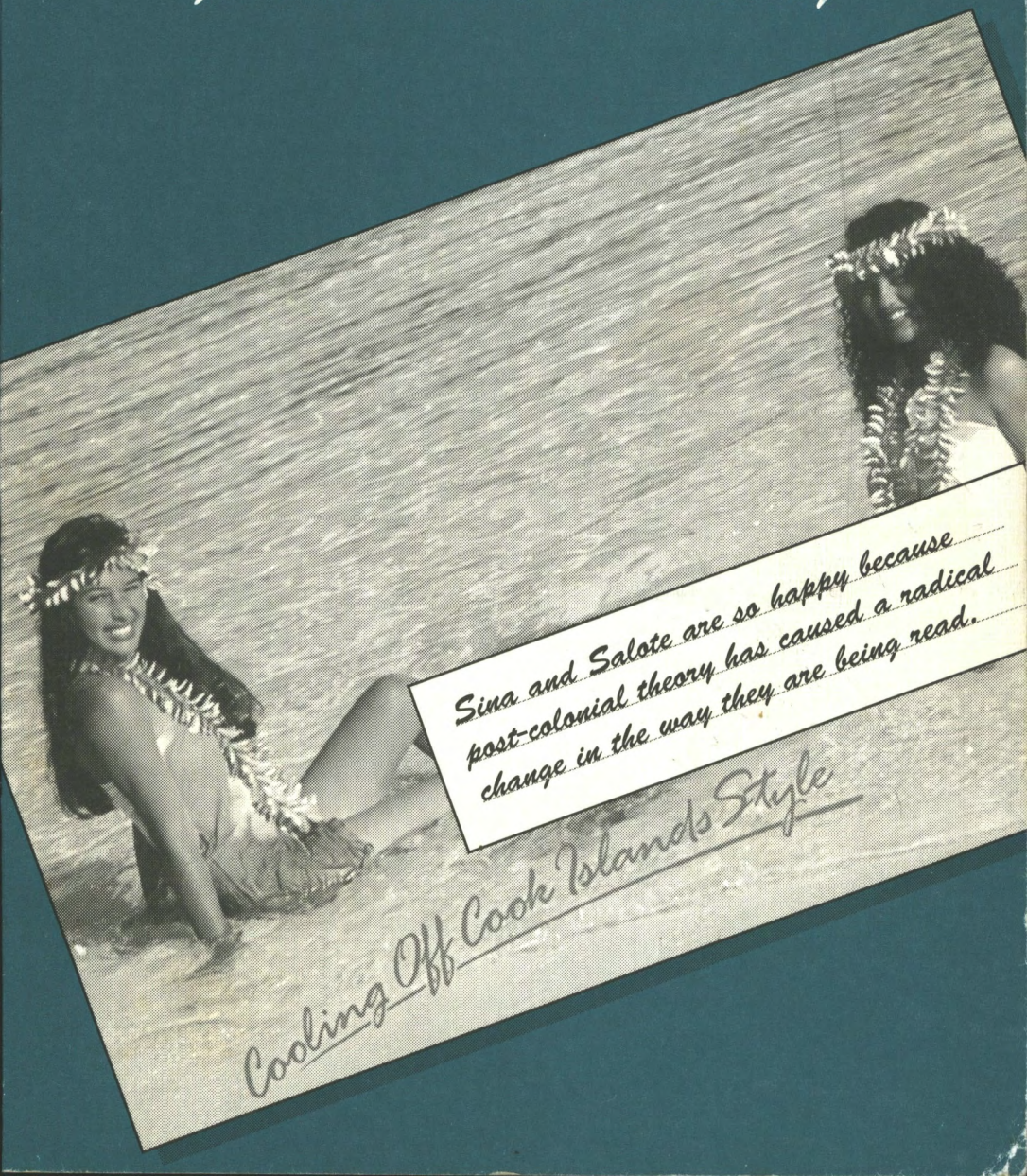
Women's Studies Journal 11:1/2

Aotearoa/New Zealand and their Others: Feminism and Postcoloniality



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Erratum: Patricia Sargison's name has been misprinted as Patricia Sarginson. Our apologies.

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Guest Editors: Maud Cahill, Chris Prentice, Sarah Williams

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The photo essay on the cover and pages 25 – 29 are the work of Caroline Vercoe, who teaches Art History at the University of Otago. She is currently researching her doctorate focusing on postcolonial theory and contemporary Pacific art.

Introduction: Aotearoa/New Zealand and their Others: Feminism and Postcoloniality

Chris Prentice

In 1993 we in Aotearoa/New Zealand marked the centenary of women's suffrage; 1994 was declared the International Year of the Family and the International Year of Indigenous Peoples. The co-incidence of these three 'moments' at *this* historical moment, struck a number of us, including the guest editors of this issue, as an uncanny one: these 'events' were staged against a present marked by contentions between historically and culturally specific positions from which grievances and claims reaching back to colonial times are being aired and addressed. Many of these grievances and claims are addressed through the legal system, generally taking as their point of reference the Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti o Waitangi, signed between a number of Maori chiefs and representatives of Queen Victoria. In the International Year of the Family my tactless memory returned to the functioning of 'family' as an historical discourse governing the representation of New Zealand's colonial relation to the British Empire, and supporting the ideology of 'Commonwealth'; I was reminded of the late-colonial functioning of 'family' discourses in anticipating assimilation. Yet 'family' — that institution of mystified political relations — was being reproduced in political discussions and through affective media representations as the redemptive model or paradigm for many contemporary postcolonial discourses of difference and specificity including, ironically, bi-culturalism. Had the problem returned disguised as the solution? Or is the significance and functioning of discourses of 'family' only produced within specific historical and contemporary positions and relationships? In other words, is there a difference between Queen Victoria's position as 'Imperial Mother' and Dame Whina Cooper's popularly — though not consensually — accorded title, Te Whaea o te Motu/Mother of the Nation? Is there a difference between a

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Maori woman's encouragement of marriage between Maori and Pakeha in order to produce one race, Maori advocacy of intermarriage as modelling bi-culturalism, and colonial-missionary miscegenations and ideologies of assimilation? What relationship exists between the film *Once Were Warriors* having riveted the country's attention in 1994, and that film's representation of domestic violence most dramatically and most *commercially* in relation to a Maori family?[1] Further, what is the significance of the adaptation of Alan Duff's novel into a self-consciously 'women's' film, resolving into the redemptive vision of a mother-centred cultural healing and homecoming for the Heke whanau?

New Zealand was the first country to extend suffrage to all women, and this fact has always imbued New Zealand with a special significance in relation to issues of social justice. The celebration of the centenary of this event became an exercise in history-writing. Most projects related to the uncovering of the nineteenth-century past so that foremothers could be acknowledged and fêted. However, as Maud Cahill has noted, 'this history-writing exposed the difficulty around the inclusion of Maori women'. In relation to their exclusion from these textual projects she suggests that:

> This exclusion is even more problematic if we consider the historical context in which women 'won the vote'. The enfranchisement of white women took place at the same time as the effective disenfranchisement of Maori. The process of land acquisition and population decline during that time in New Zealand meant that a Pakeha political 'right' such as a vote must have been meaningless for a Maori.[2]

The suggestion that a special issue of the New Zealand *Women's Studies Journal* be produced on feminism and postcoloniality emerged at a point in time when the connections and contradictions circulating around all of these matters had become momentous for Sarah, Maud and me in the different and connected fields of our work. Perhaps they were for others as well, or perhaps such an issue would attract work on quite different approaches and concerns. The proposal was met with a number of questions: what is postcoloniality? And why should it be the subject of a special issue of the journal? What is its importance for a women's studies journal

in New Zealand, and for local feminism more generally? The importance of addressing such questions — and at the same time, the difficulties of answering them once and for all — were implicit in the form of our call for papers. In the spirit of enquiry and debate, it began with a set of questions: what are the relationships between postcoloniality and feminism and how do these relationships mark the specificity of locations relative to Aotearoa/New Zealand? To what extent is postcolonialism an event, a programme, a discourse which bears on the politics of feminism, and contemporary feminists' articulations of locality?

The essays in this issue demonstrate that rather than singular authoritative answers to these questions, there are debates, arguments, positions, identities, locations, negotiations, and challenges; thus an introduction such as this might best function to chart representative points in these shifting positions and relations. It is not as if these matters have not been addressed in this journal before: for example, in 1993 Lynne Alice's '"Unlearning Our Privilege As Our Loss": Postcolonial Writing and Textual Production', was published in Volume 9, No. 1; and in 1994 there was an interview with film-maker and feminist theorist of postcoloniality, Trinh Minh-Ha in Volume 10, No. 1. These, along with a number of other contributions, have addressed the condition and/or implications of postcoloniality in Aotearoa/New Zealand and beyond. It would also be unhelpful to imply that among all differences and debates there is nothing — no common concern — that links them. At a fundamental level critical analyses of postcoloniality would share the assumption that colonialism produces qualitatively differential encounters and relations between and among different peoples.

Nevertheless, it would be disingenuous to deny that in this context the onus is more on postcoloniality than on feminism to be explained and justified as an important concern, especially in a settler-majority context such as New Zealand. Therefore, 'postcoloniality' might provisionally be 'defined' as that (set of) sociocultural condition(s) produced out of the historical legacy of colonialism. Of course, the end of the politico-legal status of 'colony' is only the beginning of the complexities of this legacy for Aotearoa/New Zealand and its (their) inhabitants, as it has been for the new 'decolonised' nations of, for example, Africa

since the 1960s. The 'post' in postcolonial cannot usefully denote an end to the socio-cultural forms instituted by colonialism; like the terms 'postmodernism' and 'poststructuralism', there is both the inheritance and the critique at work. It was around the mid-1980s that Aotearoa/New Zealand culture and society began to be analysed in terms of postcoloniality, in terms of colonial legacies including inherited identities and relationships, significantly those between and among what Simon During referred to as the 'postcolonizers' and the 'postcolonized'. The usefulness of his specification of these positions is rendered in what I see as his most important insight in that essay:

> the crisis of postcolonialism is not just a crisis for those who bore the burden of imperialism: who have seen the destruction of their modes of production, the de-privileging of their language and the mutilation of their culture. It is also a crisis for those who have been agents of colonialism and, who, once colonialism itself has lost its legitimacy, find themselves without strong ideological and ethical support'.[3]

It is this statement which has enabled an analysis of postcoloniality as a complex of tensions and negotiations in historically-produced cultural relationships, rather than fetishising the resultant 'identities' themselves as adequate explanatory tools; it has enabled analyses which acknowledge 'postcolonising' insecurities, defensiveness, privilege, appropriation, guilt, loss, critique, and/or alliances, as contributing to the complexities of postcolonial relations rather than as (co-)incidental to them. Certainly some have argued that only the colonised may produce the 'true' postcolonial voice: Linda Hutcheon suggests in relation to Canada that 'Native and Métis writers are today demanding a voice . . . and perhaps, given their articulations of the damage to Indian culture and and people done by the colonizers . . . and the process of colonization, theirs should be considered the resisting postcolonial voice of Canada'.[4] However, I would suggest that the implicit understanding of postcoloniality as cultural-subjective 'authenticity' and as decolonisation-as-such, while rhetorically and strategically valuable, is also dangerously unitary. Others have rejected the relevance of the term 'postcolonial' as pertinent to Aotearoa/New Zealand on the basis of the continued status of

Maori as colonised. Again, the value of this understanding of postcoloniality as the fulfilment of decolonisation must be put beside that of one which preserves the usefulness of it as the problematic of a continuing relation between colonially-produced identities and positions.

Its value notwithstanding, During's essay shares with perhaps most of the early theorists of (post)colonialism, in the full range of their contexts and locations, little acknowledgement of the gendering of post-colonial positions: colonialism has never been gender-neutral; there have always been differences in men's and women's experiences of colonialism, as well as historical and cultural differences in the social construction of gender. Therefore, relationships between feminism and postcoloniality might best be analysed and explained as a history of the articulations of women's relationship to colonisation and colonialism; of the gendering of 'the colonial experience'; and of the interface between two rubrics for political analysis and praxis. As the essays which make up this issue variously do all of these in relation to locations and contexts of Aotearoa/New Zealand, what follows is a brief summary of moments in international forms of these articulations.

In *The Empire Writes Back*, Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin suggest that feminism and postcolonialism have developed as coincident and parallel discourses,[5] an argument that would be supported by tracing both to the 1960s as the historical moment which saw both the rise of second wave feminism, and the emergence of newly 'decolonised' nationalisms, as well as the American Black Civil Rights movement which provided discourses and modalities for the rise of local indigenous anti-racist activism. Their argument regarding the parallel status of these movements is specifically pointed at the 'failure' of feminism to provide a 'model' for postcolonial discourse. The implicit desire for a 'model' could be seen as an apparent expression of the same 'masculine' desire for feminism to function for the patriarchal order by providing the theoretical terms for masculine and humanist self-renewal (similar to the ways in which the 'indigene' has been appropriated as a sign of cultural authenticity for renovated postcolonial nationalism). Further, the 'model' approach to the relationships between forms of oppression will inevitably give rise to the

question of which is properly the model for the other(s). Analyses become constrained by the search for primary oppressions (and primacy of oppression — the one which will subsume the specificities of the others); they are limited to seeing oppressions as singular and separate instances which variously follow, or are 'added-on' to each other in particular cases; and they are unable to conceive of a plurality of feminisms themselves or of postcolonial conditions and positions.

In 1975 Anne Summers used the context of white settlement/invasion of Australia to argue gender as a 'colonial' experience: she argued that '[w]hen the British invaded the continent of Australia in 1788 they did more than colonize a continent and its Aboriginal inhabitants. They also colonized an entire sex — the female sex'. Identifying four conditions of colonization or the colonial situation — the invasion and conquering of a territory; the cultural domination of its inhabitants; the institution of control by divide and rule; and the extraction of profits from the colonized territory — she constructed an analogy between these conditions and women's condition in patriarchy. She posited: that women's bodies constitute their (only accessible) territory, over which they are denied control; the imposition of the cultural code of femininity; the division of women into 'Damned Whore' and 'God's Police' stereotypes; and the reaping of profits (by capitalism, patriarchy, and individual men) from women's colonised state.[6] In *Decolonizing Feminisms*, Laura Donaldson identifies similar arguments founded on the basis of man=coloniser, woman=colonised equations made by Sheila Rowbotham, Josephine Donovan and Marilyn French.[7]

Among the many problems with this analysis is the refusal to acknowledge that 'women' have always been differentially positioned in relation to colonialism and its effects. A related problem besets the special issue of the journal Kunapipi, entitled 'A Double Colonization: Colonial and Post-Colonial Women's Writing', which posits 'women' as doubly-oppressed: by patriarchy and by colonialism.[8] The need to acknowledge women's differential positioning more clearly underlies Robin Visel's essay, 'A Half-Colonization: The Problem of the White Colonial Woman Writer'. Reading texts by white South African women, she argues that:

> [t]he white-settler woman and her descendants occupy a privileged position in comparison to their darker native or slave-descended sisters. While the native women is truly doubly-oppressed or doubly-colonized, by male dominance as well as by economic and social dominance, the white-settler woman can best be described as half-colonized. Although she too is oppressed by white men and patriarchal structures, she shares the power and guilt of the colonists.[9]

If the 'model' is a form of analysis which privileges primacy, then the 'vulgar-fractionalism' of those which posit 'half-' and 'double-colonisation' is just as problematic, tending as it does toward the apportioning of moral value in direct proportion to the measure of oppression. Further, Visel is less explicit about the basis and significance of 'sisterhood' between these women, unless it lies in a putatively shared negative relation to patriarchy. While the possibilities of such sisterhood must be retained for feminist solidarity in action, as well as for simply a mode of being which does not partake of, or perpetuate, patriarchally-produced divisions among women, there is also a need to remain attentive to, and critical of, the assumptions of commonality which underpin it.

It has been feminist critics informed by third-world contexts who have most clearly reminded first-world western feminists that feminist projects and modalities are not universal, that western feminism does not necessarily address the concerns of women from non-western cultural contexts. In her now well-known essay, 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses', Chandra Talpade Mohanty argues that '[h]owever sophisticated or problematical its use as an explanatory construct, colonization almost invariably implies a relation of structural domination, and a suppression — often violent — of the heterogeneity of the subject(s) in question'. She goes on to posit First-World feminisms themselves as colonising discourses in their production of the 'Third World Woman' as 'a singular monolithic subject': ' . . . western feminisms appropriate and "colonize" the constitutive complexities which characterize the lives of women in these countries'.[10] In 'Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism', Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak similarly points out that '[i]t seems particularly unfortunate when the emergent perspective of feminist criticism reproduces the axioms

of imperialism. A basically isolationist admiration for the literature of the female subject in Europe and Anglo-America establishes the high feminist norm'.[11]

Challenges to a monolithic feminist norm in the women's movement in Aotearoa/New Zealand have come, for example, over the last two decades from lesbian women who challenged its implicit heterosexism; from working-class women who challenged its middle-class bias, assumptions and agendas; and from Maori women who have challenged the implicit racism of its Pakeha monoculturalism. However, the point is to move beyond the idea of a women's movement, beset and beleagured by seemingly endless 'add-on' concerns (sexuality, class, cultural difference), and to try to think through the multiple and heterogeneous nature of subject-constitution. There are no 'women' who are not multiply-constituted by gender, race, sexuality, culture, religion, age . . . ; there is no context or experience of colonialism which does not position its subjects in similarly multiple — overdetermined — ways. The challenge for the middle-class feminist who complains that 'it's all "class" now' is to recognise — and unlearn — that privilege which insulated her from such 'knowledge' in her feminist analyses for so long; the challenge for the Pakeha woman who feels that her 'feminist' analyses are being annoyingly complicated by the 'contemporary' emphasis on 'cultural difference' is the same one of unlearning — and re-working in a way that cannot *not* account for the multiply-constituted and heterogeneous 'woman'. It is in relation to the difficulties of a praxis founded on such 'overdetermination' of the woman-subject that a vigilantly attentive dialogue must be retained between political actions out of platforms of identification and solidarity, and theoretical work which investigates the implications of constitutive difference. In other words, there are times when 'theory' should function to enable a strategic forgetting of difference for productive political action, while the genuine pleasures and productivities of what is shared among women should always be integral to projects of theorising the variety and dispersal of women's subjectivities.

Thus the range of relations between feminism and postcoloniality include feminist challenges to the masculinism of discourses of decolonisation and of postcolonial analysis, analyses of women's oppression under patriarchy as (analogous to) colonisation, and

calls for feminism itself to decolonise. The essays in this volume explore a variety of concerns in relation to postcoloniality through a similar variety of positionalities and contexts. They do not add up to an understanding of the post-colonial condition; some may be read as in a complementary relation to others, others will be clearly in contradictory relations. Our editorial aim has been to instantiate, through the very form of the journal issue, our understandings of postcoloniality in Aotearoa/New Zealand. However, one 'theme' in relation to which they all could be variously located is that of the ambivalent politics of 'visibility' produced within postcoloniality.

In 'Maori, the "Eternally Compromised Noun": Complicity, Contradictions, and Postcolonial Identities in the Age of Biculturalism', Donna Matahaere makes a series of questions echo through her analysis — questions which invoke visibility as a form of capture of identity, a framing of image. She argues that the New Zealand state policy of biculturalism has been complicit with essentialist notions of 'race' and identity, such that Maori, always articulated as difference from Pakeha, implicitly supports certain notions of Pakeha identity. She suggests that even in 'postcolonial' Aotearoa/New Zealand, 'the body has become the visible sign which divides cultures'.

The colonial gaze is explored and deconstructed in a series of articles which focus on visual media. Caroline Vercoe's parodic re-presentation of a set of tourist postcards invokes notions of tourist travel and visual commodification as constitutive of (post)colonial locations of cultures, while framing these within a postcolonial critique.

Annie Goldson's 'Getting the Picture' is a discussion of her film *Wake*, and once again considers the use of a visual medium to explore ambivalences of 'visibility'. She shows images to be both instruments of capture and stasis and producers of movement (for the New Zealand Company, images were used to promote emigration from Britain and settlement in New Zealand; her father used film footage of his own voyage to New Zealand to encourage the rest of his family to emigrate from the 'United Kingdom' and settle here). These instances of travel form the basis of her concern to re-present the Anglo-Pakeha as an historicised and 'raced' identity.

In 'Representing Forms: Margaret Dawson's Amusements', Susan Ballard reads a photographic exhibition which works through a series of displacements to compare the traditional role and position of women in colonial society with that of the outlaw. Using ideas from Sidney Nolan's images of Ned Kelly and his gang in colonial Australia, the photographs present figures located, through the use of masks and costume, at borders between disguise and identity, and suggest, according to Ballard, 'a common mythology for the Australian and New Zealand (white) colonial woman and the boundary rider-cum-outlaw'. Ballard further suggests the kinds of possibilities such boundary-blurring may offer for postcolonial space.

Hana O'Regan argues the continuity of colonial forms in the postcolonial state. In 'Postcolonialism: The Festering Wound/"Ko te Mate Kuropopo — The Festering Wound"', she indicates through a specifically Ngai Tahu perspective the problematics of addressing tribal matters in a national context which cannot adequately account for relationships between tribes. However, in an additional move she posits a new colonialism among Maori located in relations beween north and south, reproducing a colonialist politics of 'visibility' turning on 'colour' and harnessed to the recognition of 'authenticity'. This discourse of authenticity, she points out, has important implications for claims under the Treaty of Waitangi.

Radhika Mohanram begins her 'Postcolonial Maori Sovereignty' with an account of her own identity-in-displacement, producing her variously as Indian and as American, now located in Aotearoa/New Zealand and writing about Maori sovereignty. She inhabits this position as neither entirely 'settler' nor 'indigene' — but both in different locations — to produce the analysis of the stranger who disrupts local binarisms. From this location she discusses some of the problematic implications of Michele Dominy's 'oppositional' reading of Maori women's activisms in the 1970s and early '80s, and goes on to consider Maori women's roles in Maori nationalism through a discussion of women in nationalism more generally, and through Indian comparison. She then reads the text and photographs of Donna Awatere's *Maori Sovereignty* in relation to its postcolonial construction of Maori and the relative (in)visibilities of women in

the 'two conclusions' to Awatere's text.

Deborah Jones's essay, 'Setting up the Targets: the Construction of Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) "Target Groups" in the New Zealand Public Service' is an analysis of the relationships between EEO and biculturalism discourses. Her argument is founded on an understanding of discourses as functioning to frame political categories, and thus to make these categories and the 'problems' they represent, appear self-evident. She uses the example of 'race' as a category which is both fictional and functional in specific but ambivalent ways: not simply to 'frame' identities into bureaucratically useful stasis, but also to provide the material basis of claims to tangata whenua status and sovereignty. Thus the signficance and value of notions of destabilised and decentred identities are tied back to specific questions and conditions of postcolonial location.

The special issue concludes with Sarah Williams' 'Tourist Traffic No. 2: The Cultural Romance of "White Woman" Rewritten in Stories Without Plot Devices'. Like a number of other contributors, she is concerned to historicise 'whiteness'. Taking the work of Gayatri Spivak — in particular her account of the production and functioning of 'white woman' in colonial space — as her theoretical starting point, her essay oscillates between African and Aotearoa/New Zealand (cultural-narrative) spaces, and deconstructs the 'poles' of sex and intellect as constitutive of (the) romance. She argues that the deconstruction of the meaning of 'white woman' reveals questions to which she was once the self-evident answer, an answer narrated over the non-white woman. Further, though, her essay performs a seriously playful, if disorienting, interruption to the complicity between narrative itself and colonisation. Her opening epigraph from *De-Scribing Empire: Post-colonialism and Textuality* draws attention to the ideological work done by imperial language and textuality in defining and administering colonial space, colonial subjects, and colonial relations.[12] When narrative, both in form and in content, (re-)inscribes the colonial romance, its disruption is an urgent political move.

The contributions to this issue all relate in some sense to the politics of representation. Whether they address such forms of representation as painting, photography, film, the postcard or

writing, or whether they address representation more in its policy/legislative sense, they all demonstrate that representations are political. How then, or to what extent, are those politics able to be usefully located in the intersections between feminisms and postcoloniality? If 'representation' is a term that suggests a kind of stasis, how are the politics of the issues they address able to be mobilised? There are many other dialogues and debates that could be drawn between the contributions to this issue. What, together, do they suggest about the relationships between postcoloniality and feminism, and how these relationships specify locations relative to Aotearoa/New Zealand? What do they suggest about the extent to which postcolonialism is an event, a programme, a discourse which bears on the politics of feminism, and/or contemporary feminists' articulations of locality? What issues, locations, or perspectives have not been addressed?

I began this introduction with some specific issues of the times which were reverberating for Sarah, Maud and me when this volume was proposed. Now, in 1995, New Zealand/Aotearoa is both commemorating the bombing of the *Rainbow Warrior* ten years ago, and in another of those uncanny movements of history, taking again to the Pacific either literally or through media presentations, to protest against the devastating impact of the intersection between nuclear arms and (neo-)imperialism. We might have been indignant to learn that (then) French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac told Dominique Prieur that her release from 'confinement' on Hao atoll could be effected if there were to be a 'happy event', at which point her husband was appointed to a fulltime job on Hao.[13] Yet this insertion of women into discourses of home and maternity/family is able to serve similar alibi functions for politics in this country too. How can feminist postcolonialisms and/or postcolonial feminisms contribute to our critical interventions?

* * *

Chris Prentice teaches postcolonial literatures at the University of Otago. Her research has focused on the implications of postcoloniality for New Zealand, Australian and Canadian cultural formations and relations, and she is current working on an analysis of the

functions of gendered discourses of home and family for contemporary postcolonial nationalisms in these contexts.

Notes

1. Maud Cahill posed the question about the representation of domestic violence in a collaborative paper with Sarah Williams and Rochelle Simmons, 'Advertising Godzone: Economic Actors in The Land of The Long White Cloud', presented at the Sex/Culture/Economies Conference in Melbourne, December 1994. In the preface to an interview with Lee Tamahori, Stuart McKenzie points out that the box-office success of the film has only been topped in New Zealand by *Jurassic Park*, and suggests that, '[w]hether or not you agree with its picture, it has become the common reference when contemporary New Zealanders talk about their society', 'Warrior Cast', *Artforum International*, 33:6 (1995) p. 65.
2. Maud Cahill, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Otago.
3. Simon During, 'Postmodernism or Postcolonialism?', *Landfall*, 39:3 (1985) pp. 366–380, p. 370.
4. Linda Hutcheon, 'Circling the Downspout of Empire', in Ian Adam and Helen Tiffin (eds), *Past the Last Post: Theorizing Postmodernism and Postcolonialism* (Harvester Wheatsheaf, Hemel Hempstead, 1991) pp. 167–189, p. 172.
5. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (Routledge, London, 1989) p. 177.
6. Anne Summers, *Damned Whores and God's Police: The Colonization of Women in Australia* (Penguin, Ringwood, 1975) pp. 197–201.
7. Laura Donaldson, *Decolonizing Feminisms: Race, Gender and Empire-Building* (Routledge, London, 1993) p. 5. Donaldson identifies the equation in the arguments of: Sheila Rowbotham's *Women, Resistance, and Revolution: A History of Women and Revolution in the Modern World* (Vintage, New York, 1972); Josephine Donovan's essay, 'Towards a Women's Poetics', in Shari Benstock (ed.), *Feminist Issues in Literary Scholarship* (University of Indiana Press, Bloomington, 1987); and Marilyn French's *Beyond Power: On Men, Women, and Morals* (Ballantine Books, New York, 1985).
8. Kirsten Holst-Petersen and Anna Rutherford (eds.), *A Double Colonization: Colonial and Postcolonial Women's Writing* (Dangaroo Press, Mundelstrup, Denmark, 1986).
9. Robin Visel, 'A Half-Colonization: The Problem of the White

Colonial Woman Writer', *Kunapipi*, 10:3 (1988) pp. 39–45, p. 39.

