *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, ed. Terry Sturm (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1998).. I will add here that Williams' essay does make some interesting points, though, and one of the key features of its beneficial offerings is his systematic and well-collated consideration of the multiple sites of criticism: university syllabi/ teaching; newspapers; journals and so on.

Williams as well as Sturm (“the increased international critical interest in New Zealand writing, much of it under the umbrella of burgeoning studies of post-colonial literature”⁸⁰⁷) and yet a frame which, for Williams at least, is eclipsed in his listing of periods by ‘postmodernism.’ Nonetheless, the nod towards ‘postcoloniality’ is interesting to consider for its context and ultimate purpose of mobilisation:

The mid-1980s saw a number of important post-colonial statements, usually associated with biculturalism...⁸⁰⁸

Troublingly, the points at which Maori enter Williams’s discussions, they are framed as productive for pointing out aspects of the *Pakeha*, not Maori, experience and, perhaps, national psyche:

Michael Neill insists that *New Zealand* writers need to come to terms with the violence and dispossession of the colonial past because ‘if we really mean to be at home here, then we need to examine the grounds of our claim’... [Jonathan] Lamb suggests that the homecoming desired in both Neill’s essay and Wedde’s introduction addresses the psychological interests of *Pakeha* in a way reminiscent of earlier colonial discourse. He questions the narrative of *New Zealand* literature progressively coming to a relaxed acceptance of ‘the local and special’ qualities of the place and calls on *Pakeha* to accept displacement, loss of origins and cultural riffraffery as the basis of post-colonial existence.⁸⁰⁹

The slippage between ‘New Zealand’ and ‘Pakeha’ for Williams is exemplified in his direct and unqualified quotation of Neill in a chapter that is part of a book presumably directed at ‘New Zealanders’ including, potentially, Maori ones. Neill’s words speak clearly about non-Maori, and are directed towards a non-Maori-inclusive/ Maori-exclusive audience, by virtue of Neil’s use of pronouns (“if *we* really mean to be at home here, then *we* need to examine the grounds of *our* claim”), which is fine in and of itself, but Williams extends Neill’s claims to speak, apparently, not just for non-Maori but for ‘New Zealanders’: “New Zealand writers need to come to terms with the violence and dispossession of the colonial past”. “New Zealand writers” are clearly *non*-Maori writers if they are required to interrogate the violence that comprises the basis of their “be[ing] at

⁸⁰⁷ Sturm, *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*.: xvii.

⁸⁰⁸ Williams, "Literary Scholarship, Criticism, and Theory.": 728.

⁸⁰⁹ Williams, "Literary Scholarship, Criticism, and Theory.": 728. emphasis added.

home here.” And if Maori writers are, indeed, impliedly covered by Neill’s attention to violence and history – which is an interesting idea, because after all Maori have also been impacted by violence and history - this would require more clear and thoughtfully articulation.⁸¹⁰

Although it may be tempting to declare the end of the nation, and thereby the ‘national literature,’ because of its inability to account for, or even recognise, the kinds of complications posed by the inclusion of ‘Maori’ in ‘New Zealand,’ Terry Sturm cautions us to look not to declare obsolete, but to challenge, the ‘nation’:

Nor is it, necessarily, that issues of nationhood and nationality are super-annuated by the new orthodoxies of post-colonial theory and its often reductive applications to particular cultures, through what now seem naive, earlier versions of nationalism (masculinist, realist, monocultural, provincial) are well and truly exploded.⁸¹¹

Importantly, both Maori and New Zealanders place a high value on the nation, as has become clear through active participation in the electoral and representative processes, the arts and sports, all of which are explicitly tied to incarnations of ‘New Zealand’.

Like all good national literatures, New Zealand literature has a privileged subject towards and through whom much critical attention is directed. This key feature of New Zealand settler nationalism, including literary and literary critical nationalisms, is the allegory, myth and trope of the ‘Man Alone’. In deference to the recent tendency to meld together the local and global into the dynamic intersecting relation of the Glocal, I will bring together the specific spatial (and temporal) environment of the New Zealand ‘Local’ with the particular Antipodean masculinist mythology of the ‘Bloke’,⁸¹² and⁸¹³ call this

⁸¹⁰ Williams uses the word ‘indigenous’ to mean ‘local,’ which is reminiscent of Mallard’s claims and apparently unaware of the complexity of the term when it is mobilised by Maori communities and critics in order to make a set of claims about being distinctly *ulocal*, and, instead, about having a particular position in relation to the homogenous ‘local.’

⁸¹¹ Sturm, *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*: xix.

⁸¹² Elleray treats this idea of the ‘Bloke’ in her dissertation. Elleray, "Unsettled Subject : The South Pacific and the Settler."

⁸¹³ Tipping my hat to those who combine the global and local to produce the ‘glocal’...

the 'Blokai'. The Blokai characterises much of New Zealand's literary and national culture; a staunch, weathered, don't-cry, rugby playing, beer swilling Pakeha male is, after all, the centre of 'our' collective national consciousness.

Criticism that attempts to complicate the Blokai – most notably at the introductions of anthologies, where the inclusions of Maori, Pasifika, women, gay and lesbian writers into the domains of the Blokai are (often imploringly, apologetically) justified – often end up reinscribing that centre, securing the Blokai as the originary mythology which provides a point of departure. Brown, female, non-anglophone and queer texts are added onto the New Zealand canon in the way that extra bedrooms, or perhaps a larger kitchen, deck, solarium, granny flat, or sunroom are added onto the middleclass heterosexist suburban three bedroom home that characterises and is described in so much New Zealand literature: as additions, once the house has already been used for some time and never quite fitting in with the original design of the house;⁸¹⁴ as enhancements, once the economy of the household seems secure enough to support such luxuries; or, particularly for Maori, as unfulfilled promises, utopically imagined when the house was first toured and then bargained for, constantly promised over the years to increasingly resentful⁸¹⁵ Other parties. Finally, these additions are paraded around when they are finally constructed (or halfway through construction) to emphasise the goodwill of the primary householder, despite being loudly indulged as luxurious rewards for the hard work of 'real (national) life,' the utility – let alone necessity – of the additions

⁸¹⁴ This 'addition-ness' is an odd feature of much critical writing; although many critics prophesied the implications of a Maori literature in English before it (at least to their eyes) emerged (most notably, perhaps, the concluding lines to Pearson's influential 1969 essay "The Maori in Literature:" "New Zealand life will be greatly enriched when we can learn to see ourselves and the country through the eyes of a number of Maori writers and it may well be that Maoris can help us find ways we wouldn't have found for ourselves" 138). Introductions to anthologies and the like often seem to scratch their heads in wonder at this apparently new kid on the block, and proclaim that this writing has lately appeared, and makes an important *addition* to New Zealand (literary) nationalist configurations. Without trace of irony, these critics write of Maori as if they have recently (!) arrived in a Pakeha land, and a Pakeha landscape, from outer-space.

⁸¹⁵ And (dare I so explicitly gender this metaphor, and with such sexist stereotypes?) nagging...

always, ultimately, questionable.⁸¹⁶ Indeed, given this kind of treatment, one is less surprised when Other occupants decide to build for themselves, subcontract the work, relocate to the bach, or move out entirely!

nau te rourou: “te reo o te tiriti mai rano;” when national literatures go comparative

A society can be said to have come of age when it begins to live by the light of an imaginative order of its own.⁸¹⁷

When critic and poet Charles Brash imagined a (future) New Zealand “imaginative order” in 1954, he could not have foreseen the changes to New Zealand’s national character over the next sixty years. The kind of “imaginative order of [New Zealand’s] own,” which Kipling had predicted sixty years earlier still (“when they belong to their own country you will hear what you will hear”⁸¹⁸), and Curnow also anticipated (“will learn the trick of standing upright here”) has turned out to hinge very much on the increased acknowledgement of the relationship between indigenous and non-indigenous New Zealanders that the Treaty of Waitangi originally arbitrated and continues to both structure and symbolise.⁸¹⁹ Brash’s significant intervention is his foregrounding of the

⁸¹⁶ To carry on this metaphor of residential architecture, what I suggest on this chapter is a way for Maori and non-Maori to live with one another amicably and productively. Rather than a line down the centre of the bedroom, a wing or semi-detached flat reserved for Maori, or the pretence of living together while one really lords over the home with a constant stream of bickering between all inhabitants, I advocate the construction (or perhaps the recognition) of two houses, one for Maori and one for non-Maori; a literary national version of the joined houses inhabited so compellingly by Frida Kahlo and Diego Rivera in the 2001 film *Frida*

⁸¹⁷ Charles Brash, Dec 1954; quoted in Neill and Rymes, “Cinema of Unease,” vol..

⁸¹⁸ Kipling, “One Lady at Wairakei.”: 25.

⁸¹⁹ This discussion about the Treaty as a ‘fixer-upper of past wrongs’ or a ‘blueprint for the nation’ has recently been a major feature of national debate. I drafted most of this chapter at a writing retreat for Maori doctoral students in Waikato/ Tainui country, and during our time there we engaged in a fair bit of discussion about a speech that Don Brash had given about ‘Maori’. The speech was a simple matter of political extremism, a desperate attempt to get the Kiwi Bigot vote, and yet what made the speech dangerous was the ways in which it framed the Treaty (and the aspirations of ‘Maori’, an apparently monolithic bloc) as unfair/separatist. This aspect of Treaty-derived biculturalism is also crucial to the schizophrenic form of nationhood practised in New Zealand. Although this form of politicking is a combination of dangerous and offensive from my personal point of view – and would, in the realm of literary studies, endlessly produce a ‘national literature’ form of literary criticism such as has resulted in much stale NZ literary criticism – it is still interesting to note that indigenous affairs have sufficient prominence in NZ that they are salient political currency. Dr Ranginui Walker read a reply (rebuke?) to Don Brash’s now infamous speech, after a dinner speaking engagement during the writing retreat at Hopuhopu, and he identified the need to shift the

necessary localness of credible literary criticism. Because the Treaty/ Tiriti is the document by which a partnership was figured between indigenous and non-indigenous residents of Aotearoa-New Zealand, it has a prominent place in New Zealand history, laws, government, and cultural makeup,⁸²⁰ and so this ‘localness,’ for New Zealand, is underlined by the relationship between Maori and non-Maori.

In this section I consider the dual positionings of the Treaty *in* and *as* discourse. These are of course dynamically and inextricably linked and yet I separate them here for the sake of clarity. The Treaty *in* discourse is that position the Treaty occupies – or suggests - within narratives of ‘New Zealand,’ including explicit discussions of the Treaty and its historical/ colonial/ social/ spiritual/ material/ economic contexts, and the consequences of the signing of that document and the nation it set up. Taking a cue from the phrase “te reo o te tiriti mai rano”⁸²¹ we might call this ‘speaking the Treaty,’ because this dimension focuses on the ways we talk about (or don’t talk about) the Treaty as a document with historical substance. The Treaty operates *as* discourse when it is used to organise or underpin structural/ personal/ governmental/ social relationships. This is ‘Treaty that speaks,’ because rather than explicitly treating the Treaty as an historical phenomenon, the Treaty is used as a model/ site/ mouthpiece/ grammar by which other things may be discussed. Both of these aspects of the Treaty are crucial at this time in

conversation about the Treaty away from the idea that it is a solely historical document that might be ‘resolved’ by a few strategically handed-over dollars (and, according to Brash’s ideas, I do mean a *few*) to settle grievances over past land thefts and injustices, and then it can be shut away, having been dealt with once and for all. Specifically, Walker turned the attention to the Treaty as a living document that is used to shape, regulate and negotiate relationships between Maori and non-Maori in several contemporary organizations. Now more than ever, perhaps, the societal/ national “com[ing] of age,” on which Brash places such value is productively - or perhaps more interestingly - apprehended as a system of dynamism, negotiation, and change, so that the ‘nation’ becomes (to be a little clichéd) more of a journey than a destination.

⁸²⁰ This hasn’t always been the case: after sustained Maori resistance and sustained Crown amnesia, the Treaty is back (however nominally) on the books. Any moves in this arena are direct results of Maori activism and struggle; look for a key example to the 1975 Treaty of Waitangi Act, which was passed after the Land March in the same year. Walker’s *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou* is a good place to gain an overview of this kind of resistance. Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou = Struggle without End* (Auckland, N.Z. ; New York, N.Y., USA: Penguin Books, 1990)..

⁸²¹ A well-used phrase; literally ‘the treaty is always speaking.’

Aotearoa New Zealand, and in terms of this project I seek to suggest that the ways in which the Treaty speaks (or is silenced) pervasively inflects the ‘New Zealand’ in New Zealand literary studies.⁸²²

speaking the treaty: te tiriti in discourse

The importance of the Treaty in the formation of New Zealand national identity – as opposed to Other national identities - cannot be overstated.⁸²³ In her essay “Myths for New Zealand,” Joan Metge localises the value of the Treaty (and thereby its apprehension and comprehension is reliant on a local sensibility) by the use of the term ‘taonga.’⁸²⁴

The Treaty is a taonga, a national treasure. Uniquely ours, it is – or should be – one of the most potent symbols of our nationhood.⁸²⁵

The ways in which ‘New Zealand’ national consciousness is distinguished from the Other English-speaking white-majority settler nations (Australia, Canada, the United States) is a

⁸²² I am very grateful to Anne Kennedy and Robert Sullivan, who were subjected to many a long enthusiastic tirade late into the Honolulu night, as I played around with the ideas in this chapter, and who gave helpful feedback as the ideas took their shape.

⁸²³ Scholarship about the circumstances around the Treaty signed at Waitangi, as well as the Treaty itself, abounds, and I will not provide an introduction to this scholarship here in this project. For further reading, try Claudia Orange’s 1987 *The Treaty of Waitangi*, I H Kawharu’s instructive collection *Waitangi: Maori and Pakeha perspective of the Treaty of Waitangi*, or Belich’s *Making Peoples*. Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi* (North Sydney, Australia ; Winchester, Mass.

Wellington, N.Z.: Allen & Unwin ;

Port Nicolson Press with assistance from the Historical Publications Branch Dept. of Internal Affairs Wellington, 1987)., I. H. Kawharu, *Waitangi : Māori and Pākehā Perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi* (Auckland ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1989)., Belich, *Making Peoples : A History of the New Zealanders, from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*.

Look to Sullivan’s poem “Not the 1990 poem,” Ihimaera’s play *Woman Far Walking* and Grace’s *Baby No-Eyes* for literary treatment. Witi Tame Ihimaera, *Woman Far Walking* (Wellington, N.Z.: Huia, 2000)., Grace, *Baby No-Eyes*.

⁸²⁴ This word ‘taonga’ would be understood by the majority of New Zealanders, including those who are not speakers of te reo Maori. The word has special significance because of its use in the second article of the Treaty, in which Maori are guaranteed absolute sovereignty over all of their/ our ‘taonga.’

⁸²⁵ Joan Metge, “Myths for New Zealand,” *One Nation Two Partners Many Peoples* (Porirua: Whitireia Publishing, 1996): 31. This claim of uniqueness is not simply a matter of patriotism (indeed, we don’t do overt ‘patriotism’ very well outside of the sporting arena!), but has real impacts in the area of literary studies, for example, because it becomes an important hiccup in translation/ borrowing of ‘theory’ and ‘criticism’ (or should that be Theory and Criticism?) from Other nation states that – perhaps without clearly being aware of its own biases – mobilises terminology and concepts that are specific to those histories. For example, the discourses surrounding the “minority” and the “person/ woman/ man of color” that are prevalent in criticism from the United States is of limited usefulness in the NZ context. This is not to say that insights cannot be gained, because they can, but it is to say that the unproblematised use of this kind of terminology can become a limitation to a reading of texts; Patricia Grace’s work, for example, may be identified as “minority” from the position of the US, and yet it is indigenous (or bicultural or postcolonial or Maori or tangata whenua) in NZ.

focus of the 14 June 2003 issue of *Listener*, a widely distributed, fairly left wing, weekly news and arts magazine in New Zealand. In a customary back page editorial-ish piece of nonfiction prose, titled “Our Life as America”, editor Steve Braunius conjectures what New Zealand might have been like had it been colonised by American rather than British interests.⁸²⁶ Significantly, the moment Braunius recognises the differences between the

⁸²⁶ “Our Life as America” starts by historically situating the ‘what if?’ in the early nineteenth century American whaling and trading activity, sparked off by the American ship *Mercury* which arrived in 1797, a mere thirty years after Cook’s first visit to Aotearoa, and a full 40 years before the British would sign the Treaty that established British sovereignty in ‘New Zealand’. Braunius introduces the US Consul to New Zealand, James Clendon, who arrived in 1838, and poses the possibility of thinking about those years as a point at which two roads diverge in the woods for the new colony:

...there had been calls for the US to come down and sort out New Zealand ownership. Clendon himself had infuriated James Busby, his inefficient British counterpart, by proudly flying the American flag during his two-year appointment, when an astonishing 151 US vessels weighed anchor at Russell, then the debauched, roaring capital of New Zealand.

At this point, the narrative breaks off into playful conjecture - “Picture it: the Stars and Stripes raised on New Zealand soil” – and Braunius suggests that “a terrible beauty might have been born.” The piece continues on to rewrite New Zealand’s history and cultural landscape in the light of an ironic and fairly blunt take on the US, pondering such things as “the right to bear arms, the right to stuff ourselves for the past 160-odd years with candy and fried chicken and good cocaine”.

In the second half of the piece, Braunius moves in to consider the major tropes and strategies of nation building, and he both dismantles and provocatively ‘reimagines community’, and this is where ‘Our Life as America’ fits in most explicitly with my project. He first reimagines the foreign wars in which New Zealand would play a part, which edges a little closer to New Zealand’s national consciousness, because, as in all good settler colonies, all the big things apparently happen on the battlefield. For generations, Kiwi school children have been informed that ‘New Zealand was born’ either in the fields of the Boer War, the first time that New Zealand soldiers bore their own name instead of being simply absorbed into ‘British’ ranks, or else at the wipeout slaughter at Gallipoli. Braunius rewrites this narrative, highlighting significant military involvements and *non*involvements:

True, no New Zealand blood would have been spilt in the Boer War or World War I, and only eventually in World War II, but rather a lot in Korea, Vietnam and other foreign fields, including... Baghdad.

The obvious critiques of this kind of nationmaking moment notwithstanding, dealing first with the sacred cows of offshore military activity, and recasting their role in the narrative of nationmaking in New Zealand opens space to consider other ways in which the nation might imagine itself.

True to Benedict Anderson’s treatise, Braunius then moves to a consideration of written texts, in which he compares NZ and US popular press, and then humorously NZ-ifies popular American TV and film, a move that both plays on the Kiwi cultural cringe – oh shame, *Bombay Hills* is nothing like *Beverley Hills* – and affirms it:

A lot of big, windy novels. None of that left-wing *Listener* rot, but the newspapers would be much the same. Tremendous TV shows such as *Bombay Hills 90210* and *Te Sopranos. Elvis in Blue Hawera*, and a great many frontier movies (cowboys and ... oh, God, what would have been the “native policy”?).

The stereotypical representation of ‘the frontier’ film (this resonates interestingly with what Maori writers are doing with the same genre, as described in Chapter Three: Maori as Indigenous) jolts Braunius’s consideration beyond local-flavour story-retelling in which place names are fluidly substituted for others, and into the inextricably linked fact of colonisation. Whereas, perhaps, the Hollywood can uncomplicatedly (unselfconsciously? without conscience?) continue to produce ‘cowboys and Indians’ movies, because the mythology of the Vanishing Indian somehow allows the US nation state to speak for – and casually represent – the indigenous communities, a New Zealander (or at least, this New Zealander; Braunius) is unable to talk unhindered about this mode of representation without acknowledging the ‘real existence’ of the said indigenous community, and the implications, and inappropriateness, of speaking for them.

Significantly, this literal interruption of the Native in the National is also the first crack in the satirical narrative sequence; the ‘interruption’ affects not just the picture he describes but also the way in which (and

positions of Maori and American Indians in their respective occupying nation-states, however, is the moment he suggests the *impossibility of imagining New Zealand without also imagining Aotearoa*, an impossibility proposed, structured, and policed by the Treaty. He suggests, in other words, that although many aspects of NZ-ness can (even if humorously) slip between the US and NZ, this is interrupted and constricted, and perhaps ultimately blocked, by the presence – the literal bodies - of Maori. Ultimately, Braunius suggests that the uniqueness of the ‘real’ version of New Zealand is due to the relationship between the settlers and indigenous group(s), and I interject to repeat – or perhaps to clarify - that this is a relationship that is symbolised by, and negotiated on the basis of, the Treaty.

the treaty that speaks: te tiriti as discourse

The issue of breaches – past and continuing –of the Treaty, and the ongoing impacts of those breaches on both Maori and non-Maori communities, is central to the character and limitations of the present New Zealand nation state, and yet, these are neither the full extent of the Treaty’s relevance nor a symbolic foreclosure of the

the easy confidence with which) it can be described. Braunius admits (in his parenthetical anxiety) an unconscious – perhaps a national unconscious? – that derails the flow of his satire. The unsettling that takes place at the mention of the ‘frontier’ movie sidelines the ironic and humorous ‘what ifs’ to make space for real claims about the impossibility of containing (or even analogising) New Zealand’s national consciousness within non-New Zealand national narratives, and reverberates throughout the remainder of the piece. Braunius recognises the impact of British colonisation but also points to New Zealand’s historical/ social/ cultural singularity: “much of the story of New Zealand is a Commonwealth story, but we’ve never entirely been a British model.”

In the final turn of Braunius’s argument, he attempts to locate “us” (presumably the same “us” as the “Our” in “Our Life as America”) *somewhere*, and he replays his suggestion that NZ could be a part of the US: “You can see what he means - the classless society, the democratic principles”. However, something crucial has changed in his whimsical rendition of rewritten history.

But we could have truly belonged. The 51st state, a distant Hawaii. American soil. Another story of economics and politics, culture and heritage – another New Zealand, a country that never felt the need to say it was sorry.

The earlier moment in which the word “Indians” was replaced by a fearful and central question (“oh, God, what would have been the “native policy?”) has unsettled (pun intended) his conjecture, and the position of “the native” has become not secondary or supplementary, but central, to the revised – a ‘real’ - national consciousness. His closing words complicate the narrative of nationbuilding in the New Zealand context, by centring the role of Maori.

Steve Braunius, "Our Life as America," [The New Zealand Listener](#) 14 June 2003..

bicultural nation envisioned by the signatories in 1840. The Treaty has thus produced a dualistic system of managing and redressing past (and continuing) breaches on the one hand, and underpinning various forms of structural, fiscal and policy organization in order to establish and maintain an appropriate relationship between Maori and non-Maori. Just as the conception of nationhood in New Zealand, then, is distinctive, so too the ways of theorising that nation state need to be unique to the local scene. In his contribution to *Living Relationships Kokiri Ngatahi; The Treaty of Waitangi in the New Millennium*, Bill Mansfield responds to two feature essays that contextualise the Treaty in terms of international parallels:

Coates and McHugh do not provide us with any detailed guidance here, and nor should we expect that in surveys of the international scene. It is, after all, *for us* to work out *our own ways* forward.⁸²⁷

Central as Maori, and the Treaty, may be to the nation of ‘New Zealand’, the unique national character and vision described by Braunius above (a “country”, by implication, that “felt the need to say it was sorry”) has not been effectively reflected in New Zealand literary studies. Metge supports a non-literal use of the Treaty, and suggests there is an over-reliance on the texts of the Treaty (“Part of the trouble lies, I think, in an over-concentration on the text of the Treaty”⁸²⁸) and a related lack of consideration of its contexts, both at the time of signing and today. After she considers the Treaty as “history” and “a legal contract”, she suggests that it is “illuminating” to view the Treaty as a myth:

not in the popular sense of ‘a story which is not true’ but using an anthropological definition of myth as ‘the sacred story a people tell about how the world as they know it came into being’. In explaining the origin of the ‘right’ rules and relationships, a myth provides a charter for the way things ought to be and an ideal standard against which to measure performance. At one level of understanding, a myth tells a straightforward story but at another it is full of symbolism. Mythic symbols are ambiguous and ambivalent, open to argument and reinterpretation.⁸²⁹

⁸²⁷ Mansfield, "Focusing on the Future.": 209; emphasis added. This may appear to contradict the pro-comparative project of this dissertation, but whereas I am interested in comparison for *Maori* texts, this claim is about the nation state of NZ.

⁸²⁸ Metge, "Myths for New Zealand.": 31.

⁸²⁹ Metge, "Myths for New Zealand.": 32.

There are very real political imperatives to continually return to the text of the Treaty (which is why it has been included in the appendices), especially given the importance of the actual material treaty document which is very much central to Maori claims to sovereignty. As well as affirming this text-based consideration, and disagreeing with Metge's claim of an "*over*-concentration on the text," I concur that the Treaty does function usefully as a foundational *myth* of New Zealand's nation-ness, and specifically I advocate the latter, bicultural, allegorical conception poses an overdue intervention into New Zealand literary studies.

For the purposes of this project, and especially the specific need to argue for, and then explore, the comparativeness of the 'New Zealand' in New Zealand literary studies, the Treaty is an ideal – *the* ideal - structuring metaphor for thinking through methodological and critical possibilities of New Zealand literatures. Indeed, Treaty-derived biculturalism is a significant contender for the "imaginative order of [New Zealand's] own" envisaged by Charles Brash. There are (at least) two very different approaches to *how* the Treaty might be mobilised as a structuring metaphor for informing a methodology/ conception of NZ literary studies: one would consider the specific content of the Treaty, including its three (or four⁸³⁰) articles, and rely on those as an explicitly coded way to organise a reading of NZ literature at the level of methodology and perhaps critical emphasis and institutional configuration; the other would foreground a Treaty-derived biculturalism that has emerged out of the Treaty as an allegorical structural device.⁸³¹

⁸³⁰ There is evidence for a fourth, spoken, article about religious freedoms.

⁸³¹ This intervention seems the most crucial as a first step; it provides a way to bring Maori texts into the view but also into the practice of New Zealand literary studies, and positions them not merely as precursor, or interesting tidbit, or exotic minority or even multicultural browning or beige-ing, but as the Indigenous texts in an indigenous-aware Bicultural National Literature. The specifics of the Treaty as an historical document – the arrangement of the articles – will come later. Although, I have begun to ponder what a comparative New Zealand literary criticism based on the Treaty might look, and have foregrounded the three written articles of the Treaty as the key structural elements of this criticism. FIRST ARTICLE: kawanatanga, or the ceded right to 'govern;' creation of 'New Zealand.; SECOND ARTICLE: Maori = special rights (indeed, absolute sovereignty; te tino rangatiratanga) over own things/ taonga. THIRD ARTICLE: Maori = same rights and privileges as British subjects; Maori are part of NZ as well as a special group. There seem to

The Treaty relationship is often expressed in Aotearoa/ New Zealand as a (bicultural) duality – Maori and non-Maori – a move that draws all of New Zealand (not just the ‘Maori bits’) into the context of the Treaty. According to this framework, nothing in Aotearoa New Zealand can be considered in a non-Maori vacuum (and, indeed, vice versa, but this doesn’t seem to be a limitation right now). Within this context of the Treaty, we can talk about ‘mainstream’ institutions that have been created by the Crown over time, such as the New Zealand government, schools, and universities, and these are also the institutions in which the Treaty relationship has assumed primacy in Maori theoretical work.⁸³² We can also extend this Treaty relationship as an umbrella to talk about all relationships between Maori and non-Maori, in both Crown-controlled and non-Crown (or perhaps a-Crown) contexts. Importantly, it emphasises a mutually advantageous partnership model (that’s the theory of it anyway), so avoids ghettoising Maori in discourses of disadvantage/ deficiency in comparison to non-Maori.⁸³³

There are two major schools of opposition to the idea of biculturalism that need to be addressed:⁸³⁴ some believe Maori are *too* centred in biculturalism, and do not allow

be rich possibilities in this structure for New Zealand literary criticism, and I look forward on pursuing these after this present project is completed.

⁸³² The role of mainline Christian churches in the creation and articulation of models by which Treaty-derived biculturalism must also be acknowledged here. The CCANZ (Council of Churches, Aotearoa New Zealand) has often been a major lobbying support and instigator of pro-Treaty pro-Maori issues. For example, the 1985 amendment to the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, which pushed for the retroactive jurisdiction of the Waitangi Tribunal that could include breaches committed beyond 1840, instead of only those since the original Act was passed in 1975, and the various organizational structures of the mainline denominations (here I mean Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist churches, although some of the Pentecostal churches have also come up with their own versions of biculturalism too). The structures, some of which posit a Maori/ non-Maori joint head, such as the Anglican church, and some of which also include Pasifika, such as the Presbyterian synodical structure, which has a tripartite Pakeha/ Maori/ Pasifika structure, all provide models for how large diverse New Zealand organizations (indeed, how large diverse New Zealand) might conceive of a more appropriate configuration.

⁸³³ Compare this to strictly minoritarian/ class-based discourses of difference such as those in the US.

⁸³⁴ At least, two major schools of thought; certainly there are some commentators whose discussions of biculturalism are along different lines. For example, Metge writes: “My third hobby-horse is an increasing irritation with the expressions bicultural society, biculturalism, multicultural society and multiculturalism... These compounds place too much emphasis on the abstract concept of culture and pigeonhole people into cultural boxes, ignoring the extent to which they interact in marriage, work and recreation... Talking about New Zealand as a bicultural society or nation focuses attention on the relation between Maori and Pakeha of British stock... but by implication marginalises other minorities, although some have been here from 1840 and all make important contributions to national life. Talking about New Zealand as a multicultural society

space for Other ‘minority’ groups, such as Other ethnic and immigrant groups; whereas some argue that biculturalism is a limiting concept for Maori because it sets Maori up as being always already in relationship with non-Maori, and the framework has little scope for real sovereignty or self-governance – real rangatiratanga – for Maori. For both of these arguments, the issue is that biculturalism is ‘on the way’ somewhere; for those touting multiculturalism⁸³⁵ it’s the first of many challenges to the hegemonic and erasive power of monoculturalism, and for those committed to tino rangatiratanga, it’s a step away from assimilation and towards a necessary next step which, if biculturalism retains currency and value, is foreclosed (and it’s certainly, at least in its current incarnations, far more comfortable for ‘New Zealand’ to deal with than the kind of structural overhaul that rangatiratanga would necessitate!). Both of these are widely held views, although neither sufficiently convinces me that a bicultural model is inappropriate here, *in this project*.

Aotearoa New Zealand-based Treaty-derived biculturalism is about structural rather than numerical pluralism. More than two groups are acknowledged, but they are structurally envisaged according to a bifurcation that divides them into what some people have started to call ‘tangata whenua’ and ‘tangata tiriti:’ Maori and non-Maori.⁸³⁶ This point is worth labouring because the most common, insistent and - given the legacy of a Treaty-derived biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand - confused critiques of biculturalism complain that a bicultural model has blindness to non-Maori non-Pakeha communities.⁸³⁷ According to this reasoning, naming any group other than Maori and Pakeha immediately collapses a biculturality founded on a mathematical account of the

focuses on the rich diversity of its peoples but plays down Maori claims to special status, placing them on the same footing as other minorities.” Metge, "Myths for New Zealand.": 33.

⁸³⁵ Sneja Gunew has done a lot of work in this area in Australia and Canada. I anticipate the upcoming ‘Biculturalism or Multiculturalism’ conference at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch will grapple with these issues in more depth.

⁸³⁶ For example, Nandor Tanczos uses this language in the above Parliamentary dialogue: “while Pakeha cannot call ourselves indigenous or tangata whenua, we do belong here by right of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and can justly call ourselves tangata tiriti.”

⁸³⁷ Obviously, I am not including the ‘monoculturalists’ here, although some of those wolves dress up in the sheep’s clothing of multiculturalism in order to undermine Maori aspirations.

various communities; the existence of at least three communities would then make it multicultural. In this particular critique, exponents of biculturalism are cast as intolerant or unwelcoming to ‘third party’ communities; a pro-bicultural stance is anti-Pacific Islander, anti-Asian, anti-Whatever. Further, because the arrival of non-Maori non-Pakeha communities is mythologised⁸³⁸ as a recent development in New Zealand’s history, critique of the model for its limitation to Maori and Pakeha slips easily into a critique of a supposed nostalgia/ amnesia for times of yore when only Maori and Pakeha roamed the land.⁸³⁹ Those who espouse a pro-bicultural stance apparently need to ‘get with the times and recognise it’s not just Maori and Pakeha anymore.’

However, the ‘bi’ does not simply count the number of ‘cultures’— here, two, thus ‘bi’ – in such a way that if there was one less ‘culture’ then the system/ situation would be *monoculturalism* and if there was one more it would be *triculturalism* (or, for the sake of accounting for any number of ‘cultures’, *multiculturalism*). Rather than simply denoting *numerical* plurality, or ‘two-ness’, biculturalism is instead a *structural* plurality that describes, establishes and mediates the relationship of two entities, either of which may or may not be made up of component parts.⁸⁴⁰ The relationship that is set up in the Tiriti/ Treaty is not between Maori and Pakeha, but between Maori and the Crown; Maori become one group, which we might call Aotearoa, and the Crown is, in effect, ‘New Zealand’. All people who are a part of the New Zealand nation state are thus in a Treaty-defined relationship with ‘Maori’.⁸⁴¹ It is worth pointing out that both Treaty partners

⁸³⁸ Despite the Chinese, Punjabi and Pacific Islander communities, to name some specific examples, who have been in New Zealand since the nineteenth century.

⁸³⁹ Indeed, some recent scholarship now reminds us that this was never the case! Look at explorations of non-English settlers in New Zealand, especially as a result of trading and whaling communities,

⁸⁴⁰ An unexpected and useful way of distinguishing between structural and numerical pluralism, and the relationship between mono-, bi- and multi-culturalisms in an Aotearoa New Zealand context can actually be found in the pronoun categories of English (the language of New Zealand) and Maori (the language of Aotearoa). The singular and plural personal pronouns of English distinguish only between a singular speaker and a plural spoken-for: me and us. In te reo Maori, on the other hand, the ‘dual’ pronoun is introduced: ahau (me), maua (we two) and matou (we three or more). This means that the distinction is not simply between singular and plural, but is actually between singular, dual and plural.

⁸⁴¹ And, seeing as the third article of the treaty extended “all the rights and privileges of British citizenship” to Maori, Maori are both in ‘Aotearoa’ and ‘New Zealand’.

were newly forged⁸⁴² at Waitangi: as well as the specific ‘Crown’ in question⁸⁴³ (that later transferred/ transubstantiated to ‘New Zealand’) making its first formal appearance in relation to Maori, so too ‘Maori’ had its debut as a cobbled-together body of diverse iwi.⁸⁴⁴

Certainly biculturalism is limiting when it is the only way in which Maori are figured, because it means that Maori are perpetually, always, and only (perhaps ‘always already’) representable and represented within the context of their relationship with non-Maori. Although current incarnations of biculturalism seem unable – or unwilling – to acknowledge Maori ‘space’ outside of a relationship with Pakeha, the Treaty provides protection for *discrete* space for Maori (and non-Maori) alongside the Treaty partnership.⁸⁴⁵ Although I acknowledge the value of (and am also personally committed to) the latter objection, and in most contexts agree wholeheartedly, it seems important to point out – as I have elsewhere in this dissertation – that this dissertation project takes place within the space of a Western university which, because of the inherent colonialism of Western knowledge institutions, is not presently going to allow or sustain a separate space for Maori within/ alongside its boundaries. The best that can happen in this space, at least within the explicitly ‘nation’-based framework of New Zealand literary studies, and at this time,⁸⁴⁶ is the implementation and maintenance of biculturalism.⁸⁴⁷

⁸⁴² I use King’s metaphor of forging here in order to take advantage of the multiple meanings of the word: forging is a process of bringing together and shaping something that is resolutely solid until subjected to extreme temperature; it relies on skilled apprenticeship (certainly British/ European colonising ‘skills’ had been honed over the years); and forging is tied also of course to forgery, a metaphor for this process that pays specific attention to the physical act of signing paper documents in order to effect self-serving physical manifestations, and also suggests, perhaps, that not only was the Treaty fraudulent (as a result of skilled mistranslation and a context of false pretences) but the two parties signing the Treaty were fake – or at least synthetic – as well.

⁸⁴³ I call this Crown a new one because even though the British Crown was theoretically the same, its relationship with various diverse groups and lands in effect created a new Crown in each place.

⁸⁴⁴ The Declaration of Independence 1835 was signed by rangatira in the North of the North Island.

⁸⁴⁵ To use the metaphor of the museum, for example, Maori participation in Te Papa (a bicultural, national project) is great as long as there is acknowledgement that there will also be Maori/ iwi/ hapu whanau ‘museums’ up the road as well.

⁸⁴⁶ Love Chile argues that, because of the role of the Treaty, biculturalism is the necessary ‘next step’ even (indeed especially) for those who espouse a ‘multicultural’ NZ: “Aotearoa New Zealand is neither a

Scholarship about the Treaty tends to concentrate on organisational possibilities. Although it has meant there is little transferable/ exemplary precedent for the purposes of this specific project, this emphasis offers a useful dimension to the practice of New Zealand literary studies. Discourse about the Treaty therefore has the potential to overhaul the field, but also provides models for bringing that change about. After all, the ‘Treaty that speaks’ does not just establish the identities of, and then recognise, the relationship between two distinct groups (hapu/ Maori and Crown/ non-Maori), but also regulates the construction of structures of governance in order to arbitrate and control that relationship:

Treaty obligations and aboriginal development are about the future
more than about the past.

The implementation of a bicultural framework has been an important development in many New Zealand organizations, and there are a number of models for what this abstract Treaty-derived concept might look like in a structural form. In his *Justice and the Maori*, Sharp describes the two related processes of bicultural reformism, in which Pakeha institutions “adapt[.]... to meet Maori requirements” and bicultural distributivism, which is “the development of different and specifically Maori institutions to share the authority defined by the Treaty”.⁸⁴⁸ This project of suggesting a Treaty-derived method of reading New Zealand texts, by which I am attempting to intervene in existing modes of reading practice, is clearly ‘bicultural reformism,’ a process espoused and examined by Dick Grace in his “Bicultural Development,” a part of a report on biculturalism in New Zealand librarianship. Grace suggests four distinct stages: ko te tuatahi, to “establish a strong

practising bicultural nor multicultural society. At best it may be described as monocultural with multiple ethnic groups... for a truly multicultural society to be established in Aotearoa New Zealand the promise of biculturalism must first be fulfilled.” Love Chile, “Biculturalism and Multiculturalism: Are They Mutually Exclusive?,” *Treaty Conference 2000* (Sacred Heart College, Auckland: Treaty Conference Publications Group, 2000), vol.: 62.

⁸⁴⁷ I believe that my refusal to position Maori texts solely within the New Zealand framework or indeed within any framework is an expression of tino rangatiratanga.

⁸⁴⁸ As paraphrased in Dick Grace, “Bicultural Development,” *Ka Mahi Tonu : Biculturalism in New Zealand Librarianship, 1992-1994*, eds. John Garraway and Chris Szekely (Wellington: The N Strategy Bicultural Actions Group & the New Zealand Library and Information Association Te Rau Herenga o Aotearoa, 1994): 6.

foundation of information, knowledge, experience, skills and understandings” in order to produce and disseminate “sound knowledge of New Zealand’s colonial history from both the Maori and Pakeha perspectives,” including familiarity with the Treaty; ko te tuarua, to “analys[e] the current state of the organization,” including the work environment and communication processes; ko te tuatoru, “to establish the foundations for a new organisational structure that functionally promotes biculturalism;” ko te tuawha, to maintain the changes and progressively adapt over time.⁸⁴⁹

These four stages are usefully transferred into the transition towards a Treaty-responsive New Zealand Literary Studies: identifying and acknowledging the histories, erasures and violences both of colonialism in New Zealand and colonialism in New Zealand literary studies; apprehending the current institutional and intellectual environment and practice of the field; exploring possibilities for change within the practice of literary studies, and implementing these changes; and finally evaluating, maintaining and continually adapting the field. The stages are not reflected in the structure of this chapter, because the conscientisation in terms of the colonial historical context of the field, and the texts in question, is a much larger project than that which can be undertaken here, and so I will assume that that part of the process will occur – or should have occurred – before this chapter is read,⁸⁵⁰ and the final ‘maintenance’ stage is an ongoing process that necessarily extends far beyond the pages of this dissertation. The two middle stages of the process – examining the current situation and proposing possibilities for change – are (somewhat) represented here in this chapter.⁸⁵¹

⁸⁴⁹ Grace, "Bicultural Development."

⁸⁵⁰ Indeed, one imagines that the previous five chapters will have provided a fair amount of backgrounding and contextualising information for the newcomer to the field.

⁸⁵¹ Perhaps the “got frames?” section of this chapter is a starting point – although admittedly far from an exhaustive examination – for the second stage of analysis.

A compelling model for imagining the shift to a Treaty-structured biculturalism is found in Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal's 'Partnership-Two Cultures Model,' in which he uses the metaphor of three houses – the Tikanga Maori House, the Treaty of Waitangi House and the Tikanga Pakeha/ Crown House - in order to figure a conceptually appropriate metaphor of the Treaty/ Tiriti relationship.⁸⁵² According to this model, Maori – including Maori research, Maori methodologies, and Maori literature in English - have two houses, two turangawaewae, in which they operate: the 'Maori' house, and the 'Treaty' house.