10. Chandra Talpade Mohanty, 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourse', in Chandra Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres (eds.), *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1992) pp. 51–80, p. 54.
11. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism', *Critical Inquiry*, 12 (1985) pp. 243–261, p. 243.
12. Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson, *De-Scribing Empire: Post-colonialism and Textuality* (Routledge, London/New York, 1994) p. 3.
13. An account of these events appeared in a recent report on the publication of Prieur's autobiography: Geoff Chapple, 'All The Tears In My Body', *The Listener*, July 15, 1995, p. 24.

Maori, the 'Eternally Compromised Noun': Complicity, Contradictions, and Postcolonial Identities in the Age of Biculturalism

Donna Matahaere

> Are there then any readily available senses in which a simple conception of being a woman at times can hold good? Are there moments when some, as it were, non-ideological kind of woman-ness irrupts, such that you are for that moment a woman unironically and without compromise.
>
> Denise Riley, *'Am I That Name?'* [1]

> The native intellectual who takes up arms to defend his nation's legitimacy, and who wants to bring proofs to bear out that legitimacy, who is willing to strip himself naked to study the history of his body is obliged to dissect the heart of his people.
>
> Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth.*

My sister Bonney had laughed at my question, 'Do I really look that Polynesian?' revealing that she jokingly refers to me as 'Hine' because of the way I look and the fact that out of so many sisters, I ended up with 'frizzy' hair. What I'd really meant was do I look 'different'? Her response revealed to me one of the ways in which difference is racially defined. It should have been no surprise to me, then, when a couple of weeks later while looking for accommodation in Dunedin I would be made aware of my 'Polynesian look'. Being sent out to view 'available' houses only to be informed later that someone else was interested and I would now be required to supply references, or being told by the landlord that someone else was before me, while muttering under his breath that he wasn't racist can be really painful, an experience I wouldn't wish on anybody. In your face, 'red-neck' bigotry I can cope with, but the covert sort is much more insidious because it is usually difficult to prove. My self-esteem in tatters and my energy at an all-time low, I retreated to the safety of my home feeling exhausted and angry. This experience represents

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one way in which identity is constituted, and also allows me to position and locate much of the theory I am using here to highlight the contradictory nature of identities.

Since my arrival at Otago University, many assumptions have been made concerning my identity based solely on the way I look. Some still assume I must be from 'up north', and at times I have been slightly amused at references to my adjustment to the 'cold' weather here. At other times I have been deeply hurt by suggestions that I am 'too dark' to be Kai Tahu, the inference being that my loyalties are necessarily split as a result of my northern heritage. It seems to matter very little that I was born and educated in Southland, or that I possess a whakapapa that reaches from Rakiura into both Otago and Canterbury. I'm seen as somehow 'privileged' by some Kai Tahu because I'm not made to feel 'too white'. Conversely, while being 'too brown' exposes me to varying degrees of prejudice, it is also used by some as an indication that I am in possession of the Maori perspective. It doesn't occur to them that any perspective I do have may result from a reaction to racism rather than from cultural difference. However, as if to prove you can't be 'too Maori', I'm sometimes reminded of my lack of fluency in Te Reo. This lack, coupled with my immersion in feminist analyses has tended to disqualify me as the 'real' Maori student. The implication that it is okay to dabble in Women's Studies as long as I don't put women's concerns before that of my culture misrepresents culture as apolitical, while disavowing the experience of women.

What I wish to explore here are the contradictions inherent in postcolonial identities. While acknowledging the suspicion around this notion of postcoloniality from indigenous peoples still waiting for the 'post', I use it here as a set of historical moments rather than a fixed event. In this way the 'compelling and discomforting'[2] experience of being entangled within colonialism while at the same time maintaining a critical stance towards popular notions of 'decolonisation' is acknowledged. This also allows me to examine the ways identities are being constructed under these conditions. Notions underpinning New Zealand state policy regarding biculturalism invariably result in an uncritical adoption of essentialist notions of race and identity. Maori identity is reduced to a set of particular characteristics

articulated as a 'difference from' and therefore implicated in supporting certain notions surrounding Pakeha identity. However because such an articulation of identity fails to disrupt the language of 'racial purity', it may ultimately jeopardise its own integrity as a discourse to counter racist assumptions which underlie the colonialist project.

How did Maori, a term intended to denote 'usual' or 'normal' come to define a racial category?

And given the role of nomenclature in the production of cultural representation, what happens to the 'native' who refuses to stay inside her 'frame'?

And, is my attempt at 'slipping' out of this 'frame' really an option given that we continue to view skin colour as the signifier of 'difference'?

The extent to which Maori continue to use the language of 'race' with which to articulate their 'difference' reveals an active complicity rather than the lack of agency that a passive and naive duplicity would imply. Examining complicity as a tool of survival here enables us to expose how structures of inequality are legitimated and maintained through tacit understandings and conciliatory agreements. This also reveals the double-edged nature of alliances built on complicity; while they may function progressively in some contexts, to all intents and purposes they may work against the interests of a greater number of people.

Difference in this context is predicated on what Trinh Minh-ha has called 'planned authenticity', where difference is permitted as long as it remains distant from the culture it is resisting. Hegemony is assured by first convincing you ' . . . that your past and cultural heritage are doomed to eventual extinction . . . inauthenticity is condemned as a loss of origins and a whitening (or faking) of non-Western values . . . '.[3] Thus Maori women appear as an already constituted entity inextricably tied to 'traditional' kinship patterns. Changes in these patterns are viewed with a mixture of fear and horror by those concerned with re-creating static models of Maori women in their 'un-contaminated' and 'de-colonised' state. As with essentialist notions around race, identity-authenticity fails to take into account the postcolonial context in which Maori women's identity is implicated, while simultaneously supporting and 'opposing' particular constructions of Pakeha women's identity. A generalised view of this

would include the assumption that Maori women are whanau directed while Pakeha women are individualistic, or that Maori women are experiential and Pakeha women are theoretical.

The 'native' woman constructed here reflects the projected 'western' mission of 'lost origins' and desire for 'other', representative of a particular European nostalgia for an image or way of life sadly lost. The body of the 'other' thus becomes a contested site, symbolically divided into 'splendidly splittable PhD topics'.[4] This can be seen through the continuing predilection of Pakeha towards Maori as objects for 'enthusiastic information-retrieval'.

As a Maori woman I am continually called on to represent myself in ways that falsify my reality, as if who I am is somehow related to what I should know. This pornographic gaze is often directed towards me during lectures and tutorials whenever the messy topic of race is rushed over. The ever-present assumption that issues of race and colour are the exclusive terrain of dark-skinned people results in my paler Maori peers being overlooked while I am encouraged to 'share' my perspective. At these times I am almost tempted to whip my poi from my back pocket and break into song, except that I can't sing and I doubt seriously whether such a challenge would be understood, or misinterpreted as a 'quaint native' response. Has anything really changed since nineteenth-century ethnographers and their ilk encouraged Maori to 'sing their songs' and 'tell their stories', while they continued to enrich themselves at our expense? For me as for Spivak, 'one hundred years ago it was impossible for me to speak, for the precise reasons that makes it only too possible for me to speak in certain circles now'.[5]

This ability to name the 'other' is dependent on the political non-colouring of white.[6] This is made much easier when Maori claim colour politics as their exclusive terrain. Notions of racial purity that underpin the reality of racism are overlooked, because Pakeha identity has not been constructed to see itself as coloured. A 'benevolent biculturalism' co-opted as state policy also belies its own political nature. Disseminated as a recognition of the unique position Maori hold in relation to their status as 'tangata whenua', the policy is heavily premised on particular ideologies concerning difference. This difference articulated as a 'difference from' necessarily incorporates a discourse already

implicated in racist ideologies. Those not deemed 'authentic' within these traditions are then silenced by the privileging of a specific discourse that fits an already defined construction of Maori identity. Systems of power are thus legitimated and consolidated through the authorisation of particular representations that negate or trivialise co-existing forms.[7]

Maori dissatisfaction with the current 'practice' of biculturalism has resulted in calls for a separate Maori state within New Zealand.[8] Exactly how this is to be achieved under the concept of Tino Rangatiratanga which resides with individual Iwi and Hapu is uncertain. Consequently this opens up a whole series of new problems: whose Rangatiratanga are we talking about here? When we speak of a separate Maori Justice system, which Maori are we referring to? Are we not simply substituting one form of assimilation for another? And does a refusal to read or engage with texts other than those written by Maori lead to a form of decolonisation or are we simply marginalising ourselves further?

Simply refusing to pick up 'western' defined tools of critical analyses will not serve as insulation against neo-colonialism; instead it secures us in a position of vulnerability unable to influence the particular forms of discourse that are being privileged. As Edward Said has said:

> Concern over cultural identity has of course yielded up the contest over what books and authorities constitute 'our' tradition. In the main, trying to say that this or that book is (or is not) part of 'our' tradition is one of the most debilitating exercises imaginable.[9]

Mis-recognising the act of self-censorship as a political stance that will reverse social injustices is a reaction that has no action. Consequently, seeing the process of decolonisation as a rejection of all that is 'tauiwi' leaves the fundamental oppressive features of colonialism intact, while ostensibly rendering large portions of our lived history a non-event.

Reversals of censorship seen in the debate concerning 'negritude' and 'tigritude', (themselves 'imported') contain the same old tiresome binary, homogenising writers inside two distinct camps — those who 'promote' an active nationalist consciousness — 'negritude' — and those who 'promote' continued white

cultural imperialism — 'tigritude'. Transposed onto a local context, simplistic and reductive conclusions are then offered, such as that from Atareta Poananga in her review of Witi Ihimaera's *The Matriarch*: '[a]ll colonised indigenous literature has an identical tigritude camp of house-niggers, those possessed of pro-white values and assumptions'.[10] Such a totalising critique of literature fails to recognise itself as a reaction to, and therefore implicated in, the oppressive features of the 'culture' it is resisting. Poananga reveals a certain anxiety about her own position, displayed as a need to name her 'other'. The belief that one possesses an 'authentic self' open to contamination disregards the fluidity of identities, and the discursive nature of subjectivities, described by Joan Scott as 'not unified autonomous individuals exercising free will, but rather subjects whose agency is created through situations and statuses conferred'.[11]

Acknowledging that identities are constructed rather than genetic allows for the continual interplay of both cultures in the formation of identity. Edward Said argues that it is precisely because of imperialist expansion that all cultures are involved: '. . . none is single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated, and unmonolithic . . . '.[12] A critical engagement with this time in our history is a political act that renders visible the colonialist discourse that constructed particular notions of identity. A failure to engage with theoretical critique will allow 'colonisers [to] continue to enrich themselves more or less by claiming modernity, the elusive difference is construed not so much as cultural but as racial'.[13] Such contradictions highlight the way the political discourse surrounding biculturalism makes it necessary to inhabit that which we must also struggle against. For Maori to maintain a legitimate role as Treaty partners, to be acknowledged as a valid culture entitled to its own forms of representation, we must embrace an identity which misrepresents the contemporary reality of our lives. We are allowed to be Maori, are in fact encouraged to be Maori, as long as we remain 'different'. Anything else is highly suspect, ambiguity will not be tolerated.

Thus identity can be seen as politically expedient, as a means by which 'the elite culture of nationalism continues to participate with the coloniser'.[14] Despite the assumption of 'equality' implied

by this symbiosis, cultural survival in this context is wholly dependent on a 'goodwill' that can and may be withdrawn due precisely to the political expediency of such 'gifts'. As Simon During points out, current claims surrounding biculturalism pivot almost exclusively on maintaining a cultural identity 'grounded in the era before the modern to which current needs and wants attach'.[15] Rather than creating an environment for cross-cultural tolerance, where a multiplicity of identities can flourish, it privileges the one perceived as less threatening to its own 'superior' position within modernity.

Images of Maori as somehow closer to nature than Pakeha through our connection to the land work against us in our efforts to capitalise on available resources, exposing whose interests are actually being served here. Sneja Gunew contends:

> ... the dismantling of hegemonic categories is facilitated by the proliferation of difference rather than the setting up of binary oppositions that can merely be reversed, leaving structures of power intact.[16]

Attempts to step outside these 'positive' stereotypes are met with derision, the native's 'authenticity' is questioned, and worst of all she is denied agency by an erroneous belief in the 'fragile' nature of identities. Credibility is undermined through appeals to a 'tradition' untainted by colonialism that resonate with a self-conscious rectitude indicative of someone privy to 'ancient and forgotten mysteries'.

The notion that 'oral' sources from marginalised groups contain elements that are indisputable needs to be challenged. If not engaged with critically, it conceals the political act of knowledge-making. Claiming legitimacy for 'native experience' over theory ignores the way that prior discourse informs particular ways of 'seeing'. With Joan Scott, many have already recognised that '[e]xperience is at once always an interpretation. What counts as experience is neither self-evident nor straightforward; it is always contested, always therefore political'.[17] It is perpetrating racism to insist that 'being Maori' is solely connected with oral skills and hands-on experience as either opposed to, or having no relationship to, conceptual thinking and immersion in critical theory. Meanwhile a refusal to recognise that gender impacts on both

race and class results in a rejection of any feminist theory as a relevant tool for understanding the postcolonial nature of Maori identity. This misrecognition ignores the sexism which underpinned the imperialist mission of white men rushing out to save brown women from brown men.[18] Thus we leave the fundamental oppressive features of colonialism intact, while limiting the production of effective strategies to counter the neo-colonialist venture.

Spivak claims that this objection to an 'elite' methodology involves an 'epistemological/ontological confusion' by marginalised groups in society. Where being Maori is to be in possession of 'gut feelings' and therefore incapable of elaborating theoretical concepts, ' . . . it is of course understood that only the elite playing at self-marginalisation can afford the impossible luxury of turning their backs on these resources'.[19] A privileged few, insulated by notions of authenticity, understandably fear the challenge to their position that feminism brings. Yet it can be seen that the place they occupy is safe only as long as it represents no real threat to the established state hierarchy. Spivak recommends what she calls an 'unlearning of privilege as a loss', where learning to speak to, rather than listening to, or speaking for, involves learning to critique postcolonial discourse 'with the best tools it can provide and not simply substituting the lost figure of the colonised'.[20] Rather than running about 'recording' the lives of historically marginalised groups (which in itself borders on the evangelical) what is needed is a self-conscious approach which examines the location of the 'investigator' — an approach that continually questions the meanings of these 'absences' and the ways in which assumptions surrounding notions about identity impact on our work. As K.R. Howe warns, '[t]hose who gaze into the past are in essence facing a mirror. It is their own and their society's reflections that they see'.[21]

While understanding the complicit nature and very real concessions to be gained from adopting a specific identity, my concern is that if we do not critically struggle against this identity at the same time as inhabiting it, we may inadvertently reinforce a racist argument that will be to our own detriment within the ever changing context of our lives. The need sometimes uncritically to inhabit an identity represents the growing anxiety felt by some to prove their 'Maoriness'. In this instance I am referring to Maori

who are deemed not quite 'dark' enough. Because in a racist economy we are taught to define 'difference' visually, skin colour becomes the signifier here, despite appeals to ethnicity. While recognising white privilege, seen in the ability to 'pass', class concessions, gender and sexuality should not be ignored as part of the dynamic. However what is most troubling here is the use of racist definitions to exclude. This mode of representation is again dependent upon the distinction between the self and 'other', in which the body has remained the visible sign which divides cultures. A closer examination of these phenomena exposes the dynamic potential of oppression and the multiple sites of this activity. While it is of course necessary for certain groups of people to come together at certain times for specific taake. Given the fact that oppression is a fairly relative phenomenon, so too is identity. This is not to say that Maori should not inhabit a specific identity at any given moment, we should of course exploit any situation that may further our collective aspirations. However, we must be prepared at all times to 'slip' in and out of these constructions while exploiting the many varied positions open to us through a strong sense of liminality. To return to my question: is this possible given the way that difference is presently recognised?

* * *

Kai Tahu, Kati Mamoe, Ngati Ruanui, Te Arawa

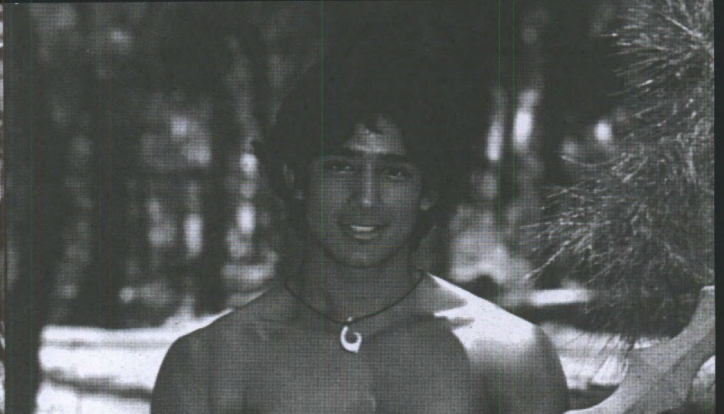
Notes

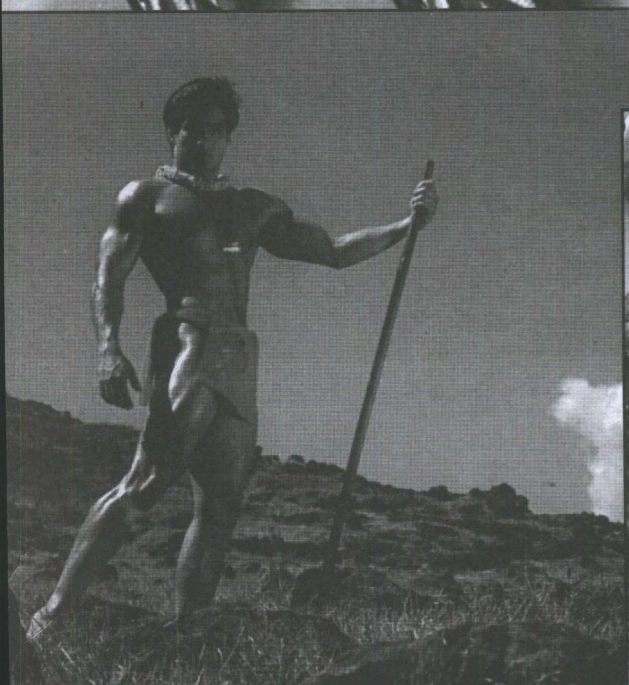
1. Denise Riley, *'Am I That Name?' Feminism and the Category of 'Women' in History* (Macmillan, London, 1988) pp. 97-98. As Riley problematises 'Woman', I attempt to interrogate the term 'Maori'.
2. Vicente Diaz, personal communication, March 1995.
3. Trinh T. Minh-ha, *Woman Native Other: Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington & Indianapolis, 1989) p. 89.
4. O.H.K. Spate, 'The Pacific as an Artefact', in Niel Gunson (ed.), *The Changing Pacific: Essays in Honour of H.E.Maude* (Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1978) pp. 32–45, p. 42.
5. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, in Sarah Harasym (ed.), *The*

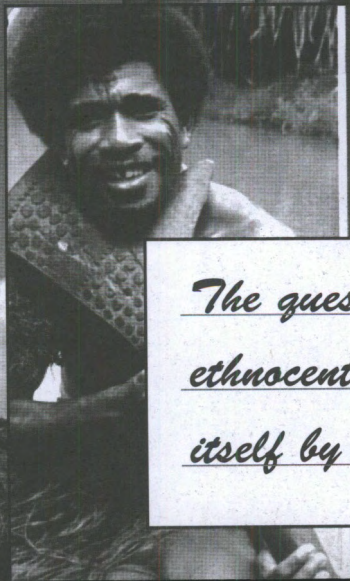
Postcolonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues (Routledge, New York/London, 1990) p. 60.

6. helen (charles), 'Whiteness — The Relevance of Politically Colouring the "Non"', in Hilary Hinds, Ann Phoenix and Jackie Stacey (eds.), *Working Out: New Directions for Women's Studies* (Palmers Press, London 1992) pp. 29–35.
7. Craig Owens, 'The Discourse of Others: Feminists and Postmodernism', in Hal Foster (ed.), *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture* (Seattle Bay Press, Seattle, 1983) pp. 57–82.
8. I use this term to describe collectively the three Islands here, recognising that the popular usage of Aotearoa does not adequately describe the political context of other regions.
9. Edward Said, *Culture And Imperialism* (Random House, New York, 1993) p. xxviii.
10. Atareta Poananga, '*The Matriarch*: Takahia Wahine Toa, Trample on Strong Women', *Broadsheet* 145, December 1986.
11. Joan W. Scott, 'The Evidence of Experience', *Critical Enquiry*, 17 (1991) p. 792.
12. Said, p. xxix.
13. Simon During, 'Waiting for the Post: some relations between modernity, colonisation, and writing', *Ariel*, 20:4 (1989) p. 37.
14. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics* (Routledge, London, 1988) p. 245.
15. During, p. 37.
16. Sneja Gunew, 'Feminism and the Politics of Irreducible Differences: Multiculturalism/Ethnicity/Race', in Sneja Gunew and Anna Yeatman (eds.), *Feminism and the Politics of Difference* (Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1993) p. 1.
17. Scott, p. 792.
18. For further discussion of this see: Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense Of International Politics* (University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1990) pp. 42 – 64; Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel (eds.), *Western Women and Imperialism* (Indiana University Press, 1992).
19. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (eds.), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Macmillan, London, 1988) p. 295.
20. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Criticism, Feminism, and the Institution', *Thesis Eleven*, 10/11 (1984) p. 177.
21. K.R. Howe, *Where The Waves Fall* (Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1984) p. xii.

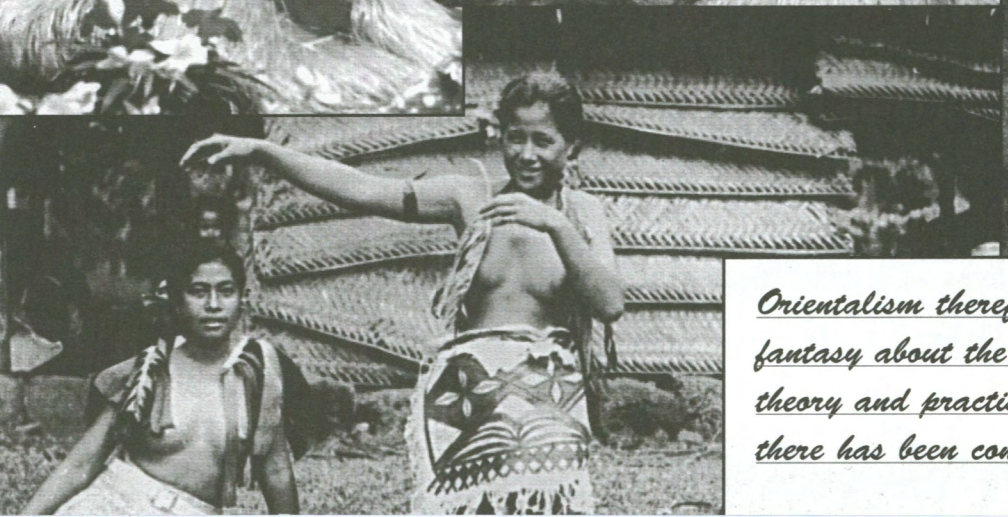

Wahine Disaster!