Firstly, the model prescribes a distinctive and independent 'space' or 'house' for each of the two partners of the Treaty. Since the establishment of Government in NZ, the Crown has successfully assumed the role of designing and implementing management systems for its Treaty partner... Contiguous with this marginalisation has been the historic dismantling of the 'Tikanga Maori House', the 'house' variously located under the banners of 'tino rangatiratanga' and 'mana motuhake'... The model reminds us of the discrete spaces within which each partner finds their respective 'turangawaewae'.⁸⁵³

The institutional environment that supports the theorisation of the 'Maori house' is necessarily Maori designed, controlled and operated so in an educational context, to use an example, it would include kohanga reo (preschool), kura kaupapa Maori (primary school), kura kaupapa Maori tuarua (secondary school), and whare wananga (university-level). The figure of the Maori house, Royal argues, is a reminder that:

no culture can remain vital, authentic and evolutionary if it remains, structurally at least, as adjunct to another. Rather, in order for a culture

⁸⁵² It is important to note that 'tikanga' refers to (as I'll try to discuss more fully later) the 'laws', methods, customs; this model does not suggest that there is a 'Maori' house where Maori reside and a 'Pakeha' house where Pakeha reside (although some would argue there is a compelling element to this figuration), but rather that the respective houses centre, determine and evolve their own method(ologie)s, and both also have a place in the Treaty house, where the negotiation of a Treaty-based partnership takes place. Royal's three house model is not the only discussion on this issue, but I believe his is convincingly structured and very clear. Chris Cunningham's division of research into four different types is also compelling, and one can certainly imagine a fruitful overlap between the two models. Cunningham talks about 'research not involving Maori, research involving Maori, Maori-centred research, and Kaupapa Maori research. Perhaps the first belongs in the 'Tikanga Pakeha' house, the middle two are the result of the meeting in the 'Treaty House' and the latter is located in the 'Tikanga Maori' house. When I was home last year I went and listened to Pita Sharples, a very well known Maori educationalist, at a presentation on his vision for education in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. He spoke about the need to think about the administration of Maori education in two ways; there is the 'kura kaupapa Maori' sector, made up of Maori-controlled educational programmes, as well as the 'Treaty' sector, which comprises the educational programmes controlled by central government (including, for example, non-Maori private schooling such as church schools).

⁸⁵³ Royal, "Te Ao Marama - a Research Paradigm," vol.: 83.

to fully evolve, it has to have a range of its own discrete institutions, *interior* to the culture itself, as a forum by which robust discussion and debate can take place.⁸⁵⁴

Such an institution may - just as non-Maori institutions include Maori - include non-Maori students and perhaps teachers (although there are political and historical imperatives that suggest the latter is not always preferable). Another, more broad space in which this theorising takes place is the marae, and other Maori-centred community spaces. In the conclusion section of this chapter I consider more deeply the institutional prerogatives of this configuration.

nau te rakau: he iwi e rua tatou; the challenge of a comparative New Zealand literature

The ‘challenge’ in the title of this section is open to multiple interpretations. For starters, it is challenging – difficult - to conceptualise a comparative NZ, and thus a comparative NZ Literature in and of itself, because it is not how things have been done: this is a radical departure from national New Zealand literary studies. For another, a comparative NZ literary criticism challenges – contests/ refutes - the way that criticism in New Zealand/ about New Zealand literature is conducted. And finally, the idea that the Treaty might be mobilised in order to produce a re-reading of New Zealand literatures challenges – complicates/ pushes - the way in which the Treaty is currently discussed, the way in which researchers and commentators write about Other aspects of New Zealand Studies⁸⁵⁵ and ultimately the ways in which “New Zealand” is conceptualised.

⁸⁵⁴ Royal, "Te Ao Marama - a Research Paradigm," vol.: 84.

⁸⁵⁵ New Zealand Studies is a new discipline (or interdiscipline) that is gaining in prominence. For example, there is now the MA in New Zealand Studies at the University of Auckland, the MA in NZ Studies through the Stout Centre (of NZ Studies) at VUW, The interdisciplinary Programme New Zealand Studies/ Akoranga Aotearoa at the University of Waikato. Otago University had New Zealand Studies, located within History, and which is now a part of a research centre on “New Zealand, Asia and the Pacific.” There is also an active New Zealand Studies community that holds conferences in England. Often New Zealand Studies is linked with Australian Studies outside Aotearoa New Zealand. Fulbright New Zealand offers an annual visiting lectureship in New Zealand Studies at Georgetown University.

In the previous three chapters, the rakau section has perhaps appeared more as a set of weapons – gesturing towards limitations and weaknesses and inconsistencies - that, upon consideration, we might consider to be tools for the preparation of further possibilities for each framework. In this chapter, the rakau will perhaps look more like tools – specific possibilities and opportunities of the framework – which will further open up the ways in which reading New Zealand literatures might proceed. However, I want to be clear: the rakau that I propose here are not only tools but also weapons; weapons that point out the deficiencies and limitations and, specifically, the amnesias and violences of New Zealand literary studies as it has been practised to date. In terms of the critical work about non-Maori New Zealand texts, let us recognise the implications of *not* allowing for – let alone insisting upon - the kind of reading I suggest here. Contextualising New Zealand texts *apart from* the violence and deceit that is at the core of the colonial relationship is to enact further violence, further amnesia, further erasure, further colonialism.

I do not claim that this model for New Zealand literary studies is any more exhaustive and universal than any Other version of criticism; it is not a replacement for Other ways of reading New Zealand texts, and it cannot speak to all things in Maori or non-Maori texts. This addition to the vast number of existing models and metaphors for New Zealand Literature may illuminate aspects of both Maori and non-Maori texts, but certainly does not produce an complete set of readings of all texts by passport-carrying (or not!) New Zealanders. Having qualified thus, I have already argued that the claims made by this kind of re-visioning of the object we call ‘NZ Literature’ are an essential shift for a New Zealand literary criticism. The ‘new’ readings of New Zealand texts that I anticipate will be made possible by such insistence on a Treaty-derived comparative literary framework will be different in the cases of Maori and non-Maori texts because New Zealand’s colonial processes and histories (foregrounded by the centrality of the Treaty in

this configuration) have been used differentially in the reading of each body of texts. Maori texts have been all too often locked into a reading that centres their position within a relationship with (colonial, non-Maori) ‘New Zealand’, producing readings of texts that continually reinforce a gaze on the coloniser from the oppressed, marginalised, colonised Other. Indeed, the possibility of recontextualising Maori writing in English precisely to complicate and refract this relationship between ‘Maori’ and ‘New Zealand’ is a major impetus for this dissertation.⁸⁵⁶ Contrastingly, non-Maori texts have not sufficiently been held up to the light of the Maori presence, and colonial violence, that characterises the national context(s) out of which the writers and their texts come. In short, I contend that the relationship between Maori and non-Maori entities in New Zealand (literary studies) has been too sharply focussed in criticism of Maori work, and too blurrily out of focus in criticism of non-Maori texts.

implications of a comparative NZ Lit for Maori texts

Although my focus in this dissertation is on Maori texts, they do not stand to gain as much from this reframing as do non-Maori texts, and so I will briefly suggest some possibilities and then move on. The problem has not been that Maori texts have been prevented from speaking from, and to, the Treaty partnership, but has been that the national imperatives of ‘New Zealand’ have acted as a form of containment. At the moment, within New Zealand literary studies Maori texts are already engaged in informing, and perhaps “narrating,”⁸⁵⁷ the nation. Maori texts are expected to ‘inform,’ to provide a ‘window’ into a ‘culture,’ to remain historically accurate and retain cultural

⁸⁵⁶ And also, I believe, a major reason for the continual mobilisation of a metaphor of dual ‘maps’: Aotearoa and New Zealand.

⁸⁵⁷ To take a leaf out of Bhabha’s book.

integrity: Maori texts are, indeed, supposed to anthropologise the Maori community for the consumption of the ‘mainstream.’ The Maori text thereby becomes an informant to the ‘national’ narrative, as opposed to reckoning its own contexts and contributions, some of which may not be ‘New Zealand’ focussed, but may instead be Oceanic, Indigenous, Postcolonial, or indeed feminist, Mormon, activist, takatapui and so on. The possibilities of reading New Zealand literature comparatively is that Maori texts will no longer be forced to speak ‘to’ (or indeed ‘for’) the nation, but will also be able to trace their own histories. A separate Maori space to speak is protected in the metaphor of Royal’s three houses, as an alternative and supporting position to the ‘national’ comparative space.

“soil forever stained by blood:” implications of a comparative NZ Lit for non-Maori texts

Whereas Maori texts have always been discussed, to some degree, in relation to the literature of the tangata tiriti, non-Maori New Zealand writing has seldom been read with an explicit view to its relationship with the tangata whenua. Therefore, although the point of writing about these comparative frames has been to centre their possibilities and limitations for *Maori* texts, it does seem pertinent or worthwhile to ponder, albeit briefly, the implications of this newly comparative frame for *non-Maori* texts. This is particularly so because the Other constituents of the texts/ contexts alongside which Maori writing is ‘compared’ (Oceanic, Indigenous and Postcolonial) are already considered – by themselves and by Others – according to those comparative contexts, whereas non-Maori New Zealand texts have not ever been discussed within this kind of Treaty-derived comparative context. Just as it is impossible to read Maori literature in English without recognising the colonial history (as attested most obviously in the colonial language of the text) and trace that back through NZ history to 1840, so too it is impossible to read a non-

Maori text without recognising the very same colonial context, the very same moments/ patterns of encounter and entanglement, the very same contact zone.

As Sam Neill provides the voiceover narration for his documentary *Cinema of Unease*, he visits a specific site that comprises the intersection of his own personal, and New Zealand's filmic, histories: the events at the Hulme house, not far from where he grew up, formed the basis of Peter Jackson's 1994 feature film *Heavenly Creatures*. As he walks across the physical site of the house, Neill intones:

And the question I ask myself is, does a resonance remain? Is soil forever stained by blood?⁸⁵⁸

The question is ostensibly about a specific event - two girls who conspired to murder the mother of one of them - and yet in the light of his project this line of inquiry has implications for all kinds of violences that form the backbone of New Zealand national histories/ mythologies. Once you ask a question about the possibility of Hulme-spilt blood staining the soil years later ("forever"), the previous violences that led to Other blood - Maori blood (and Pakeha blood) - staining the same soil must also be considered. Specifically, in terms of the New Zealand national canon, and the relation between colonial histories/ relationships/ legacies and conceptions of 'New Zealand,' Neill impliedly asks the question about the legacies of colonialism in *all* - not just Maori - writing in New Zealand:

And the question I ask myself is, does a resonance remain? Is soil forever stained by blood?

⁸⁵⁸ Neill and Rymes, "Cinema of Unease," vol.. This film was produced as an exploration of New Zealand film as a part of an international project examining various national film histories, in order to mark a centenary of film.

I argue that yes, soil *is* forever stained by blood,⁸⁵⁹ and acknowledgement of this leads one to a complete re-visioning of non-Maori New Zealand literary studies. Since New Zealand's uniqueness is linked (at least by Braunius, Neill and myself) to Maori/ non-Maori relationships, reading non-Maori New Zealand texts in terms of their negotiation of relationship with tangata whenua (and by extension whenua) demands the acknowledgement of new dimensions of the texts. Maori "presence" in non-Maori texts might be considered in two distinct, although related, ways: an absent presence, in which a *conspicuous exclusion* of the 'presence' of Maori characters, language, and landscapes, functions as a kind of (deliberate?) amnesia; and a present absence, in which, through the gaps, ghostings, ambiguities and anxieties of the texts, Maori are absent from the conscious narrative but lurking, perhaps, in the background such that this '*absence*' *in fact shapes much of the texts*.

The 'absent presence' of Maori in New Zealand Literature is discernable throughout anthologies and novels and collections of New Zealand writing. In the introductory essay to his anthology, Barrowman suggests some reasons that Maori are largely absent from Pakeha texts:

much of the fiction about Maori and Pakeha seems, as Vincent O'Sullivan puts it, 'simplistic and gauche' at best. Maori have usually existed in Pakeha fiction as colourful Other. A summary list of roles would include noble savage, Aryan Maori, dying chief, ornament of New Zealand, loafer, fine footballer and soldier, good bloke who only drinks beer, oppressed victim of the West...

This is the dilemma for the contemporary Pakeha writers: how to avoid appropriation of Maori material for decorative or moral effect while still representing the full New Zealand reality. One response has been not to depict Maori at all; one of the notable features of Pakeha fiction

⁸⁵⁹ The idea of soil stained by blood actually has a specific and important meaning within the context of NZ's violent colonial history: when Te Whiti was outlining the protocols by which the residents of Parihaka were to undertake their passive resistance to the government by quietly pulling out surveyor's pegs and ploughing fields that were rightfully theirs, he told them to 'turn the other cheek' if they met with violent resistance, a phrase which has been remembered in NZ theatre, through Mervyn Thompson's *Songs to the Judges* and Harry Dansey's *Raukura* in highly Biblical language: "smite not those who smite you". Specifically, and this is remembered in such theatrical ventures, Te Whiti told his followers to pick up the soil onto which Maori blood had fallen and bring it back to Parihaka. Mervyn Thompson and William Dart, *Songs to the Judges* (Wellington: Playmarket, 1983).; Dansey, *Te Raukura: The Feathers of the Albatross*.

of the last fifteen years has been the low incidence of Maori characters and issues. This is what we see in 'The Last of Freddie', the exact representation of Pakeha society with Maori as a felt absence. Where Maori *are* present in recent Pakeha fiction, representation has been scrupulous and exact.⁸⁶⁰

Some important work has been done on the area of the presence of Maori in texts written by non-Maori, such as Terry Goldie's *Fear and Temptation: the image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian and New Zealand Literatures*.⁸⁶¹ Bill Pearson's "Attitudes to the Maori in Some Pakeha Fiction"⁸⁶² and "The Maori and Literature 1938-65," the latter of which was collected as a contribution to Wystan Curnow's *Essays on New Zealand Literature*.⁸⁶³ Later work has often been in the format of dissertations, such as Morag Mansill's MA thesis on representation of Maori in Pakeha short fiction,⁸⁶⁴ and Mei-lin Hansen's forthcoming PhD thesis on Maori women in New Zealand theatre.⁸⁶⁵

Barrowman describes a peculiar phenomenon in some non-Maori writing in the above quotation:

This is what we see in 'The last of Freddie', the exact representation of Pakeha society with Maori as a *felt absence*.⁸⁶⁶

Rather than solely considering non-Maori treatments of colonial history and parades (or more likely not) of brown characters (the 'absent *presence*'), it is fruitful to simultaneously think about a Maori "presence" in these texts, and this 'presence' (which is, after all, a present *absence*; a "felt absence") necessarily brings with it acknowledgement of colonial violences, the bases on which non-Maori reside in New

⁸⁶⁰ Barrowman, *The Picador Book of Contemporary New Zealand Fiction*: xix.

⁸⁶¹ Terry Goldie, *Fear and Temptation : The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand Literatures* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989)..

⁸⁶² This essay was included in Bill Pearson, *Fretful Sleepers and Other Essays* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1974)., although it was originally in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* in 1958.

⁸⁶³ Pearson, "The Maori and Literature 1938-65." This essay originally appeared in 1969, in Schwimmer's *The Maori People in the Nineteen-Sixties*. Also look at Pearson's booklength treatment that deals with the topic in the context of the Pacific: Bill Pearson, *Rifled Sanctuaries : Some Views of the Pacific Islands in Western Literature to 1900* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1984)..

⁸⁶⁴ Morag Mansill, "Pakeha Depiction of Maori in New Zealand Short Stories," MA dissertation, University of Auckland, 1998..

⁸⁶⁵ Hansen's PhD is through the University of Auckland.

⁸⁶⁶ Barrowman, *The Picador Book of Contemporary New Zealand Fiction*: xix; emphasis added.

Zealand. I draw this notion of “presence” from Toni Morrison’s fascinating and incisive long essay, *Playing in the Dark; Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*,⁸⁶⁷ in which she describes the pervasive ‘Africanist presence’ in *all* American literature that results from the centrality of the enslavement and labour of Africans to American history, and thereby to any American national consciousness.⁸⁶⁸ Morrison argues:

the contemplation of this black presence is central to any understanding of our national literature and should not be permitted to hover at the margins of the literary imagination.⁸⁶⁹

Having identified the “black presence” in American culture, Morrison’s argument takes one more step, in which the “presence” is upgraded to the glue, the unifier, the foundation, of that culture:

These speculations have led me to wonder whether the major and championed characteristics of our national literature... are not in fact responses to a dark, abiding, signing Africanist presence. It has occurred to me that the very manner by which American literature

⁸⁶⁷ Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark : Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*, The William E. Massey, Sr. Lectures in the History of American Civilization ; 1990 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992)..

⁸⁶⁸ Morrison notes her fascination with “the way black people ignite critical moments of discovery or change or emphasis in literature not written by them”, and it is worth quoting here at length in order to lay out, and delve into, the depths of her argument:

[There is] a certain set of assumptions conventionally accepted among literary historians and critics and circulated as “knowledge”. This knowledge holds that traditional, canonical American literature is free of, uninformed, and unshaped by the four-hundred-year presence of, first, Africans and then African-Americans in the United States. It assumes that this presence – which shaped the body politic, the Constitution, and the entire history of the culture – has had no significant place or consequence in the origin and development of that culture’s literature. Moreover, such knowledge assumes that *the characteristics of our national literature emanate from a particular “Americanness” that is separate from and unaccountable to this presence*. There seems to be a more or less tacit agreement among literary scholars that, because American literature has been clearly the preserve of white male views, genius, and power, those views, genius and power are without relationship to and removed from the overwhelming presence of black people in the United States. This agreement is made about a population that preceded every American writer of renown and was, I have come to believe, one of the most furtively radical impinging forces on the country’s literature. *The contemplation of this black presence is central to any understanding of our national literature* and should not be permitted to hover at the margins of the literary imagination.

(Morrison, *Playing in the Dark : Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*: 4-5.)

It might be pointed out, quite fairly, that there are some theoretical and perhaps political barriers to uncomplicatedly bringing the perspective of an African American writer/ critic into a discussion about Maori literatures. After all, African Americans are not indigenous, they are not colonised on the basis of a Treaty, they do not share a common *originary* language and cultural background, their experience of the Ocean is via the Black Atlantic rather than Oceania, they have no relationship to the idea of the Commonwealth (except, perhaps, for more recent arrivals who have spent time in the (previously) British-controlled parts of the Caribbean), and they are not even clearly postcolonial according to many accounts. Importantly, too, Maori identity within the NZ nation is not premised on the basis of ‘minority-ness’; a claim of indigeneity is not tied to quantitative, but qualitative, relationship with the land and with the nation-state. This is all good reason to place caveats on the wholesale importation of Black theory into Aotearoa, and yet there are still important parallels that seem to allow for the considered reflection on Morrison’s essay.

⁸⁶⁹ Morrison, *Playing in the Dark : Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*: 5.

distinguishes itself as a coherent entity exists because of this unsettled and unsettling population.⁸⁷⁰

A national-historical context and influence must be acknowledged in non-Black/ non-Maori texts; these communities that exert a “presence” are indeed the very things that make the nations ‘US’ or ‘NZ’ what they are.

To state the case clearly in the context of New Zealand, those aspects of non-Maori writing in New Zealand that distinguish it from any other kind of writing are due to the discourse, histories and presence of Maori. This “presence” is manifest in silence (and gaps) as much as in ‘being there,’ and this point is key. When non-Maori texts resist making visible the (Treaty) relationship between Maori and non-Maori, this elision says as much about the non-Maori Treaty partner as do any images and representations of Maori. Morrison explicates, with a specific criticism of criticism:

It is important to see how inextricable Africanism is or ought to be from the deliberations of literary criticism and the wanton, elaborate strategies undertaken to erase its presence from view.⁸⁷¹

The approach I suggest here is liable to open up a can of worms in the field of New Zealand literary studies, because it demands a complete overhaul (or perhaps, the topsy-turvy-isation) of the way that non-Maori New Zealand texts are read. I am tempted to leave the questions and possibilities where they are and conclude the chapter without further ado. However, it seems prudent to make a few comments about the possible directions, and some possible readings, that this approach to non-Maori New Zealand literary texts might produce.

Madness and insanity has long been a feature of non-Maori New Zealand literary studies. In a very physical and experiential way, several key Pakeha writers were institutionalised in residential psychiatric units, and although this is testimony to dominant attitudes towards mental health, creativity and ‘non-standard’ lifestyles of the

⁸⁷⁰ Morrison, *Playing in the Dark : Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*.: 5-6.

⁸⁷¹ Morrison, *Playing in the Dark : Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*.: 9.

time/ place more so than to the writers themselves, this shared experience and particular kind of marginalisation is a significant aspect of the writing and its reception.⁸⁷² Richard Hill conducts a thorough analysis of what he calls ‘anti-Treatyist’ writing, in which he paraphrases a part of Stuart Scott’s argument:

‘CAN A NATION GO MAD?’ asked Scott, and his answer was in the affirmative. For ‘the Germans, the Irish and the Russians’, had done so, with the Irish in particular being ‘accused of going mad, a consequence, possibly, of inbreeding.’ Many pakeha New Zealanders were now said to be pushing their country towards joining the mad nations list, based on guilt rooted in a history that, ‘true scholarship’ finds, did not happen anyway.⁸⁷³

Similarly, when Joe Williams responds to Kenneth Minogue’s conservative rightwing *Waitangi: Morality and Reality* published by the Business Roundtable,⁸⁷⁴ he explains the book’s major claim (that the Waitangi Tribunal is getting in the way of assimilation of Maori to the ‘mainstream;’ a good reason if ever I heard one to support the Tribunal!), he paraphrases part of the argument in this way:

In a rather elegant turn of phrase Minogue considered that the Treaty claims process was little more than New Zealand talking itself into a nervous breakdown.⁸⁷⁵

⁸⁷² Janet Frame’s filmography *An Angel at my Table* brought this to wide public attention. However, Frame is certainly not the only Pakeha writer who experienced rocky mental health: Mansfield, Sargeson and Hyde are prominent examples of this, and several scholars have paid attention to this dimension of New Zealand letters.

⁸⁷³ Richard Hill, *Anti-Treatyism and Anti-Scholarship : An Analysis of Anti-Treatyist Writings* (Wellington: Treaty of Waitangi Research Unit, Stout Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington, 2002).: 34-5.

⁸⁷⁴ The Business Roundtable is a New Zealand-based rightwing corporate collective. Kenneth Minogue, *Waitangi: Morality and Reality* (Wellington: New Zealand Business Roundtable, 1998)..

⁸⁷⁵ Joe Williams, "Quality Relations: The Key to Māori Survival," *Living Relationships - Kōkiri Ngātahi: The Treaty of Waitangi in the New Millennium*, eds. Kenneth Coates and Paul McHugh (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1998).: 261.

As ludicrous as Scott's and Minogue's books probably are,⁸⁷⁶ their configurations of a link – perhaps even a causal link - between the Treaty and “mad[ness]”, indeed a national “nervous breakdown,” are compelling. My point of departure from Scott and Minogue would be that this was a part of the national character well before any Tribunal came along; indeed, the creation of a Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 both signalled and began to lance some of the psychological as well as physical/ environmental⁸⁷⁷ wounds of colonialism in New Zealand. The psychological work of suppressing the violent basis of settler residence/ occupation in New Zealand already forecloses the possibility of an unproblematic national identity and, in turn, national literature. The real occurrence, as well as the trope, of madness in non-Maori New Zealand (literature) is, indeed, central to its character.⁸⁷⁸

The rejection of the settler by the landscape, resulting in “unease” or “mad[ness]”, is one pertinent feature of non-Maori New Zealand identity about which some work has

⁸⁷⁶ I will only sacrifice so much for the sake of research; I couldn't bring myself to read the book myself. However, Williams nicely contextualises the book by imagining its fans: “There is no doubt that these ideas are abroad and that they appear to be held by otherwise and intelligent and rational people.” (Williams, “Quality Relations: The Key to Māori Survival.”: 261) There are a number of these books, and they come out every few years. They are characterised by bad historical scholarship, inflammatory racial and class commentary, and an impassioned appeal for (certain kinds of) ‘equality’ ‘fairness’ and ‘justice’, to be achieved by return to an apparent golden era of ‘harmonious race relations’ (of course, this era never actually happened). Richard Hill's *Anti-Treatyism and Anti-Scholarship: An Analysis of Anti-Treatyist Writings* is a useful discussion of the major concerns and features of these publications. Hill, who worked as an historian for the government and now directs the Treaty of Waitangi Research Unit at Victoria University of Wellington, uses the word ‘Anti-Treatyism’ “to cover those who popularise, especially through the medium of books aimed at a general audience, a position that is antithetical to the incorporation of the Treaty of Waitangi into the life of the country.” (2) He argues that, despite the dubious/ dangerous claims of the authors, “the mere fact that anti-Treatyists articulate the inchoate views of large numbers of people... is one reason their works are a suitable subject for study: to examine these provides insight into contemporary New Zealand society.” (23) The examples considered by Hill include: Geoff McDonald's 1985 *Shadows Over New Zealand*, 1986 *The Kiwis Fight Back*, and 1987 *The Kiwis at the Crossroads*; Hilda Phillips's 1989 *Let the Truth be Known*; Robin Mitchell's 1990 *The Treaty & the Act*; Stuart Scott's 1995 *The Travesty of Waitangi* and 1996 *Travesty after Travesty*; David Round's 1998 *Truth or Treaty? Commonsense Questions about the Treaty of Waitangi*; Minogue's 1998 *Waitangi: Morality and Pakeha*; Epstein's 1999 *The Treaty of Waitangi: A Plain Meaning Interpretation*; and Walter Christie's 1999 *New Zealand Education and Treatyism*. Unsurprisingly, Brash's Orewa speech used similar tactics and ministrations.

⁸⁷⁷ The link between psychological, physical, environmental, epistemological and spiritual violence is traced out fabulously in Patricia Grace's *Baby No-Eyes*.

⁸⁷⁸ See Luangphinit, “Tropical Fevers: ‘Madness’ and Colonialism in Pacific Literature.” for treatment of this kind of ‘madness.’

already been done, and Michelle Elleray⁸⁷⁹ in particular writes at length about the process of settler identity formation, in which a move to settler-ness is occasioned by a coexistence of paradoxical distance from, and clinging to, England and Englishness.⁸⁸⁰ When the narrator of Kipling's short story "One Lady at Wairakei" observes that "the men don't belong...", the muse reassures him that the issue of not "belong[ing]" was a simple time management issue, and once the business of colonialism took up less time they'd start to write: "All in good time. You can't fell timber with one hand and write a tale with the other."⁸⁸¹ Despite this prophesy of forthcoming writers "as soon as the spirit of the fern-hills... and the snow mountains has entered [their] blood,"⁸⁸² by the time Neill makes *Cinema of Unease*, the "spirit" is apparently still at bay. Or perhaps the direction of movement through the skin is flawed? Perhaps the crux of settler identity is bloodletting, as opposed to a "spirit... enter[ing their] blood," and the necessary *acknowledgement of that bloodletting* ("is the soil forever stained by blood?"). One of the most provocative moments in *Cinema of Unease* is a wide shot that visually locates Neill within a landlocked space in New Zealand, and yet as he stands there he speaks of his personal "unease" about the literal – as well, presumably, as figurative – sensation of falling into the ocean⁸⁸³ which he links, too, with madness:

I've often had the feeling that perhaps this is the edge of the world and maybe these narrow islands really are adrift and we may all just topple over the edge into oblivion. This sense of the precarious is something one often feels in New Zealand films. The feeling that something awful

⁸⁷⁹ Michelle Elleray, in particular, has done important and insightful work in the area of settler studies, and specifically NZ settler studies (or what I would call 'non-Maori New Zealand' studies from my own scholarly location) through her PhD dissertation, and several conference papers. I am very grateful to her for conversations and also for her generosity with her research, including unpublished and 'still-at-the-level-of-an-idea' works. Elleray, "Unsettled Subject : The South Pacific and the Settler.". In my view, this kind of generous collaboration, mentoring and sharing with a junior, and Maori, literary scholar such as myself is a valuable and tangible instance of the institutional imperatives of bicultural NZ literary studies, about which I write below.

⁸⁸⁰ Elleray compellingly argues that the gendering of this necessary paradox, in which settler men 'go native' in the bush without compromising too much because they have settler women to function as their link between the 'home' of England/ Englishness by inhabiting and maintaining a 'home' of local housebound domesticity.

⁸⁸¹ Kipling, "One Lady at Wairakei.": 23.

⁸⁸² Kipling, "One Lady at Wairakei.": 24.

⁸⁸³ The counterpoint of this settler view of New Zealand's oceanic location with Hau'ofa's 'sea of islands' is striking.

is about to begin. However, we grew up here in the God-given certainty that nothing traumatic would ever happen to us – except perhaps you might go mad.

The vulnerability of the land (“these narrow islands really are adrift and we may all just topple over the edge”) is linked to psychological vulnerability (“this *sense* of the precarious,” “The *feeling* that something awful is about to begin”), a configuration that he addresses explicitly as he moves into a discussion of the ‘Man Alone’/ man vs nature mythologies:

They would turn their backs on the picturesque. They saw the landscape as a metaphor for a psychological interior and looked to the darker heart of the menacing land.

The trope of settler vulnerability to physical harm in a landscape that, while perhaps rejecting them back, is not empty, is found throughout much settler NZ fiction.

Writing about Robin Hyde, Elleray writes that:

what is emphasised ultimately in this poem [Robin Hyde’s “The Poem for the Island”] is the insecurity of white identification with New Zealand. The fantasy of plenitude and “at homeness” resides not with the settler, but with the Maori...

while Wednesday’s identification with the local presents us with the possibility of a New Zealand that decentres a conservative notion of family and gender roles, it also demonstrates the fragility and complications of white settler identity with a land that was, and is, already occupied by Maori.⁸⁸⁴

However, while “at homeness” may well reside with Maori, Hyde writes from a location in that same landscape and so is interpolated by its history. In the case of *Wednesday’s Children*,⁸⁸⁵ the novel from which the poem is excerpted, the settler Wednesday occupies a national but also a specific domestic landscape, in which the only Maori body present is Maritana the housekeeper. The “white identification with New Zealand” relies on displacement of Maori “at homeness” and simultaneously on Maori presence (the “already occup[ation] by Maori”) and, indeed, subservience; Maritana is Wednesday’s domestic servant and wet-nurse. Maori presence is continually enforced by – and

⁸⁸⁴ Elleray, “Unsettled Subject : The South Pacific and the Settler.”: 235.

⁸⁸⁵ Robin Hyde, *Wednesday’s Children* (Auckland: New Women’s Press, 1989)..

mediated through - the presence of the presiding non-Maori/ settler. Settler identification with the land is not a simple displacement because the presence of a Maori body as housekeeper (a limited and alienated kind of “at homeness”) on which the novel depends requires continual reassertion of colonial hierarchies and histories. I would add to this configuration of insecurity, then, the centrality of the violence (the “soil stained by blood”) by which this “at homeness” is wrested away from Maori, and thus the violence that is the basis on which settlers reside in that landscape.

In order to imagine how this Treaty-derived reading, and its focus on the present absence of Maori in non-Maori texts, might produce a different reading – or perhaps ask new questions or open new realms – I decided to pick a novel written by a non-Maori New Zealand writer and see what (new) there was to see. Because I was unwilling to insist that this produces an ‘optimal’ (or even useful) reading of every single text produced by a non-Maori New Zealander, I was prepared to have to look beyond the first text I randomly selected for consideration. However, I found the Janet Frame’s *Living in the Maniototo*⁸⁸⁶ contained ample material for this kind of reading. Whether or not this immediate ‘discovery’ of an exemplary text was a fluke, or beginner’s luck, remains to be seen.

Frame’s 1979 novel *Living in the Maniototo* is well covered in many discussions of New Zealand Literary Criticism. With an explicit overriding focus on the exploration of the possibilities and features and limitations of (access to) language, the novel is narrated by a multi-pseudonym’d Pakeha New Zealand writer who travels overseas after the deaths of her two husbands to visit with a friend in Baltimore and to stay in a house in

⁸⁸⁶ Janet Frame, *Living in the Maniototo*, 1st ed. (New York: G. Braziller, 1979).. The ‘random selection’ involved me going to the section of the main library of University of Hawaii at Manoa and standing in front of the shelves with New Zealand books. I then looked at the shelf until I saw a book I’d always wanted to read: ‘randomly,’ then, it was the Frame.

Berkeley while its owners, the Garretts, vacation in Italy. The sudden death of the homeowners whilst in Italy brings about a sequence of events in which the narrator inherits the house and is then compelled (by “decency”) to host two couples who had also intended to visit with the Garretts during the summer. Two of the visitors are Pakeha New Zealanders, one is a New Zealander who arrived as a Hungarian refugee when a child, and one is English and married a New Zealander. The bulk of the novel seems to focus on narrating the events surrounding the cohabitation of the absented – indeed the (presumed) deceased - owners’ home by these five individuals, all of whom are aspiring writers in some way.⁸⁸⁷ Suddenly, however, the Garretts return, to the great surprise of the narrator, and assume habitation of their home. While I do not claim that the book is ‘about’ colonialism or settler identity (Frame is a writer, after all, whose work resists being ‘about’ things in a straightforward way),⁸⁸⁸ a substantial exploration of ‘belonging’ in landscapes other than one’s own originary space is central to the text. In particular, the novel explores the paradoxical territoriality and anxiety about occupation that is central to settler consciousness. While the five squabble over the distribution of key possessions in the house, the narrator muses on the irony that the “scarcely known” original owners, whose place after all it is, are not only sidelined from the conversation, but are necessarily absented from it:

⁸⁸⁷ This seems significant, particularly in the light of the work done on ‘narrating the nation’ (Homi K. Bhabha, Nation and Narration (London ; New York: Routledge, 1990).) and the relationship between print culture and nationalism (Benedict R. O’G Anderson, Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, Rev. and extended ed. (London ; New York: Verso, 1991).).

⁸⁸⁸ An allegorical reading of *Living in the Maniototo* is tempting. It is compelling to recognise an allegory of colonialism in New Zealand; after all, the novel centres on white New Zealanders who share the occupation of a house because of their relationships with the homeowners, who are presumed dead but turn out to be very much alive, and upon their return the documentary basis for the ‘inheritance’ and occupation (and indeed the relationship between the five writers) is nullified. Because Frame is too complex and postmodern to be quite as crude with allegory in the way that one might be tempted to read the novel – and my examination of the novel has been too cursory to investigate all of the nooks and crannies of the text - it seems too brash to suggest the novel is a simple (or even complex) allegory of the nation. Certainly, I believe, the biggest danger in this kind of reading would be its tendency towards reductive substitution, in which everything ‘stands in for’ something else. However, the novel does explore the unsettled-ness of settlement; the anxiety and paradoxes of occupation in a residential space and landscape to which you have an inheritance that you admit to yourself occasionally that you doubt. It seems that reading the novel through this bicultural frame (if you’ll pardon the pun) opens up the possibility of recognising the kinds of questions.

It was the usual story. Only the subduing heat of the day prevented us from climbing to pinnacles of intensity and crying out our choice of the Garretts' remains, one after the other, fighting for possession of our claims. It could have been any death of anyone, linked by blood, and passionately loved and mourned: it was only the Garretts.

Only the Garretts.

We had given them so little time in our thoughts and our conversation and if any of us had prayed it might have been, as usual, for the ease and forgiveness of our own lives and not for the scarcely known dead.⁸⁸⁹

Upon the return of the 'real' owners of the house, their familiarity with the landscape as well as their routines of caretakership supplants the 'settler,' and the pretence of the narrator's undeserving 'ownership' is undermined entirely.

conclusions

New Zealand conclusions I

This chapter represents the last to be added to the four comparative frameworks that I consider in this dissertation. As I explained above, its inclusion was initially on the basis of a realisation that the predominant ways of teaching, anthologising and reading Maori writing in English in *New Zealand* was not covered in my project unless this chapter was included. What I have found illuminating is that rather than simply being an exercise in an arbitrary redefinition (which is how it literally began after all⁸⁹⁰) once I

⁸⁸⁹ Frame, *Living in the Maniototo*: 220.

⁸⁹⁰ Literally, I sat down in my lounge in Ithaca with a pen and paper one day, to try to figure out how I could argue that a national literature ('New Zealand Literature') is comparative, and as I sat there I was struck by a memory of law school classes a few years ago, in which we were taught about the 'application' of case law to a new set of circumstances. Specifically, I remembered sitting in a particular Te Rakau Ture Friday afternoon tutorial. (Senior students and affiliated faculty of the Maori Law Students Association, Te Rakau Ture, at the University of Auckland ran tutorials for Maori students at the introductory levels of Law School. It is an immense source of gratification and satisfaction for me that the two years I spent in law school have not been 'wasted' but seem to have continued benefits in various circumstances.) We had been given the facts of a case, and as a group we had come up with a 'ratio' (an applicable 'moral of the story', if you will) of the judgement, and then were given a second scenario and had to use the ratio of the first in order to achieve a similar outcome for our imaginary client. We tried as hard as we could to squish the facts of the case so they would sufficiently fit the ratio we'd come up with, but couldn't do it. The lesson for that day turned out to be: if the facts won't fit the ratio, you can't change the facts but think about how you can

began to consider New Zealand literature to be ‘comparative’, a multitude of possibilities opened up. I have been particularly grateful for the opportunity to elaborate on the important and rich work on the Treaty, Biculturalism and Tino Rangatiratanga. This scholarship has influenced me as a person and as a scholar, but has not yet been brought into the field of literary critical methodologies.

Certainly the implications of this configuration for both Maori and non-Maori texts are insufficiently treated (or, I whine, treatable) within this project. Because I insist on not treating non-Maori texts within the ‘body text’ of this dissertation (we’re everyone else’s footnotes usually, so it was time for us to be literally centred and magnified for once), the reading of *Living in the Maniototo* in particular suffers from insufficient attention and I hope to rectify this myself with more considered and spacious consideration of the novel in a future project. Despite these apologies for my analysis that feels to be a mile wide and an inch deep at some points of this chapter, I hope – indeed, I anticipate – that the questions I have raised here will push future projects of New Zealand literary studies into some of the theoretical spaces in which I have here merely dipped my critical toe.

New Zealand conclusions II

What is the position of Maori literary studies with regard to New Zealand literary studies? How has Maori literary studies fared as a ‘sub-field’ of New Zealand literary studies in the academy? Is the current relationship between Maori literary studies and

change the ratio. Using this as a model, I equated New Zealand Literary Studies with the first (existing/preceding) case and the comparative frame as the second set of circumstances, and I realised that I couldn’t find a way to fit the features and claims of a comparative frame within the way in which New Zealand Literature was currently figured, and rather than compromise on the ‘facts’ (features?) of the comparative frame I decided to reconfigure the ‘New Zealand Literature’ bit instead. Given my own commitments to the Treaty, finding a way to call NZ ‘comparative’ was not a very long jump from that decision.

New Zealand literary studies working for Maori? In 2004 there were only two courses offered *on the planet* that focussed solely on Maori writing,⁸⁹¹ and there are still English Departments in New Zealand universities who do not have a specialist in Maori literatures. Very few Maori have doctorates in English (as far as I am aware, these are Terry Sturm, Jon Battista, Briar Wood and AnnaMarie Christiansen, the latter two of whom teach in Hawaii and London respectively), and very few Maori are studying towards graduate degrees in Literary Studies. All New Zealand universities report massive dropout rates of Maori students between stages one and three of undergraduate English, and very few go on to formally major in the discipline. Only three monographs that focus on Maori writing in English have been published, all of which have been written by non-Maori scholars who have not lived (let alone taught) for any significant time in Aotearoa New Zealand.⁸⁹² There remains no journal focussing on Maori writing, no published collection of scholarly essays about Maori writing in English, no professional association, no ongoing conference. This picture would not have been dismal thirty, twenty or even ten years ago, but *in 2004* this situation is a combination of dangerous and embarrassing.

In this chapter I have focussed on the Treaty as a potent basis for a consideration of Maori and non-Maori *texts* but its political and cultural import cannot ever be entirely removed from the business of structuring and organising the real experiences of Maori with regard to ‘New Zealand’ institutions. The Treaty, and discourse about the Treaty,

⁸⁹¹ A course called ‘Maori Literature’ was taught at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, by Rapata Wiri and myself; the other was at Canterbury.

⁸⁹² Heim, Allen, Eva Rask Knudsen. Otto Heim, *Writing Along Broken Lines : Violence and Ethnicity in Contemporary Māori Fiction* (Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press, 1998)., Allen, *Blood Narrative: Indigenous Identity in American Indian and Maori Literary and Activist Texts.*, Knudsen, *The Circle and the Spiral.*

The exception to this list is, of course, Beatson, whose *The Healing Tongue* was written after he returned to NZ from years spent overseas. However, I would argue that this publication – while important – is not properly ‘booklength,’ and reads more like an introduction than a sustained argument with the scale and scope for depth of argument. Peter Beatson and Robyn Kahukiwa, *The Healing Tongue : Themes in Contemporary Maori Literature.* Studies in New Zealand Art & Society ; 1 (Palmerston North: Sociology Dept., Massey University, 1989)..

speaks directly to the situation I have described above: the Crown institution (the University, English Departments, New Zealand literary studies) is not exercising responsible kawanatanga in the way it administrates the field of Maori literary studies; Maori are restricted by the actions of the Crown from implementing te tino rangatiratanga over a “taonga;” and Maori students, scholars and writers are clearly not receiving the opportunities due to them as subjects/ citizens. Paraphrasing McHugh, Mason Durie explains that:

self-governance is no longer negotiable; *it is a given* and the challenge is to make it work in a spirit of cooperation.⁸⁹³

What does self-governance mean in the magical world of academia, with its classrooms and conferences, publications and pedagogies, a-ha moments and archival adventures? What might kawanatanga, and tino rangatiratanga, look like in a university, a school, a department, a field? I believe that institutionally, self-governance ‘looks like’ Maori involvement at all levels of literary studies in New Zealand (and, indeed, overseas) and it ‘looks like’ substantial consultation, participation and inclusion within New Zealand Literature offerings, as well as autonomy and departmental support to establish Maori-focussed classes at all levels.

The Treaty stages several productive interventions into New Zealand literary studies, not only in the production of different readings of texts but also in the bureaucratic institutional matters of course organization, syllabi, hiring of faculty, mentoring, conference planning and so on. With specific regard to self-determination, Roger Maaka foregrounds two aspects of organisational structure that are crucial to Treaty relationships:

For the majority of tribes tino rangatiratanga as self-determination means a major emphasis on *local control of local resources*.⁸⁹⁴

⁸⁹³ Mason Durie, "The Treaty Was Always About the Future," *Living Relationships = Kōkiri Ngātahi: The Treaty of Waitangi in the New Millennium*, eds. Kenneth Coates and Paul McHugh (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1998): 193; emphasis added.