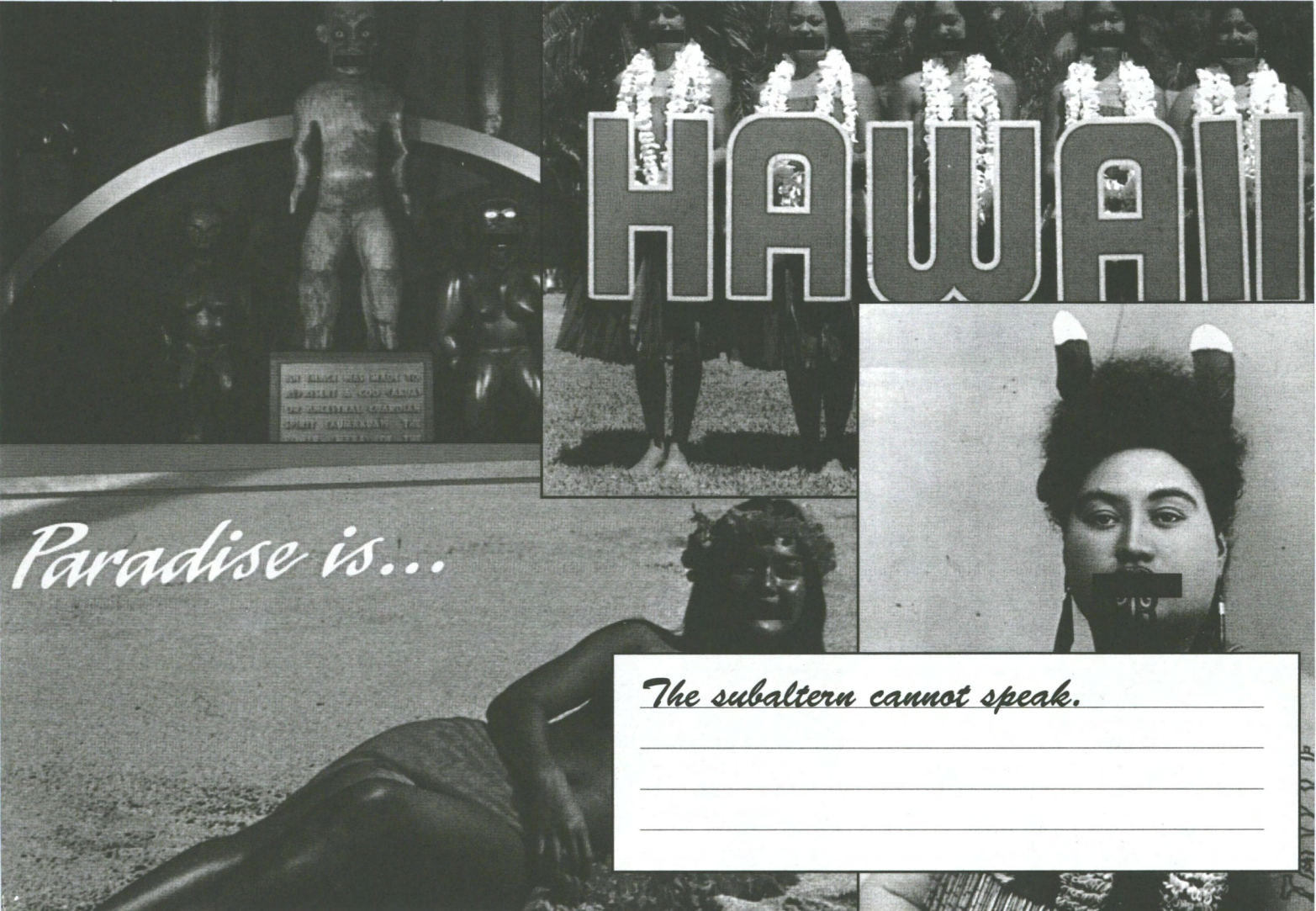


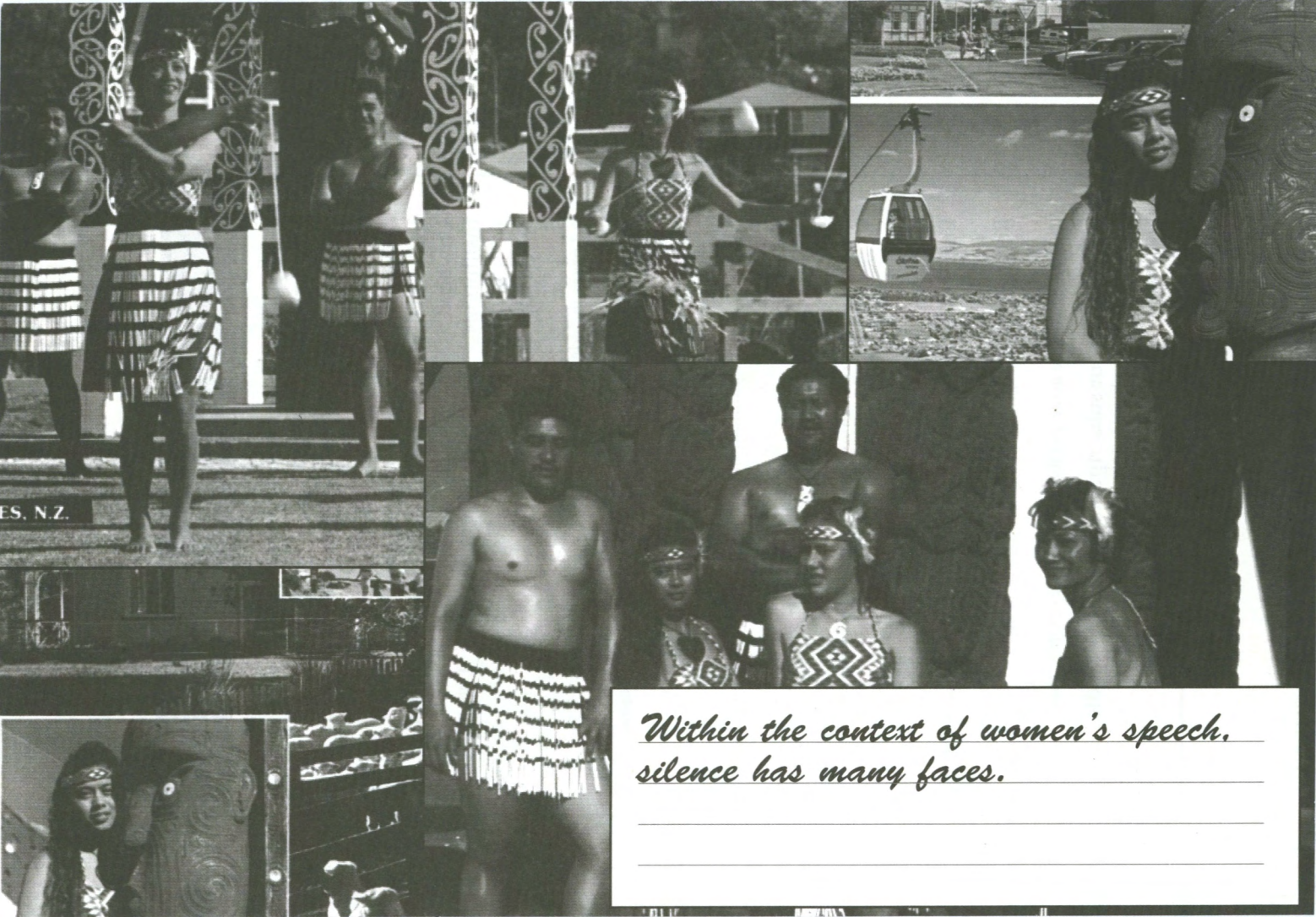


The question is how to keep the ethnocentric subject from establishing itself by selectively defining an other.



Orientalism therefore is not an airy European fantasy about the Orient, but a created body of theory and practise in which, for many generations there has been considerable material investment.

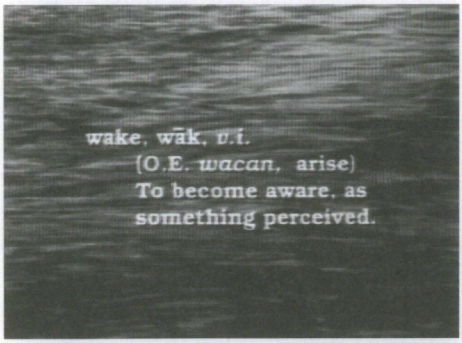

HAWAII
Paradise is...
The subaltern cannot speak.

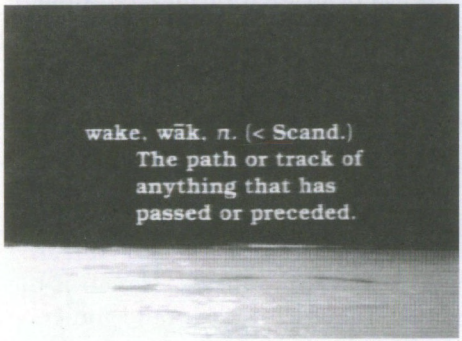


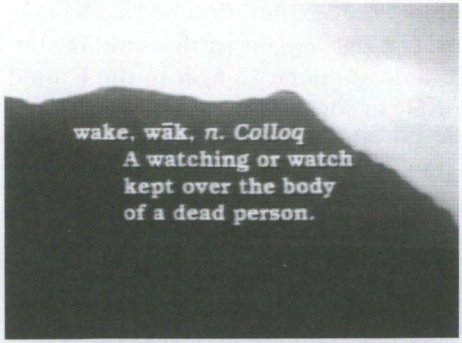
Within the context of women's speech, silence has many faces.

getting the picture

Annie Goldson







Wake has been described as 'an experimental film on colonialism, immigration and the family in Aotearoa New Zealand'. One tends to offer an audience or a readership the meaning behind one's work after it is done. But once a film is finished, the maker becomes audience too. What follows is more a reading of my own work than an explication of its inherent meaning.

I made *Wake* as a response to the death of my father, an event which ultimately led to my return to New Zealand after a decade in America. Personally, then, I think it is an exploration of unspoken issues in our household and of my own relationship, as a Pakeha, to this country, both familiar and distant.

On a more political level, I think it tries to reframe Anglo-Pakeha-

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ness as a 'raced' position as a way of challenging the invisibility of dominant cultural positions, thus contributing to some of the debates around land and resource ownership in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Finally, *Wake* is almost obssessively about representation — in painting, in travelogue and in the documentary form itself.

The decision by my father to emigrate to New Zealand from England in the 1960s naturally had a profound impact on our family. The consequences of our migration, however, were never examined as such. As my father grew older, I felt that there were questions about his decisions that had never been asked. Perhaps on reflection it is because such questions can only be answered through cliches — 'wanting a better life', 'for the children', and so on.

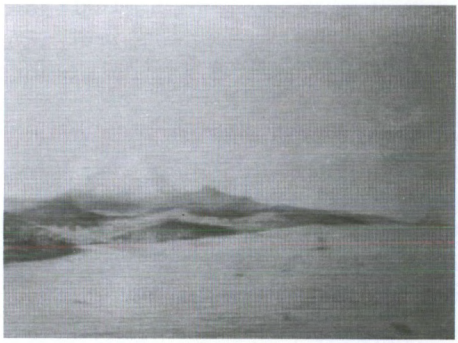
The film argues that the 'decision to emigrate' exceeds individual choice. The greater forces of history, of imperial design, have regularly catapulted people from their birthplaces, through slavery, indenture, imprisonment, exile or 'choice'. This is not to excuse, in the New Zealand instance, the brutality of the colonial settlers, or their descendants, for whom the process was relatively benign and who inflicted the usual line-up of atrocities on the Maori. But more useful than assessing innocence and guilt of a migrant population perhaps, is a historically informed consideration of present relationships between the peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand. Buried in the past but living in the present is the triangulated relationship between empire, colony and indigene which reverberates in all First World colonies.

Politically, the film's attempt at an exploration of Pakeha-ness emerged from my concerns as a participant in this culture, but also from my experiences as a documentary-maker in the United States. I had worked extensively in social and political documentary while away and had become preoccupied with questions of representation and political change. This preoccupation largely stemmed from producing the *Counterterror* series, which was a four-part serial documentary that examined how the 'discourse of terrorism' — emerging from government agencies, the media and right-wing academia — repressed political dissent in various communities and countries. During the protracted period of pro-

ducing *Counterterror,* I found myself walking that difficult line between trying to examine the oppressive discursive and political structures of 'counterterrorism' without speaking for the communities who were being labelled 'terrorist'. An increasingly rigid discourse of identity politics had emerged within the independent film/video community during the 1980s, rendering it difficult to work on issues or questions that lay outside one's 'direct experience'. Although this focus was undoubtedly a response by some communities to decades of cultural and political exclusion, I saw identity politics as a dead-end, as it seemed to truncate dialogue, deny 'difference within difference', and induce a guilt that resulted in political apathy. It seems of late, however, that this log-jam is loosening, resulting in a greater discussion of intra-community relationships (often censored because of fears of white racist responses to airing internal community conflicts). More 'white' people too are recognising the need to examine their own culture rather than appropriate the position of others.

Questions of identity, nationalism, and injustice resonate differently, of course, in Aotearoa New Zealand than in the United States. However, the investigation and re-framing of Pakeha-ness remains important in a culture within which whiteness is positioned as normal and hence is largely invisible. On my return to New Zealand, then, as a way of drawing together my personal and political concerns, I used *Wake* to examine Pakeha-ness as a raced, historicised position. Since the Maori Renaissance in the 1970s, and the recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi as a founding document, issues of land and resource ownership have become regular points of contention between Pakeha and Maori in Aotearoa New Zealand. White backlash has reared its head periodically, fuelled, I believe, by the fear of a massive Maori landgrab. This backlash has manifested itself through conservative ballyhoo-ing, but also, along the more liberal spectrum, through a claim that Pakeha-ness is the other 'indigeneity'.

I see both positions as suspect — the first for obvious reasons in that it is utterly ahistorical, the latter because it ascribes an essentialised position that is defensive. Pakeha do not, after all, have to be 'indigenous' to claim attachments to New Zealand; rather, to acknowledge those attachments as part of a settler status



could clarify the context of past and current inequities as well as map out possible future negotiations.

Hence, in *Wake*, I wanted to rehistoricise Pakeha-ness, point to its migrant aspects, the fundamental uncertainity of the 'settler subject' in such a way as to make Pakeha reflect on their own positions in this culture. A greater knowledge of our historical context could only, I felt, clarify our attachments, our inter-relationships, our blindspots. In *Wake*, then, Maori are the structuring absence, referred to only through Pakeha misrepresentation. Yet I hope that the film is centrally about race relations in this country.

In that the film fits the 'bicultural' model, it could be argued that it, along with official New Zealand policies, renders all 'other New Zealanders' — Asians, Indians, Pacific Islanders —silent. In focussing on dominance, however, I feel that the examination

of Pakeha-ness also raises questions about multiculturalism within Aotearoa New Zealand as it struggles through the 1990s.

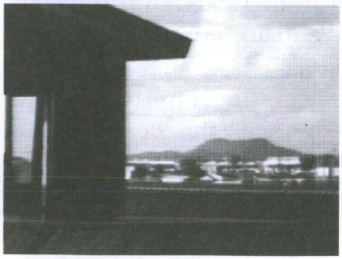
The film is divided into three sections. The first is an analysis of three landscape paintings by a 'middle-ranking' artist, John Wharlton Bunney. The paintings were commissioned by the New Zealand Company, who used them as a lure to encourage members of the British working class to emigrate to the colony. This section of *Wake* suggests that New Zealand was colonised by Britain, not to accrue wealth or resources, but rather to rid the empire of its unwanted classes.

In one version of the film, I used a BBC-style voice-over hoping, through irony, to comment on questions of authority within documentary narration. In initial viewings, however, I found many New Zealand audiences — who have been subject to strictly conventional documentary form — failed to pick up on the irony. Hence, I altered the audio track, choosing instead, a young female voice with a stronger local accent which delivers the analysis in a more casual, conversational manner.

Within the reading of the paintings, I intercut images of travelogue footage from the 1960s to further destabilise documentary technique and its demand that one 'sees' what one is hearing about. These cutaways re-emerge in the third section of the film, and hence function here as a kind of retroactive montage.

The second section of *Wake* is comprised of fake interviews with three British migrants who supposedly arrived in New Zealand during the early 1960s. They recall why they decided to emigrate, their experience of coming, the clash between their expectations and their perceptions, and their attitude towards Maori. Intercut between the interviews are scenes of 'typical' New Zealand — montages of a netball game and of a suburban building site comprised of newly-completed and half-built houses. Fragments of audio excerpts from 1960s advertisements encouraging immigration to New Zealand are woven under these montages.

The juxtaposition of the 'interviews' and the advertisements is designed to highlight the disjuncture between the idealisation of the 'perfect migrant family' and the actual lived reality of the experience of migration, which is inevitably transected by gender, sexuality, cultural difference and class. The audience however is



aware that the 'lived reality' — the recollections of the three migrants — is delivered through fake interviews. Again, this technique is intended as a commentary on documentary form. I could have constructed the same stories by gathering and carefully editing real interviews. However, I wanted to point to the fine line that exists between fiction and documentary. All documentary, if not exactly fictional, is highly mediated, in a sense a construction of a discourse of reality rather than reality itself.

The third distinct section of *Wake* is made up of footage that my father shot of the voyage to, and arrival in, New Zealand in 1960. The audio track is a commentary that I wrote and deliver as voiceover, and of an interview that I did with my father about his memories of that period.

Pictures that move me . . . moving pictures . . . pictures of moving.

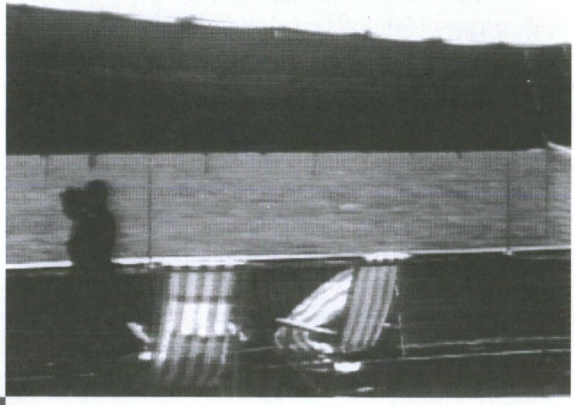
I was always curious about this footage. My father shot it in 1960 . . . it is of people moving, emigrating, from Britain to New Zealand. He shot it with a purpose, to convince my mother who was back in England to move to New Zealand too.

It must have worked, for we emigrated the following year.

I wanted to restore this film because it will fade and weaken, become brittle with age. But as well as being a restoration I wanted this to be a resurrection . . . for my father recently died.

Caught in the mixture of memory and history are all the questions — the ones I never asked, the ones I feared to ask, the ones I forgot to ask until it was too late, the ones I will ask him now.

I know I will not see you here, because you were behind the camera. But I see what you chose to focus on. What you shot casually, as a documentation, I will study, scrutinising not your footage but through your footage to your vision — of a promised land. I asked you about this a few years ago as we looked at this footage together, but it was difficult for us to talk about it.



AG: OK so we can just say that again when we start the film now
RG: We've just said that —
AG: It doesn't matter
RG: Well, you better ask me questions.
AG: I will . . . What was the name of the boat?
RG: The Athenic.
AG: And what year was it?
RG: 1960, when I left for a look at the Antipodes to see if we might want to settle here.
AG: So we were all left at home?
RG: Yes, that's Captain Hayward.

Your fellow passengers sit, drink, talk, play, sleep, in that state of languid restlessness that marks the days at sea, as if suspended between two longings — a longing to leave, and a longing to return. Here, they had satisfied the one, to leave, but have yet to experience the second, the longing to return.

RG: We'd had a terrible winter in Britain. It was the end of the war, we were broke as a country. And there was a lot of despondency around — and people wanted to see what was going on on the other side of the world.

Once they feel your camera upon them, they become more alert, striking poses, smiling, or looking away, as if unwilling to bear the thought of their own image. Some freeze when they see you as if posing for a photograph and I think I see a glimpse of fear that the camera will catch a sudden doubt about their decision to leave England. By now it is too late to go back.

AG: How did most people, most immigrants come over to New Zealand?
RG: They mostly came over on the immigrant ships, the Captain Cook and other big ships.
AG: And they were given jobs?
RG: They were given free passage virtually as far as I remember.
AG: To provide a labour force really?
RG: More or less, yes.

Literally and figuratively unanchored, this image always unsettles me.

RG: That's Pitcairn Island. Here they come out in their long boats from Adamstown, which is the only port on the island.

Behind the act of travelling, western travelling anyway, is that search for an elusive knowledge of things foreign, a desire to experience the authentic. Objects, mementoes, gifts, prove, like that camera, that one truly was there, somewhere.

RG: There's the flying fish, one of which I took home. God knows what happened to it.

Our wooden flying fish was for a while my childhood toy, its surfaces smooth and silky to my touch. Sometimes it found a resting place, other times it ended up in a cupboard. I also remember too these woven baskets which would soon fill up with household detritus — cotton, keys, pencils ... these gifts fused in my mind with the film Mutiny on the Bounty ...

'Lay on, Quintal. One, Two'
Storm

Flying fish/baskets/Marlon Brando, inextricably linked. Now repeated with every screening of this very different film, I see the terms under which these gifts were obtained.

The black and white journey feels of an indefinite age, while the arrival, in colour, announces itself. At destination, and in the present, or at least in lived memory. Finally on shore, you lose the passivity of a sightseer and become more of a scout.

RG: This was our first shooting session in New Zealand, we called at many ports, disembarked our passengers and just go round the country ... I don't think the focus is too good here actually.
AG: Did you find your impressions of New Zealand different than you'd anticipated? Or didn't you really have any?
RG: I didn't have any, I didn't really have any.

Having saved up your colour film for the arrival, you set out to capture New Zealand's beauty. But how does one capture a country? The images

become boring and ordinary, like postcards or photographs from National Geographic. And why does one capture a view? To possess it vicariously, to control it, to ameliorate the shock of the new. For shocking I'm sure you found it. Not because you were a nature lover particularly, but rather that you thought of New Zealand as part of England in a weird geographical position — and it was so different.

RG: Another clever telephoto shot.

Friends of yours appear in almost every frame, pointing at views, gazing at sights, providing a scale from which to measure this strange land, as if it were theirs.

AG: So you showed these to Mum and us when you got back?
RG: Yes.
AG: Did we have any responses?
RG: Only , it looks nice, let's for Godsake go there and get out of this terrible place in the North of England.

You and John Bunney chose the same locations, angles and perspectives. He presented a view he never saw, and you one you were seeing. Taking pictures — capturing the view — getting the picture. His paintings can only copy, while your film is said to be reality, like a window and its view.

But you knew, as I do, both of us having lingered behind a camera, selecting some sites and avoiding others, moving people this way and that in the frame, edging them with an image of the mountains or the sea, you knew that this film never presented a simple truth, it showed a version of the truth that you wanted us to see.

AG: So why were you filming this?
RG: Just as an interesting documentary for the family when I got home.
AG: Do you think it did show New Zealand?
RG: Not terribly accurately as it turns out.

Capturing the image, getting the picture — meant taking the land. The promised land at departure becomes the land that was promised on arrival. But this was land already occupied by a people, misrepresented

and made absent in paintings, film and official history.

AG: Did you have any contact with the Maori people?
RG: No, virtually none.

A people, too, who have a relationship to this land.
In my attempt to negotiate a history, I stumble through the difficult terrain of cultural difference. Therefore, I will leave it up to one of your images, my favourite in your film, to have the final word. The stern figure intimidates the camera into losing its focus, staring it down. Unlike the other images, it refuses to be taken.

* * *

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Re-presenting Forms: Margaret Dawson's Amusements

Susan Ballard

In her photographic works, Christchurch artist Margaret Dawson addresses the visual image and constructions of femininity. She often uses historical images and re-presents them. Her series of works titled *Amusements* (1994) is particularly concerned with issues of disguise and identity.[1] Here, Dawson explores ideas raised in Australian painter Sydney Nolan's series about Ned Kelly (1946-7).[2] Dawson's series, exhibited in 1994 at the Robert McDougall Art Annex in Christchurch, consists of thirteen colour photographs with mixed medium. The exhibition explores the presentation of a grouping of images loosely based around a theme, with each image representing a different viewpoint or part of the story.

Photography has a particular relationship to representation that is distinct from painting and other visual media.[3] Dawson disguises the photographic process in her images. They are large format photographs laminated onto canvas and hung from rivet holes. The photos are enlarged to such a degree they become parodies assuming the role of posters. Fully aware of the subversive nature of her medium, Dawson explores ways of re-presenting forms. To achieve the effect she wanted in *A Shooting Party*, for example, she manipulated the photographic image by computer, so that the work has the quality of a snapshot.

The players in Dawson's scenarios are disguised and masked in the re-enactment of stories of the Australian outlaw hero Ned Kelly and his gang. This is a tale twice removed from the original as Dawson closely follows the compositions as well as the subject matter of Sidney Nolan's images. Dawson foregrounds the colonial time-frame of these works by titling them after hobbies or interests of Kelly's time. *Spinning*, *Birdwatching*, *Embroidery*, *Skittle*, *Foxtrot*, *Solitaire* and *Hangman* are all recorded as colonial past-times,

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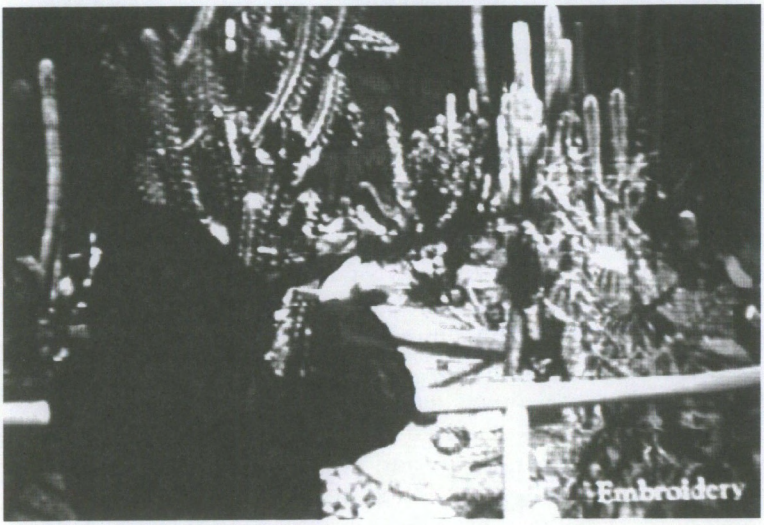
and reference notions of value.

The images emphasise the link between women's traditional roles and position in colonial society, and the situation occupied by the outlaw; both are located in a marginalised territory. The fringe position accorded to women in society, and the outsider role of the outlaw, are echoed in the peripheral location of photography in New Zealand art. Dawson is encouraging multiple readings of these themes — readings that draw links between her photographic practice and her subject matter.[4]

Ideas of disguise and marginalisation are simultaneously applied to, and stripped from, Dawson's images; as the story is revealed the costumes conceal information. Disguise is the creation of an 'other'. Wearing a disguise focuses attention on both the body/self (behind the mask) and the other (the face of the mask). When the mask is presented as the body/self, we can be convinced to accept the disguise as a reality. In *Amusements* a partial conflation of 'body' and 'other' can be seen to take place when we view these images. Margaret Dawson attempts to establish a distance between herself, her actors, and her image, and thus she disrupts this process. She makes us aware of the disguise by dressing her players in ill-fitting wigs and costumes and by using incongruous combinations of props. Disguise is thus used in two ways. First, it is not intended to be seen as a disguise; the viewer is fooled into thinking the 'other' is the body/self. Second, it is intended to be recognised as an external disguise.

The trivialising of women's activities is reinforced in *Embroidery*. A black clothed, hooded figure stands with her back to us as she points a rifle at an indoor cactus display. The hooded clothing of the figure suggests the vicarious danger and violence of early western/outlaw movies but the scene is ambiguous. The cacti are not in their natural environment — they are behind a metal railing, growing very closely together, and neatly labelled. Both the figure and the cacti appear out of place; neither are in their 'correct' location. The pointed gun implies some transgressive act. The distant painted backdrop of the desert locates this image and its rebellious figure (she has abandoned the embroidery needle for a gun) in marginal territory.



Embroidery, Colour Photograph with Mixed Media, 1030 x 1350mm

Contrasted with the discords in *Embroidery* is the narrative work *Domestic Duties*, which documents the story credited with initiating the whole Kelly saga. Constable Fitzpatrick is said to have pulled Ned's younger sister Kate onto his lap when searching the house for Kelly. In Dawson's image, Kate's dress seems to flow from the

Domestic Duties, Colour Photograph with Mixed Media, 1030 x 1330mm

table cloth. She is located within the home, her pasty face offering no emotion. It appears as if this act was something that she endured frequently. Dawson hints at the historical and societal acceptance of Constable Fitzpatrick's action by including an echo of the image on the cake tin that sits on the mantelshelf behind Kate.

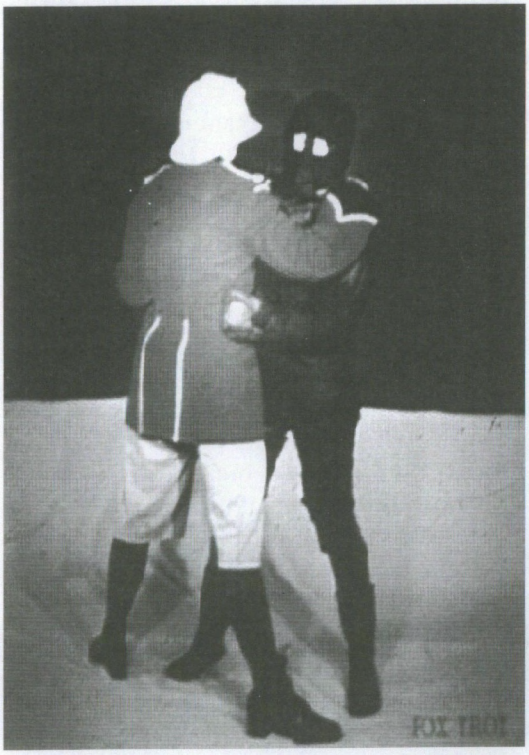
In *Riding Out* we see a male figure dressed as a woman (he has neglected to remove his tie) perched on the side of a horse. Alluding to a member of Kelly's gang who was known for his crossdressing — Steve Hart — Dawson makes a wry comment on gender stereotyping. The phrase 'riding out' also refers to a sexual revelation.[5] Issues of identity are raised by Dawson situating this figure at a border between genders.