⁸⁹⁴ Roger Maaka, "A Relationship, Not a Problem," *Living Relationships = Kōkiri Ngātahi: The Treaty of Waitangi in the New Millennium*, eds. Kenneth Coates and Paul McHugh (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1998): 201.

self-determination is about relationships of *autonomy within a unified nation*.⁸⁹⁵

This double approach underscores my own personal vision of what tino rangatiratanga will 'look like' within the institutionalised field of literary studies for the texts with which I work. I am committed to bringing about, and anticipate, a time when Maori writing in English is widely taught and critiqued in the English language at New Zealand's preschools, schools and universities ("autonomy within a unified nation"), and it is simultaneously taught and critiqued in the Maori language at Aotearoa's kohanga reo, kura kaupapa and wananga ("local control of local resources"). Maaka points out that:

At the crux of this discourse is the recognition that it is a discourse on a multi-tired relationship, not one on a social-political problem. It is not a problem to be solved but *a relationship founded on mutual respect, to be continually managed and even celebrated*, it is an ongoing relationship where both parties have to contribute to their shared identities.⁸⁹⁶

This kind of structural reorganisation along Treaty lines requires not only the support but the generosity, goodwill and the hard work of going outside comfort zones for practitioners of both Maori and non-Maori literary studies. The implications of this kind of shift, are tied in multiple ways to New Zealand's national identifications and Treaty commitments. As well as universities being legally aligned with the Crown Treaty partner on the basis of their funding and governance, Bill Mansfield reminds us that universities - and those who work within them - are also inflected by the Treaty on the basis of their New Zealandness:

In New Zealand, where (in contrast to the situation in many other countries with indigenous population) there is extensive contact between Maori and other New Zealanders across a broad range of activities including work, sport, recreation and religion, the responsibility for relationship with Maori does not rest exclusively with the government. The government can provide a lead and set a tone for interactions at the local level but *the development of relationships is also a community responsibility*.⁸⁹⁷

⁸⁹⁵ Maaka, "A Relationship, Not a Problem.": 204.

⁸⁹⁶ Maaka, "A Relationship, Not a Problem.": 205.

⁸⁹⁷ Mansfield, "Focusing on the Future.": 212.

New Zealand conclusions III

The stakes of this framework are high because Maori are going to be considered ‘New Zealand’ before any Other designation in New Zealand (after all, ‘he iwi kotahi tatou’). or me, though, some of the highest stakes are not restricted to the critical economy of the university sphere but are, instead, located at a more widely accessible places. After all, ‘New Zealandness’ is taught all over the place, in various ways and at multiple levels: on the rugby field and netball court, both during the international tests which are televised and played to hushed and/ or hyped crowds, and during the Saturday morning sports games and interschool tournaments for primary schools; in newspapers and magazines, from ‘serious’ publications that decide what gets to be a headline and which angle to take on a story to *The Woman’s Weekly* and *Woman’s Day* that create ‘local’ celebrities whose faces become recognisable as ‘ours’ and ‘us;’ on the four mainstream television channels (and indeed the specialist channels of Maori TV, the TAB channel⁸⁹⁸ and so on), through news bulletins, current events shows, coverage of cultural, sporting and political events, documentary series, advertising⁸⁹⁹ and locally-made soaps and dramas such as *Close to Home*, *Shortland Street* and *Marlin Bay*

New Zealandness is especially taught, though, through the schooling system, where children and youth learn versions of national histories, the acceptable stories ‘we’ can tell about ‘ourselves,’ and what is valued – and isn’t – by ‘New Zealanders.’ Into this environment come the High School English teachers, and teachers of reading at the primary and intermediate school levels, who mark out the parameters of which stories do and don’t count as ‘New Zealand’ stories. Not only is a certain kind of ‘New Zealand’

⁸⁹⁸ The TAB is the betting agency in NZ, and the channel shows horse and greyhound racing.

⁸⁹⁹ The affectionate and slightly tongue-in-cheek L&P ads proclaiming that certain things are ‘world famous in New Zealand’ come to mind here.

portrayed, but so too is a certain kind of Maori, and the relationships between ‘New Zealand’ and ‘Maori’ are sketched out. The English curriculum at the New Zealand High School level, which is compulsory for every New Zealander up until the age of 16, and is thus accessible to a much higher proportion of Maori students than literary studies at the tertiary level. The more we challenge and stretch the notion of New Zealandness at universities, then, the more exposure future (and current) English teachers will have to Maori texts and various modes and possibilities for reframing New Zealand ‘national’ consciousness. Maori school students need to be in environments in which their stories and perspectives are taught and discussed, and thereby valued. All school students in New Zealand need to be exposed to texts by Maori writers and need multiple ways of talking about those texts. In this way, perhaps, we – Maori and non-Maori - will begin to “live by the light of an imaginative order of [our] own.”

CHAPTER SEVEN:
CONCLUSIONS

Keri Hulme's *the bone people* closes with the capitalised words "TE MUTUNGA – RANEI TE TAKE," a phrase that is glossed in the back of the book as "the end – or the beginning," and the Prologue section of the same novel is titled "The end at the beginning." The possibility of mutually substitutable/ referential beginnings and ends that is manifest in the structure of the novel relies on the metaphor of a spiral. The double spiral⁹⁰⁰ reflects the literally endless structure that is central to, and constitutive of, Maori ontologies, in which an achieved equilibrium of perpetual motion means that endings (whether at the 'centre' or extremities of the spiral) necessarily become beginnings, and vice versa. The epigraph to the fifth volume of *Te Ao Marama* mobilises a whakatauki about this figure of the double spiral in order to frame Maori writing in English:

Te torino whakamua, whakamuri.

At the same time as the spiral is going forward, it is going back.

The spiral deeply inflects the kaupapa section of the volume through the repetition of the English translation of the whakatauki in its entirety throughout the essay, and by the constant return to the metaphor of the spiral:

⁹⁰⁰ Sometimes called te torino, the takarangi spiral, and te pitau.

For as many of our writers spiralling outward from centre to margin, there is an equal number who spiral back from margin to centre... Our outward spiralling writers constantly return to the source... As often as we go forward or outward, increasingly we do so by looking backwards as were we've come from, taking our bearings from the past... it is our belief that the constant going out and returning, te torino haere whakahua, whakamuri, possess the kinds of tensions which can push our work, informed by kaupapa Maori, into a new form that is an amalgamation of both. We are the writers of the spiral.⁹⁰¹

Maori fiction and poetry offers a different kind of 'conclusion' than that which has been normalised in the Western linear tradition, where a 'conclusion' is a point of tying together the 'loose ends', a denouement, an ending. In *Baby No-Eyes*, Patricia Grace explicitly links this spiral structure of knowledges and storytelling – which literally structures the form of the novel – to the oral literary tradition:

There's a way the older people have of telling a story, a way where the beginning is not the beginning, the end is not the end. It starts from a centre and moves away from there is such widening circles that you don't know how you will finally arrive at the point of understanding, which becomes itself another core, a new centre.⁹⁰²

Taking a cue from these Maori creative texts, Maori literary criticisms – and in particular this dissertation – might also attempt to avoid 'ending' with definitive and singular conclusions, offering multiple 'starting points' by way of 'conclusions' instead.

With regard to the final words of *the bone people*, the word 'timatanga' would usually be provided as a translation of 'beginning,' particularly for use in parallel with mutunga; what, then, are the implications of Hulme's use of the term 'take' instead? While 'take' is indeed appropriately translated as 'beginning,' the Maori term carries a

⁹⁰¹ Ihimaera, "Kaupapa.": 17.

⁹⁰² Grace, *Baby No-Eyes*.: 28. The novel starts with the as-yet-unborn Tawera narrating his mother and himself walking up the road, as he sits inside her puku: "The first thing I knew was bumping along, the sound of my mother's feet going lap lap, and breath coming and going fast in and out her nose. Lap lap over a hard, smooth surface, such as a road." (7) The novel ends with the adult Tawera "... as I go, bumping along, or lap lapping, or karm karm or on a roll, hi-aa hei-aa. Hi-aa hei-aa, plenty of that. Feet at the beginning of a road." (294)

Certainly DeLoughrey's work about the spirl provides the possibility of exploring this metaphor further. Elizabeth DeLoughrey, "The Spiral Temporalities of Patricia Grace's Potiki," *Ariel* 30.1 (1999). Eva Rask Knudsen's very recent monograph *The Circle and the Spiral; A Study of Australian Aboriginal and New Zealand Maori Literature* explores this metaphor of the spiral in greater depth, although because it was published just before I handed in my dissertation, I have not used it as fully as I might throughout this project. Knudsen, *The Circle and the Spiral*.

broad range of meanings, each of which expand upon the English word ‘beginning.’

Williams defines ‘take’ this way:

- Take**, n. 1. *Root, stump...*
- 2. *Base of a hill, etc...*
- 3 *Cause, reason...*
- 4. *Means...*
- 5. *Origin, beginning...*
- 6. *Post in the palisading of a pa.*
- 7. *Subject of an argument, etc.*
- 8. *Incantation, charm...*
- 9. *Chief, head of a hapu or iwi.*⁹⁰³

Thus, the ‘end’ is not simply reversed into becoming a ‘starting point,’ but is also a set of issues to be debated that will not only guide and undergird subsequent discussions, but also explicitly lay out the stakes and politics of those discussions. This chapter becomes a starting point, a cause, a post, a subject, from which further discussions might continue. It is also a starting point, a cause, a post, a subject of the dissertation that stretches out in the pages before this one.

And so, anei he mutunga – ranei he take.

conclusions I: questions of comparison

I have already drawn attention in the introductory chapter to the October 2004 conference *Questions of Comparison: New Approaches to Race, Ethnicity and Indigeneity* that was held at Cornell and gathered together a number of scholars from several locations in the US. I am aware that talking specifically about this conference suggests a claim for its centrality in the genealogy of comparative studies, and yet I focus on this conference instead as one exemplar of an oft-repeated dynamic. There were loud protestations throughout the presentations about trying to unpack ‘the nation,’ yet several presenters

⁹⁰³ Williams, *Dictionary of the Maori Language*: 370.

simultaneously used terminology and methodologies that reified it.⁹⁰⁴ Indeed, all of the papers focussed on the US either intentionally or unintentionally.⁹⁰⁵ it was ‘the US’ that we were supposed to be unpacking. The implications of including the word “indigeneity” in the title of the conference, especially with regard to the necessary reframing of ‘national’ borders that thoughtful engagement with the field of Indigenous Studies would encourage, were not examined.

Very little discussion was given to the methodologies of comparison; in many ways the conference worked like an anthology, drawing together disparate pieces from various areas and inferring a kind of claim (about comparison? about race? ethnicity? indigeneity? all three?) from their contrived cohabitation.⁹⁰⁶ Like many ambitious anthologies, this one would have benefited from more careful selection of pieces, or a more engaged and critical editorial intervention. The parameters of what counted as a comparative project were unwieldy; in particular, the ‘comparison’ modelled by the majority of the presenters was a kind of bird’s eye view, in which the researcher hovered above and saw fit to draw connections between contexts down there on the ground far below. The genealogies by which researchers ‘selected’ sites for engagement and exploration were often delineated, and yet the presenters frequently glossed over what I believed to be the crucial moments – where the political and theoretical gist of the projects were located – and so the production and description of relationships between these sites seemed random, even if random within a kind of (often bureaucratic/

⁹⁰⁴ For example, the terminology of women/ people ‘of color’ is US-based and US-specific. One wonders how truly comparative a project can be if its language is squarely located within one ‘side’ of the comparison.

⁹⁰⁵ I am grateful to Jade Ferguson for drawing my attention to the extent to which this was so.

⁹⁰⁶ Not all comparisons are good (and example of bad comparison is that which is solely interested in configuring the Other in relation to the Self, such as is found in the online CIA “factbook,” where each nation-state is ‘compared’ to the US in terms of area; New Zealand, for Americans, is “about the size of Colorado”), not all are well done (we might look to Newton’s discussion of Allen’s *Blood Narrative* for a pertinent critique), not all are helpful (all of the projects described at this conference, for example, involved solely or predominantly Angolophone contexts), and some are downright dangerous. What this conference demonstrated to me, however, was that the worst comparative projects are those that do not pay self-conscious attention to their methodologies at all.

pragmatic) context. The tension Culler and others describe, between specificity that rudely homogenises and generality that ceases to have meaning, was always present but not engaged. Historian Derek Chang responded to Dan Ussner with a compelling observation of a “productive tension” between “comparison and connection” in his presentation, but although there were some repetitions of Chang’s words over the following two days, there seemed to be little inclination (or indeed space) to deeply consider the relationship between these two. On the second day Leslie Adelson described many of the papers as “more relational than comparative,” a comment that could have been engaged in relation to its remarkably different configuration that Chang’s, but it was not. Ultimately these proved frustrating, rather than productive, tensions.

I have not opened up a conversation about this conference solely to complain about its transgressions, but rather to situate at least some of the stakes of this dissertation project. Later in this chapter I will pay closer attention to other kinds of stakes, including but also stretching beyond the academy; for now, I focus on the university-based pseudo-field of comparative inquiry. The conference was a singular event, but it was an event that both challenged and crystallised my sense of the stakes of my project and suggested – at least to myself – some of its potential implications. What my attendance at this conference impressed upon me most of all⁹⁰⁷ is that my work – specifically, the methodological and theoretical questions I have attempted to foreground and demonstrate in this dissertation – has implications beyond Maori writing in English whether I like it or not, and whether I choose to engage or not. Part of me doesn’t want to engage, and yet part of me does. A project that consciously seeks to centre Maori writing in English – both as the topic and process of investigation – has, it seems, rather more profound implications than I had originally anticipated as I devised this project. Truly situated comparative work – that

⁹⁰⁷ And this may have been the voice of the soon-to-hand-in dissertation writer that I was, two weeks before my deadline.

attempts to carefully enunciate the possibilities, limitations and modalities of comparison within a specific set of contexts and parameters – will necessarily bring to task work that proclaims itself to be ‘comparative’ and then gets on with the show as if that ‘show’ is transparent. It is not good enough to argue one’s work is comparative and then proceed as usual. That my project might seek to interrupt this disturbing trend is inadvertent but inevitable.

conclusions II: comparative englishes?

The position(s) of this dissertation in relation to the disciplines of English and Comparative Literature is/ are fraught. The discipline of ‘English’ literary studies seems reluctant to acknowledge the ways in which the production of English language texts in various specific contexts would be well addressed by explicitly comparative methodologies.⁹⁰⁸ At the same time, the discipline of Comparative Literature is reluctant to consider texts written in the same language (here, of course, that language is English) for comparative enquiry. To begin this discussion about comparison, then, we must think about the framework of disciplines, and it is here, as we start to talk about comparison/ comparatism/ comparativism, that the issue of English literary studies vs Comparative Literature is foregrounded. This dissertation is perhaps ‘interdisciplinary,’ although in fact it would be best called ‘between disciplinary’ because it falls somewhere in the cracks between the disciplines of English and Comparative literature, and at the same time it falls down the cracks between Area Studies and Native Studies.⁹⁰⁹ Indeed, perhaps it would be

⁹⁰⁸ Or, in some cases, as I pointed out elsewhere, English literary contexts have often been lumped into ‘British’, ‘American’, and ‘Postcolonial’, and the category ‘Postcolonial’ cannot account for all places Other than Britain or the US, or for the ‘non-American’ (eg American Indian, Hawaiian, Chamorro, Amercian Samoan, Puerto Rican) texts from within the US political boundaries.

⁹⁰⁹ I will not speak directly about Area/ Native studies at this point of the dissertation, although they are impliedly tied up with the issues I raise here.

more appropriate to suggest that it emerges from – or even creates/ describes/ brings about – those cracks.

Certainly this project fits within an English department because it is solely interested in literature written in the English language; but English departments are tied up with Eurocentric and Eurohistorical canons, theories and nationalisms. There seems no space for talking about multiple Englishes, multiple English literatures, multiple literary genealogies or comparison. To locate it within an English department then, will not allow the project to fully examine the implications of discussing the idea of comparative frames, ‘world’ literatures or trans-/ extra-/ para-national literatures. Specifically, too, Maori writing does not feature highly in English departments because the current theoretical gazes that might encompass Aotearoa tend to fixate upon New Zealand instead.

Just as certainly, I would argue, the project also fits within a Comparative literature department because it is interested in the idea of comparison, in particular in the relation between literatures from very different places around the globe; but Comparative Literature departments tend to be invested in an idea of linguistic difference as much – perhaps more so – than contextual difference, focussing on the implications of translation, cross-language studies and so on. To call it Comparative Literature, then, will not allow the project to fully examine the implications of talking about literatures produced in different contexts but in the same language (or, arguably, versions/ dialects thereof⁹¹⁰). Specifically, too, Maori writing in English does not feature highly in Comparative Literature departments because it is in English, and so possibilities for discussing its relation to other (impliedly non-English-language) literatures is complicated and – at the end of the day - limited.⁹¹¹

⁹¹⁰ I will discuss this in much greater depth soon.

⁹¹¹ A further issue is that Comparative Literature doesn't operate as a discipline in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Perhaps, then, this project might be called English Comparativism, or maybe it would be better to call it Comparative Englishism. This moment of overlapping/ not-touching disciplines might present an excellent opportunity to invoke the idea of thirdspace made famous by Bhabha but certainly now a part of much academic parlance; but before we rush in and declare this to be a thirdspace – or, before we use the ghastly metaphor of the hybrid - it is well worth outlining the implications of this kind of location. If this project is not English, it's not Comparative Literature, and it's not easily submerged within a doctrine of thirdspaceness, we might well turn to ask: what is the point of discussing this project within disciplinary or theoretical boundaries at all? Why can't we just say it is what it is and get on with the show? The unavoidable response to these questions, of course, is that this project is located within the Western academy. The Western university insists upon disciplinarity, and even though the university might not usually conceptualise disciplines within Maori terms, perhaps a good way to characterise them is as *turangawaewae*.⁹¹² If a project has no *turangawaewae* in the academy, it has no implicit 'home ground' support, no source of sustenance, and no place from which to speak. This means that, at the end of the day, its lack of disciplinary identity leads to the impossibility of its real impact through either teaching or research.

Humbly, cheekily, but also adamantly, then, as I write this dissertation I challenge English *and* Comparative Literature, as well as Area Studies *and* Native Studies, to rethink the ways in which they construct their disciplinary emphases, boundaries and projects. In particular, I argue that the field of English literary studies needs to find more complicated ways of talking about non-European literary production in the English language that does not simply collapse everything into 'world' or 'global' (or 'postcolonial') literature, but pays close attention to the comparative frameworks that are

⁹¹² Literally, a place to stand. One's *turangawaewae* is the ultimate homeplace; the place where one has the right to stand, and the possibility of rejuvenation and realignment.

already in use – such as Indigenous, Oceanic, Postcolonial and New Zealand – and recognises the multilayered contexts in which these literatures are produced and read. As well, the field of Comparative Literature needs to think more carefully about what it is comparing; it is too simplistic to imagine that languages and contexts occupy the same boundaries, or that the ‘national’ literary fields (English, German, French, American, New Zealand, Maori) can adequately account for the (comparative) relationships in which all of these are ultimately invested.

writing in dialect

Given that my project seems to both straddle these disciplines and fall between their cracks, rather than simply importing the language of ‘translation’ from Comparative Literature into English literary studies (this seemed for a while to be a useful way of negotiating this position) I suggest the ‘dialect’ is a productive way to metaphorically figure these comparative relationships between texts from different contexts in the same language. Because the shifts take place within the English language, the idea of the accent – or dialect - is more pertinent than ‘translation.’ In dialect, the texts are misleadingly familiar yet disorientingly inflected.

In her essay “Documenting the Other,” American Sharon Mazer describes her time as a visiting academic at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, New Zealand, and in particular she talks about the way she confronted a cultural/ national form of biculturalism about which she was apparently able to make little sense. In the introductory lines of her essay, she presents an insightful consideration of New Zealand as characterised – or iconised or metaphorised, perhaps – by its accent:

They speak English here. Not American. English. Or rather, an English like that spoken in England but different again, both because of the relative isolation of this island nation in the South Pacific and because of increasing Maori resistance to linguistic assimilation. The

experience of living and working in New Zealand is, like the language, *deceptively familiar and surprisingly foreign*.⁹¹³

I first read Mazer's criticisms of biculturalism in relation to my arguments in Chapter Six, and was going to reference her essay as a part of my critique of scholars who insufficiently understand the context of biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand about which they write. However, while Mazer ultimately underestimates the extent to which the encounter – not just the language – is happening 'in dialect,' her discussion helped me realise that intra-linguistic comparative work will need to find a way to recognise very different contexts and articulations (the "surprisingly foreign") at the same time as recognising the fact that their supposed linguistic sameness – they're all written in 'English' after all – means they are read as understandable to any reader of English (the "deceptively familiar").

For the sake of exploring this idea of writing in dialect, I moved to an explicit case of 'dialect' and turned my attention to three Maori women writers who have brought a view of 'America' from the perspective of Maori characters who make their homes (t)here, to Aotearoa (I will focus here on Morris's novel). In important ways these texts are Maori and New Zealand texts, but in equally important ways, these are American texts. By focussing on the dialect (or accent) in these explicitly 'accented' texts (by virtue of their treatment of the experience of difference in 'literal' accent between New Zealand and the US), I hope to open up the metaphor of writing in dialect that I believe pertains to all writing in English. Kelly Joseph's short story "Transient," and Paula Morris's novel *Queen of Beauty* and short story "Geraniums,"⁹¹⁴ are simultaneously 'New Zealand' and Maori - foreign and racialised – and their 'accent' marks not only speech but also the ways that both Aotearoa and the US are framed and understood. Specifically, I believe the

⁹¹³ Sharon L Mazer, "Documenting the Other Others in Bicultural New Zealand," *Pedagogy: Critical Approaches to Teaching Literature, Language, Composition and Culture* 2.3 (2002): 382. My own experience of living in the United States and speaking English like a 'not-American' person confirmed this paradox of foreignness/ familiarity (albeit in reverse).

⁹¹⁴ Morris, *Queen of Beauty*. Further references to *Queen of Beauty* embedded in text.

movement of bodies and narratives between Aotearoa and America produce a dynamic relation between two kinds of accent – or, more appropriately, dialect - in these texts. But what does it mean to write in dialect?⁹¹⁵

NZ literary critic Mark Williams's concluding essay from *Leaving the Highway* also points towards the local accent as a point of distinctiveness whose history and features allegorises that of the 'nation':

Neither nostalgic for its lost home nor jealous of Maori originality, New Zealand-English could coexist with the indigenous tongue and give rise to a literature less blinded by its yearning than much of what it currently produces.⁹¹⁶

In this configuration, Williams centres Pakeha in New Zealand⁹¹⁷ in his prophesied "literature less blinded by its yearning", when he allows the slippage between "Maori" language and writers in his reference to "Maori originality." As I have already discussed in the previous chapter, Elleray also writes about the New Zealand "accent" in her dissertation:

The white settler cultures of New Zealand and Australia do not have access to standard markers of difference from the British metropole: neither language or skin colour for the individual, nor revolution for the nation. But one marker of difference that I find intriguing is regularly invoked from the early days of the Australasian colonies, and that is the accent:

"A physical difference which is accentuating itself rapidly is to be found in what is known as the "colonial twang", in speech. It may be a small point, but will anybody explain to me why the transplanted Englishman makes his language sound so hideous to native English ears?... [Why] should Australasia have grown to speak, with aggravations, the hideous cockney dialect... which converts "a" into a quasi-diphthonic "y"? Why should South Australians speak of their

⁹¹⁵ Arthur Bell, who studied for his PhD in Linguistics, was very generous with meeting with me to explain some of this 'linguistics' stuff. I owe any insight to his explanations and introductions, and any Linguistics sins I commit here are wholly a result of my own misunderstandings. He also pointed me to the Wolfram and Schilling-Estes text that treats this topic very clearly. I look forward to further exploring this Linguistics scholarship as I work more on this idea of writing in dialect. Walt Wolfram and Natalie Schilling-Estes, *American English : Dialects and Variation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1998).. A crucial point when introducing a word like 'dialect' to discuss Maori writing is that it is a word that has been used to imply a lack of linguistic sophistication, and Indigenous languages in particular have often suffered from the derogatory usage of the word in order to invisibilise the massive number of languages (and thus, perhaps, nations) in question. However, after much thought I have decided that this term, if it is indeed the correct term from within Linguistics to describe the phenomenon in which I am interested, should be used loudly and clearly.

⁹¹⁶ Williams, *Leaving the Highway: Six Contemporary New Zealand Novelists*: 215.

⁹¹⁷ And, probably, by implication, the Blokal, in a way he himself would frame as separati[sm] that he himself has earlier castigated women and Maori.

native country as “S’th ‘Strylia”. Why, in spite of the efforts of father, should children – English, Scotch, and Irish – all tend in New Zealand to use the same abominable pronunciation?”⁹¹⁸

Elleray draws attention to the multiple layers of the accent, and in particular the possibility of stigmatisation on the basis of verbal language:

The “abominable” accent of settler New Zealanders and Australians demonstrates some of the complexities of culture I am trying to address, since it differentiates but is mutable, it is acquired rather than innate, it is non-specific insofar as anyone can copy it yet marks a specific group of people, and its fluidity is apparent in the fact that it began as a British accent but is no longer recognisable as such.⁹¹⁹

Importantly, though, these Maori texts are not just ‘New Zealand’ texts: because they are Maori, they are differently accented again. The distinctive form of English that has developed in the Maori community is recognised by several critics, and I have written about this already in Chapter Two.

Exploring moments of dialect-laden encounter is, as I have claimed, a rich metaphor for the practice of comparatively reading texts that are all in English, yet in different Englishes. At its most basic the dialect is, while undetectable to the speaker (noone thinks they themselves have an accent, after all!), a marker of simultaneous ‘understandability’ and difference. In *Queen of Beauty*, Louisianian Arthur’s mother arranges a job for Virginia (the Maori/ Pakeha New Zealand woman who has moved to the States in order to study and tries to find a way to stay) and refers to her dialect (in the novel, ‘accent’) as the ultimate and unarguable marker of difference:

“She’s from overseas. You’ll just love her accent.” (17)

⁹¹⁸ Elleray, “Unsettled Subject : The South Pacific and the Settler.”: 9-10. Quote from Fortescue included in Elleray’s text. Fortescue’s (presumably rhetorical) question about why South Australians speak of their “native country” as “S’th ‘Strylia” leads to the examination of various ways in which ‘New Zealanders’ have accented the name of their/ our country, and this has been preliminarily treated in two essays: Douglas Hoey, “There Will Always Be a Taupō: Some Reflections on Pākehā Culture,” *Cultural Studies in Aotearoa New Zealand: Identity, Space and Place*, eds. Claudie Bell and Steve Matthewman (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2004).; Robin Kearns and Lawrence Berg, “Proclaiming Place: Towards a Geography of Place Name Pronunciation,” *Social and Cultural Geography* 3.3 (2002)..

⁹¹⁹ Elleray, “Unsettled Subject : The South Pacific and the Settler.”: 9-10.

Virginia's employer is Margaret, a writer of popular Southern fiction, and struggles to determine the extent of Virginia's "foreign[ness]." Certainly Margaret has experience with "foreign-born staff" and in certain ways Virginia fits with previous such employees:

And she was the ideal employer: so rich, she didn't care that Virginia, at first, wasn't tax deductible.

After all, Margaret was used to foreign-born staff of uncertain legal status... she'd lived in LA for eight terribly sunny months: her cook was Filipino and the maid was Mexican, Guatemalan, something like that, and they'd been so very very grateful. (20)

Virginia's foreignness, however, is not as clear-cut as when a dialect is understood as evidence of 'belonging' to a language other than English: Virginia, after all, may "com[e] from some unknown place" and yet she straddles the comfortable divide between "exotic" (Mazer's "foreign") and "uninteresting" (Mazer's "familiar").

She was a strange sort of girl, in Margaret's opinion. Foreign, of course, which accounted for some of it. But who could tell what it meant – coming from some unknown place, not quite exotic, not entirely uninteresting. (33)

Dialects are not tied only to linguistic or national background: they mark (and stand in for) multiple kinds of difference: national, ethnic, racial, gender, class, generational and so on. Further, the possibilities of 'reading' this kind of difference depends on the familiarity of the listener with the layers of difference: Virginia may simply (even if disconcertingly) be "foreign" to Margaret, but at 'home' her dialect would associate her with other groupings. Perhaps inside New Zealand's borders (or to a knowing listener outside them) she would sound like a woman, a twenty-something, an Auckland, a Westie.⁹²⁰ This metaphor of dialect begs the question of *who* is the insider to a dialect, and the answer of course is 'noone.'

So Virginia speaks in dialect, but how does this work as a metaphor for reading? In what ways are these texts by Maori women writers based in the US 'in dialect'? First, the texts construct an accented 'America:' Morris's novel produces a particular New

⁹²⁰ Likewise, I would suggest, in the United States, 'non-American English' is usually assumed to be British (or perhaps 'Postcolonial'); outside the US, there are further options, such as Commonwealth, Settler, Antipodean and so on.

Orleans, and “Geraniums” and “Transient” produce Manhattans, with the intonation of a confident outsider. This US travels to Aotearoa via the (imagined and real) returns to ‘home’ of the characters within the narratives of the texts, and also by the distribution of the texts to a largely New Zealand (in the case of *Queen of Beauty*, published by Penguin NZ), and in the case of the short stories, Maori audience. The works of short fiction are collected in the 2003 and 2001 Huia anthologies of Maori writing respectively, and the Huia anthologies are produced by a Maori publishing house, with a focus on a Maori, as well as general New Zealand, readership.

Later in the novel, Virginia returns ‘home’ to New Zealand for a family wedding, and while she is in Aotearoa she decides to investigate aspects of her family through both her Maori and Pakeha (European) bloodlines. Morris’s novel constructs a relationship between Virginia’s exploration of her family history, and the history surrounding ‘quadroon balls’ and miscegenation in New Orleans. Virginia’s own family story of racial mixture opens the book, as she tells that narrative to Margaret as the possible basis for a novel about quadroon balls in Louisiana, and for Margaret this story is easily useable despite its location within a specific historical context.

“No names?” asked Margaret.

Virginia shuffled the papers on her lap.

“I didn’t think they were important.”

“Neither is the date, for that matter,” said Margaret, pouring herself another glass of pale iced tea. “Or the local colour.” (11)

“Local colour,” however, is not entirely interchangeable, because – although the narrative of a romantic encounter between a white man and racialised woman makes sense in the context of Louisiana – this apparent transparency is compromised by Margaret’s inability to recognise the “local colour” context that inflects that story:

“When the parents are there waving him off at the dock, what’s so strange about the mother feeling cold? Didn’t you say it was the day before Christmas?”

“The story happened in NZ.”

“And?” Margaret still looked blank.

“The seasons are reversed in the southern hemisphere.”

“Oh,” said Margaret. She wrinkled her broad white forehead.

“Summertime.” murmured Virginia, bending down to pick up her satchel.

“Of course,” Margaret said... “Well, this is a good start. A promising beginning! You read very well, you know. It’s the accent.” (13)

The dialect may be misunderstood as being too foreign (presuming a gap in communication where there isn’t necessarily one) or, in this case, misunderstood as being too familiar: Margaret believes Virginia’s language to be accessible to the extent that she will know “local colour” when she sees it.

Second, and paradoxically, the location of the writers and narratives in - and experience of - the US means that their gaze on previously familiar and ‘centred’ landscapes and relationships is mediated by their acquired American-nesses; Maori characters (and texts) now have (American) accents at ‘home.’ When she returns to New Zealand for the family wedding, Virginia takes home the physical notes from her research about quadroon balls and racial mixing in Louisiana, to work on while she is there. During her visit home, Virginia then investigates the history of racial mixture in her own family, spending time finding out about her Pakeha as well as Maori family members on both sides of her family. For very important political reasons, Maori writing (and community narratives) have tended to downplay – to the point of invisibilisation – the histories of racial mixture in Maori families, and while this is in line with Maori cultural understandings of genealogical inheritance which acknowledge any Maori bloodline as sufficient basis for identification as Maori, it has tended to deprivilege the narratives of mixture, and individual identifications as ‘mixed.’ Virginia brings the histories and language of American miscegenation to Aotearoa, not in an effort to recognise the exact same configurations but instead viewing her home scene with a heightened sensitivity, perhaps, for certain racial histories and narratives which have been quiet - and in this way, Morris’s novel stages a new and compelling literary intervention into the (doubly accented) discourses of mixed-race-ness, racial performance and boundary manipulations in Aotearoa.

Finally, an unanticipated but significant dialect – or perhaps context in which dialect is identifiable – is the dialect of criticism. (We are already used to this from ideas such as British, American, Australian, Canadian etc Cultural Studies.) For example, in the context of the US, much of the work on Maori texts is contained within the (census category) ‘Asia Pacific,’ which is a specifically American configuration in which the two entities of Asia and the Pacific are squished together because of a genealogy and geography of racialisation unique to this place: the bases on which the criticism of Maori texts includes them within the critical view of the ‘Pacific,’ but we are unused to the idea that we fit somehow with – or within – ‘Asia.’ Also, knowing from my work and contact with Pacific Studies in the US context that the ‘Pacific’ in ‘Asia Pacific’ is usually a symbolic rather than territorial (let alone political) inclusion, the possibilities of fruitfully discussing Pacific (and here I include Maori) texts within this framework of Asia-Pacific-ness seems limited.

At first, when I realised my critical work would most often be understood in the US as ‘Asia Pacific,’ I was tempted to resist this inclusion, thinking that – given the notion of the ‘Asia Pacific’ is not a part of the Maori or New Zealand context from which these texts come - this could not possibly be an appropriate or fruitful frame through which these texts can be read. And yet, I simultaneously recognised that this was the kind of space through which Maori writing in English would gain access to airplay in the US. Where else could I talk about Maori writing in English? Despite any critical reservations I might have, this pragmatic issue seemed important. Morris and Joseph are coded ‘Asia Pacific’ while they are in the US (I know, because that’s what I was coded when I applied for my social security number on first arrival); within the context of US literary studies (or, in particular, mainland US literary studies), then, Morris and Joseph will most likely be read within this frame of ‘Asia Pacific.’

writing “in an international transit lounge”: *The Whale Rider*’s NZ and US incarnations

Maori texts will continue to travel and I believe it is crucial to pay attention to the particular the ways in which, as they earn ‘frequent flyer’ points for globetrotting, they may also become compromised, travel-worn, jet-lagged and maybe less in touch with what is going on at home.⁹²¹ Rather than doggedly writing or speaking in our ‘own’ dialects, there is a danger that we could become complicit in agreeing to articulate with close regard for the linguistic patterns of a ‘major’ (and perhaps not Maori/ Pacific/ New Zealand) audience. Pakeha writer and academic Bill Manhire explicitly mobilises the idea of the ‘dialect’ when he argues that foreign readers value the distinctiveness of writing that is ‘foreign’ to them; he cautions that it’s important that NZ books don’t end up “sounding like they’re set in an international transit lounge.”⁹²² Or, as Curnow put it in 1963, using a similar metaphor of a de-localised ‘universal’ accent:

Is it a cause for satisfaction that if you met one of them [recent NZ poets] in the BBC, *Listener*, *Encounter*, or *Poetry* (Chicago) you wouldn’t know whether he came from New Zealand, Nicaragua or Notting Hill?⁹²³

A key example of the implications of this claim is the recent explosion of interest in Maori via the *Whale Rider* phenomenon, and in particular the circulation of a US-published text that is subtly different from the original 1987 version. I am not raising this issue in order to critique the decisions that were made around that specific text, but rather to gesture towards a potential by-product of ‘outsider’ interest in our writing. On September 11, 2001, the NZ government allocated its ‘first pile of money intended to

⁹²¹ Of course, I don’t restrict this ‘home’ to the geographic region of Aotearoa, because this would undermine all I have tried to suggest about ‘diasporic’ Maori writers; without sidelining the very real relationships with specific land that are an essential part of what it is to be indigenous, I mean here ‘home’ in terms of home community etc.

⁹²² Linley Boniface, "Witi's Makeover," *Dominion Post* 20 Sept 2003..

⁹²³ Allen Curnow, "New Zealand Literature: The Case for a Working Definition," *Essays on New Zealand Literature*, ed. Wystan Curnow (Auckland: Heinemann, 1973): 146. Clearly, this cited version of the essay is a reprint from its first publication ten years earlier.

encourage the production of local feature films’ to put Witi Ihimaera’s 1987 novella *The Whale Rider* onto the big screen. The money, after being joined by more money from Germany, served its purpose well. Niki Caro’s *Whale Rider* is described in the US as “magic”, and so it is: the film produced a cast of stars (and one very talented and still quite young superstar) and an evocation of landscape and culture that has given a so-called global audience a glimpse into something unique.

Even though I’ve started by invoking the film, for the purpose of exploring the notion of the dialect I focus on the relationship between what we might call the root and offshoot of the *Whale Rider* film phenomenon: the NZ edition of the original novella, and the publication of a 2003 US edition of that text. The 2003 Harcourt edition is marked at the beginning by bibliographic information: © Witi Ihimaera 1987, but it is a different text from the 1987 edition⁹²⁴ that was published in NZ. TWRNZ⁹²⁵ differs subtly from the TWRUS,⁹²⁶ but more than this the changes were not just necessitated but actually shaped by Caro’s film *Whale Rider*. A key example is the treatment of sexism in the film and book, as a crucial and explicit way to track the changes from the NZ edition to the US edition via the film.

The substantive differences between the US edition of *The Whale Rider* differs from the NZ edition can be grouped according to four over-arching categories. First is the physical form of the text; the cover, the illustrations, the formatting, the blurb, the naming of the chapters. Second, once we get into the ‘meaty’ bit of the text, key Maori words are translated into English, in a way that might be described as uneven; of course, this raises the related question of how cultural metaphors survive this process of translation. Third, there are some pieces of text that were deleted from the new edition. And finally, there are

⁹²⁴ Or the 1992 edition or 1993, 96, 99 and 2001 reprints.

⁹²⁵ The New Zealand version of *The Whale Rider*: Ihimaera, *The Whale Rider*. (1987)

⁹²⁶ The US version of *The Whale Rider*: Witi Tame Ihimaera, *Whale Rider*, 1st U.S. ed. (Orlando, Fla.: Harcourt, 2003).. This edition is sometimes called the ‘international’ version, which opens up an interesting set of questions about when/ how the ‘US’ stands in for ‘International’ and vice versa.

moments in which there are just plain old-fashioned changes to the text, in which it used to say one thing (in English) and now it says something else (also in English). Some of the changes fit in more than one of these categories; I would like to suggest, though, that all of them are tied in with at least one of these key types of textual change.⁹²⁷

Now, the film *Whale Rider* is a global film, and in my view this is true not only in terms of “global” circulation and reception (and considering the 2004 Academy Awards, global accolades), or indeed because the film was partially funded from Germany, but also because in the film the uniqueness and specificities of Maori are flattened out along the lines of a generic European construction of the timeless placeless Native Other, and in particular the construction of a Noble Savage. Here, I use the idea of globalness both as a dynamic relation of movement and migration and travel (which implies a degree of freedom and agency), and yet also as a process that is implicitly inflected (perhaps even motivated/ facilitated) by the colonial process that is typified by all of those things we know about so well: white hegemony, theft, racism, sexism, homophobia, economic injustice and so on. For this reason, I want to suggest, the moment at which Ihimaera’s novella moves into a global context, so too it becomes inflected – perhaps even drowned – by colonialist discourses that have shaped European representation of Maori since first encounter.

The generic ‘Native’ is needed to replace the specific ‘Maori’ when the readership is assumed to be ‘global’. The original NZ publication of the novella did in fact travel around the globe: I know this because I bought my copy in Ithaca, NY, and drafted this chapter using a copy borrowed from a friend who lives in Hawaii.⁹²⁸ Significantly, and perhaps *arguably*, the original publication was produced with a local⁹²⁹ readership in

⁹²⁷ I’ll also point out here that the character Pai, or Paikea, in the film is called Kahu (short for Kahutia Te Rangi) in the novella. So when I’m talking here about Kahu, I’m talking about the little girl; that will help in case you wonder if, when I start to talk about Kahu, you saw the same film as me.

⁹²⁸ Thanks to Ku’ualoha Ho’omanawanui for her generosity!!

⁹²⁹ I’m using local here in a denotative way, not the connotative ‘local’ as it applies in Hawaii to non-indigenous residents who identify the place as ‘home’.

mind; or perhaps we might even think of a hierarchy of readerships: an inside readership that is bilingual and bicultural; a close-but-no-cigar readership that is bicultural but must depend on contextual inferences in order to make sense of the Maori language parts of the text; and then a readership that has neither linguistic nor cultural experience or expertise, and reads as an outsider. However, in the case of TWRUS, we are no longer talking about the global migration of a local-centred text, but the centring of a global audience (or, perhaps, an American audience⁹³⁰) and this is where the *dialect* comes in. This audience is centred both in the way that the text (its spelling, colloquialisms and language) is ‘translated’ and the language itself is subtly changed, explained, depoliticised, flattened

⁹³⁰ The subtitle of the paper I gave at the MELUS conference in March 2004 paper was “the migration of a text from page to screen to another page altogether”; this ‘other page’ is the thing I’m interested in and is, I believe, not only “global” but also “American”. To be more clear, the specific changes in the text (and here I mean changes from one written text to another), by virtue of their being put through the prism of Caro’s film, have become global, but more than this, I believe that they are geared to a US – as opposed to ‘global’ – reading public. The US edition of the text does something different from the NZ editions. It is not designed (or spelled) to facilitate the access – even if one did believe this was a good thing for a publishing house to privilege over the sanctity/ sovereignty of the original text – of any readership except for those who have US cultural and linguistic familiarity. The moment at which ‘ringing someone up’ is changed to ‘calling someone’, a very specific niche of the world’s English language reading public is targeted. What are the things that need to experience (or cause) mobility in order for something to be global? If the idea of globalisation is ultimately about the consumption of *non*-local texts, that is, texts ‘not from here’, and the processes by which such consumption is made possible, a construction that focuses on the mobility of the text itself, then one must wonder whether this text is, in fact, non-local. Has the text travelled? Well, it is published in, and edited explicitly for, the US. According to such a concept of globalisation, this text hasn’t gone global; the same single nation is its origin, its region of distribution, and its destination. On the basis of this, the text is not, I would argue, in fact a global text.