Behind their masks the Ned Kelly gang could 'commit any sin while remaining innocent: and [they] are indeed innocent, because [they] laugh'.[6] Kelly and his gang were renowned experts at disguise, yet their costumes were recognised as artificial. Their disguises made their actions mysterious, made them appear different, marginal to the usual attire and behaviour of the Australian Outback. *Birdwatching* shows a soldier down a wombat hole wearing bright red nail polish. Again, the figure contains attributes associated with both genders. In this

Bird Watching, Colour Photograph with Mixed Media, 1025 x 1250mm

image the disguise becomes a game, a fake. The seagull beside the figure is frozen, just removed from Dawson's freezer. Nolan's image of the same scene, *Policeman Down a Wombat Hole* (1946), reads as a documentary image in contrast to Dawson's farcical play.

Fox Trot, Skittle and *Solitaire* are images of the outlaw as a masked actor, invented by Dawson, not drawn directly from Nolan. These figures wear hooded black costumes that fully cover their bodies and are silhouetted against a light background. *Fox Trot* appears as a scene from a self defence manual. The black 'armour' is worn by a woman who apparently imitates a man. She stands with another figure wearing a police uniform and ladies' boots. The gender of both dancers is ambiguous and it is unclear if the figures are fighting or dancing. The clothing of both figures could be read as a disguising of intentions.



Fox Trot, Colour Photograph with Mixed Media, 1380 x 1020mm

Dawson suggests links between the mask used by Kelly and the masks that are worn by these actors. In her floor talk she pointed out that both women and criminals were marginalised by society and forced to wear masks.[7] Dawson sees her works enacting a marginalisation at all levels: photographs masquerading as the real; actors dressing as historical figures; the figures

themselves always keeping their true identity hidden.

Jane Gaines says that the task of the feminist photographer is to fabricate strategic misreadings which create gender confusion and ambiguity.[8] Pre-supposed boundaries of gender, sexuality and race are re-presented and often parodied through disguise. These counter practices of the body can be said to violate deeply felt premises. Dawson's works constitute such counter-practices. A subsequent critique of notions of the body leads to reading the image surface for what is missing, not for what is present. We are expected to look behind the picture plane, but also to know that there may be some other presence. If a visual body is constructed with gender and race disguised, then boundaries of race, gender and societal acceptability become difficult to locate. In Dawson's images the mask references the actions and mystique surrounding a historical figure. By using the masquerade to double representation, Dawson gives the mask a content; it becomes a site (sight) for the unrepresented.

The actors in these scenes are themselves marginalised in their undisguised lives. They are woodturners and cake-icers, situated on the periphery of the art world. Dawson claims that knowing the player behind the mask is not central to readings of the images; she keeps some information secret, but points out its importance for herself.[9] This recalls the disguised identities of the Kelly gang. It is probable that many people knew the identities behind the Kellys' masks. Some of Dawson's secrets are disclosed in the video that accompanies the show, which documents the processes the players, the photographer and the works themselves underwent.

When questioned why she chose this story, Dawson replied that she 'liked the pictures'.[10] This comment would explain her direct imitation of Sydney Nolan's images, but does not answer why she addresses the myth of the Australian outlaw. *Amusements* is a narrative re-told. The story is removed from its original context and located in New Zealand, re-set in the Ferrymead Historic Park and surroundings in Christchurch. In this new context the work tells another story than that of Nolan's images. Now, we can read a commentary that constructs a common mythology for the Australian and New Zealand (white) colonial woman and the boundary rider-cum-outlaw. In her use of multiple layering

Dawson exposes preconceptions about gender and the outlaw from early colonial times, but does not directly discuss issues of race; the indigenous cultures of either country do not appear. Is the race of these figures implied by the lack of discussion?

The multiple use of disguise can be seen to echo the displacement and boundary slippage of postcolonial locations. In its unstable visual deconstructions, disguise becomes a political sign of non-complicity, used to define, hide, question, or disclose an identity. These images are accessible because they reference the known. It is within this parody that the ability of the visual image to both reinscribe and undermine its own marginal status helps in the construction of some possible readings. The adoption of a marginal status in this context is an empowering act.

The appropriation of authority (voice) by those without it has often been perceived as a threat to social structure. By subverting gender and sex boundaries in these images, Margaret Dawson offers possibilities for new readings of a well-known myth. The existence of figures who do not respect boundary distinctions can be used to mark out difficulties, and open spaces for other possibilities within postcolonial and feminist art practices. The disguised artist can question gender and social categories and simultaneously her own marginalised position as a photographer. In the *Amusements* series Margaret Dawson has re-presented historically accepted images through the use of masquerade and disguise. This has enabled a questioning of the power structures which invest femininity and observation with defined inscriptions, and offers us further opportunities to address issues of identity through visual images.

* * *

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Notes

1. Colour Photographs with Mixed Media: *Nature Study*, 1030 x 1370mm; *Spinning*, 1000 x 980mm; *Bird Watching*, 1025 x 1250mm;

Embroidery, 1030 x 1350mm; *Skittle*, 1700 x 1025mm; *Fox Trot*, 1380 x 1020mm; *Solitaire*, 1330 x 1030mm; *Hangman*, 1670 x 1030mm; *Riding Out*, 1030 x 1470mm; *Portraiture*, 1330 x 1030mm; *Domestic Duties*, 1030 x 1330mm; *A Shooting Party*, 1020 x 1340mm; *High Jinks*, 1360 x 1030mm (dimensions height x width), artist's collection.

2. Enamel on Hardboard: *Ned Kelly*, 745 x 615mm (Dawson's work *Portraiture* references this); *Constable Fitzpatrick and Kate Kelly*, 905 x 1215mm (Dawson's *Domestic Duties*); *Steve Hart Dressed as a Girl*, 905 x 1215mm (Dawson's *Riding Out*); *Stringbark Creek*, 905 x 1215mm (Dawson's *A Shooting Party*); *Defence Of Aaron Sherrit*, 1215 x 905mm (Dawson's *High Jinks*), Australian National Gallery collection. *Policeman Down a Wombat Hole*, 918 x 1223mm (Dawson's *Birdwatching*), artist's collection. For further information on Nolan's Kelly series see Jane Clark, *Nolan Landscapes and Legends* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge/Melbourne, 1987) pp. 71 – 88.
3. For a detailed discussion of this see Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (Allen Lane, London, 1978).
4. Margaret Dawson, Floor Talk: *Amusements* (Robert McDougall Art Annex, Christchurch, April 15, 1994). Information in this study is drawn from this talk and: Elizabeth Caldwell, 'Margaret Dawson's *Amusements*: Identifying Marginalised Territory'; Yvonne Reineke, 'Outlaws in Everyday Life: Margaret Dawson's *Amusements*', both in Margaret Dawson's *Amusements* Exhibition Catalogue (Robert McDougall Art Annex, Christchurch, 1994) (unpaginated).
5. Elizabeth Caldwell, 'Identifying Marginalised Territory'.
6. Umberto Eco, 'The Frames of Comic Reference', in Umberto Eco, V. V. Ivanov and Monica Rector (eds.), *Carnival!* (Mouton, New York, 1984) p. 3.
7. Margaret Dawson, Floor Talk.
8. Jane Gaines, 'Fabricating the Female Body' in Jane Gaines and Charlotte Herzog (eds.), *Fabrications: Costume and the Female Body* (Routledge, New York, 1990) p. 27.
9. Margaret Dawson, Floor Talk.
10. ibid.

Post Colonialism: 'Ko te Mate Kurupopo - The Festering Wound'

Hana O'Regan

Ko Aoraki te mauka.
Ko Waitaki te awa.
Ko Te Waipounamu te waka, arā,
ko Te Waka o Aoraki.
Ko Kai Tahu Whānui taku iwi

Aoraki is the mountain.
Waitaki is the river.
Te Waipounamu is the canoe, that is,
The Canoe of Aoraki.
Kai Tahu Whānui is my tribe

Ki kā rau rakatira mā o te motu, mai i Muriwhenua i te pito whakaruka ki Murihiku i te pito whakararo, tēnā koutou katoa. Ki kā poua mā, kā taua mā, koutou katoa i whai i te ara i whakatakotoria ai e ō tātou tūpuna, ā, i kawe mai hoki ko Te Kereme o Ngāi Tahu ki tēnei ao, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa. Ko te taoka tuku tēnā i waiho iho e ō tātou tupuna.

To the many respected elders of the land, from the Northern point of Muriwhenua, to the Southern point of Murihiku, I greet you all. To my elders, to all of you who have pursued the path that was laid down by our ancestors, and who have also carried the Ngāi Tahu Claim into this world, tēnā koutou katoa. That was the legacy left to us by our ancestors.

He mahi kai takata
He mahi kai hoaka

It is work that devours man,
as sandstone devours greenstone

Women's Studies Journal, 11: 1-2 (August, 1995).

Ko te mahi nei i whakahekea mai i tētahi whakatipuraka ki tētahi. Kāore e tāea e te iwi te kaupapa te wareware.

This is the work that has been handed down from one generation to the next. The people are unable to forget the cause.

I am a woman of Ngāi Tahu. My early childhood was strongly affected by Māori tribal leaders, men and women, with whom my family were involved. These included Te Aue Davis of Ngāti Maniapoto and Keri Kaa of Ngāti Porou, and those who have now gone: Te Rangihau of Tuhoe, Rangi Pokiha of Te Ati Hau, and Riki Ellison, Henery Robinson and Te Wharetutu Stirling of Ngāi Tahu.

These people strongly affected our family relationships and encouraged me in my Ngāi Tahutanga, forming a direction which took me to Queen Victoria School in Auckland. I was not happy there, as much as anything because of the negative tribal attitudes fostered towards my Southern Ngāi Tahu people in that Northern environment. However there were some fine teachers there and I owe some of those a great deal. Most of all I graduated with a good academic record and I became functional in te reo Māori.

I went to Thailand in my final school year and crashed cold into the challenge of living in a completely different linguistic and cultural environment. By the end of that year I was functional in the Thai language. The following year I enrolled at Victoria University and two-and-a-half years later I graduated with a degree in Māori Studies and Political Science. In the same year I was appointed to a teaching position in Māori at The University of Otago. I am doing my postgraduate work on Ngāi Tahu Waiata composition, teaching flat out, and getting involved in the work of our regional Ngāi Tahu Rūnanga, especially Moeraki, where so many of our family's old bones are buried. I continue to compose and I am begining to expand out into Treaty questions and the wider issues affecting Ngāi Tahu development within Te Waipounamu.

As I do that I am confronted with the rhetoric surrounding indigenous peoples' rights, colonialism, post-colonialism and the

Treaty of Waitangi. I am forming the view that the post-colonial psyche is not much different from its ancestor the colonialist psyche.

The colonial mentality is based upon notions of superiority of culture and process and supreme right over other 'subordinate interests'. It denies the rights of native tribes secured and guaranteed by the colonists' own Treaty process and fights feverishly for those same rights in pursuit of its own interests. In this respect the colonial psyche is essentially racist.

Certainly for my own Ngāi Tahu tribe, nineteenth-century colonialism is alive and well in New Zealand in the late twentieth century. The settler Government continues to behave in much the same manner as it did in its establishment phase. Formal state policy may appear to be dramatically different, but ministerial and bureaucratic behaviour, and upgraded and more sophisticated techniques of Treaty frustration — even Government rhetoric — show that the beast is essentially unchanged as far as Māori are concerned.

Evidence of this analysis can be observed in the Crown's most recent effort at frustration of Treaty rights masquerading as 'fair and honourable settlement of historic grievances'. It is called a 'fiscal envelope' and proposes to set a limit of one billion dollars to be allocated to claimants over a ten year period. Within this 'envelope' tribes with proven claims are to be compensated for hundreds of billions of dollars of lost value in lands and resources. This will constitute 'full and final settlement' of Treaty claims, irrespective of the merits of particular cases or, indeed, of their value. The policy is not really about 'settlement' at all. It's about setting limits. The aim is the pacification of the politics of anxiety within the power culture.

In driving this much heralded policy the Crown is effectively saying Māori rights will be given effect on a basis that would never be contemplated if the grievances were Pākehā. There is one law for 'all New Zealanders' but another set of laws for Māori.

The envelope proposition is founded on the 'lolly scramble' principle: decide how many claims there are, set the amount of lolly, put the lollies in a fenced enclosure and let the tribes fight it out with each other to see who gets what. While this scramble

takes place, the Crown watches the spectacle from over the fence in the company of its settler culture supporters' group!

Remember that it was the Crown and its settler supporters' group who were the offenders, the dispossessors and the fraudsters who broke their own laws and their Treaty promises, thus giving rise to the need for settlements in the first place. The offenders are acting as judge and jury of their own crimes, and then deciding how much they will pay in fines, and imposing their own time-payment arrangements! If this is post-colonialism, the only noticeable difference from its colonialist ancestor is the admission that some sort of claim settlement is necessary.

Another example of the colonial mind living inside the post-colonial head is the Crown's behaviour in the attempts at settlement of the nearly 150-year-old Ngāi Tahu Claim. Three years of exhaustive study by the Waitangi Tribunal on Ngāi Tahu's land and sea fisheries claims resulted in findings overwhelmingly in the tribe's favour. At that time, Ngāi Tahu argued that the nation could not afford the billions of dollars which was the true value of which they had been dispossessed, and said they would settle for far less paid over a prolonged period; they had no interest in bankrupting the economy they wished to take part in again. They had also, as an act of good faith to their fellow citizens, disavowed the taking of private lands in settlement, focussing entirely on Crown assets.

The tribe's conciliatory and reasonable approach has been in stark contrast to the legislative and bureaucratic brutality by which they had been dispossessed. Ngāi Tahu's good faith has been rewarded by the Crown drawing out its negotiation process while it continues to dispose of its assets, including State Owned Enterprises, as fast as it can, so it will not have them to use in settlement. In the case of forests and rail assets, the sale has been to overseas interests. My Ngāi Tahu people are now on their way back to court, again disillusioned and despairing of a settlement in our own generation. The irony of the Ngāi Tahu case is that the contemporary correspondence and dealings with the Crown are virtually identical to the historical material we took through the Waitangi Tribunal month after month. Nothing has changed. The old ghosts sit at today's tables.

Pākehā and their intruding power culture, however, are not

the only colonists to impact on Ngāi Tahu. For our southern tribal people colonialism is not just a function of subjugation and dispossession by a Pākehā invader. There has been another wave of colonialism that has encroached upon Ngāi Tahu shores and which has, arguably, had an even more devastating effect on us. It has certainly played a major part in demeaning Ngāi Tahu pride and identity and attempting to oppress our cultural self-esteem. These new colonists have been North Island Māori.

Since 1950 the northern Māori migration into the traditional South Island Ngāi Tahu rohe has come dangerously close to reducing Ngāi Tahu to a Māori minority on our own coasts and under the shadow of our own mountains. This movement has had powerful effects in the displacing of Ngāi Tahu culture and the shunting aside of Ngāi Tahu's unique history and tradition. The Māori renaissance of these migrants has taken place not in their own traditional territories but in our Ngāi Tahu cultural space.

Over the past 45 years there have, however, been a great many Māori from the North whom our people have embraced warmly, and who have given us much. Some of them have devoted much time and heart to our people and to the life of our papatipu rūnanga - our traditional marae communities. They have offered us respect and aroha, and we have given it in return. Some of them are now buried with us, in the urupā of our ancestors.

Their contribution has, though, been overshadowed by a growing northern Māori population who do not share the same aroha and respect for the manawhenua (people who have traditional authority over the land) of Ngāi Tahu. They believe that Ngāi Tahu are not 'real Māori', as they see themselves. This view is based on a number of factors: on their conception of themselves as some sort of norm for 'Māori'; on the fact that the majority of Ngāi Tahu are not Māori speakers (although the same is true of North Island Māori); on Ngāi Tahu not sharing the same tikanga (customs and traditions); and on Ngāi Tahu generally being fairer skinned, if not Pākehā, in appearance. For many North Island Māori, skin colouring is an important criterion of 'Māoriness'. Colour prejudice, after all, is not confined to white colonialists!

The historical experiences which have made Ngāi Tahu different

are not acknowledged or appreciated by these people. This difference is certainly accorded little value. Other Māori commonly assume positions of cultural authority on the basis that there are no Ngāi Tahu competent to do so. Our marae are not 'real marae' because they're frequently not shaped or decorated as northern marae are. This conveniently overlooks the fact that extensive, very 'Māori', areas of the North do not have decorated marae either. These newcomers steadily assume roles of cultural authority in key development institutions - public radio, educational institutions and consultative bureaucracies.

Most importantly, however, the culture that developed in communion with the harsher South Island landscape, based upon seasonal migration for food and trade with different arts, customs and values from the North, is attributed little value because it does not correspond to either 'standard version textbook' Māoritanga, or that of particular Northern tribes.

Our kaumātua tend to bow their heads or nurse their resentments in the privacy of our own rūnanga, describing the migrants as merely ignorant. The fact is, though, their responses are not respected by the newcomers. Our old people are actually humiliated. The younger people are, in their turn, humiliated too, but their hostility tends to become more overt and vocal. The tension becomes negative as our own people, instead of celebrating their own southern culture, become defensive of it.

It is thus difficult for a young person who is fair skinned and speaks only English to say to his or her Māori peers with pride, 'I am Ngāi Tahu'. Often the pain and embarassment is covered up by laughing and joking along with them. It is no wonder that many Ngāi Tahu choose not to announce their tribal affiliations loudly in public, or maybe even to themselves. On the one hand they are more likely than darker, North Island Māori to be accused by Pākehā of denying their Europeanness. On the other, they are likely to be the recipients of statements like: 'Ngāi Tahu are only plastic and try-hard Māori'; 'How can you call yourself a Māori? You look and talk like a Pākehā'.

Such attitudes and beliefs mesh neatly with one form of Pākehā colonialist subversion of the Ngāi Tahu position. This is expressed in a denial of 'Māoriness', usually in respect of individuals. It reflects an indulgence in the biological arithmetic which

calculates culture and inherited rights in terms of fractions of genealogical descent. Sometimes this approach is applied to groups. A recent article in *The Dominion* (16/8/94) entitled 'The White Tribe of Ngāi Tahu' reported the analysis of a Professor John Gould. It began with the question, 'When is a Māori tribe not Māori? The answer could well be when it's Ngāi Tahu'. Gould, who is a first generation migrant from Bristol in England, constructs a rating system of 'Māoriness' for sixteen tribes and goes on to conclude that one of them, Tuhoe, from the central North Island, are the 'most Māori'.

The factors on which his ratings are based include income, education, and self-definition. On the basis that Ngāi Tahu have slightly higher average incomes and educational achievement levels, according to census data, he concludes they are less 'Māori' than their North Island counterparts. Ministers and bureaucrats negotiating claim settlements with Ngāi Tahu reacted with glee since if Ngāi Tahu are 'less Māori' they require less by way of Treaty rights. The easy conflation of race concepts and property issues is a favourite device of the Pākehā colonialist. The sad thing is to see some northern Māori using the same tactics to undermine Ngāi Tahu.

This modern cultural colonialism by northern Māori has another important dimension. Like the original European colonialism on which it is modelled, it has as its twin an increasingly aggressive and acquisitive economic colonialism. The values and ideals of these cultural colonists of the late twentieth century support, legitimate and validate, to their own satisfaction at least, the new economic colonialism experienced by our Ngāi Tahu people. There are two strands in the newly-woven economic noose. The first is concerned with the allocation of Ngāi Tahu property rights in fisheries which were secured by the Treaty of Waitangi and which have recently been settled by the Crown. The second, closely associated with the former, has been the rise of 'pan-Māori Treaty settlement theory'.

Both are based on removing the Treaty rights of individual tribes from settlements centred on the resources in their own rohe (tribal territory) - of which they were dispossessed - and allocating settlement 'benefits' to Māori generally on a basis of population. This would have the immediate effect of transferring the

wealth of the less populous tribes, including Ngāi Tahu, to the more populous northern tribes, especially those north of the Bay of Plenty region. This is advocated on the grounds of 'equity'.

For Ngāi Tahu, potentially rich in its own resources, the most recent surge of colonialist expropriation is from a number of populous North Island Māori tribes in the central and Northern regions of New Zealand, attempting to drain the wealth of the Ngāi Tahu rohe into the national Māori pool. They maintain that it would be unfair for Ngāi Tahu to get a large share of any Treaty settlement because tribally Ngāi Tahu is comparatively small, and wealthy.

This is not only a Ngāi Tahu problem. There are tribes in the North who also make Treaty based claims in fisheries and other resources, who have strongly supported Ngāi Tahu and have been supported in return. Like Ngāi Tahu, their rights in fisheries are in danger of being expropriated by the larger Northern tribes.

Largely due to the claims made by those larger Northern tribes through the media, Ngāi Tahu are now commonly perceived, on top of our cultural inadequacies mentioned above, to be greedy, selfish, and rich in both monetary terms and in resources. It may therefore be seen as ironic that over nine tenths of commonly owned Māori land and assets in forestry, licences, leases, geo-thermal shares etc., are owned north of a line drawn from Taupo to Cape Taranaki.

Ngāi Tahu are in fact tribally 'pōhara' (poor) compared to other major tribes. In the 150 years since the Ngāi Tahu claim was first filed, our people have borne an incredible financial load in prosecuting our case and nurturing our resources. Generations of fundraising and subscribing, of personal mortgages and loans, have gone into funding the struggle. The last big round before the Waitangi Tribunal cost us collectively $ 2.4 million and today we still spend 58 percent of our budget dealing with the Crown. What little we own as a tribe now we have won for ourselves in the marketplace. We have virtually no inheritance from the Treaty period like the northerners have - some of them in great abundance. The question is how those northern people have managed and handled their assets.

For over 150 years Māori have been protesting against Crown

aggression, the stealing and confiscation of land and resources, and the denial of property rights guaranteed to them in the Treaty of Waitangi. They have resented and resisted Pākehā labelling and defining what and who they were. Māori have strenuously fought for generations for their rights as the indigenous minority, and have objected to majority rule based on race and sheer numbers. Yet that is exactly what many of those same people, and those same tribes are doing now, to Ngāi Tahu, and Ngāi Tahu rights. They claim their own Treaty rights for themselves but then assail the rights of other tribes as if the Treaty did not exist.

Postcolonial Maori Sovereignty

Radhika Mohanram

The genesis of this essay initially appears circumstantial and tangential. A couple of years ago, I immigrated to New Zealand after having lived in the US for over eleven years. My stay in the US had always been experienced by me as temporary and tenuous which I had attributed to being for the most part in graduate school on a student visa. In the years I lived and worked in the US, I was part of the statistics of 142,076,530 nonimmigrants granted temporary domicile in that country in the 1980s.[1] My peers in graduate school and at my workplace granted me the identity of the Indian national because the last place I had lived in was India. When I moved to New Zealand, in one short overnight trip between San Francisco and Auckland, I was transformed from Indian to American. Now American and Canadian citizens living and working in New Zealand claim me as one of their own, a North American. New Zealanders hearing an American accent categorise me as such, and blame me for the freezing out of New Zealand by the US from the ANZUS Treaty in the mid eighties. The retaliation against New Zealand for its insistence on being a nuclear-free zone against the wishes of Washington and the American military is that New Zealand has gone through a long period of military, economic, and social isolation from the US. In the Antipodes I have become a representative of the metropolitan super-power and the Northern hemisphere. What INS (Immigration and Naturalisation Services) failed to give me — an American identity — was bestowed upon me anyway by the US in absentia. I had to be dislocated from the US to become an American just as I had to leave India to become Indian.

The Construction of the Indigenous: A Postcolonial View

It is by making this gesture of displacement that I want to discuss the placement of a text asserting indigenous sovereignty in

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Aotearoa/New Zealand. In so doing I realise I implicate my alignment with the rootless Western settler, attempting to articulate my displacement through the 'indigenous' exotic, nature of Maori. Two sets of problems need to be negotiated within a discussion of this topic. The first set includes the problematic nature of the term indigeneity itself, and the comprehension of this word in opposition to the terms immigrant, settler, or non-native. Arjun Appadurai, making an argument against rooting people in particular territories, points out the erroneous premise of the uncontaminated purity of any culture. He suggests that in contrast to the Western subject who is exempt from any claims of ethnic authenticity, the assumption leading to any (Western) study of the indigene is premised on notions that proper natives 'somehow . . . represent their selves and their history, without distortion or residue'.[2] Furthermore, according to Appadurai, this notion of pure, indigenous cultures leads to the 'incarceration' of the native, confining them to well-defined geographical boundaries. Second, one must also realise that confining the native benefits only the settler or non-native's definition of herself. In this I follow Edward Said's premise in *Orientalism* wherein the Oriental, cast as exotic and mysterious, functioned to make the European seem enlightened, rational, and civilised. Third, along with notions of confinement, indigeneity also articulates a sense of home and belonging which is in contrast to the sense of homelessness with which I began this essay. This homelessness is not just about passports, visas and legality, but is central to the structuration of identity itself. While the confined condition of the indigene is valorised in the sensibilities of the postmodern, who is defined by routine mobility and nomadism, examining the etymology and usage of the term 'indigenous' as used by Richard Hakluyt in *Voyages and Discoveries: The Principal Navigations, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* and Charles Darwin in *The Origin of Species* (post-circa 1598), suggests its complicity with the onset of the 'discovery' of the New World and colonialism.[3] To this extent, Appadurai's concern for the incarceration of the native is well-founded.

I also want to anticipate and pinpoint a further question lodged within the context of the sinister etymology of the term 'indigenous' itself: how qualified is the nomad/exile (i.e. one

not attached to definitive geographical space) to analyse notions of indigenous sovereignty? Being neither Maori nor New Zealander but an Asian trained in the US is cause enough for peremptory dismissal as unqualified in this country. My act of writing may be perceived as a gesture of self-aggrandizement, another anthropological venture exalting my exilic status over that of the native.[4] Such notions suggest that only a Maori can write about issues of Maori sovereignty, or a New Zealander about Aotearoa/New Zealand where knowledge is predicated on perceptions of essence somehow conflated with authenticity and truth. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak addresses exactly this issue:

> [C]an men theorize feminism, can whites theorize racism, can the bourgeois theorize revolution and so on. It is when only the former groups theorize that the situation is politically intolerable. Therefore, it is crucial that members of these groups are kept vigilant about their assigned subject positions. It is disingenuous, however, to forget that, as the collectivities implied by the second groups of nouns start participating in the production of knowledge of themselves, they must have a share in some of the structures of privileges that contaminate the first group . . . . [W]hatever the advisability of attempting to 'identify' [with] the other as subject in order to know her, knowledge is made possible and is sustained by irreducible difference, not identity. *What is known is always in excess of knowledge. Knowledge is never adequate to its object* (emphasis added).[5]

In so saying, Spivak suggests that the knower who knows everything — the person who is in a symbiotic relationship with her predicament — is not exactly knowledgeable in that knowledge is beyond physical identity. The process of representation and the function of language requires difference in the production of knowledge. Knowledge is produced, furthermore, in the temporary occupation of a structural space and the ability to articulate and theorise about this space. Moreover, for Spivak, the symbiotic and the theorising knower are in an interruptive relationship with each other and both positions are mutually necessary within knowledge-production. Being neither entirely 'settler' nor 'indigene' but simultaneously both in different locations, I have a part to play in this discussion as do all who occupy my particular

structural space. Furthermore, at such critical moments, the exile who denotes nomadism also plays a necessary role. Iain Chambers says it best:

> [T]he stranger threatens the 'binary classification deployed in the construction of order' and introduces us to the uncanny displacement of ambiguity. That stranger, as the ghost that shadows every discourse, is the disturbing interrogation, the strangement that potentially exists within us all.[6]

Having thus presented my credentials, I will provide just one reading of Maori sovereignty which, while about issues of the construction of the indigene, carries the marks of my nomadism, my estrangement, and my postcoloniality. This essay oscillates around Donna Awatere's *Maori Sovereignty*, which like Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks*, is one of the central decolonising documents produced in Aotearoa/New Zealand.[7] In the first part of the essay, I will attempt to contextualise Maori sovereignty within various Maori nationalisms of the 1970s and 1980s. I will principally read it via Michele Dominy's comprehensive article on this topic which threads together, within the context of feminism, the significant political events in Aotearoa/New Zealand of those twenty years.[8] I want to provide a reading of Dominy's work because her 1990 analysis of Maori women uses the same model of oppositionality as her 1986 analysis of lesbian-feminist separatist women in Christchurch. In both these articles an oppositional model of identity formed against heterosexual Pakeha men in New Zealand links Maori and Pakeha lesbian women. Such a model becomes intensely problematic because not only do these two groups function as (unequal) metaphors for each other, but her unproblematic conflation of the two groups works merely to support a thesis of a universal patriarchal victimisation of women. Dominy thus completely bypasses the issues of race and nationalism which intersect and divide any notion of a unitary women's movement in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In the second part of the essay, I will attempt to provide a framework to read the roles of women from within contemporary discourses of the nation. I will principally use the framework provided by Partha Chatterjee in his analysis of women's roles within the Indian nationalist movement.[9] Finally, I will read Awatere's work

as marked by postcoloniality, rearticulating indigeneity as a retroactive construct. I will also read Awatere's article as containing the blueprint of not only a differently constructed Aotearoa/New Zealand but one which is connected to the different political organisation of the Maori woman.