The appearance of a US edition of *The Whale Rider*, significantly – if subtly – different from the previous editions in ways such as those I’ve outlined just now, and not marked at all as a new edition aimed at a particular market, raises some very interesting and important questions about globalisation. On the one hand, perhaps the most obvious question is, if this new text is intended to accompany the popular film that has had successes around the world, and it is therefore arguably a ‘global’ text, what does it mean that several of the changes are obviously aimed at a specifically US readership? Does this mean that globalisation is really about Americanisation? Is globalisation what happens when the word ‘globalisation’ uses an ‘s’ rather than a ‘z’, so American audiences can read a text without any sense of outsidership on the part of spelling or colloquialisms?

There is some debate around whether the film is a Maori film, on the basis of funding (much was from Germany), and production/ direction (Caro is not Maori, and much of the crew were non-Maori). My interest in this paper is not about its Maoriness, however, but about its Americanness. Specifically, I am interested in the ways in which the American edition of the novel might be understood as a US text; it is a text edited for, published in, and distributed to US audience. I am not in the business of determining a single, best categorisation for texts, but instead I work from the assumption that a single (or in this case treble) text can be productively situated within multiple discourses and contexts. To be clear about what I mean, I am not arguing that this is *more* of a US text than it is a Maori or New Zealand (or, indeed, an Indigenous or Postcolonial or Pacific text) but instead I am interested in opening up the possibility of positioning this text as an American text. Just as reading the text as an Indigenous text does not negate its New Zealandness, or Postcoloniality, for example, I am interested in what happens if we read it as a US text...

out. Ihimaera speaks in an interview about the need for such a transition; for him it is about:

removing the barriers to understanding... I had to make the changes extremely sensitively, because I respect the fact that I've always had Maori language in my work. I've had to strike a balance between what is appropriate for them [foreign readers] and what is politically appropriate for me.⁹³¹

I must admit, though, that I find it hard to determine the point at which generosity towards the non-local reader becomes acquiescence to what I would call 'the colonial presumption to know,' in which a coloniser readership is used to reading with the expectation and presumption that they have a right to unmediated knowledge of the Other. This, to me, is a key issue when we consider the implications of reading – and publishing and distributing - Maori texts outside of a Maori/ New Zealand context.

Given the danger that the Maori in the novella (and more specifically, Whangara) could become "de-unique-ified" and reinforce/ maintain/ produce anew the classic European-imagined Native Other, in a colonial, 'known/ knowable' sense, some of the most disturbing examples of text being deleted from the original novella are those that remove spatial and temporal specificity from the characters, landscape and events of the novel. I want to sketch out how, at key moments in the text, references to specific historical events, cultural literacies and proper names of specific places are deleted or changed.⁹³²

⁹³¹ Boniface, "Witi's Makeover."

⁹³² Those things that have changed in the book support the timeless placeless depoliticised Native Other that I have claimed above was constructed in the film:

Maori in the film are timeless/ placeless; Maori in the film don't travel (except to Germany – cf *Te Rua* – to get film funding – um – artistic recognition and girlfriends); they're immobile; do not engage in anticolonial struggle, don't have anything to do with specific place names/ popular culture, do not mix with non-Natives (except offscreen), don't go to supermarkets or petrol stations or doctors or other mixed/ modern spaces etc etc

Maori in the film are 'typical' natives; patriarchal, tied to land, exotic etc etc

One specific example of the way in which the film fits itself within established colonial discourses is Koro's whale tooth pendant – in the novella, there is no mention of a pendant, and the thing which is significantly extracted from the bottom of the sea is a "carved stone" – although the pendant in the film is exactly the same to look at as a pendant from a nineteenth century engraving of a Maori; already tied up with the circulation of images about indigenous pacific people...

In terms of historical events, significant changes are made to the way that Rawiri (the narrator of the novella) describes Koro Apirana in TWRNZ:

If you want help at Bastion Point, call Super Maori. If you want a leader for your Land March, just dial Whangara 214k. If you want a man of mana at a Waitangi Protest, phone the Maori man of steel. Mind you, he wasn't on our side when we protested against the Springbok Tour but then that just shows you the kind of man he was: his own boss. (TWRNZ 33)

Each of these events – Bastion Point, the Land March, Waitangi Protests and the Springbok Tour - are crucial moments of recent anticolonial struggle in NZ; this is attested by the number of times they have popped up in this dissertation.⁹³³ The naming of the events at once remembers them (a la Nesian Mystik) and fits the narrative of the text into their context of struggle against colonial domination (which in turn ties in with the theme of nuclear testing in the Pacific which caused the whales to become disoriented and beach themselves at Whangara in the first place, and the parallel colonialism in PNG as viewed by the Uncle during his time there). In the US edition, however, all of this specificity – and mobility - is erased and “leadership” is reduced to cultural and spiritual guidance as opposed to being about positioning oneself and one’s people in a resistant stance against the colonial power in specific times and places:

If you want a leader for your people, call Super Maori. If you want a man to protest for Maori rights, just dial Whangara 214k. If you want somebody who’s not afraid to stand up for Maori land and culture, phone the Maori man of steel. He was his own boss. (TWRUS 38)

It is also interesting to note that the internal, intra-community dissent about the Springbok tour has been removed, endorsing the idea of monolithic-ness and totalitarian leadership.

Another kind of specificity that is removed in the US edition of the novella is the cultural literacy demonstrated by the narrating Uncle when he makes explicit references

⁹³³ In the NZ edition, we can see explicit references to Bastion Point (a key site of struggle in the 1970s where Ngati Whatua and supporters successfully occupied a block of land that the crown viewed as prime real estate by virtue of its location in the middle of Auckland city, and so tried to steal from the tribe), the Land March (a 1975 march from the northern tip of the North Island to Wellington, the capital in the south of the island, led by an older woman, Whina Cooper, under the catchphrase phrase ‘not one more acre’), Waitangi Protests (annual protests on the anniversary and at the site of the 1840 treaty of Waitangi, the dishonoured treaty that forms the basis of European settlement in NZ), and the Springbok Tour (the 1981 tour of an all-white rugby team from South Africa, at a time when sporting sanctions were supposedly in effect; this tour sparked off vigorous debates and protests throughout NZ about its own race relations).

to both the texts and stars of American movies, which in turn belies a literacy and familiarity with American popular culture that suggests a kind of savviness and worldliness, if you will, on the part of the community of Whangara. This community may be physically isolated but the reference to American cultural icons as a way of describing/ processing local events suggests that they are far from insular.⁹³⁴ These references only appear (or don't) in three places, but they are so consistently erased that the change seems significant:

Another of the boys added that we'd have to escort it to Whangara because, for sure, someone would want to do a Burt Reynolds and hijack it. (TWRNZ 38)

Another of the boys added that we'd have to escort it to Whangara because, for sure, someone would want to hijack it. (TWRUS 46)

Laughing, I eased myself up from the chair and did a Clint Eastwood. (TWRNZ 50)

Laughing, I eased myself up from the chair and assumed a cowboy stance. (TWRUS 60)

I will never forget the look on Kahu's face... It was a look of calm, of acceptance, like the face of the actress Greta Garbo. (TWRNZ 92)

I will never forget the look on Kahu's face... It was a look of calm, of acceptance. (TWRUS 111)

The removal of these particular references emphasises that the preparation of a text for a global (American) audience is not just about translation of presumably unfamiliar Maori words/ concepts into English or the substitution of a few esses for zeds. After all, you'd think that an American/ global audience could be assumed to have familiarity with Reynolds, Eastwood and Garbo. Rather, then, it demonstrates the centring of the expectations of a 'global' audience of native characters (that is, that they will be not only timeless and placeless but they will also be unknowing/ unsophisticated/ culturally

⁹³⁴ Indeed, in the novel the community has a network of relationships with those outside the community; the scene of the whale stranding is an opportunity for extension of these links further, and arrant further treatment in a future project.

illiterate; after all, the Other does not have the right to know the not-Other). Or as Patrick Evans puts it in Linley Boniface's piece "Witi's Makeover:"

The danger is that [Ihimaera]'ll be Maori in the way that people in the United States like to think of Maori.⁹³⁵

Another kind of specificity is removed when capitalised nouns that refer to particular things or places are de-capitalised, and so become generic. A road called "Main Highway" (92) becomes a main highway (110). "The Coast" (39, 58) which in the island nation of NZ – surrounded by coasts - colloquially means a particular stretch of coastline (the East Coast between Opotiki and Wairoa) and it becomes the non-specific "coast." (47, 71) Likewise, "South" (90) becomes a description "south" (109), and rather than the family members being employed at "the Works" (50; meaning the freezing works, or abattoir, and thus a marker of – at least what was then – consistent well-paid communal local employment) they simply go to "work". (60)

Of course, the reasons for, and implications of, representing Maori within colonial discourses as the generic Native Other are well rehearsed, and I needn't recount them all here. Bluntly, though, as in Said's idea of Orientalism, the text aren't about the Native Other at all; for the non-Native non-Other centred readership, it's all about them. Mudrooroo, an Indigenous Australian critic, writes about the position and positioning of the Native in recent non-Indigenous creative arts:

One way which is of recent development, and which is paralleled by the appropriation of Indigenous art motifs, is that of seeing the Other as repository of wisdom, and in effect the writer becomes a Prometheus entering the Other to steal her wisdom and bring it back to her community.⁹³⁶

I suggest that this process is well exemplified by the fact that films (and other texts) about indigenous people (including *Whale Rider*) tend to be coded as "human stories"; the significance/ value of Indigenous stories is not tied to the needs or desires of the indigenous group in question, or the context out of which the stories come, but instead is

⁹³⁵ Boniface, "Witi's Makeover."

⁹³⁶ Mudrooroo, *Indigenous Literature of Australia = Milli Milli Wangka*: 64.

tied to the “humanity” of the story. In Indigenous stories, then, “humanity” will find its stories: stripped down, pared to the basic essentials, available, accessible, knowable, free.

In the case of this film, my key example of gender relations is perhaps the most radically altered aspect from the novella to the screen. The moment in the novella at which a young girl mobilises her Muriwai bloodline in order to rebalance the (arguably colonially introduced) sexism in her Paikea bloodline, becomes in the film a weird solo attack on a supposedly ‘traditional’ form of patriarchy. Non-Maori audiences, looking for that human story above all others, have been fascinated by the sexist stone-age culture against which a cute young brown girl wages a solitary and eventually victorious war, seeing their *own* sexisms and oppressions in that struggle, as well as the nobility of her resistance to such oppression; for one reviewer of the movie, the film is exemplary because it “shows that feminism doesn’t always have to be screechy.”⁹³⁷ While it would be misleading and unhelpful to claim there is no sexism in the Maori community, many commentators, particularly including Maori women (myself included) argue that European colonialism radically distorted and in some cases destroyed the complementary gender relationships of so-called ‘traditional’ frameworks. The paradox is that one arm of the colonising culture introduces its own brand of sexism into Maori communities, and then a while later another arm of the same machine takes it upon itself to represent those same communities as the generic depoliticised ‘Native’, immersed in a ‘backwards’ kind of patriarchy. Ironically, as I mentioned in Chapter Three, one of the key interventions posed by the original text of *The Whale Rider* is to confront this situation, acknowledging the space of women and rebalancing the relationship between men and women through a conscious mobilisation of structures from within the local cultural context, specifically, through an invocation of the narrative and ancestry of Muriwai (who famously cried ‘kia

⁹³⁷ Alas, I no longer have a reference for this! It was discovered during a magazine-reading session at the Barnes and Noble in Ithaca, during summer 2003.

whakatane au I ahau’) in order to balance that of Paikea. When the US edition erases or reconfigures this role of women, they become less Maori and more generically (and European-ly) Native.

Obviously, as more Maori texts circulate outside the realm of Maori speakers (or the realm of people who are used to stropky Maori writers refusing to translate every kupu Maori), the issue of translation and glossaries is heightened. Throughout TWRUS, words that appear in te reo Maori in the NZ text are either deleted or translated, but I won’t go into each of those here in depth. However, one of the major problems of translation that takes on a political as well as an aesthetic/ literary dimension is when the metaphors inherent to some words and descriptions are lost from the translated text. For me, the key example of this in *The Whale Rider* is the translation of the word “kumara”, which appears in the Harcourt edition variously as “sweet potato”(31), vegetable”(48), and “potatoes”(78). A kumara, as well as being delicious, is, in fact, all of these things – although it is more of a ‘potato’ in function, as a staple carbohydrate, than in taste or species – but as we know from our consideration of Tupaia’s painting, a kumara is *more* than this as well. For several Maori iwi groups, the kumara is a metaphor for knowledge, a metaphor which comes from an oral narrative about the way in which knowledge has been shared with those in te ao marama (this world). In case a reader is unaware of this genealogy of the meaning of ‘kumara’, Ihimaera spells this out when the narrator describes his experience at the wananga, or school of learning, that Koro runs for the males of the area:

the answer lay in Koro Apirana’s persistence with the wananga sessions, for he was one of the very few who could pass on the knowledge, the sacred kumara, to us. (TWRNZ 59)

Significantly, this connection between knowledge and the kumara is deepened in the novella because Nanny and Kahu spend their time together working in the kumara patch, which means that a so-called domestic chore becomes, then, a space of women’s

knowledge creation, maintenance, and transmission. However, in the US edition the explicit relationship between the kumara – which as I’ve pointed out is translated as “sweet potato” (31), vegetable” (48), and “potatoes” (78) - and knowledge is deleted:

the answer lay in Koro Apirana’s persistence with the school sessions, for he was one of the very few who could pass on the sacred knowledge. (TWRUS 72)

The Nanny Flowers of the US edition whose chores include tending a vegetable garden, then, is much more like the 50s housewife of the film than the woman in the NZ edition of the novella who, both through her Muriwai bloodlines and her creation of a space of knowledge production, prepares Kahu for her task ahead.

Finally, a shift that subtly undermines the position of women within the community is the rewrite of the English as well as Maori language in the scene in which the infant Kahu is given to the family of her recently deceased mother, Rehua, to raise. In the NZ edition, Nanny objects strongly to Kahu’s departure but Koro and Porourangi’s *apathy* means she is insufficiently supported to take on the task.

When Rehua’s mother asked if she and her people could raise Kahu, Nanny Flowers objected strongly. But Porourangi said “Aue”, and Koro Apirana said “Hei aha”, and thereby overruled her. (TWRNZ 26)

“Aue” is here a kind of cry of hopelessness in grief, and “hei aha” literally means ‘for what’ (maybe like the colloquial ‘so what’), an expression used to express an inability to make a concrete decision in the present time. Porourangi in particular is paralysed in his grief, and Nanny comforts him by reminding him that Kahu’s link to Whangara will not diminish, because of the practise of naming that she and Rehua had engineered:

“Never mind, boy”, she said to Porourangi. “Kahu’s pito is here. No matter where she may go, she will always return. She will never be lost to us.” Then I marvelled at her wisdom and Rehua’s in naming the child in our whakapapa and the joining of her to our whenua. (TWRNZ 26)

In the Harcourt edition, however, Koro and Porourangi are conscious, definitive and unified in their objections, and are accorded the agency to determine Kahu’s future:

When Rehua’s mother asked if she and her people could raise Kahu, Nanny Flowers objected strongly. But Porourangi said “Let her go”,

and Koro Apirana said “Yes, let it be as Porourangi wishes”, and thereby overruled her. (TWRUS 29)

Furthermore, rather than comforting Porourangi from a position of strength, understanding and leadership, Nanny is left to conspire quietly with Kahu:

“Never mind, girl”, she said to baby Kahu. “Your birth cord is here. No matter where you may go, you will always return. You will never be lost to us.” Then I marvelled at her wisdom and Rehua’s in naming the child in our genealogy and the joining of her to our lands. (TWRUS 29)⁹³⁸

Rather than retaining space to manipulate and interpret events, and to remind the family of the complexities of certain cultural practices, Nanny’s only option is to whisper with baby Kahu against the system that gives men the right to decide Kahu’s – and her own – fate. This changes a struggle of the family against the paralysing and deep grief of losing a wife/ daughter in law/ mother, Rehua, into a struggle of the female against the male members of the family. The dismantling of a complementary womens’ space for knowledge, alongside Koro’s wananga, through the loss of the metaphor of the kumara, reinforces a general tendency in the film towards the assertion that patriarchal sexism is *traditional* to the community at Whangara. Similarly, Nanny’s role as comforter and guardian of the family shifts to her being a family member whose opinion is devalued and sidelined. Are these the implications of speaking in an ‘International’ dialect?

conclusion III: new insights

The possibilities of comparative readings go beyond consideration of the four comparative frames I have discussed in the dissertation, and at several moments over the process of writing I have found that the practice of comparison has in fact brought me to a new understanding or awareness that, while not tied explicitly to comparison, is a result of

⁹³⁸ The translation of ‘whenua’ to ‘lands’ is not incorrect in a literal sense, but it does erase the other meaning of ‘whenua’, which is placenta. Kahu’s pito (translated in the Harcourt edition as “birth cord”) was buried in Whangara, an act that Nanny and Rehua planned, which was carried out with the help of Uncle Rawiri and his ‘boys’. Thus, her joining was to the lands, but also to the ‘whenua’ of all people whose ‘whenua’ were buried in that place; this reinforces the genealogical connections between them and the inextricability of these connections from the land itself.

it. For the purposes of demonstrating what kinds of readings are made possible by the comparative work I have presented in this project, I turn my attention to a moment in Ihimaera's *The Whale Rider* that, when brought into relationship with other 'Oceanic Maori' texts while I worked on the relevant chapter, started me off into a whole dimension of this field that I had not recognised prior to bringing the texts together, as I say, for the purposes of exploring their Oceanic dimensions. I have already mentioned that bringing together Ihimaera, Patuawa-Nathan and Wineera on the basis of their Oceanic-ness in turn suggested that 'diaspora' is a crucial dimension of some Maori writing and this in turn precipitates another, new, way of reading Maori writing in English.

To explore further the possibility of the diasporic reading suggested by these texts, I will focus on one particular dimension of the texts that is illuminated when they are read together on the basis, as I have said, of their Oceanic-ness. When Patuawa-Nathan's poetry is placed alongside Other Maori/ Oceanic texts (this has not been done until now), there is a striking resemblance between her poem "In the Beginning" – which treats the burial of a young Maori transsexual in Sydney - and the section of Ihimaera's novella in which the narrating travelling Uncle Rawiri goes to Sydney. Specifically, to pick up on the time Rawiri spends in Sydney that I have already treated in Chapter Three, it seemed to me particularly significant that while Rawiri expresses his initial surprise to find Maori in Sydney – an admission that is surely a matter of poetic more than strictly 'factual' truth, given that he goes to stay with a cousin when he first arrives – his whanaunga in Sydney have narratives and whakapapa by which they remain tied to Aotearoa and, more specifically, to Whangara:

But always, in the morning, when the sunlight was beginning to crack
at the midnight glamour, the memories would come seeping through.
"How's our Nanny? How's our Koro?"⁹³⁹

⁹³⁹ Ihimaera, *The Whale Rider*: 51. Further references embedded in text.

Rawiri's encounter with 'Ngati Kangaru' is not only a narrative of reunion in which home had forgotten about those who left (or perhaps, didn't – yet? - have a language to talk about them) while those away never forgot where they came from. Something else about the relation between 'home' (Aotearoa) and 'away' (Australia) becomes clear as Rawiri describes some of his cousins in greater detail:

It was there that I came upon my cous Henare, who was now wearing a dress, and another cous, Reremoana, who had changed her name to Lola L'Amour and had red hair and fishnet stockings. (51)

Patuawa-Nathan's poem, which relates the story of a young Maori man, Manu Te Waaka, who moves to Australia ("Living in King's Cross"), and whose homesickness and tortured exploration of his sexuality gets him involved in drugs that ultimately prove fatal, is strikingly similar:

He changed his life style,
changed his sex,
had hormone shots,
became cosmopolitan
and very very chic.⁹⁴⁰

This further dimension, then, is the inscription of Sydney as a Maori space, and specifically as a Queer – or perhaps Takatapui - Maori space. To restate the point in terms of this dissertation, it seems significant – indeed crucial – that the space of Sydney takes on particular meaning that becomes apparent when the texts are approached within the practice of a comparative project. This attests to the possibilities (nau te rourou) of comparative inquiry.⁹⁴¹

The story of gay Maori "exiles"⁹⁴² being simultaneously 'distant' from, and 'free' from, Aotearoa is not such an unusual narrative in Maori writing after all.⁹⁴³ The discoveries and freedoms associated with distance from 'home' enables an exploration of

⁹⁴⁰ "In the Beginning," in Patuawa-Nathan, *Opening Doors: A Collection of Poems*: 11-12.

⁹⁴¹ In the interests of length, and because I feel nervous going into this territory of discourse because I lack confidence in my ability to adequately speak from, let alone to, Queer theory, for now I merely gesture towards this dimension to open up a new area for further research in another project, and not to treat it exhaustively.

⁹⁴² "Exile" is taken from Evelyn Patuawa-Nathan's "Tasman Sea."

⁹⁴³ A wee reminder that Australia is not a part of Oceania for my project.

sexuality beyond the normative restrictions of (at least some sectors of) the Aotearoa-based Maori community. The central figure in Patuawa-Nathan's "In the Beginning" epitomises this freedom when Sydney provides him the opportunity to:

Move[] with a crowd
of other transvestites
absorbed in their own particularity
Walk[] with ease in a
society that accepted
the fates of the extraordinary[.]

Although Ihimaera's recent novel *The Uncle's Story* moves the focus to Vietnam as another space of sexual discovery,⁹⁴⁴ Sydney has occupied a significant role in a small but striking body of Maori texts that explore similar themes. Specifically, the neighbourhood of King's Cross has become an imagined space of sexual freedom and permissibility, and several writers have located parts of their narratives in that neighbourhood, with the effect of inventing and reinforcing a Maori 'scene' there.

Given the narrow and sexist form of masculinity valorised - and archetypally represented - by the character of Koro in *The Whale Rider*, the less generous attitude of their home community hardly comes as a surprise. Homophobia and restrictions on sexuality – arguably not a significant aspect of a Maori cultural framework until Christianisation⁹⁴⁵ although now sadly an entrenched part of much of the Maori community – are not uncomplicatedly swept under the carpet in a romantic 'whanau whanau' gesture. While Rawiri embraces these cousins, not all of his relations are as open:

I couldn't understand Kingi's attitude at all; he was always trying to cross the street whenever he saw a cous he didn't want to be seen with.
(51)

⁹⁴⁴ The remembrance of New Zealand's involvement in the Vietnam war is just now emerging in literary texts, including this novel by Ihimaera and the striking 2002 short film *Turangawaewae* by Wiremu Grace and Peter Burger.

⁹⁴⁵ And I mean *argue*-ably!! This is a fraught issue; although the appearance of many texts by Maori writers that explore issues of sexuality (and indeed those that don't explicitly do so, and include gay Maori as 'normal' / 'a part of the furniture', like, perhaps, Grace's Mahaki and Dave in *Baby No-Eyes*) will hopefully lead the wider community to interrogate some deep-seated homophobic tendencies.

At the end of Rawiri's discussion about these relationships, his cousins (towards whom he himself has offered an apparently non-judgmental attitude) ask him to support them in their decision to maintain a separation between their whanau in Aotearoa ("them") and the nature of their new community in Australia ("us"):

If you write to them, don't tell them that you saw us like this. (51)

Rawiri realises that their physical location in Sydney is a kind of self-imposed – and perhaps ultimately self-preserving – exile:

they always craved the respect of our whanau. They weren't embarrassed, but hiding the way they lived was one way of maintaining the respect. There was no better cloak than those starry nights under the turning Southern Cross. (52)

This oscillation between "home-sickness" and the imagined impossibility of meaningful return is echoed Patuawa-Nathan's poem. The beginning of Manu's 'demise' is not located in his exploration of his sexuality, but in his "home-sickness:"

he became addicted to drugs
ending on heroin,
starting out for kicks on grass
needed to dull the worries
of family ties left behind...

However, this "home-sickness," while attributed as a reason for his situation, is not able to also function as a healing element, because he rejects the possibility of reversing its effects by returning home:

[he] could not handle
his own psyche.
Home-sickness was not stronger
than fear of returning
to face humiliation
and intolerance.

The acknowledgement of "humiliation/ and intolerance" is important, but – in a way that structurally reflects the meaning of the phrase – this is subordinated to "his own psyche" and his projected "fear."

That Rawiri might represent a kind of cultural purity - or at least a proximity to a (decolonised) Maori 'centre' (Whangara) - is a possible explanation for why he privileges whakapapa relationships ("a cous was a cous") over homophobia.

As far as I could see, they were living the way they wanted to and no matter what changes they had made to their lives, a cous was a cous.
(51)⁹⁴⁶

Another plausible reading of Rawiri's acceptance of these cousins, though, would be that his (arguably) marginal position in his home community - after all, he is a bit of a troublemaker!⁹⁴⁷ - enables him to recognise the implications of rejecting these cousins, and more than this, puts him in a position of empathising with their liminality. He jokingly suggests this camaraderie of outsidersness through a comment about their similar clothing:

I guess also that I didn't feel much different: I looked much the same as they did, with my leather jacket and pants matching their own gear with its buckles and scarves and whips. "What game are you into?" they would tease. "What game?" They would joss and kid and joke around and sometimes we would meet up later at some party or other.
(51)⁹⁴⁸

Despite (or perhaps because of) this, it seems significant that the Sydney scene is ultimately described through a sceptical judgement of inauthenticity. Rawiri provides a final commentary on the position of his cousins:

In the search for fame, fortune, power and success, some of my cousins had opted for the base metal and not the gold. (52)

The condescension that undercuts this final statement ultimately affirms the difficult decision to leave Aotearoa in order to flourish within their sexual identity. The ending of Patuawa-Nathan's "In the Beginning" is similarly foreboding, although relieved of explicit moral judgement. Through most of the poem, the narrator seems to be a dispassionate third person observer, merely listing off a series of events:

In the beginning...
he became...

⁹⁴⁶ Here 'cous' is the characteristic Maori English contraction of 'cousin'; it is sometimes found in other literary works as 'cuz'. Note the use of this term earlier, in the discussion about Rawiri's articulation of a connection with Bernard, the man who is struck and killed in PNG.

⁹⁴⁷ Rawiri's narration is particularly touching because although he admits his 'softness' to the reader, it is clear that those around him see him as staunch, and the experience of hearing the voice of a voiceless/silenced part not only of the Maori community but also of the New Zealand community seems an important move on Ihimaera's part. He is involved in a 'bikie' gang, for example, and is in trouble with the police at times; the perception of his 'toughness' and his own relationship with 'the law' is played out humorously in an interaction between Rawiri and his boys and an elderly Pakeha woman, as the local community works together to save the beached whales.

⁹⁴⁸ In fact, another reading of Rawiri's character - and in particular his relationship to his Australian companion Jeff - might complicate this further.

He changed...
 became...
 Worked at...
 Moved with...
 Walked with...
 He became depressed, unable
 to cope with pressures.
 Heroin did the rest.

However, near the end of the poem relationship between the narrator and Manu is clarified. Indeed, the poem is framed by Manu's connection with his roots, and while his "fear" of "humiliation/ and intolerance" keeps him from "returning," he ultimately ends up being taken care of by his relatives ("other Northerners"), in death. Like Rawiri in *The Whale Rider*, this narrator is familialy (or at least broadly) related to Manu: he is a "descendent of Northern chiefs" and the narrator is also impliedly from the same area:

We followed the coffin,
 myself and other Northerners...
 we found
 an elder to perform
 traditional rituals.

In his death, then, both of his communities are present, and he is named according to both of their conventions: "friends of Louise", who "dressed up/ a sad funeral into a/ gay wake" affirm his sexual identity, and the "Northerners" affirm his genealogical location. Interestingly, the actual experienced location/ landscape of Australia is upstaged by a distinctly Aotearoa-based cartographic sensibility: from the perspective of Sydney, "Northerners" are more Easterly, and yet the "Northerners" retain their identification with regard to the geography of Aotearoa. He is finally buried in Australia, but oriented towards Aotearoa (or, perhaps, Oceania), in a position of infinite foreclosure from "returning:"

He rests now in the cemetery
 at Botany
 On a hill overlooking the sea.

The final location of Manu's burial attempts to transcend, but ultimately constrained by, the bifurcation represented by the presence of the two communities at his "funeral." Despite his "overlooking the sea," his body is buried far from "the North[]." The pace that

has been set in over the course of the poem, with all of the verbs about action and movement, in long narrow stanzas, are arrested in this squat, separated stanza that starts with the words “he rests now.” In death, then, Manu finally gets to “rest[]” from his struggle for the first time.

Alongside the articulation of sustained – if foreclosed – longing for home on the part of Maori characters, the decision to identify *as Maori* in Sydney is fraught. Renaming the characters is crucial to these narratives, and significantly, in the earlier texts the new names often imply another – perhaps more exotic – ‘brownness’ which in effect deflects attention away from their Maori backgrounds, a move which one could read as ‘passing.’⁹⁴⁹ Patuawa-Nathan’s “Manu te Waaka” becomes “Louise Santos” after a sex change; Ihimaera’s “Reremoana” becomes “Lola L’Amour” as a prostitute. However, because the new names are from different languages (ie Spanish and French respectively), it seems that rather than explicitly evoking a ‘stable’ new identification (such as whiteness, as in passing) the transaction seeks simply to distance the subject from a previous identification (Maori).⁹⁵⁰

Perhaps the treatment of sexuality in Anton Blank’s 1999 story “Queen” belies a change of attitude both in Aotearoa and Sydney: Brendan humorously performs as “Barbie Q”, and explicitly trades on his identification as Maori. “Queen” has strong parallels to the Australia section of *The Whale Rider*: an ‘outsider’ Maori from home goes to Sydney and somehow represents a proximity/ access to ‘Maoriness’ for his L/G/B/T/Q

⁹⁴⁹ See Chapter Four: Maori as Indigenous, for a brief discussion of passing as foregrounded in the discourse around a Maori politician, Winston Peters.

⁹⁵⁰ Of course, in these cases, the sign of Maoriness is a ‘Maori’ name; the change would not be marked in the same way (Maori to not-Maori) if Louise Santos used to be called Lucy Smith. (This, of course, has a couple of layers to it as well; although an unfamiliar reader might not recognise English names such as (for example) Nathan, Baker, Bennett, Edmonds and Hayes as ‘Maori’ names, these are the names of prominent/ large Maori whanau and so might be argued as having ‘become’ Maori. For example, in Rawinia White’s short story “The Return”, a mixed Maori/ Pakeha woman asks if she can walk on her ancestral land, and is replied by an elder: “Course, well if it’s your mother’s land, what are you asking me for? If you get lost in the maize sing out. Who’s your mother, is she a Hayes, or a Kupa...?” Rawinia White, “The Return,” *Te Ao Marama 3: Te Tōrino = the Spiral*, ed. Witi Ihimaera (Auckland: Reed, 1996): 217.

cousins. The Aotearoa-based narrator, who had earlier been jealous of his friend Brendan's 'authentic' Maori upbringing:

Brendan was much more securely Maori than I was. For a start he had two Maori parents and could speak te reo.⁹⁵¹

The friends meet up with him a few years later in Sydney, and the narrator shown a poster of Brendan ("Barbie Q") in a show. In her performances, rather than submerging her Maoriness, Barbie trades on it, explaining – with a nod, perhaps, to an Oceanic connection – that he got the idea from Samoan "queens" (fa'afafine). The narrator describes the promotional poster for Barbie's show:

Barbie is there, wearing a kowhaiwhai one-piece swimsuit, and she has a moko painted on her chin. Muscled dancers in piupiu surround her.
(17)

The mobilization of specific cultural markers ("kowhaiwhai", "moko", "piupiu") has become crucial to Barbie's literally performed sexuality, and the earlier need to 'pass' for not-Maori has given way to capitalisation on the exotic and sexualised spectacle of race. The narrator reflects on this transaction, and recognises that the poster – and the body of his friend beside him – challenges his own "postmodern stance:"

At home I adopted a pretentiously postmodern stance during the debate over Paco Rabanne's use of the koru, and the Spice Girls' infamous haka. Live and let live I said, and in this day and age what culture can claim to be truly authentic? We're all trading cultural symbols left, right and bloody centre. But looking at this poster of Barbie Q doing the pukana I felt overwhelmed by sadness, and I don't know why. (17-8)

Finally, in a striking parallel to Rawiri's position as a representative of the whanau in Whangara, the narrator recognises (imagines?) that he has come to represent the thing he once sought in his friend:

During our short friendship many years ago, Brendan, whom I considered so much more tuturu than me, barely acknowledged my Maoriness. Yet here we are, off our faces in Sydney, and it feels like it is the one thing that he wants to find in me. (18)

⁹⁵¹ Anton Blank, "Queen," *Huia Short Stories 3*, ed. Huia Publishers. (Wellington: Huia, 1999): 15. Further references embedded in text.

When Ihimaera's novella is considered alone, the particular and important trope of Sydney as a Takatapui space is potentially obscured, or is at best read as a singular innovation rather than being one of several texts that represent that space, from the decades before and after 1987 (Patuawa-Nathan's poetry was published in 1979 and Blank's story in 1999). In the interests of space, I have merely gestured towards this specific example of how the decision to read 'Oceanic' texts not only brings popularly/widely distributed Maori texts into relationship with Other Oceanic texts, but also brings Maori texts into relationship with Other (new? newly framed?) Maori texts.

conclusion IV: new stakes

The possibilities of reading Maori texts within comparative frames are complex and yet potentially endlessly productive. These kinds of readings – these kinds of comparisons – will only be enhanced by the staggering growth of interest in Maori writing in English that we can see today, as well as the continued production and publication of fabulous and amazing texts by Maori writers. As I have worked on this dissertation, and especially as I have talked with, and read criticism by, people who are interested in *our* (naku te rourou, naku te rakau, naku te korero) literatures, sometimes I am tempted to say “no go away – you're only going to do a bad job at it, go and exploit someone else's stuff” and sometimes I am humbled by, and genuinely proud of, the ways in which our writing is valued and discussed ‘outside.’ Most of the time, I am somewhere between these two positions, perhaps resigned to the fact that people will talk about our stuff, and I find myself trying to balance the need to intervene and demonstrate suggest some directions for Maori literary criticism, with my own passion for doing creative, constructive work within the field of Maori literary studies, centring our own writing and our own frameworks in order to produce – or at least to suggest - our own ways of

reading. This section is entitled ‘raising the stakes’ in order to produce a deliberate pun: the pronouncement of the comparativeness of New Zealand literature, and the suggestion that a ‘Treaty house’ provides an ideal model for consideration of NZ lit, ‘raise the stakes’ in terms of increasing the wager (and thereby upping the anti/ raising the pressure); but at the same time, I cannot ignore the meaning of ‘stakes’ in the Taranaki context to which I whakapapa, where the methodical and ‘peaceful’ lifting of surveyor’s stakes by the people of Parihaka brought upon them the full violence of the colonial military and ideological machine in November 1881. I have discussed Parihaka throughout this dissertation, and hope the metaphorical as well as political and historical meanings of “stakes” are by now clear.

Some of the real parameters of this project were unintended. After writing each of the chapters, I realised that my discussions kept breaching the normal parameters of scholarly literary critical work and kept seeping into wider, broader, deeper contexts that I had originally thought I would go. This is not to say that I treated each of these contexts in this dissertation, but it is to gesture to the wider parameters towards which these texts kept taking me. The stakes of discussing these texts are found in the communities from which the texts come. Much wider community contexts surround and shape the critical reception, and production, of Maori writing in English, than small collections of scholars in specific institutions. I do not wish to undermine my own project, or its location, or indeed my own commitments to the fields in which I work. But in each chapter – without my planning it this way ahead of time – one of the concluding sections has considered the implications of this scholarship in terms of the University, schooling, and the experience and aspirations of Maori (and Other) students, writers and scholars in those spaces.

I said at the beginning that Maori writing in English is/ are at the centre of this dissertation, and when I set out to write I imagined that surrounding them are the scholars

and researchers and critics and students. I see now that I had underestimated the contexts of this second group, and had forgotten the wide scope of who it means when you say ‘students;’ I had not taken into account the contexts of Wananga, Universities and Polytechs, Kura Kaupapa, Schools, Kohanga Reo and Preschools.⁹⁵² And beyond them, ancestors and lands and Oceans and stories. If I ignored these stakes, I would be forgetting who I am, where I came from, and the place to which I am about to return.

Theory and criticism that attempts to decolonise/ indigenise/ centre Maori is of little use if it does not affect the experience of Maori in institutional structures, classrooms and, ultimately, whanau. I do not want to overstate or overestimate the bounds and possibilities of this kind of scholarly exercise, and this kind of document in particular, but it seems important to hold this project up to the context(s) in which it has value. To be clear, literary studies – to me – is not restricted to the ‘work’ of reading a poem or whatever, although it does include that: it includes the experience of Maori and non-Maori engaged in the study of language and stories, and this happens in particular bureaucratised and institutionalised spaces. This dissertation won’t change the world, or the university, or the classroom, or even my whanau, but it can change some strands of literary studies, or at least, that tiny portion of the world of University-based English-language literary studies that has interest/ investment in Maori writing in English.

conclusions V

I hope I have demonstrated in this dissertation, through writing about these four comparative frameworks, not only that each frame has a set of possibilities and limitations that beneficially enhance a reading of Maori writing, but also that Maori writing in English is not reducible to any one of the dimensions I have explored. Maori writing is

⁹⁵² Certainly this introduces the possibility of this project articulating with the vibrant field of Maori Education scholarship in meaningful ways.

Pacific, but also Postcolonial; it is Indigenous but also New Zealand. None of these critical frameworks is singularly sufficient, and yet the intersection of each of the respective preoccupations/ contexts/ histories/ concerns/ thematics in Maori writing means that none of them is removable either. Importantly, I do not wish to simply conclude with a naively glowing report on the frameworks in question, exhorting critics and theoretical paradigms to just love each other and get along like best friends. I hope I have pointed to potential flaws, problems, disconnects and invisibilities in and between the various frameworks, and at times I have suggested ways in which these – especially Postcolonial and NZ – might make critical amends for their exclusions. To the ‘nau te rourou’ critics who waltz in to Maori literature in English with foreign tools and assumption-laden frameworks as if it is uncharted, context-less and under-theorised territory, I wish to reinforce and advocate ‘naku te rourou,’ both in content and form. To the critics who focus on ‘naku te rourou,’ I point to the value, implications, realities and possibilities of comparative inquiry.

Any one of these chapters could have been the basis for a dissertation, and each of them suffers from insufficient treatment of all of the possibilities of argument that I have left untied, untraversed, unwritten. These will have to lead on to Other projects, though, because (even though at times I was tempted to simply bundle one chapter up, slap on an intro and conclusion, call it a dissertation, and move home, or else to follow a stream to its river to its ocean and focus on one world uncovered by the somewhat haphazard picking up of rocks and looking under them in which I have engaged for the last few hundred pages) my project has *not* been to produce a watertight and exhaustive account of any one of these frames (as if any dissertation could do that anyway!). Instead, it has been to hold all of these up and make a case for the multiple ways in which Maori writing in English is discussed, framed, contextualised and taught. I must, at this point, offer my apologies to those scholars, writers and readers of each of these four frames (Oceanic,

Indigenous, Postcolonial and New Zealand) for the resulting foreclosure of deeper engagements in their respective fields. However, my apology is qualified, or perhaps justified ('I'm sorry, but...'), by my real focus, which is – as I have said over and over – on the possibilities of each of these comparative frameworks, and on comparative inquiry itself, and also on the wonderful taonga produced by Maori who are writing in English.

This is not a 'final word' kind of dissertation. I hope I have opened certain topics for conversation, prodded a few smoking cinders, nudged a few theoretical frameworks. I hope a few people might read these pages and retaliate, respond or reply; I mind less about whether their reaction is supportive of my thinking, than that they begin to talk earnestly about the processes, politics, possibilities and limitations of reading Maori texts in relation with texts from Other contexts. More than anything, though, I hope I have repositioned within (and outside of) those frameworks the thing about which I am most passionate. That is, I hope I have introduced the reader to the fabulous dynamic nuanced historied exciting and multileveled literary texts that Maori writers have produced, are producing, and will continue to produce. Because of these texts, this dissertation has been written; but I also recognise that those texts stand before, around and beyond any pile of pages humbly scratched upon, bound and filed over here in snowy Ithaca, Cayuga Nation homelands, on the otherside of the world.

And so, here after all of these pages – *especially* here after all of these pages - I will concur with Ramari who, according to Huria's introductory comments to the Briar Grace-Smith play *Purapurawhetu* in which she appears, recognises the importance of leaving untied the tukutuku panel she contributes to her community's whare:

As the panel is finished, the story of its local meaning is told to the new generation, and succession can occur. Ramari, however, does not finish the panel. She ties two stitches upside down for her 'scabby mokos' to see in fifty years time. This hints that the story is not 'tied off', that it

has not ended, that closure is provisional. The story will be retold time and again, never complete.⁹⁵³

⁹⁵³ Huria, "Introduction.": 16. A tukutuku panel is a woven panel that makes up the inside wall of a whareni (meeting house), alongside carvings. Tukutuku, crafted according to a number of general patterns, represent stories of the people. As I have said in my discussion of *The Whale Rider* in Chapter Three, 'Mokos' is an (affectionate?) shortened form of mokopuna; grandchildren; it is also, more literally, a reference to the 'moko', the tattoo.

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