Maori Feminism in the 1980s

Serialised between June 1982 and February 1983 in *Broadsheet*, the well-circulated feminist journal, Donna Awatere's three articles, 'The Death Machine', 'Alliances', and 'Beyond the Noble Savage', reappeared in 1984 as *Maori Sovereignty* including a fourth chapter, 'Exodus'. Together these four essays became the central articulation of sovereignty issues in New Zealand from a Maori perspective and generated debate from feminists and non-feminists, Maori and non-Maori alike. In fact, as Awatere herself notes in the second essay 'Alliances', '[a] number of Wellington feminists have protested at the publishing of [chapter one, 'Death Machine'] in *Broadsheet*'.[10] She adds 'the Maori Sovereignty issue was a keynote article in relations between white and Maori women. Yet the cover of Broadsheet for that month was globules representing pink and white tits. This is an insult to Maori women and to the Maori people'.[11] Thus is recorded the deep divide between white and Maori feminism in Aotearoa/New Zealand in the early 1980s, not unlike the statements made by feminists of colour elsewhere in the world.[12] However, while this text generated critical attention and discussion in the 1980s, in the current decade it is relegated to the pages of history, a punctuation mark in the feminist debates in New Zealand, at most garnering references in footnotes. In the mid-1990s, the text has fallen into obscurity primarily because Awatere is held suspect as both a feminist and as a Maori nationalist due to her association with Roger Douglas's party, Association of Consumers and Taxpayers (ACT). Notwithstanding the unpopular affiliation of the author, *Maori Sovereignty* is a rich text inviting interpretation.

Within New Zealand, the issue of Maori sovereignty reverberates with such meaning because land and sovereignty issues are inextricably braided within the feminist movement. In her article, 'Maori Sovereignty: A Feminist Invention of Tradition',

Michele Dominy intertextualises the two movements by suggesting that the Maori Land March of 1975 led by Dame Whina Cooper, the occupation of Bastion Point by Maori in 1978, and the protests against the Springbok Rugby Tour in 1981 are linked with the emergence of feminism. To recapitulate these incidents: Dame Whina Cooper started her Land March in 1975 from Te Haupua in the north to Wellington in the South. Basing her politics on the premise that for a Maori to be landless is tantamount to being deprived of an identity and leading other Maori, she marched to Wellington to present a statement of Maori rights to the government.

The Bastion Point occupation represented a challenge to the Crown's underhanded ways of acquiring Maori land during the late 1800s. While the Crown would not consider returning it to Maori in 1976, the Government however announced its plans to build a major high-income housing development on what was originally Maori land. As a result, Maori protestors occupied Bastion Point for 506 days and demanded the return of 180 acres of land back to their ownership. Around this action, Maori women challenged their men for equality within the movement. In her article on the experience of Maori women at Bastion Point, Jan Farr states:

> The women by sheer persistence, perseverance and by their over-all ability to organise, participate and show results for their efforts, managed to evolve from a merely supportive or back-up role (for men), to a dynamic role in active leadership.[13]

The last incident which contributed to forging an identity for Maori feminism according to Dominy was the Springbok Rugby Tour in 1981. Many New Zealanders were opposed to the tour of the South African team because it was not only not integrated but also Maori players in the New Zealand rugby team the 'All Blacks' had previously been refused permission to tour South Africa. Sir Robert Muldoon who was then Prime Minister, despite intense opposition from Maori and Pakeha alike, not only permitted the Springboks to tour New Zealand but also provided police and army support for the team at a cost of eight million dollars. While Maori who marched against the Tour immediately

saw the parallels between apartheid in South Africa and racism in New Zealand, a number of Pakeha needed some persuasion. Donna Awatere states:

> The relationship between black and white political groups will in the long run depend on how well whites can identify and work against injustice to black people. Very few will. Yet racism is a global phenomenon, not particular to one country and it must be fought globally, wherever it is. And it is here. In New Zealand. But anti-racism isn't fashionable like feminism, or full of intrigue like anti-capitalism, although it includes both feminism and the class struggle. Emotionally, fighting overseas racism must be easier to cope with for whites...[14]

Dominy points out that the protests against the Tour gave prominent roles to Maori and Pakeha women who often marched in the front lines and were both equally physically assaulted by Government forces.[15] Furthermore it is perceived that the protests against the Springbok Rugby Tour questioned the notion of a homogeneous identity for New Zealand and ripped the white nation apart. It finally heightened mass Pakeha awareness of racism against the indigenous population of New Zealand for the first time and forged ties between Maori and Pakeha to consider a bicultural identity for Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Maori Feminism Within Pakeha Feminism?

Michele Dominy suggests that the Bastion Point occupation, as well as the anti-tour movement, not only reconfigured traditional gender relations for Maori but also reconstituted notions of colour and race. She suggests that a direct consequence of Bastion Point was the adoption of the manifesto 'Gonna Share with all our Black sisters/ The Right to be Black/ The right that was taken from us like the land' at the national hui of Maori women in 1980. In this, Black becomes not a racial ascription, but, in its inclusion of all Maori, Pacific Islanders, and Indians, signifies a marker of political alliance instead. For Dominy feminism becomes a Black woman's revolution and all men, Maori and Pakeha, are conflated 'as owners and perpetrators of oppressive institutions, governments and systems'.[16]

In fact it is a feminist commonplace to suggest a natural alliance between the disenfranchised such as white women and women of colour. As such this line of argument is premised on simple notions of oppositionality wherein the dominative (read: masculinist) power in a socio-juridical system is first located; then this identification results in alliances between all marginalised groups who interrogate and oppose that cultural authority. This alliance is indicated by Bill Ashcroft et al. when they state:

> Women in many societies have been relegated to the position of 'Other,' marginalized and, in a metaphorical sense, 'colonized,' forced to pursue guerilla warfare against imperial domination from positions deeply embedded in, yet fundamentally alienated from, that imperium. They share with colonized races and peoples an intimate experience of the politics of oppression and repression, and like them they have been forced to articulate their experiences in the language of their oppressors.[17]

While such an alliance of the marginalised is often undeniable and fruitful, there are at least two glaring problems with Dominy's reframing of the indigenous rights movement in Aotearoa/New Zealand as a feminist one. First, because of the structure of binary opposites — men vs. women — Maori men become metonymic extensions of Pakeha men. Only such a structuring of argument will permit sisterhood in the Pacific as well as a positioning of women as oppositional. While Dominy's location of Pakeha men as being the hegemonic group in Aotearoa/New Zealand is appropriate, to equate Pakeha men with Maori men is inadequate within a socio-economic category which remanifests itself as a racial category. As Awatere herself critiques left-wing academics, 'Left-wing groups analyse the basic contradictions in terms of the class-struggle. In their analysis issues of sovereignty, race and culture fade into marginality'.[18] Thus in the privileging of gender over race and culture Dominy foregrounds one form of difference (men vs. women); however, she glosses in-differently another form of disenfranchisement, that of race and culture.

Second, in this analysis the indigenous rights movement becomes framed within the feminist struggle. Dominy indicates

the subordination of Maori nationalism to feminism in the following:

> Their identities as Maori and as women share aspects of each other, and both identities at times join in opposition to white male-dominated culture. In particular Maori activist women work to *redefine and recreate their cultural tradition*, rejecting certain aspects of Pakeha culture and the imposition of Western aspects of ethnicity... (emphasis added).[19]

In the guise of uncovering 'true' Maori identity ('rejecting... the imposition of Western aspects of ethnicity'), Dominy here slides in a hierarchy in that only 'activist' Maori women redefine and recreate their cultural tradition. In this, activist Maori women take their cue from the feminist struggle and reinvent tradition as do their Pakeha counterparts. Dominy thus offers a Western model of identity politics to explain the awakening of political awareness among Maori women.[20] In this additive model, indigenous women in Aotearoa, led by their Pakeha counterparts, first discover their identity as oppressed women prior to their awareness of their identity as oppressed Maori women.

Most importantly, this unproblematic continuum between Pakeha and Maori women under the rubric of feminism reveals the underlying premise of the resituation of the latter as minority rather than tangata whenua, an issue central to the growing nationalism and political construction of Maori in Aotearoa.[21] Such a resituation of Maori women as minority subordinates the specificity of their wider struggle to women's issues in general in New Zealand. For example, it draws attention away from the Treaty to relocate Maori women as any other minority women, as an economic and racial category in Aotearoa/New Zealand without any other primary identity.

Maori Women Within Maori Nationalism

However, another way of analysing these series of events is from within the context of the role of women within nationalism. Such a reading is warranted in that Maori feminism, as much as it coincides with the New Zealand Women's movement, also intersects in 1970 with the formation of Nga Tamatoa, an action group whose primary function was to preserve Maoritanga, and

the Maori Organisation for Human Rights, a protest group formed in the aftermath of the 1967 Maori Affairs Amendment Act. The growing leadership of Maori women is further contextualised within the organisation Te Roopu O te Matakite ('those with foresight') in which Dame Whina Cooper played a part. The point underscored at this juncture is that the assertions of Maori women ought to be read within the growing pan-Maori nationalism and not merely as a metonymical extension of the white women's movement in Aotearoa/New Zealand. While Dame Whina Cooper played the leading role in the 1975 Land March, Dominy notes that no other woman functioned as an 'official' leader in either the Bastion Point Occupation in 1977-78 or in the 1981 Springbok Tour. I wish to draw attention to this point because if in 1975 a Maori woman played the leading role in the Maori political landscape, why not in 1977-78 or in 1981? This is not to suggest that Maori women of calibre were just unavailable in the latter two events and that Dame Whina Cooper was the only woman with recognisable leadership qualities. I would argue instead for a re-examination of Maori women's leadership in light of the role of women in the nationalistic struggles for a more fruitful explanation.

Women and Nationalism

It is a commonplace to suggest that women function in very specific ways within a newly emergent nation-state or within a growing nationalism. Theorists such as Carole Pateman suggest that within the notion of citizenship, the state constructs men and women in gender specific ways. Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis indicate the complex relation that the woman has to the state. They point out that

> [O]n the one hand, they are acted upon as members of collectivities, institutions or groupings, and as participants in the social forces that give the state its given political projects in any particular social and historical context. On the other hand, they are a special focus of state concerns as a social category with a specific role (particularly human reproduction).[22]

Anthias and Yuval-Davis proceed to enumerate the various func-

tions of women within the context of the nation: as biological reproducers of members of ethnic collectivities; as reproducers of the boundaries of ethnic/national groups; as participating centrally in the ideological reproduction of the collectivity and as transmitters of its culture; as signifiers of ethnic/national differences — as a focus and symbol in ideological discourses used in the construction, reproduction and transformation of ethnic/national categories; as participants in national, economic, political and military struggles. In this they suggest that women are the state in that they reflect and embody its power yet also function as the site upon which the nation confirms its own masculine, powerful identity. In other words, women as members of the collectivity are the nation yet they also simultaneously function as the object, the maternal bodies upon which the state literally reproduces itself. Women function as the basis, the logic upon which the state names itself.[23] To this extent, Dame Whina Cooper's leadership in the Land March, as well as the lack of 'official' leadership of women at Bastion Point and during the Springbok Tour, are not acts of individual agency. Their visibility and assertion is an orchestration precipitated by the requirement of the Maori nation.

Read within the context of growing Maori nationalism and the conscious formation of Maoritanga and Tikanga Maori, the emergence of Maori women becomes a logical outcome. Charged with being reproductive members of Maoridom, women's roles become prominently etched. Maori women not only maintained racial/ethnic boundaries, they also transmitted its culture while participating in its economic and political struggles. The growing awareness of Maoritanga and its organisation resulted in increasingly prominent roles for the women. To this extent, one can read these series of events (the Land March, the Bastion Point Occupation, and the Springbok Tour) which found women in assertive roles as being connected to the resurgence of Maori nationalism and the deliberate imagination of the Maori nation-state.

It is within the context of women and nationalism that I here cite Partha Chatterjee who examines the shifting role of women in the nationalist struggle of British India to overthrow British rule. According to Chatterjee, Indian nationalism went beyond a

political struggle for power and permeated every aspect of the material, spiritual life of the people.[24] Chatterjee argues that the binary opposition of coloniser/colonised or white/brown or Western/Eastern also reproduces itself in yet another dichotomy: material (outer)/spiritual (inner), with Britain identified as the visible numerator and India as the submerged denominator. He states:

> The material/spiritual dichotomy, to which the terms 'world' and 'home' corresponded, had acquired . . . a very special significance in the nationalist mind. The world was where the European power had challenged the non-European peoples, and by virtue of its superior material culture, had subjugated them. But it had failed to colonize the inner essential identity of the East which lay in its distinctive, and superior, culture. That is where the East was undominated, sovereign, master of its own fate. For a colonized people, the world was a distressing constraint forced upon it by the fact of its material weakness. It was a place of oppression and daily humiliation, a place where the norms of the colonizer had perforce to be accepted.[25]

Chatterjee adds that within this schizoid world, the colonised had to learn the sciences from the West to match their power over the material world. But in order to do so, 'the crucial need was to protect, preserve and strengthen the inner core of its national culture, its spiritual essence . . . . In the world, imitation of and adaptation to western norms was a necessity; at home they were tantamount to annihilation of one's very identity'.[26] The implications of the production of such a binary of outer and inner are obvious and superimposed on the construction of gender as well. The man participates in the profanity of the outer whereas the woman represents the inner and functions as caretaker and guardian of the traditional and the indigenous. Though the woman may participate in the outer world, she is reinscribed within a new form of patriarchy, different from the patriarchy of indigenous tradition in that it is inflected with colonialism as well as nationalism. My underscoring of this Indian model of nationalism is not to suggest that it is the only or the originary form of third-world nationalism. It is rather an attempt to understand Dominy's perception of the change among Maori women being

faced with an either-or solution: 'either accepting traditional constraints or risking their old affiliations'.[27] I would argue, instead, that this assertion of a female identity among Maori women that Dominy notes, is in fact a requirement of the mobilisation of the nationalistic struggle for sovereignty. In the significant roles played by women in the nation, signifying both its boundary and difference as well as the maternal body upon which the Maori nation defines and predicates itself, women's roles gain in importance and visibility. To attribute it just to global feminism would be to erase the centrality and significance of Maori nationalism.

It is within this context of the misuse of the category 'global feminism' that I want to draw attention to just one example under intense contestation in the 1980s, viz. the debate over speaking rights on the marae where traditionally women have the specific roles of greeting and men of speaking. Reading these structured roles within Western paradigms of what constitutes agency (speech rather than the ritual of greeting) led to the debate whether women should speak on the marae or not. As Kathie Irwin states, 'For many Maori, having the right to speak on the marae is not an issue and never has been. It is viewed as Pakeha women's preoccupation, which is irrelevant to Maori'. However, Irwin proceeds to delineate that the ritualised nature of speaking on the marae consists of several parts: karanga, waiata, tangi and whaikorero. 'Protagonists in this debate have recognised only whaikorero as speaking'.[28] In short, those forms of speaking in which women participate have not been recognised, as no such equivalent categories exist within Pakeha feminism. Irwin is indignant that 'the frustrations of the feminist movement were visited upon individuals and institutions alike. The marae, the central most important institution in Maoridom, became a target for the visitation for some of this feeling'.[29] While Irwin rightly identifies the inadequacy of Pakeha-centric feminism to categorise, comprehend, and explain the specificities of Maori practices, in this entire debate over the right of whaikorero on the marae what is evident is that, not unlike Indian nationalism in which women have their own role to play in the maintenance of inner spirituality of indigenous social-cultural-spiritual life, there has been no major shift in gender roles for the postcolonial

Maori. Irwin herself admits that a Pakeha man 'who is tauiwi, not a speaker of the language, or tangata whenua in a Maori sense of this word, is allowed to stand and whaikorero on the marae atea simply because he is a man'.[30]

To clarify this point about gender roles, I will cite Chatterjee again. He continues to explain the reinscription of women's roles in growing Indian nationalism:

> . . . the 'spirituality' of her character had also to be stressed in contrast with the innumerable surrenders which men were having to make to the pressures of the material world. The need to adjust to the new conditions outside the home had forced upon men a whole series of changes in their dress, food habits, religious observances and social relations. *Each of these capitulations now had to be compensated by an assertion of spiritual purity on the part of women.* They must not eat, drink or smoke in the same way as men; *they must continue the observance of religious rituals which men were finding it difficult to carry out*; they must observe the cohesiveness of family life and the solidarity to the kin to which men could not now devote much attention. The new patriarchy advocated by nationalism conferred upon women the honour of a new social responsibility, and by associating the task of 'female emancipation' with the historical goal of sovereign nationhood, bound them to a new, and yet entirely legitimate, subordination (emphasis added).[31]

Chatterjee indicates that in the nationalistic struggle, it was necessary to mobilise the women who constituted half the brown population. Yet the mobilisation for Indian emancipation did not necessarily include emancipation of Indian women. They had to be reinscribed into a new form of patriarchy, one carrying the markers of colonialism and nationalism. The recognition of their value as Indians to the nation precluded their autonomous identity as women. Their importance was explained to them via their complementary roles to Indian men. Similarly in Aotearoa/New Zealand, the debate over the marae did not result in any specific changes in women's right to whaikorero. As Irwin points out, having the right to speak is not an issue. However, what is emphasised is the significant complementary role that women play in the speaking rights on the marae as well as in the mainte-

nance of gender roles. I do not suggest that Chatterjee's model precisely describes Maori gender roles. I want to underscore that in this instance, Maori women are relocated in their traditional space on the marae. The point I am making is that women function as metaphor for the nation and therefore become the scaffolding upon which the men construct national identity. In their construction of Indianness, Indian men constrained Indian women in specific ways. Similarly, I think Maori men construct the Maori nation/female to reflect their own identity. There is no agency where Maori women construct themselves autonomously, as separate from Maori men or the Maori nation.[32] All these issues are implicated within each other.

The Text of Maori Sovereignty

> The only thing that remains believable is the cave of one's own dwelling, for the present [is] still permeable by legend, still touched with shadows . . . . Memory is the anti-museum: it cannot be localized. Its remains can still be found in legend.'
>
> Michel de Certeau, 'Practices of Space'

In the previous segment, I attempted to contextualise Awatere's text as emerging from growing Maori nationalism which was allowed to come into political visibility in the 1970s and 1980s particularly in the anti-Tour movement which rent the white nation apart, rather than out of global feminism. In so doing I have had to sharply delineate my position from that of Michele Dominy's. In the second part of the essay I discussed the specific ways in which nationalism and colonialism shaped women's roles and I have disputed Dominy's premise of an ahistorical category, women, who banded together against the oppressive ahistorical category, men, regardless of differences in race, class, nation, age, sexual preference and historical events. I have argued, instead, for Maori women as historically and discursively constituted, homogenised as Maori yet at a difference from Pakeha. Such a move on my part has been necessary so I can now provide a reading of Maori sovereignty as being inflected with issues of postcoloniality as well as nationalism and the inscription of

women within this historical configuration.

First, the issue of postcoloniality and nationalism: I locate the resurgence of Maori nationalism within postcoloniality,[33] 'an always present underside within colonisation itself'.[34] In making such a statement I perhaps move away from traditional definitions of Maori as merely indigenous, first peoples who lived in New Zealand, prior to the signing of The Treaty of Waitangi, in 1840.[35] Prior to western intervention, Maori were a heterogenous group, consisting of a number of tribes with chiefs. This naming of Maori not only made 'New Zealand' part of the empire in the Antipodes, but also reconstituted them as a homogeneous group. I will argue that it is in this constant oscillation between homogeneous and heterogeneous in their definitions of themselves that the strategy of Maori nationalism becomes visible. I furthermore argue that Maori nationalism is manifest not only in the specific function of women, but also in the proliferation of Maori cultural practices under the aegis of biculturalism. Awatere comments on the commodification of Maori culture in her last chapter 'Exodus.' She states:

> How unfortunate that the commodity from which the much needed economic security will come is Maori culture itself. What happens to a culture when it is separated from its base and packaged up into marketable units? We all want an end to plastic tikis and other mass-produced articles. In Maori International's case, steps were being taken to produce more 'authentic' pieces. But the more authentic the piece, in fact the worse it is in the end. Those pieces which are hand-carved and handmade, because they are authentic, are taonga. By being sold their spiritual essence is violated. Better that plastic tikis be sold rather than greenstone ones (p. 98).

In these words, Awatere signals her comprehension of the postmodernity of New Zealand's popular version of Maori, commodified and transformed into images of themselves; the plastic tiki, a simulacrum of the 'authentic' pieces which by being sold are violated from their status as taonga; but the 'authentic' pieces themselves refer to a bygone era recorded only in memory and photographs (themselves a representation) when Maori art was taonga.[36]

Awatere's text is constituted through two competing genres,

the main text of *Maori Sovereignty* being interrupted by an alternative text, composed of photographs and their accompanying captions, which combine to produce a text revealing its heteroglossia, ensuring the primacy of context over pure text, and demanding shifting multiple interpretations.[37] The murmur of voices and meanings constantly contextualise as well as destabilise each other to provide a new understanding of the text, land rights, and their relationship to biculturalism. The photographs function to construct a history of the pre-contact pure Maori, but the whole enterprise is marked with contamination, photography itself being a post-contact phenomenon, underscoring the point that attempting to locate the precolonial is always already marked with the postcolonial, since all knowledge of the precolonial emerges from within the last 300 years, the years of intense colonisation of the globe by a few countries in Europe. So, it seems that Awatere could be accused of being what Spivak describes as 'the new culturalist alibi, working within a basically elitist culture industry, insisting on the continuity of a native tradition untouched by a Westernization whose failures it can help to cover, legitimizes the very thing it claims to combat'.[38]

But, in fact, Awatere's text is *not* about the glory days of pure Maori in brave and beautiful hermetically-sealed Aotearoa. It maps out a picture of Maori as a community in interconnected spaces. I want to examine just three photographs, on pp. 14, 16, and 48. The photograph on p. 14 is of a landscape inscribed with meaning by Maori, not Pakeha. In the long shot, the background fades at a distance indicating the full landscape and plenitudenous life led by the pre-contact Maori. The ground is pockmarked by what the caption identifies as kumara pits circa 1899 (post-Treaty). The text continues:

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> Continuous cropping tropical plants were adapted to the

> colder climate. Storage pits provided for a seasonal growing and a year-round food supply. Soils were made more suitable where necessary by transporting huge loads of manuka to the garden site and burning it there. In the South Island, kumara gardens were planted facing north to catch the sun and networks of stone walls protected crops and divided whanau plantings(p. 16).

The photograph on p. 16 is of a Maori woman surrounded by mutton birds which are being cleaned in preparation for winter food storage in the South Island.

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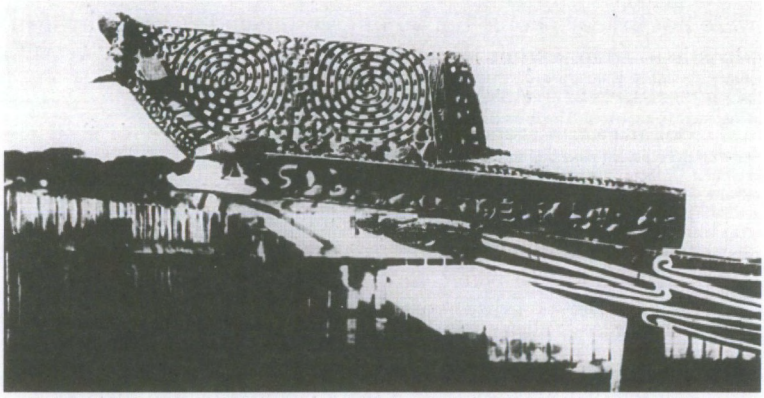
The caption that accompanies it not only records the exclamation of a British immigrant on Ruapeke Island at how fresh the preserved Nga Titi were nine months later, but also contains another very significant series of sentences:

> From other reports it seems Otago and possibly Canterbury Maori had hunting rights to certain mutton bird islands to the south. Title to an area of land by inheritance or conquest did not preclude other whanau, hapu or iwi having rights to the same land for a different purpose. The primary right was to live on and cultivate the land, but others might have the right to snare birds in particular trees, or set nets at a particular spot in the whitebait season (p. 16).

I draw attention to these sentences as they will form a significant point in my argument a little further on. Both these photographs, along with various others in the text serve to draw a picture of Maori ways, methods of organisation, and economy prior to colonisation (as much as photographs from within the colonising period can possibly record such events).

The third picture that I have selected to analyse is located on p. 48, a photograph of Te-Toki-a-Tapiri, a war canoe, damaged, fated to be burned by the Navy but 'spared at the last minute by the Collector of Customs at Onehunga'.



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The caption indicates that it now rests in the Auckland museum. This photograph thus becomes a metaphor for Maori, brave and ferocious in the war of the 1860s, but eventually defeated and preserved only in memory and museums. This is one of the last photographs in the book which records precolonial Maori sovereignty. The picture thus appears to function as a dirge lamenting the time that was and a land inscribed only by Maori.

But do these photographs really mark the waning years of a once proud indigenous people? A re-examination of the pictures and the captions produces an alternative interpretation, a reading which suggests a marked awareness of Maori of the 1980s and 1990s as postcolonial, living in the arena of postmodernity and global capitalism. To read these photographs as the sad remnants of an autonomous (read: precapitalist) Maori suggests that they were a static localised people in a primordial time violated by

colonialism and global capitalism. Yet the kumara pits and the Nga Titi preservation photographs and the organisation of land suggests a different story — of Maori as politically and economically organised in precolonial days. There was no 'autonomous' primeval economy but rather a community of interconnected space, people who traded with one another, who manufactured, who formed an interconnected community: North Island with the South, Aotearoa with Australia and other Polynesian Islands, their canoes being used for trade and transport of food and people. 'Precontact' New Zealand had already been contacted by other people of colour; it was not hermetically sealed; Maori were not insular people but an interconnected community living already to some extent beyond a purely local economy. As Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson indicate:

> Colonialism . . . represents the displacement of one form of interconnection by another. This is not to deny that colonialism, or an expanding capitalism, does indeed have profoundly dislocating effects on existing societies. But by always foregrounding the spatial distribution of hierarchical power relations, we can better understand the process whereby a space achieves a distinctive *identity* as a place. Keeping in mind that notions of locality or community refer both to a demarcated physical space and to clusters of interaction, we can see that the identity of a place emerges by the intersection of its specific involvement in a system of hierarchically organised spaces with its cultural construction as a community or locality.[39]

This notion of spaces hierarchically interconnected is fundamental to the construction of the nation as is indicated by the arbitrariness of national boundaries on the map, separating and connecting one country with another. Yet nationalism also requires a process of forgetting of the political act encoded in spatial boundaries in order for nationality to reemerge as essence, race, and individual. Nation as merely a political construct must be forgotten for the production of nationalistic feelings.

Distribution of Space/Place in Aotearoa/New Zealand

I finally want briefly to read the implications of Awatere's definition

of Maori sovereignty. She initiates the debate over this issue very early in the text by defining Maori sovereignty as:

> the Maori ability to determine our own destiny and to do so from the basis of our land and fisheries. In essence, Maori sovereignty seeks nothing less than the acknowledgement that New Zealand is Maori land, and further seeks the return of that land. At its most conservative it could be interpreted as the desire for a bicultural society, one in which taha Maori receives an equal consideration with, and equally determines the course of this country as taha Pakeha (p. 10).

In this Awatere upholds the conditions of the Treaty which had allocated the lands, forests, and fisheries to Maori which they individually or collectively owned. It must be underscored that by echoing the language of the Treaty ('our land and fisheries'), Awatere reveals her strategy of argument. First she evokes the Treaty when she refers to the postcolonial Maori interpellated as one people by the Treaty and not a loose conglomerate of different tribes. Second by evoking the Treaty she draws attention to Article 2, that which was systematically reneged by Pakeha. In this citing of Article 2 which specified that the Crown would leave undisturbed the land owned by Maori, she slides in the reminder that, in fact, all land in Aotearoa/New Zealand belonged to Maori. It works strategically in that she first upholds the law only to remind the law of its own lawlessness and unfairness.

Having defined the issue of sovereignty, she next indicates:

> Maori sovereignty has always been a thread of belief, commitment and desire, seen in the bloody defence of our land, in the Ringatu movement, Kotahitanga, Kingitanga. Set against our people has been the united strength of white people. The Maori now seeks to break that unity in the interests of justice for the Maori people .... All immigrants to this country are guests of the tanagata whenua, rude visitors who have by force and corruption imposed the visitor's rules upon the Maori .... This country is Maori land (pp. 34-35).

Now Awatere appeals to the morality of this issue; far from being a history of rebellion against the Crown — the history designated to defeated peoples — she attempts to redress this historical rendition of her people, to resituate and reread the Ringatu and

Kingitanga movements. This becomes her decolonising gesture. The strategy of decolonisation becomes an amalgam of evoking then refuting the knowledge arising from colonisation and suggesting that the truth lies elsewhere.

But it is in her last chapter, 'Exodus' that her definition of sovereignty becomes meaningful. In this chapter she posits a politics of inclusion:

> The elemental forces of Maoridom are based on human connections, on the dynamics of human exchange, of pooling resources and pulling together, of mutual exchanges of thought and actions, of interweaving and interlocking patterns of human connections, of all skills, knowledge, talent and 'things' belonging to the group not the individual (pp. 101-102).

While seeming to write only to Maori in this chapter, it is in this repetition of the term 'human' that she opens it up to Pakeha as well. By including Pakeha through human connections, mutual exchanges of thought and actions, the paradox is revealed: when Awatere posits sovereignty, she posits a biculturalism, one that is not about Maori being granted their rights due to the 'generosity' of Pakeha, but one, in fact, always already part of Maori cultural values which dictate, demand inclusion and connection and mutual exchanges of thought and action. It is biculturalism initiated not by Pakeha but by Maori, sharing that which is theirs with others.[40]

The Treaty, the photograph of Nga Titi and its caption about the division of land, and 'Exodus' suggest the 'Maorification' of Aotearoa/New Zealand precisely by including difference, by 'interweaving and interlocking patterns of human connection'. As the Nga Titi caption suggests, more than one tribe of people can have rights over the land — some to cultivate, some to fish, and some to snare birds — and Aotearoa/New Zealand has place for all these people. By asserting Maori sovereignty, Awatere's text redefines it as indicative, not of naked power and aggression but one suffused with sharing. By sharing and interconnecting, Maori values proliferate rather than diminish.

Conclusion, or the Two Conclusions of Maori Sovereignty

Ultimately, the photographs in the text provide the key which

makes the heteroglossic text, the text of the double-voiced discourse, visible. Without the photographs of the warriors, of the way of life, of the women, of the families, of the children, *Maori Sovereignty*, far from being one of the central documents of decolonisation would be, instead, the discourse of the defeated. The photographs contextualise the unique ideology and the world of the Maori. This resituation of Awatere's words via the photographs gives them a moral suasion and transforms them into a re-imagination of a 'new' conceptual system in its complex interrelationships, consonances and dissonances.

And it is via these photographs that I want to read the inscription of one last point which will tie all the various segments of my essay together. I come back to the question of how Maori women are re-imagined in *Maori Sovereignty*? How are they located in the Maori nation? How do the photographs of the women in the last chapter 'Exodus' vary from those in previous chapters? The key to unlocking the woman question in *Maori Sovereignty* I argue lies in the anomaly of the conclusion of the text. Quite simply, there are two conclusions, 'Beyond the Noble Savage,' which functions as the conclusion of the *Broadsheet* version and 'Exodus,' the last chapter when it was republished as a book, which leave the reader with questions of the significance of two conclusions. What is the purpose of having a false ending ('Beyond the Noble Savage') which functions as disconfirmation, first falsifying reader-expectations only to point to an unexpected route and yet another conclusion?

Read within the context of narrative theory — and *Maori Sovereignty* is a narrative, retelling the story of Maori with pictures and words — the ending is very important to the way we read a text in that it influences our reading of it. Closures contain within them the key to the interpretations of beginnings and middle. For instance, Frank Kermode points out in *The Sense of an Ending* that conclusions are fundamental to the way in which the reader perceives patterns in the work and in life around her. Marianna Torgovnick states 'Endings, closures reveal the essences of [the work] with particular clarity; to study closure is to re-create and re-experience [the work] with unusual vividness'.[41] By positing two conclusions Awatere deliberately draws attention to the closure in *Maori Sovereignty*.

The two conclusions work differently. The audience that 'Beyond the Noble Savage' is aimed at is obviously Pakeha and the photographs in this chapter function as a lament, a wail indicating the slow defeat of a people, their attempts to assimilate, their creation of a hybrid identity. The history referred to in the photographs is set at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. The photographs are mostly of male leaders — Tawhiao Te Wherowhero, Te Kooti Rikirangi, Te Whiti o Rangomai, Rua Kenana, and Wiremu Tahupotiki Ratana — among others. In addition, there are photographs of Parihaki, a village on Waimate Plains in the process of being pillaged, bone pendants carved in prison, Maungapohatu, Rua Kenana's settlement before and after being ransacked, Rua in chains. Towards the end of this sad tale are a few photographs of women, one taken at a hui, 'probably taken at Ngaruawahia', two of Te Puea, one with a young girl, another with Pirihia Katipa, and others which do not portray women alone.

The photographs of 'Exodus' contrast with those of 'Beyond the Noble Savage'. The audience that this chapter addresses is not Pakeha but Maori, and the tone is one of hope of victory. With just one exception, there are no photographs of individual men or women. There are groups photographs of Nga Tamatoa, the disruption of Waitangi Day celebrations in 1972 in which men are depicted. For the rest, there are large photographs of women which fill the page — there is very little text in this chapter — large photographs of young Maori women learning Maori, striking photographs of Eva Rickard along with other women leading the Tainui Awhiro protest in Raglan, several photographs of Dame Whina Cooper, again with other women, and photographs of Maori women leading the anti-Tour protest march in Gisborne. The only photograph of a sole woman is that of Tungia Baker. The last photograph is of the hikoi stopped on the bridge at Waitangi by police, February 6, 1984. If 'Beyond the Noble Savage' overwhelmingly represents male Maori leadership, 'Exodus' overwhelmingly represents women in struggle for the nation.

I want to point out that Awatere's situating of women, the role and position she would have them occupy, lies in the contrast that the photographs of the two conclusions present. Notions of

agency and individual will in the struggle for freedom are the predominant themes in the last two chapters. The male leaders pictured alone, successful briefly, but eventually defeated, jailed, now dead, are in contrast to the women leading in community, leading with family, friends, supporters, tribe. The category of leadership in 'Exodus' has changed face and perhaps it is time for this category to shift in meaning in order to bring freedom and equality to Maori. To a large extent, this capacity for inclusiveness, the politics of inclusiveness, read along the racial lines in the previous section of this essay, is visible among the women leaders of the Maori nation. The leadership of women as suggested in *Maori Sovereignty* is not individual leadership, but a leadership of a collective female identity. Leadership now indicates a new society, of equality of women with their men, not at the cost of their men. The women in these pictures, exhorted and made responsible for building the new Maori nation, do so collectively. Only in this move can the agency of women in the nation become visible.

* * *

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* * *

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co-editor of *SPAN*, journal of the South Pacific Association of Commonwealth Literatures and Language Studies.

Notes

1. Benedict Anderson, 'Exodus', *Critical Inquiry*, 20:2 (1994) pp. 314–327.
2. Arjun Appadurai, 'Putting Hierarchy in its Place', *Cultural Anthropolog*, 3:1 (1988) pp. 36–49, p. 37.
3. I pursued the etymology of 'indigenous' in the *Oxford English Dictionary* and was fascinated to discover that while the origin of the word is located in the passive stem of gignere — to be born (or belong to a particular place), applicable to all people, by the late sixteenth century this term is overwhelmingly used only to describe non-western people. On a tangent, also see Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States*, 2nd ed. (Routledge, New York/London, 1994) in which they state that race (and by extension notions of indigenous) in its modern conception did not occur:

   > until the rise of Europe and the arrival of Europeans in the Americas. Even the hostility and suspicion with which Christian Europe viewed its two significant non-Christian 'Others' — the Muslims and the Jews — cannot be viewed as more than a rehearsal for racial formation, since these antagonisms, for all their bloodletting and chauvinism, were always and everywhere religiously interpreted(p. 61).

4. In our essay 'Locating Postcoloniality', in Gita Rajan and Radhika Mohanram (eds.), *Theoretical Play and Cultural Contexts in Postcolonial Discourse* (Greenwood Press, Connecticut, forthcoming), Gita Rajan and I discuss the problems of the unhinging the term exile from its original sense of being politically banished from one's homeland. We state:

   > In order to understand this ambivalence it is useful to trace the epistemology of the metaphorization of 'exile' first in its link with nationalism and the citizen-subject, and next in its link to postcolonial fiction. Edward Said in 'Reflections on Exile' begins his discussion with George Steiner's words, because in a sense, they encompass all the key terms that have become foundational for postcolonial critics. He writes, 'Steiner suggests, "It seems proper that those who create art in a civilization of quasi-barbarism, which has made so many

homeless, should themselves be poets unhoused and wanderers across language'"(p. 357). It is these very ideas of homelessness and diaspora that postcolonial critics have appropriated from traditional definitions of exile which reflect the Jewish condition of displacement.

I draw attention to this essay primarily because issues of both sovereignty and exile oscillate around constructions of nation and citizenship.

5. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics* (Methuen, New York/London, 1987) pp. 253–4.
6. Iain Chambers, *Migrancy Culture Identity* (Routledge, New York/London, 1994) p. 6.
7. Donna Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty* (Broadsheet, Auckland, 1984).
8. Michele Dominy, 'Maori Sovereignty: A Feminist Invention of Tradition', in Jocelyn Linnekin and Lin Poyer (eds.), *Cultural Identity and Ethnicity in the Pacific* (University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1990) pp. 237–257.
9. Partha Chatterjee, 'The Nationalist Resolution of the Women's Question', in Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid (eds.), *Recasting Women: Essays in Colonial History* (Kali for Women Press, New Delhi, 1989) pp. 233–253.
10. Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 43.
11. ibid., p. 45.
12. It has become a commonplace to indicate that notions of a monolithic feminism premised on gender oppression have been exploded. Critics are now aware that race, class, location, as well as colonialism inflects the production of feminist theory which often pits feminist scholars against each other. Among others, bell hooks articulates on this issue at length in her work *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center.* See also Chandra Mohanty, 'Under Western Eyes', in Chandra Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres (eds.), *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1992). Mohanty suggests that such a comprehension of feminism as monolithic reproduces the problems of race, class, and colonialism present within any discourse primarily due to the theorists' use of inappropriate paradigms to analyse what needs to be perceived within historical and cultural specificity. For instance, using Western notions of freedom to analyse the lack of freedom of non-Western women is bound to fail because non-Western women might categorise freedom in different ways depending on culture, country, religion, class, and history. Notions of interlocking oppressions of race,

class, and gender need to be underpinned by historical and cultural specificity.

13. Jan Farr, 'Bastion Point', *Broadsheet*, 94 (1987) p. 21.
14. Donna Awatere, 'Rugby, Racism and Riot Gear', *Broadsheet*, 94 (1981) pp. 12–13, p. 12.
15. Dominy, p. 250.
16. Farr as cited in Dominy, pp. 248–9.
17. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin (eds.), *The Empire Writes Back* (Routledge, London/New York, 1989) pp. 174–5.
18. Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, p. 51.
19. Dominy, p. 238.
20. My gratitude to Anna Yeatman for a clarification of this point which she explains in her article 'Interlocking Oppressions', in Barbara Caine and Rosemary Pringle (eds.), *New Australian Feminisms* (forthcoming). Briefly put, the politics of identity politics is premised upon liberal notions of freedom, equality and the Universal Subject. Such notions of the Universal Subject have origins in John Locke's works who in contesting Filmer's argument for a divine right of kings in his *Second Treatise* argues for the 'Equality which all men are in, in respect to Jurisdiction or Dominion one over another' (para 54). Locke makes a passionate argument that all men (and in extension all women) live in a state:

    > of *Equality*, wherein all the Power and Jurisdiction is reciprocal, no one having more than one another: there being nothing more evident, than that creatures of the same species and ranks promiscuously born to all the same advantages of Nature, and the use of the same faculties, should also be equal one amongst another without subordination or subjection (Second Treatise, 309, Para 4; Locke's emphasis).

    Such a reading of the Universal Subject is possible *only* in a liberal and egalitarian society. Furthermore, in such a reading of the Universal Subject, identity is interpreted as pre-given, each one equal to every other human being. Identity politics becomes a fight against the oppression and repression of identity. The oppressed group (women, Maori, homosexuals, Pacific Islander) previously excluded from the ranks of the Universal subject makes itself visible, challenges the liberal society successfully, and then assumes its rightful place among the family of human beings.
21. I want to suggest that there are intersections of multiple senses of nationalism in the concept of Maori nation. The notion of tangata whenua homogenises Maori identity whereas iwi based identity is a heterogeneous one. Both forms of identity are at the basis of the

postcolonial definitions of Maori.

22. Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, *Woman-Nation-State* (Macmillan, London, 1989) p. 6.
23. In this statement, I am attempting to conflate gendered identity with national identity to suggest that identity formation in both functions in similar ways. Judith Butler points out:

    > As wives, women not only secure the reproduction of the name (the functional purpose) but effect a symbolic intercourse between clans of men. As the site of a patronymic exchange, women are and are not the patronymic sign, excluded from the signifier, the very patronym they bear. The woman in marriage qualifies not as identity, but only as a relational term that both distinguishes and binds the various clans to a common but internally differentiated patrilineal identity, Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (Routledge, London/New York, 1990) p. 39.

    Thus the nation-state takes the place of the patronymic in its positioning and definition of women.
24. Chatterjee, p. 238.
25. ibid., p. 239.
26. ibid.
27. Dominy, p. 245.
28. Kathie Irwin, 'Towards Theories of Maori Feminisms', in Rosemary du Plessis et al. (eds.), *Feminist Voices: Women's Studies Texts for Aotearoa/New Zealand* (Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992) pp. 22–38, p. 12.
29. ibid., p. 10.
30. ibid., p. 17.
31. Chatterjee, p. 248.
32. A counterargument for my point that Maori women's leadership cannot be visible outside of Maori nationalism in Aotearoa/New Zealand will be made by citing the successful formation of the Maori Women's Welfare League in 1951. While it is undeniable that by 1951 there was a cobbling together of two distinct identities, 'Maori' and 'women' to form this group, two points about the origin and reception of Maori Women's Welfare League (MWWL) must be remembered. First, this group was organised in the wake of the post-world war two mass urban migration of Maori, creating new strains on their identity when they started getting transformed from a rural to an urban work force. Discussing this historical shift in identity, Tania Rei et al. state that the Maori tribal committees in urban areas attempted to represent the interests of their peo-

ple. However, the exclusively male tribal committees were sensitive only to male issues such as the welfare of Maori servicemen and land rights. Maori women who felt that the interests of the family, health and housing were largely ignored by the tribal committees successfully formed the MWWL (Tania Rei, Geraldine McDonald and Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, 'Me Aro Koi Ki te Ha o Hine-Ahu-One', in Anne Else (ed.), *Women Together: A History of Women's Organisations in New Zealand* (Daphne Brasell, Wellington, 1993) pp. 8–15, p. 9). While this can be read as indicating leadership among Maori women I want to point out that the category of leadership is not a simple configuration where one person shows agency. I want to point out that the organisation of the MWWL must be read against the backdrop of urban migration. In effect, urban migration functioned to erase tribal differences among Maori and interpellated them as one people far more effectively than the Treaty. Surely, to a large extent, this displacement and the relocation of urban Maori must have helped promote a unified sense of Maori nation. Second, I also want to point out that the MWWL was a cause for resentment among a number of Maori men. As Rei et al. state:

> [The women's] enthusiasm was not shared, however, by their men folk. A letter to the Minister of Maori Affairs in 1953 claimed that the MWWL had usurped the authority of the men and taken over control of the pa .... The concern that Maori women were excluding their men from duties that men considered to be theirs came to a head during the late 1950s. In 1960, the Department of Maori Affairs withdrew its administrative support for the MWWL .... However, the League continued to receive government funding (pp. 9–10).

The point being made here is that MWWL was not a group which had merely the interests of Maori women at heart. The Maori women who formed the MWWL did it out of the sense of urgency that faced them as a people in diaspora. Furthermore, the reception of the MWWL at the hands of their men proves my point that Maori men construct the nation and their women to reflect their own identity.

33. I want to indicate that when I use the term postcolonial (without the hyphen), I don't imply the term as 'after colonialism' but rather the way Vijay Mishra and Bob Hodge define it as 'an always present tendency in any literature of subjugation marked by a systematic process of cultural domination through the imposition of imperial structures of power [,] ... an always present underside

within colonization itself'. Vijay Mishra and Bob Hodge, 'What is Post (-)Colonialism?', in Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (eds.), *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory* (Harvester Wheatsheaf, New York/London, 1993) pp. 276–290, p. 284.

34. ibid. p. 284.
35. The Treaty, signed by a number of Maori chiefs (but not all) in Article 1 ceded 'to Her Majesty, the Queen of England, absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of sovereignty' which these chiefs exercised or possessed over their territories. In return, in Article 2 the Queen confirmed and guaranteed,

    > to the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates, Forests Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession.
    >
    > Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi* (Allen & Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, Wellington, 1987) p. 40.

    Article 2 also demanded that Maori land be sold only to the Crown. I do not need to detail that there are at least 4 versions of the Treaty with major and minor differences. Most importantly, Article 2 with its discrepancies over the interpretation/coinage of the Maori term for sovereignty/governorship is severely contested in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. In addition to granting the tribes the use of their lands, in Article 3 the Queen also extended her protection to Maori and granted them 'all the rights and privileges of British subjects' viz. citizenship. Maori who signed over the sovereignty/governorship did so believing that the 'shadow of the land goes to the Queen but the substance remains with us' (as quoted in Sharp, p. 87).
36. For instance see Frederic Jameson's, 'The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism', *New Left Review*, 146 (1984) pp. 53–92, for an elaboration of postmodernity characterised by reproductions of representations in the absence of the original.
37. Two days before this manuscript was due, my attention was drawn to an article in *Hecate* 20:2 (1994), 'Women for Aotearoa: Feminism and Maori Sovereignty', in which Gay Simkin points out that the photographs selected in *Maori Sovereignty* were chosen and captioned by a Pakeha women's group, Women for Aotearoa. I want to point out that far from contesting my argument, it confirms it, in that Women for Aotearoa was/is espousing a New Zealand nationalism. Furthermore, I want to stress that my read-

ing of *Maori Sovereignty* is based on it as a text with influence beyond that of just the author's words.

38. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Who Claims Alterity?', in Barbara Kruger and Phil Mariani (eds.), *Remaking History* (Seattle Bay Press, Seattle, 1989) pp. 269–292, p. 281.
39. Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, 'Beyond Culture: Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference', *Cultural Anthropology*, 7:1 (1992) pp. 6–23, p. 9.
40. Paul Spoonley, in *Racism and Ethnicity* (Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1988) verbalises what is a predominant opinion in Aotearoa/New Zealand:

    > Biculturalism acknowledges that only two New Zealand 'ethnic' groups, Maori and Pakeha, are particular to New Zealand and that the recent history of this country reflects the contact between these groups. Further the Treaty of Waitangi and its inherited moral, political and social obligations requires that Maori and Pakeha negotiate a relationship which is equitable for both (p. 105).

    While I agree that the dominant group should acknowledge the existence of the 'other' group, I would argue that biculturalism has to be implemented as state policy because state policy must properly represent the people. Furthermore, the legal document of the Treaty of Waitangi must be upheld by the Pakeha mass not because it is the liberal moral thing to do but rather because the State has reneged on the Treaty ever since it was signed in 1840.
41. Marianna Torgovnick, *Closure in the Novel* (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, c.1981) p. 7.

Setting up the Targets: the Construction of Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) 'Target Groups' in the New Zealand Public Service

Deborah Jones

> [T]o analyse a discursive formation . . . is to weigh the 'value' of statements, a value . . . which characterizes their place, their capacity for circulation and exchange, their possibility of transformation, not only in the economy of discourse, but, more generally, in the administration of scarce resources.
>
> Michel Foucault[1]

To regard Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) and biculturalism policies as 'discursive formations', or discourses, in Foucault's terms,[2] is to attend to the language we use to frame issues of race, gender and politics, and to the consequent political effects of this language, especially in terms of 'the administration of scarce resources'. This kind of attention can open up the 'possibility of transformation' in the framing of political categories and interventions, and therefore the 'possibility of transformation' in political action. In this paper I look at how the 'targets' of EEO policies in New Zealand government organisations are constructed in discourse, and at some of the political effects of this construction process.

The assumptions that permeate the discourses of EEO in government organisations have been thrown into some relief through being contested by policies of biculturalism — just as the discourses of Pakeha feminism have been strongly contested and destabilised by the challenges of Maori women. Here I will run EEO and biculturalism policies beside/against each other as my central example of how political categories are framed. My key concern in this paper is to consider in particular how categories of difference — ethnic differences in particular — are

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constructed in policy discourses. I use discourses of EEO and biculturalism as examples, because these are fields in which ethnic difference is specifically and centrally addressed, framed and constituted. My argument is about how we frame the political issues that are at stake, rather than about what EEO and biculturalism programmes are and what they do — whether or not they are 'successful' for instance.

In this paper I am drawing on my 1993 - 1994 research on discourses of EEO and 'biculturalism' in New Zealand government organisations, which looks at the creation and management of gender and ethnic difference in a policy context. The specific technologies which produce categories of difference include the production of written texts (like policy papers, and annual and other reports) and spoken discourse (any discussions of the issues, whether formal meetings or interviews, speeches or casual conversations). My own work is based on issues raised in twenty-eight interviews carried out during 1993 – 1994. I interviewed past and present EEO practitioners in government departments, and also talked with people working in various types of 'cultural development units', set up to advance organisational biculturalism programmes in various ways. As well as interviews, I draw on published organisational materials, such as reports and EEO plans.

Discourses of Difference in Government Employment Policy

Categories of difference are produced in every area of government policy and regulation, whether addressed explicitly — as in policies which address women, the Treaty of Waitangi, immigration, 'inclusive' educational curricula or employment discrimination — or implicitly, in the suppression and marginalisation of minorities. My research focuses on the ways in which 'difference' is produced in employment policies in government organisations. The discourses which directly address issues of ethnicity and culture are EEO and 'biculturalism'.

'Equal Employment Opportunity' is a contested term.[3] As Anna Yeatman has pointed out, contests over the meanings of key policy concepts constitute the politics of the issues they address: policy is about contested meanings, about deploying

language as leverage to argue certain policy outcomes. A crucial aspect of the 'politics of discourse', as she puts it, is the way that it is denied by the language of policy documents, whose 'central feature is the use of language to make the problem which is to be tackled appear as self-evident'.[4] The discourse of EEO is inseparable from the bureaucratic discourse of state policy, as well as from the discourse of managerial 'human resource management' with which it is increasingly intertwined. Both discourses derive their authority from a rhetoric of efficiency and rationality.

The discourse of EEO represents the major and critical attempt to address issues of inequality in employment in government organisations in the last ten years. In New Zealand, EEO is generally seen as 'beginning' in government organisations in 1984, when an EEO policy statement was first made by heads of departments. From 1988, EEO programmes in government departments were required under the 'good employer' provisions of the State Sector Act. Since that time, specialised EEO practitioners have been appointed to develop and work towards the implementation of EEO programmes based on liberal feminist reform agendas. Many EEO practitioners have well-developed critiques of liberal feminism, and of the discourses of bureaucracy, but none the less engage in the discourses of EEO as a site in which to advance their political objectives. The rhetoric of EEO has changed over the years as the policy climate of government has changed, especially in the wake of the election of a National government in 1990. Discussion of 'equality' has tended to be replaced by discussion of 'diversity' or 'inclusiveness', and EEO policies have increasingly been 'mainstreamed', moving the emphasis from EEO networks created out of 'target groups' to EEO as a strategic management function. These developments have been the focus of intense debate among EEO practitioners.

Another topic that has been the focus of recent debate among practitioners has been the relationship of EEO to the Treaty of Waitangi and associated 'biculturalism' policies. It is this relationship that I focus on in this paper, in terms of an analysis of the language by which ethnic difference is 'managed' in government organisations. This approach presents an alternative to investigations in which difference is represented as 'a demographic variable that can be objectively observed and measured', as Sheila Nkomo

puts it.[5] Such demographic measurement has been considered to be an essential basis for EEO programmes. These 'measurements' are used to establish 'ethnic minority' groups as disadvantaged in the context of a social equality agenda. While such categorisations may have rhetorical effect in the context of social change agendas, they obscure the processes whereby ethnic difference is in fact produced in organisational processes. In arguing for a 'rewriting of "race in organisations"', Nkomo advocates 'reconceptualizing race . . . as an integral dynamic of organisations'[6] with an emphasis on 'race relations played out in power struggles' which makes it necessary to 'rethink the very nature of organisations'.[7]

'Reconceptualising Race'

There have long been attacks on the term 'race' itself. Henry Gates, in his introduction to the collection *'Race', Writing and Difference*, invokes scientific rhetoric to describe race as 'a fiction' in terms of 'a meaningful criterion within the biological sciences'.[8] This typical rejection of a biologically determinist representation of 'race' in itself raises new questions. Is 'race' primarily a question of 'fact' or 'fiction'? As Avtar Brah points out, 'no matter how often the concept is exposed as vacuous, "race" still acts as an apparently ineradicable marker of social difference'.[9] The question then arises: 'what makes it possible for the category to act this way?'[10] This is a crucial question, whether we see markers of difference as invoked in racist or anti-racist contexts, as in 'discrimination' against a minority or as in affirmation of a suppressed cultural identity. This question brings us back to scrutinising the power relations implicit in every act of categorisation, to what Biddy Martin terms, an 'insistence on analysing power in terms of its local, discursive and specific formations'.[11] This is a question that should also be applied to the categorisations of 'ethnicity' and 'culture'.

While the idea of 'race' has been widely discredited, that of 'ethnicity' as an objective category has not. This still-legitimated category is widely used in public policy contexts. For instance, Paul Spoonley's[12] definitions of ethnicity are used by the New Zealand Department of Inland Revenue in their EEO plan.[13] This type of ethnic categorisation treats ethnicity as 'a characteristic

of an individual or a group', rather than stressing that ethnicity is a 'socially constructed relation', and one which has to be negotiated, as Skutnabb-Kangas has pointed out.[14] In making this distinction in the context of research on 'ethnic' difference, Skutnabb-Kangas argues that the construction of ethnic groups by researchers can lead to new, more sophisticated forms of racism, in spite of the absence of the term 'race'. Just as Yeatman advocates a 'politics of discourse' in which the contested nature of policy terms should be at the centre of the agenda, Skutnabb-Kangas advocates that the primary object of study of 'race' issues should be instead 'the power relationships between the parties in the definition process'.[15]

The categorising term of 'culture', like 'ethnicity', may seem to escape the determinism of 'race' but often in fact carries the traces of 'race' with it. Paul Gilroy asserts that 'the especially crude and reductive notions of culture that form the substance of racial politics are clearly associated with an older discourse of racial and ethnic difference which is entangled with the history of the idea of culture in the modern West'.[16] For this reason, Gilroy argues strongly against what he calls the 'spurious invocation of ethnic particularity to . . . ensure the tidy flow of cultural output into neat, symmetrical units'.[17] And he stresses that 'this applies whether this impulse comes from the oppressors or the oppressed'.[18] Gilroy is careful, however, to contain his discussion within a particular cultural context, that which he calls the 'black Atlantic world'.[19] His critique of 'ethnic absolutism' and the notions of culture that go with it, may or may not apply in the context of an indigenous people fighting for cultural survival. This issue of 'ethnic absolutism' is a key one in considering the nature of Maori challenges to EEO, as the rhetoric of these challenges often includes strong appeals to Maori cultural identity. Leonie Pihama has pointed out that while it may further the process of decolonisation to 'decentre' white identities, it is quite another matter for white theorists to destabilise the identities of those whom we have colonised.[20]

An emphasis on asking how a given process of categorisation works, and in whose interests, is necessary in my view to take us beyond the perception that identity is not an essential category, and towards confirming or reformulating political strategies. James Donald and Ali Rattansi, in their review of 'race', culture

and conflict in contemporary Europe, argue for a 'critical reappropriation of the concept of culture'.[21] Such a concept must avoid, on the one hand, the dangers of a 'new racism' based on 'the supposed incompatibility of cultural traditions', that is a recuperation of colonial attitudes.[22] On the other hand, it must avoid a 'diversity' approach which avoids addressing issues of power and resources. As Donald and Rattansi put it:

> [a critical reappropriation] means that culture is no longer understood as what expresses the identity of a community. Rather, it refers to the processes, categories and knowledges through which communities are defined as such: that is, how they are rendered specific and differentiated.[23]

I explore ways in which ethnic groups 'are rendered specific and differentiated' by looking at the production of 'target groups' in EEO discourse. By framing ethnic and cultural difference this way, I reject any claims to 'ethnic absolutism'. At the same time, my discussion below suggests that, for many Maori, culture, even 'race', is identity. For many Maori, identity is based on land, ancestry, and what Manu Paul has called a 'continuity of consciousness' between historical and contemporary identities, '. . . which has its roots in our memories of thousands of years of existence in Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa [the Pacific]'.[24]

To reappropriate critically concepts of cultural and ethnic identity, it is not enough just to evoke the spectre of a theoretically delegitimated 'essentialism' out of the political context in which such essentialism may be deployed. The point is to ask who makes particular identity claims based on land and ancestry, who disputes these claims, and why. In a New Zealand context, to 'deconstruct' such claims in the context of the Treaty of Waitangi could be to undercut the tangata whenua status of the Maori, and their claims to sovereignty based on their indigenous status. This is a hazardous enterprise. The problem that Pihama raises, of the politics of a postmodernism which seeks to destabilise ethnic identity, is evoked and unresolved in this paper.

Producing Target Groups in EEO

The State Sector Act's (1988) 'good employer' provisions yoke

together a range of groups targeted within an equality agenda. These groups are: 'the Maori people'; 'ethnic or minority groups'; 'women' and 'persons with disabilities'. These groups are named specifically, although other groups may be identified in practice by departments in terms of the general requirement for an EEO programme, defined as:

> a programme that is aimed at the identification and elimination of all aspects of policies, procedures, and other institutional barriers that cause or perpetuate, or tend to cause or perpetuate, inequality in respect to the employment of any persons or group of persons.[25]

The 'target groups', sometimes also known as the 'EEO groups', mentioned specifically in the Act are framed in slightly different terms. The need for 'recognition of the employment requirements' of women, persons with disabilities and 'the Maori people' is prescribed. So are the 'aims and aspirations' of 'the Maori people' and of 'ethnic or minority groups'. The 'cultural differences' of 'ethnic or minority groups' are spelled out (although the term is not applied to Maori). Finally, the 'need for greater involvement of the Maori people in the Public Service' is signalled.[26]

The legislation provides 'the word' for public servants, the legal discourse which is read strategically to provide or prevent openings for changes in power relationships. The naming of specific groups in terms of the 'good employer' provisions for 'fair and proper treatment of all employees' is widely read as acknowledging that 'fairness' is likely to be an issue for these groups in particular. Ethnically-defined groups are mentioned in the context of 'aims and aspirations' which can be read to refer to wider social agendas than 'employment requirements' alone. The 'need for greater involvement of the Maori people' could be read to imply some kind of (unexplained) special status for Maori in public administration.

The negotiation in every day organisational practice of the meanings of the 'good employer' legislation varies from one department to another, depending on a department's 'core business', and on whether the legislation has powerful sponsors in the department, from the top and/or from the grass roots. For instance, just who constitute 'ethnic and minority' groups for

EEO purposes varies from one department to another, and a range of criteria is used. One of the key ways that a 'target group' has been constituted is through the creation of an EEO 'network' group of employees in a particular organisation. Such a group may be initiated by EEO practitioners and/or by active members of the group itself. They are variously resourced in terms of time and money. Some, for instance, get regular time off work to meet and consider employment issues, to consider specific strategic issues (such as having input to EEO or other strategic plans) or for specialised training or development opportunities. The process of negotiation about who the target groups represent may involve the 'networks' themselves, EEO practitioners, and senior managers, exerting various degrees of power from above and below. In some departments, for instance, a Pacific Island group might be differentiated from 'ethnic groups'. In others, no 'ethnic minorities' actually constitute an EEO group.

The Employment Equity Commission's 1990 EEO report noted that departmental EEO networks monitor EEO performance but 'often these groups have little power'.[27] While some practitioners talk of 'empowering' EEO groups, others argue that EEO is most properly a management function, in which employee participation is directed from above. Crucial elements in contesting the term 'EEO' are the naming of particular groups in terms of power and cultural issues from one department to another, and the creation of boundaries between groups, as well as the question of whether the groups are named in order to be 'empowered' or to be 'managed'. The language of 'empowerment' clearly draws on the liberation politics of feminism and anti-racism, while the language of effective 'management' of certain groups as human resource units draws from the managerialist discourses of the new public service.

EEO and Tangata Whenua

In 1983 the State Services Commission, the state's employment authority, was talking about the 'Public Service in a multicultural society',[28] but by the late eighties biculturalism was central to the agenda, in the context of the broader policy of 'partnership

response'.[29] The concept of 'partnership' is drawn from readings of the Treaty of Waitangi, which is the central representation of New Zealand 'race relations'. Intensified political pressure from Maori had led to commitment by the Labour government to 'honour the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi'. The question of just what those 'principles' are, as applied in government practice, has of course been a key site of dispute.[30]

An influential report raised the issue of government employment practices within the context of the Treaty in 1986. This was a report — *Institutional Racism* — written by a group of mainly Pakeha feminists within the Department of Social Welfare (DSW).[31] This report strongly related questions of culture and ethnicity to those of racism, arguing for a bicultural organisation in which 'the indigenous Maori culture contributes equally to policy and decision-making at all levels'.[32] Like many of the policy arguments that followed, *Institutional Racism* argued that the large number of Maori clients serviced by DSW required substantial Maori involvement in the department. A Maori Unit of DSW was set up in the wake of *Institutional Racism* and subsequent policy developments. The Unit called for 'a bicultural public service', which, like 'a bicultural society', rested on the premise of the Treaty of Waitangi.[33] However this vision of a bicultural Public Service was not reflected in the policy document *Personnel Response/Me Penapenaau* produced by the State Services Commission (SSC) in 1989.[34] Taking its cue from a report produced by the Ministry of Maori Affairs, *Te Urupare Rangapu/ Partnership Response,*[35] the SSC talks about 'enhancing the responsiveness of the state sector to Maori people and communities'.[36] The key objective, however, is not biculturalism or even partnership, but 'increasing the number of Maori people at all levels of state sector organisations'.[37] This 'participation' approach, which refers directly to the State Sector Act 1988, is 'based on equal employment opportunities (EEO) strategies', although the 'principles of the Treaty of Waitangi' are also invoked. Acknowledging that 'Maori people have been identified as just one of the target groups for EEO initiatives', the document asserts that 'there is a particular obligation to implement affirmative action to meet the commitments that have been made to Maori people' in terms of the Treaty.[38]

While evoking the Treaty discourse implies an equal partnership relationship with the Maori people as tangata whenua, evoking EEO discourses categorises Maori along with others as a target group. The nature of the 'particular obligation to implement affirmative action' in relation to Maori is quite unclear. The State Sector Act's mention of Maori participation could be read as 'affirmative action', although the leap here from 'EEO strategies' to 'affirmative action' is glossed over. But the reference to Treaty principles introduces a concept which is not in the Act, and in effect provides a nod to the Treaty while assimilating it into EEO or perhaps 'affirmative action'. This is a neat move, but the meaning of partnership in Treaty terms cannot be somehow spliced into EEO language with a little extra spin put in its tail.

As the Commission for Employment Equity point out in their 1990 report on EEO (1990), 'the status of Maori as Tangata Whenua clearly differentiates them from other designated groups but there still appears to be some confusion as to the relationship and difference between EEO Maori and organisational biculturalism'.[39]

EEO Maori

The concept of 'EEO Maori' has generally referred to the provisions of the State Sector Act (1988) in terms of the 'employment requirements of the Maori people', along with the 'employment requirements' of other target groups. EEO is of course a discourse that draws on the Western liberal political tradition. Any meaningful recognition of cultural difference puts the universal applicability of this tradition into question. In particular, Maori claims for both participation and autonomy within the framework of the Treaty of Waitangi and of recognition of Tangata Whenua status draw from a radically different discourse to that of EEO.

I want to suggest two key themes in the contest between the discourse of EEO Maori and the discourse of biculturalism. The first is the question of the power issues at stake; the second is the question of the incommensurability of cultural difference.

As I have suggested above, the fluidity of ethnic categorisation processes can be kept in play while we consider the way that

'race' dynamics are played out in organisations. To ask what makes it possible for the category of 'race' to act in certain ways, we must consider the power issues that are at stake. This consideration itself takes place in a dynamic policy environment where a range of values are called upon by different stake-holders to legitimise their access to the resources of the state. In the case of EEO, these are the resources of various employment privileges. There is also the hope of minorities that their participation in specific government organisations will allow them to influence policies with political implications beyond their own employment status.

The discourses of EEO Maori and of biculturalism categorise and position Maori differently as a group within government organisations. In terms of EEO Maori, Maori are given legitimacy along with — to the extent that they are seen as — groups that are disadvantaged in terms of access to employment. From this perspective Tangata Whenua status is irrelevant. In a 1990 paper for the EEO Unit of the State Services Commission, the Waaka Consultancy argued strongly against the collapsing of biculturalism and Treaty perspectives into EEO.[40] This issue is crucial in terms of what Foucault calls 'the economy of discourse'.[41] The Treaty promise of partnership proposes a fundamentally different power relationship between Pakeha and Maori than does a discourse in which Maori are just another minority group, entitled to their proportion of resources, but not to an equal partnership.

Most practitioners I talked with agreed that there needs to be more discussion of the relationship of 'bicultural' or Maori development programmes, as they are variously defined, to EEO. Is 'EEO Maori' a subcategory of Treaty of Waitangi initiatives, for instance? One argument is that EEO Maori refers to Article 3 of the Treaty, which confirms the rights of Maori as citizens, but does not address the central issue of Te Tino Rangatiratanga as affirmed in the Treaty. In this argument EEO Maori can provide openings for Maori in Pakeha institutions, but does not give away arguments for partnership or for forms of separate development. Another approach to 'EEO Maori' is currently being considered by some Maori EEO practitioners in the context of references in the State Sector Act (1988) to the 'aims and aspirations of the Maori people'. This provision could provide an opening for

iwi-defined agendas that, rather than framing Maori as just another EEO group, refer back to Maori discourses within and beyond the organisations.

Some practitioners have argued that it is essential to keep arguing for Treaty initiatives in human resource management, focussed around concepts such as partnership and biculturalism. Others suggest that talking of 'EEO Maori' is a more effective strategy for empowering Maori in a climate where Treaty discourse is less likely to be recognised, but where the concept of EEO is already to some extent legitimated.

The broader power issues which are hooked to the question of the Treaty and employment policy are suggested by looking at the framework used by the New Zealand Employers' Federation, which uses the terms 'minority groups' and 'ethnic groups' without further specification.[42] Employers and business interests generally have avoided or contested legitimating the Treaty of Waitangi because of its potentially massive implications for control and ownership of resources. For this reason the concept of 'multiculturalism' is frequently invoked as a racist move to contest Maori claims under the Treaty. (The alternative racist move is to deny difference by claiming that we are 'one people', and that the invocation of difference is racist and divisive.)

The second key theme in the relationship between EEO and Treaty discourses is the incommensurability of cultural difference. Australian feminist Sneja Gunew warns 'if one takes seriously the development of "cultural difference" as a category in all cultural analysis then one must come to terms with the incommensurable or the untranslatable'.[43] In EEO terms, the point is that EEO is not translatable into Maori discourses, and nor can the implications of the Treaty for employment policy be assimilated to EEO. I have cited the attempt of the State Services Commission to translate Treaty policies into EEO by way of a 'particular obligation' to Maori as an EEO group. The question of translation is of course always intertwined with that of power, and that act of translation by the coloniser is usually a violent one. This problem of translation within a bicultural environment always dominated by Pakeha is one that has been countered by Maori with the claim of Rangatiratanga, which I will discuss further.

As well as the power of translation, dominant groups have the ability, through acts of naming and categorisation, to define the 'needs' of the target groups: this ability is a key component of any categorisation for policy purposes. Nancy Fraser, in her analysis of American welfare policies, has pointed out that both the identities and needs of welfare 'target groups' are 'interpreted identities and needs. Moreover, they are highly political interpretations and as such are in principle subject to dispute'.[44]

Similarly, the identities and needs of EEO 'target groups' are created in the competing discourses of EEO. These include the different discourses of the 'target groups' themselves, which both overlap and come into conflict at different times and sites, and what Fraser calls the '"expert" needs discourses' of groups such as policy analysts and human resources consultants.[45] These discourses 'compete with one another in addressing the fractured social identities of potential adherents'.[46]

In defining 'EEO groups', a diverse range of social categories is yoked together in EEO programmes on the premise that the groups are those to whom 'equal opportunity' has been denied. EEO discourse creates and regulates categories of difference which are reduced to a kind of equivalence. The paradox is that although recognising a type of difference — unequal access to certain 'opportunities' available to dominant social groups — EEO erases others. Each EEO group has its own discourses, which may be more or less compatible with the discourse of EEO as a regulating concept. This is most evident in the case of 'EEO Maori'.

Te Tino Rangatiratanga

The vision of biculturalism, while still seen by some anti-racist activists as offering leverage for Maori agendas, is increasingly giving way to the concept of Te Tino Rangatiratanga. This phrase is drawn from the second article of the Maori version of the Treaty of Waitangi, and in that specific context can be read to mean a guarantee of 'chieftainship over [Maori] lands, homes, and treasured possessions'.[47] The term has been adopted in a much wider sense, however, to signify Maori sovereignty,[48] or, as Manu Paul puts it 'the power to determine one's destiny'.[49]

Maori public servants increasingly have come to advocate forms of Rangatiratanga through 'separate development' by which government resources are directed outside government departments to iwi groups to create their own programmes. To some extent this development is already occurring in areas such as education, health, and social welfare. The concept of Rangatiratanga is seen to constitute Maori as self-governing, whereas, constituted as an 'EEO target group', Maori are constructed in terms of a deficit model which ignores tangata whenua status.

'Possibilities of Transformation'?

In my discussion of the creation of categories such as those of the 'EEO target groups' in institutional conditions I have suggested that policies in areas such as EEO and biculturalism do not reflect pre-given ethnic and cultural groups and their needs, but are part of the process of creating and reproducing categories of ethnic and cultural difference. In other words, categories of difference are created in discourse, and attention to language can suggest what the groups are being created as, the location of the boundaries that are drawn between them, the social needs that are implicitly created in the process of categorisation, and the strategic implications of these dimensions of discourse. I have drawn attention to the production of 'race', ethnicity and culture in organisational practice by suggesting that policies which address these issues do not simply describe a problem and set out a rational solution, but create the categories and issues that define 'race' in the organisation. Although I have focussed on policy issues, I hope that my discussion suggests other possibilities for analysing the production of 'race' in organisations.

I also began with Foucault's suggestion that by analysing discursive formations we might create 'the possibility of transformation'. This possibility is, I think, already being created by Maori in the process of contesting the bureaucratic discourse of EEO with the discourse of Te Tino Rangatiratanga.

* * *

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Notes

1. Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (Routledge, London, 1972) p. 120.
2. In this paper I am generally assuming some reader familiarity with the uses of the term 'discourse' in a Foucauldian sense. To outline it briefly here, discourse in this sense is not only a set of communication acts or statements, but 'a process of creating social meaning', Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: an Introduction* (Basil Blackwell, London, 1983) p. 115. Society is seen as the site of many discourses, or 'ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such discourses and the relations between them', Chris Weedon, *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1987) p. 108. For further explanation of the term 'discourse' as it relates to EEO, see Deborah Jones, 'Talking About Equal Employment Opportunity', in Janet Sayers and Marianne Tremaine (eds.), *The Vision and the Reality: Equal Employment Opportunities in the New Zealand Workplace* (Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, 1994) pp. 172–187.
3. Sayers and Tremaine discuss 'definitions' of EEO in the foreword to their collection on EEO in New Zealand, *The Vision and the Reality*. See also Marianne Tremaine, 'Equal Employment Opportunity and State Sector Reform', in Jonathan Boston et al. (eds.), *Reshaping The State: New Zealand's Bureaucratic Revolution* (Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1991) pp. 343–366.
4. Anna Yeatman, *Bureaucrats, Technocrats, Femocrats* (Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1990) p. 160.
5. Sheila Nkomo, 'The Emperor Has No Clothes: Rewriting "Race In Organizations"', *Academy of Management Review*, 17:3 (1992) p. 506.
6. ibid.
7. ibid., p. 507.
8. Henry Louis Gates (ed.), *'Race', Writing, and Difference* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1986) p. 4.

9. Avtar Brah, 'Difference, Diversity and Differentiation', in James Donald and Ali Rattansi (eds.), *'Race', Culture and Difference* (Sage, London, 1992) p. 126.
10. ibid.
11. Biddy Martin, 'Feminism, Criticism, and Foucault', in Irene Diamond and Lee Quinby (eds.), *Feminism & Foucault: Reflections on Resistance* (Northeastern University Press, Boston, 1988) p. 16.
12. Paul Spoonley, *Racism and Ethnicity* (Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1988).
13. Department of Inland Revenue, *EEO Management Plan, 1 July 1992 –30 June 1993* (Department of Inland Revenue, Wellington, 1992).
14. T. Skutnabb-Kangas, 'Legitimating Or Delegitimating New Forms of Racism: the Role of Researchers', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 11: 1&2 (1990) p. 92.
15. ibid.
16. Paul Gilroy, 'Cultural Studies and Ethnic Absolutism', in Larry Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula Treichler (eds.), *Cultural Studies* (Routledge, New York, 1992) p. 188.
17. ibid. pp. 196–197.
18. ibid. p. 197.
19. ibid. p. 196.
20. Leonie Pihama, 'Postmodern Discourse and Feminist Activism: a Panel Discussion', in Linda Hill (ed.), *Women's Studies Association Conference Papers 1993: Raranga Wahine* (Women's Studies Association New Zealand, Auckland, 1994) pp. 108–111.
21. James Donald and Ali Rattansi, 'Introduction', in James Donald and Ali Rattansi (eds), *'Race', Culture and Difference* (Sage, London, 1992) p. 4.
22. ibid., p. 2.
23. ibid., p. 4.
24. Manu Paul, 'Tino Rangatiratanga: the Power to Determine One's Destiny', paper presented at the 12th Annual Conference of the New Zealand Political Studies Association, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand, May 1991, p. 3.
25. State Sector Act 1988, 58(3).
26. State Sector Act 1988, 56(2).
27. Commission for Employment Equity, *Equal Employment Opportunities: Into the '90's* (Commission for Employment Equity, Wellington, 1990) p. 35.
28. State Services Commission, *Public Service in a Multicultural Society: Waahi Conference, 1982* (State Services Commission, Wellington, 1993).

29. Ministry of Maori Affairs, *Te Urupare Rangapu/Partnership Response* (Ministry of Maori Affairs, Wellington, 1988).
30. See Jane Kelsey, *A Question of Honour? Labour and the Treaty 1984-1989* (Allen & Unwin, Wellington, 1990).
31. *Institutional Racism in the Department of Social Welfare: Tamaki-makaurau* (Department of Social Welfare, Auckland, 1986).
32. ibid., p. 14.
33. Department of Social Welfare, *The Treaty of Waitangi: a Simple Explanation* (Maori Unit, Department of Social Welfare, Wellington, 1989) p. 2.
34. State Services Commission, *Personnel Response/Me Penapenaau* (State Services Commission, Wellington, 1989).
35. Ministry of Maori Affairs, *Te Urupare Rangapu/Partnership Response* (Ministry of Maori Affairs, Wellington, 1988).
36. State Services Commission, *Personnel Response*, p. 7.
37. ibid.
38. ibid.
39. Commission for Employment Equity, *Equal Employment Opportunities*, p. 37.
40. Waaka Consultancy, 'EEO (Maori) and a Bi-cultural Approach to Government', (Waaka Consultancy, Paper prepared for EEO Unit, State Services Commission, Wellington, 1990).
41. Foucault, p. 120.
42. New Zealand Employers' Federation, *Positive Action Manual: Implementing Equal Opportunity in the Workplace* (New Zealand Employers Federation, Wellington, 1985).
43. Sneja Gunew, 'Playing Centre Field: Representation and Cultural Difference', in Patrick Fuery (ed.), *Representation, Discourse & Desire: Contemporary Australian Culture and Critical Theory* (Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, 1994) p. 93.
44. Nancy Fraser, *Unruly Practices: Power, Discourse and Gender in Contemporary Society* (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1989) p. 153.
45. ibid., p. 157.
46. ibid.
47. Ranginui Walker, 'The Meaning of Biculturalism', unpublished paper, Maori Studies Section, Anthropology Department, University of Auckland, 1986, p. 3.
48. Donna Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty* (Broadsheet, Auckland, 1984).
49. Paul, p. 3.

THE MORDEN AFRICAN EXPEDITION
OF
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

Nairobi, Kenya Colony
July 8, 1947

Dear Dr. Shapiro:

The real job is begun! The flag of The American Museum of Natural History is flying at Lodwar, Turkana, Northern Frontier. We left Mr. Lewis there, comfortably situated and properly established. He has a large double tent, a dining tent, a two ton truck, and four boys including his personal boy and a good cook. He is on excellent terms with the District Commissioner and the Asst. Superintendent of Police (only two white men in the district regularly), and I am sure he is all set for a wonderful experience.

We left Nairobi on June 24th and arrived at Lodwar on June 28th. It was necessary to obtain permits to pass through the West Suk and Turkana areas, but everyone we have contacted has been most cooperative and helpful, so we had no difficulty in this matter.

Lodwar is a wild spot. To reach the town we dropped from 7000' altitude down over two escarpments to the floor of the Rift Valley, about 1800'. There our road became merely two indistinct tracks through the sandy waste dotted with small thorn trees and tall ant hills like fingers pointing to Heaven. We crossed many dry river beds successfully, but, at the widest one, we bogged down. A kind of corduroy of brancaes had been laid partially across the heavy sand, and all went well until our native driver decided to change gear as we left the corduroy. Into sand over the axle, there was nothing to do but wait in the broiling sun until our trucks caught up with us. Suddenly from behind practically every bush along the bank appeared a Turk - this was probably the local booby trap - and they came to help us with good grace. It was quite a sight, the tall and dignified black men, naked but not savage, their hair plastered with clay worked in designs and set off with pink, orange and white ostrich feathers, wearing lip plugs of ivory, earrings, bracelets, rings (knife rings) and anklets, pushing and straining at the Safari car to get it up and out. And they did so! And were we grateful!

At Lodwar our camp faced north-east across a desert pit. Hot as blazes during the day, but lovely in the white moonlight. Our tents were set up under wide spreading thorn trees, having

Tourist Traffic No. 2: The Cultural Romance of 'White Woman' Rewritten in Stories Without Plot Devices

Sarah Williams

> Imperial relations may have been established initially by guns, guile and disease, but they were maintained in their interpellative phase largely by textuality . . .
> Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson, 'The Textuality of Empire'[1]

Gayatri Spivak's deconstructive practice in 'Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism' contextualises the category of 'white woman' I want both to invoke and complicate in this text.[2] Her project in that work is to unmask the questions behind the answers *Jane Eyre, Wide Sargasso Sea* and *Frankenstein* provide regarding the subject position of woman in relationship to cultural imperialism. Her presupposition is that 'white woman' is a construct that reproduces individualistic human beings through two registers: childbearing and soul making. The purpose of her analysis is to wrench the reader away from the mesmerising focus of this severely limited formation of subjectivity. That is, her analysis deconstructs the fascination literary texts engender regarding that particular kind of female individual who produces domestic society through sexual love and civil society through social mission. My text presupposes this deconstructive analysis. But it concentrates on the subsequent, profound, but curiously detached ambivalence this analysis produced in relationship to my own desire to write about 'white woman' as I experienced 'her' in my ethnographic field sites and in the specific postcolonial texts that contextualise these sites.

However, my many attempts to write about this ambivalence, and to understand my readers' responses to it, left me wondering just how such a project could work. I wanted to produce a text that embodied the ambivalence encountered when writing itself

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— the writing of a 'white woman' — recapitulates the cultural imperialism that put 'her' — white woman, me — in an uncomfortable spot in the first place. But my profound ambivalence toward my own anthropological research rendered it meaningless. And when I tried to render this meaninglessness in a writing which was itself meaningless, it did not, could not work! In his description of the technical solutions science fiction writers Philip K. Dick and William Gibson have used to tell their stories, Marc Laidlaw suggests why writing does not work if it merely mimics in form the dilemmas it describes:

> I'm fairly certain that neither writer referred to contemporary scientific literature when his books put him in a tight spot. Each needed immediate solutions to any craftman's basic problem: How can I make this work? And those answers almost always come, serendipitously, from some combination of pat example and the moment's inspiration. When a story works, of course, the gantries roll back, the supporting structures crumble, and everything seems all of a piece.[3]

Laidlaw's analysis, which is contained within an article titled 'Virtual Surreality: Our New Romance With Plot Devices', provides a counter-intuitive solution to my technical dilemma as writer of social science and its fictions. My dilemma was not that I needed to make my story work, but that I needed to make it not work. Because my desire is to produce a text that is ethnographic in form as well as content, the following stories about 'white woman' in past and present colonial predicaments do not have plot devices. Rather, they explicitly refuse to satisfy the romantic nostalgia for an 'all of a piece' cultural narrative. These stories as ethnographic renderings of 'white woman' work, serendipitously, when the gantries don't roll back, the supporting structures don't crumble, and everything seems not all of a piece.

Into Africa/Out of Anthropology/Through the Garden of Mount Eden

A story. During fieldwork in Turkana District, Kenya in 1983 I tried for hours with the help of my interpreter, Dorcas, to explain romantic love to Nahor. I finally felt she understood but

then she said that if she did understand then romantic love was a very bad thing. I felt sure that if she felt it was just a very bad thing then she could not have understood. I tried again.

She said, 'Yes, yes, I understand. If you love a man in this way then you would want to die if he died'.

I said, 'Yes, yes, that is right'.

She emphatically shook her head no. 'This love is a very bad thing. If he died and then I died who would take care of the children and water the animals?'

Another story. In 1986, after surveying the major American collection of Turkana material culture, reading the archival material, and photocopying the documentation of the first major scientific expedition to northwestern Kenya, I became particularly interested in a letter dated 8 July, 1947. This letter was written from Turkana land by Irene Morden, wife of expedition leader Colonel James Morden, to Dr. Shapiro, Director of Anthropology at The American Museum of Natural History. For the purpose of this story you don't need to know what was in this letter. You just need to know that my first attempts to write about this letter failed. My writing failed because I had decided Nahor was right: romantic love was pernicious. It was incomprehensible to Nahor that romantic love of the Romeo and Juliet variety could be something any woman might desire or that any culture would condone. Indeed, from her position I saw that stories that shape our emotions and condition them according to the narrative closure of romantic love are a bad thing. As a result of my appreciation for Nahor's point of view I ended up resolutely ambivalent about my own investment in deconstructing the impassioned correspondence of Mrs. Morden.

I did not know then how to articulate the significance of this ambivalence. But my already well cultivated ambivalence toward intellectual practice, and anthropology in particular, increased. I no longer could believe in scholarship or intellectual conversation per se, but read to hear the silences in academic prose and listened for the desires intellectual conversations masked. I did not know then how to deconstruct my own scholarly practice in order to use my ambivalence as a 'white woman' to understand the fact that the 'native female' within discourse as a signifier is excluded by the very history that narrates the extraordinary

achievements of the Mrs. Mordens of the world. But now I write knowing that even if the 'native female' were to speak within anthropological discourse as a cultural signifier, 'she', like Nahor, would not be an antidote for the postcolonial predicaments of 'white woman'. In this text that you are reading, the specific racial, sexual, and intellectual predicaments of my interest-turned-ambivalence are not an antidote but have themselves become the ethnographic substance of my research and writing efforts. Thus, the purpose of this essay is to produce a transgressive knowledge of the plot device whereby 'white woman' yields the meaning of cultural interpretation.

Here is some more of 'her' story. In Irene Morden's letter, dated 8 July, 1947, she writes that she is 'only the fourth white woman who has traveled to Lodwar'. The Morden African Expedition of The American Museum of Natural History is, according to Mrs. Morden, the first expedition other than that of 'government inspections' to visit Lodwar.[4] Irene tells Shapiro, the Museum's Director of Anthropology, that one of the only two white men in the District, Colonial Officer Whitehouse, does not know how to classify their expedition. In the end Whitehouse decided to title his file, 'Tourist Traffic No.1'.

I carried a copy of Irene's letter back with me to Kenya and contributed to 'tourist traffic' in my own way by compounding the category's historical agency. Tourism, in the 1980s, had become Kenya's primary source of foreign capital. The popularity of anthropology, however, was on the decline. 'Enter the country on a tourist visa,' the professor of anthropology told me, 'no questions will be asked. Apply for a research visa after you're there.'

'No,' I explain in Kenya, 'I'm not a tourist. I'm doing research.' 'No, I'm not working for the government.' 'Yes, only me, I'm alone.' In Kenya my body recoils from the identity it has incorporated in order to be here. But, in Kenya and able to abandon the identity of tourist, every cell remembers the wretched inequalities of social relations that make possible my professional inscription. I can't say — can't be — 'an anthropologist'. In most circles being an anthropologist is even worse than being a tourist or a government consultant for development. And my difficulties with the identity 'white woman' are even harder to displace.

Many of the positions I find myself in cause me to reflect on Morden's letter and news accounts of the Morden African Expedition. Why is it (still) significant to be the only woman? The only 'white' woman? For what reasons was it newsworthy that Irene Morden was the fourth white woman to travel to Lodwar? Why are whiteness and womanhood worthy of social inscription? Why do such inscriptions continually permeate and construct some women's self-consciousness? And, how do they relate to the system of knowledge production called human science?

Colleagues have often encouraged me to think of my research project, an anthropological study of anthropologists, as impossible. Indeed, the oxymoronic implications of a feminist science of man are difficult to escape. However, to grossly and pointedly oversimplify the issues, my ethnography no longer needs only to be intelligible, only to be theorised by the melancholia and abjection of my subjectivity relative to phallogocentrism (a symbolic economy, like capitalism, that privileges those who have 'it').[5] Rather, the social circumstances foregrounded by articulations between postcoloniality and feminism make it possible to desire different writing positions and different positionings of readers. What were once the impossibilities of my project have themselves become ethnographic sites for mediating the categorical meanings of woman, of whiteness, and of culture itself.

The two, whiteness and the colonial romance of culture, have nearly always been mediated by my experience of the third, womanhood. Whiteness is, in my working definition, a cultural matrix that can account for the meaning of all cultural entities without accounting for itself. Thus, the symbolic value attached to traditional accounts of the meanings of cultural entities, principally the reification of the universal and universalising interpretive powers of culture, are historically invested in the social, sexual and intellectual circumstances of 'whiteness'. Consider, for example, how 'whiteness' works in this next story.

Before traveling north to Turkana in 1986 I sorted through archives in the Kenya National Museum, then in the British East Africa Institute, the Nairobi University Libraries, and the National Archives. I became overwhelmed by the imperialising narratives of men's histories. Reading felt like drowning. And I hated the identities by which I was known in these places and the

roles I found myself performing. I was white and an American. I was a student and an anthropologist. I was a woman. These identities seemed to make me a depository, a mirror, and a progenitor of over determined sexual and intellectual agendas.

'Anthropology,' he explains to me, 'is a four letter word here. It is African studies and sociology that are needed, not anthropology. As for developing and rehabilitating the Turkana, name one project for progress that has worked.' I can't. I can only think of the unused fish factory sitting vacant on the shores of Lake Turkana. My reverie about this million dollar white elephant is interrupted. He — an 'African Studies Expert' who was trained as an anthropologist in an American university — is talking to me: 'There is a band playing tonight at the Carnivore, would you join me?'

The Carnivore is a well-known restaurant in Nairobi that features a wide range of wild and domesticated meats cooked in front of you over large grills. The restaurant is structurally composed of a series of grills, bars, patios, and both indoor and outdoor dining areas. Usually a good band is playing at the Carnivore, and there is lots of dancing. Has anthropology been, as Bronislaw Malinowski said, 'the study of man embracing woman'? At times. But I originally wrote this wanting you to experience not the interpellation of woman as soul-maker or childbearer, but only the melancholic silence I-as-ambivalent-woman experienced after being asked to go to the Carnivore in the middle of a professional interview.

During the day, during my visits to the Institute of Development Studies at the Nairobi University, I am drawn into the heated conversation between those Kenyan social scientists who support and those who oppose the establishment of a graduate degree programme in anthropology at the University. 'Well, we didn't really want it', a member of the Institute of African Studies tells me. 'You see,' he said, 'the government wants the programme and is funding it. And, the President of the University is the President of the country. Our ostensive purpose will be to train government workers how to deal most effectively with the cultures of Kenya's traditional peoples.'

I immediately decided this highly charged and controversial event — the formation in the late twentieth century of an anthro-

pology graduate program in Kenya — was a fascinating field site for a future research project. However, many African scholars and scholars of Africa warned that to study how contemporary anthropologists in Kenya use, produce, and disseminate anthropological knowledge would be too closely linked with articulating the neo-colonial practices of an increasingly dictatorial government. Several of these scholars advised me not even to consider such a project. And regarding my current study of western anthropologists, I was advised to speak with the woman anthropologist in the Institute.

I really wanted to believe in the words being spoken during my conversation with the Institute's woman anthropologist. She is the first woman of a particular tribe to receive a Ph.D. It is a Ph.D. in anthropology from an American university. I want to believe, like her, that it can be important to tribes for tribes to have their own native anthropologist. I want to believe that the stories she tells about her culture won't have man's self-same categories: kinship, social organisation, religion, language, economy, art, history, etc. She listens to my eyes and hears the heaviness of my heart. She tells me her work, and that of others like her, is necessary. To show how wrong the stories are that western male anthropologists have told, one must begin by finding one's own voice, by telling one's own story. Like her, I want to believe that contemporary postcolonial encounters between 'tribal' and 'civilised', between feminist and patriarch, between voices of authority and authors with no voice, can result in a different sort of anthropology.

But it is nausea I feel. They, the men in the Institute, have sent me here to talk with, in their words, 'our first woman anthropologist from . . . [tribe X]'. How can I account for the differences in 'our' relationships — hers and mine — to 'woman' and 'anthropology'? I could not not believe that working to critique men's stories in their terms according to the subjectivities and realities they allow only strengthens the existing systems of power and the existing discourses of knowledge. I tried to articulate this suspicion. In that instant I was fearful she would accuse me of being an over-theorised, privileged white woman. I later faced a similar fear as a tutor for feminist theory courses. I felt this fear when a 'student of colour' held up Audre Lorde's *Sister Outsider* and quoted

from the chapter, 'The Master's Tools will never Dismantle the Master's House'. The same student then read from Barbara Christian's 'The Race for Theory'. She then asked me why we're learning feminist theory if feminism and theory are racist and sexist.

Now, in my own Women's Studies courses, I always tell my students some version of this story. I try to begin by making explicit ways in which feminism and theory can be complicit with the oppressions of race, sex and class. I carefully cultivate an appreciation for, and critical understanding of, fear regarding complicity. For such an emotion is itself replete with the narrative meaning of white woman in postcolonial predicaments. And, when deconstructed, the narrative meaning of white woman unmasks the questions to which she was once the self-evident answer. Thus, throughout this essay narrative gaps, their resonances and dislocations, make visceral both the fearful violence of white woman as her subject constitution and her discursive positioning narrate over the non-white, especially the non-white female, and the categorical imperative of her subjectivity as it provides closure to phallogocentric narratives.

Let's now consider an antipodean version of the story. Let's look to the farthest reaches of the British empire and let's see this place through the words of one of Aotearoa/New Zealand's most prominent contemporary writers. For C.K. Stead's *The Singing Whakapapa* makes it impossible to separate white woman from the predicaments of past and present colonialisms. And this historical novel-as-romance makes it impossible to read the narrative of cultural interpretation separate from the romance of narrative itself. As Michael Morrissey observes in his *Listener* review of Stead's work, '[c]ontemporary New Zealand novelists are having a torrid affair with the 19th century'.[6]

Stead's story, his history, is that of a male pakeha scholar's purely historical discovery of his genealogy and this genealogy's shifting relationship with the all too familial, colonial circumstances of biculturalism. Stead's characters, as well as his own writing, use love affairs 'to connect a bygone time with the very present that is flitting away for us'. And Hugh, *The Singing Whakapapa*'s central character, responds in acute ways to the 'rhetorical' violence of his postcolonial fear. His fear is not that

his scholarship might be complicit with the power of colonial narratives. To the contrary. Hugh's fear manifests as an anger directed against those individuals who challenge his right to speak and against that polymorphous and perverse event, post-coloniality, which threatens his history and its cultural authority.

Who, Hugh asks, who threatens to ruin his newly established field of scholarship, who dares violate his passion for, and possession of, New Zealand history?

> Who said, 'The facts are not enough. We must have morals!'? Who demanded that the past must become a club with which to beat the present over the head, knock it into shape, make it behave 'correctly'? It was no one person who made these demands, no committee, no identifiable group. The order came, not from Wellington, not from New Zealand at all; it came from 'overseas', as such things (Hugh knew it well) always do in regions which have ceased to be colonies but remain client cultures. It was the big world that spoke. It was the international fashion-houses of the academic intellect. It was the Zeitgeist. It whispered in the ears of sleeping young scholars who woke as from a vision of Paradise, determined to be Good and to prove in their work that they were. 'Show us the sins of your forefathers,' the voice demanded. 'Show us how they wronged Women and the Native race.' And in a space of time so short it took the wind out of Hugh's and History's sails, that garden, so fresh, so various, so inviting, so incompletely explored, had become the stage set of a conventional musical melodrama where cardboard-clad figures sang over and over the same three or four songs to the tune of 'I am white and male and I wrong those who are brown and female'; or 'I am female/brown/femaleandbrown and I am wronged/wronged/doublywronged by those who are white and male.'[7]

Who, the reader might ask, who has been caught by the wind in History's sails?

Far from problematising the racial and gendered subject-constitution of 'white woman', Stead's engagement with post-colonial dilemmas restages a conventional musical melodrama: all of his female characters are interpellated through love relationships with men. Furthermore, his male characters' love for white woman works to suture all the literal and figurative problems

of Stead's own authorial postcolonial dilemmas. Consider, for example, the story told by the narrator about Hugh's 'unsuspecting' position within, and resentful response to, the circumstances of postcoloniality:

> He had been born, all pale, male and unsuspecting, descendant of the descendants of patriarchal colonisers, in the Garden of Mt Eden in the shadow of a hill still terraced as for war, on which, it was said, a slaughter so terrible had once taken place, so many Maori Abels struck down by their brothers Cain, that the consequent tapu had lasted two hundred years. If Hugh carried from birth the sins of the fathers, so did everyone else, brown and white, female and male. So universal a guilt belonged to the realms of theology and ideology, and to the preacher's art. Hugh had no wish to earn the interest an investment in it might ensure, and felt distaste for its peculiar psychology. In his old-fashioned way . . . he was interested in knowledge. Every new fact was a precious stone. Opinion was only the bad breath of the ideologues clouding the mirror; moralising was a fog in the garden of his dream.[8]

Just knowledge. For facts are the pale male's precious and sharp-edged stones. No moralising, no ideology. No bad breath, no fog. Just history, just his dream. His ideal, his story. Stead's character, Hugh, is here reflecting on what went wrong. For Hugh, one of Aotearoa/New Zealand's first historians of New Zealand, there had always been 'the solace of history, the shapeliness of narrative, the comfort of retrospect, of the long look back'.[9] But this time, the shapely body of history Hugh is discovering while enjoying his retirement in Mount Eden is his own:

> And why . . . should the story not be his own, his family's,
> their singing whakapapa, the history of their blood —
> here in this far-pitched perilous hostile place
> this solitary hard-assaulted spot
> fixed at the friendless outer edge of space?[10]

Fixed at the friendless outer edge of space, in a perilous hostile place, Hugh resents that his history, the newly emergent history of this space, his personal 'native' history of New Zealand is shrouded in overseas fashions. Designed according to the warp

of postcoloniality, these fashions disrupt his romance with the past of others. And as we will see, the silent terrible screaming of the others Hugh wants desperately not to hear does eventually disrupt the story. This disruption and the source of its violence are, however, quickly naturalised by the romantic narrative, by the interpretive power of his culture. That is, the articulation and historicisation of this violence fuels the narration of 'white history' as Maori whakapapa.

'White History' from Mount Eden and Mount Elgon to 'Home'

The story goes back to where it began. When Major J.R.L. MacDonald's expedition left Mount Elgon in 1898 for what is now Turkana District, northwestern Kenya, he was under secret orders from Lord Salisbury:

> It should be your object . . . to establish British influence with the natives in such a manner as effectively to secure the territories in question against other powers . . . It may be necessary for you to establish posts at intervals in order to effect a practical occupation on behalf of Great Britain, or it may be sufficient to take the preferable course of securing the allegiance of the chiefs by presents and the grant of the British flag.[11]

Lord Salisbury's orders, on file in the Uganda Foreign Office, are cited from James Barber's history of European colonial expansion in East Africa, *Imperial Frontier.* This account of the relationship between Britain and Turkana told in terms of the colonial administration of contested geographic, ethnic, and political boundaries, is the one that I was encouraged to read by the long-time Turkana District Officer who classified the Morden Expedition as 'Tourist Traffic No. 1'. Judge Whitehouse said *Imperial Frontier* told 'the real history of Turkana'.

Whitehouse was the Colonial Officer responsible for Mau Mau leader Jomo Kenyatta during his imprisonment in Turkana District. After Kenyatta became President of an independent Kenya in 1963, Whitehouse remained Turkana District Officer for some years. Now Whitehouse is a court judge in Kitale, an

agricultural city south of Turkana District. It is by practice, not credential, that Whitehouse is a judge. He left Britain as a young man and learned to wear many hats during his years in East Africa. He said he would lend his copy of *Imperial Frontier* to me, then laughed, remembering that the last anthropologist who had interviewed him had not returned it.

There is a complex sense in which references to Mr. Whitehouse reiterate the relationship between colonial history and anthropology. Although he knows first-hand about the debates and controversies that still cloud both the history and the current administration of northern East African boundaries, Whitehouse feels it wise to maintain silence. He is an old man now, feeble and appreciative of his house in Kitale, his Turkana caregivers, his part-time job as a judge in the local court. Thus, Whitehouse's knowledge of Turkana colonial history, like that of British Colonial Officer Major MacDonald and that of colonial historian James Barber and that of the contemporary anthropologist is mediated by colonial interpretations of culture and accompanied by nationalist and professional imperatives of silence.

In hindsight I have an even greater appreciation for the Nairobi University scholar who, probably incredulous of my naivete regarding the neocolonialist contexts of my work, suggested I read Ngugi wa Thiong'o. As I did with Irene Morden's letter, I copied and carried with me the following words of Ngugi:

> So the African Christian, desirous of a place among the band of the saved sang to his maker: 'Wash me Redeemer and I shall be whiter than snow.' If God was slow to respond, there were always hot combs and lipsticks, snowfire and ambi to help the spiritual journey to whiteness and black death.
>
> Cultural imperialism was then part and parcel of the thorough system of economic exploitation and political oppression of the colonised peoples and literature was an integral part of that system of oppression and genocide. It was used in the same way as language and religion. But it was a more subtle weapon because literature works through influencing emotions, the imagination, the consciousness of a people in a certain way; to make the colonised see the world as seen,

> analysed, and defined by the artists and the intellectuals of the western ruling classes.[12]

I read Ngugi and I read James Barber. Barber demonstrates well his own implicit social knowledge — his internalisation — of the colonial authority of nineteenth century human science. It is Barber's own profession of culture that makes *Imperial Frontier* a real history of Turkana. That is, Barber's description of the Turkana exemplifies the relationship between the discourses of colonialism and the interpretive powers of culture:

> The Turkana had by far the worst reputation among the early European travellers. They were suspected of fighting simply for fighting's sake. There was some truth in this, in that the Turkana were by the nature of their existence an aggressive people, but there was justification and logic behind their behaviour. Turkana District offers such a marginal existence that to survive is to compete. Among themselves the Turkana live by constant sharing and begging, but there is no surplus to offer strangers or travellers, no room for generosity and hospitality to outsiders.[13]

It is enough here to note that Barber's starting place is an image of the Turkana held by early European travellers. Although published in 1968 and historically post-colonial, Barber's cultural history conveys more about the colonialism of cultural history and its authors than it does about a tribal culture within an independent nation-state.

Rendering ethnographic the relationship between colonial discourse and the interpretive power of culture is crucial for historicising not only received knowledge of a colonised people, but whiteness itself. And the relationship between writing and cultural imperialism often clearly inscribes white cultural limitations, namely the severely limited interpretive specificity of Western intellectual constructions of other cultures. As a form of violence, writing is a subtle weapon. But I want to stress that such writing influences the writer's emotions as well as the reader's. It is in many senses that the 'head' of man can be a violent colonising tool. For example, let's consider Hugh's story again.

The narrative of Hugh's singing whakapapa is framed by his incestuous love for his research assistant and moved along by his

illicit love affair with a university student as well as by his ancestors' illicit love affairs with a Maori chief's daughter and a French music teacher. 'For sure!' wrote an earlier reader in the margins, 'Hugh wants to love, possess, fuck, yes, he wants to fuck history and all the women in his story thus domesticating them to his historical reality.' Hugh resolves his marital difficulties by going on a long trip 'home'. He goes overseas with his wife and children in order to repair his marriage and forget his affair. Here is Stead's description of Hugh and his wife Hat's stop in England. (Yes, Hugh calls his wife 'Hat'.):

> Finally and definitively there was England, which went right through all those 'post colonial' intellectual flak jackets, past all those determinations that this was no longer 'the Old Country', no longer 'Home', straight to the heart. For the few magic days until it became familiar, and in brief flashes for a long time after, England offered itself as Through the Looking Glass land, a world that belonged to reading not to reality, full of book-looking pubs, palaces, parks, policemen, full of red letterboxes and rolled umbrellas, copses and country lanes. It was the pakeha Hawaiki, ultimate setting-out point of the singing whakapapa. It was as if, Hugh confessed to Hat in a sentence that felt so like self-betrayal, or self-denial, it had at once to be called home and rephrased — as if they had been holding their breath for more than a century and now at last could let it out.[14]

England is not only written about, but experienced as 'a world that belong[s] to reading not to reality'. Hugh's England, his colonial home, is a world that belongs to reading, not to reality. In many colonial histories civilisation belongs to the literate; illiteracy characterises the primitive. And as Stead's reference to Lewis Carroll's story of Alice demonstrates so well, distinguishing between the civilised and the primitive is always a gendered affair: 'as Through the Looking Glass land' England offered itself, taking Hugh's breath away. And surprise! London was also where Hugh secretly collected the first of the many poste restante letters from Lydia, his student lover. (Hugh calls her 'Lid'.)

Colonising Romances

> European and American women taught not only letters and numbers in their governments' colonies; they taught notions of respectability.
>
> Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*[15]

'In the beginning was the word . . . .' Often, the first step in the colonial project of educating and thereby civilising/colonising a 'primitive' people is translating and disseminating the story book of Christianity. When I first began fieldwork in Turkana District in 1983, the translation of the Bible into the Turkana language was nearing completion. Yet, from the point of view of traditional nomadic culture, the effect of missionaries, mission settlements, and mission-run elementary education in Turkana District had already been devastating. As one Turkana mother put it, 'To send my child to school is to send my child away forever'.

Adam knew Eve and it was good. But they too were sent away from the garden forever. A Turkana man who had been converted explained why he was no longer a Christian. 'The first thing they did after I moved to the mission was to tell me polygamy was sinful. But you tell me, how Christian is it to abandon two of your wives?' (The moral of the story: However evil the knowledge, however great the fall from [cultural] innocence, sex is still a Christian man's good.)

I would like to continue explicitly juxtaposing intellect and sexuality and to exploit this juxtaposition by extending it to a consideration of writing and patriarchy as colonising predicaments. For both rely on, as much as appropriate, 'natural resources'.

From the initial British military contact with the Turkana in the late 1800s to the present colonial situation, the fact that the Turkana as a 'traditional culture' have not used reading or writing to master their relationship to the world has made it impossible for Turkana to 'reasonably' represent themselves. When Turkana do become 'educated' and are able to represent themselves, they no longer are 'real' Turkana.

Likewise, 'woman' is not the stable category colonial discourses (and early western feminism) presumed it to be. Rather, 'woman' is split by the meaning of its own status as a white cultural entity.

Woman must be both the domesticated, civilised woman and the exotic and erotic, savage woman. She both objectifies bourgeois man's desire and is the object of such desire's satisfaction. Women as brides and mothers, as servants and housewives, are and create 'nature reserves' for the replenishment of man's emotional well-being. As argued by Maria Mies in *Women: The Last Colony*:

> women — tamed and untamed — along with external nature, became the focal point for expectations of happiness and well-being. They were expected to produce life in the widest sense. Not only were women to bear and care for the next generation of wage-workers, but also to maintain the home and private sphere as a 'nature' reserve in which the exhausted and alienated wage-workers could regain their humanity.[16]

Mies concludes her analysis with a discussion of the violence — man's use of arms — that enables the colonisation of women and the third world. She argues that such '[v]iolence towards the colonised — that is, the appropriated — will increase in pace with the extent to which the growth model [of capitalism], that is supposedly 'fertile' in itself, breaks down'.[17] A wonderfully fantastic example of this gendered and racial relationship among violence, the increased pace of capitalist growth, and the breakdown of such growth's fertility (including its reliance on such a thing as 'nature') is told by Donna Haraway in her feminist analysis of the story of primatology.

In 1960 fifteen African countries became independent nations. At precisely the moment that 'white, Western man' was no longer welcome in this third world, the west's premier intellectual practice of colonialism — science — reinscribed itself as female and reinserted itself into Africa. At the moment of the Belgian Congo's revolution, when Belgians were fleeing the Congo, and when George Schaller had to abandon his gorilla studies, Jane Goodall and her mother also stopped on the shores of Lake Tanganyika. But they were on their way into Africa. They were on their way to that place of primate research that *National Geographic* specials have made familiar to middle-class homes, the Gombe National Park of Tanzania. During their stop Jane and

her mother made 2000 Spam sandwiches for fleeing Belgian soldiers. Like Irene Morden, Jane Goodall is popularly represented as an exceptional woman, a white woman who carries on preserving all that is right and good in the face of adversity. But at what costs to whom? How does history come to narrate the exceptional achievements of 'white woman'? Jane is the dedicated, patient, and caring scientist who spends her time 'alone in nature'. But she is alone only through the lens of colonial representation. It requires such a lens to render invisible the violence and bloodshed, the rioting and disorder of decolonisation, not to mention Goodall's twenty or so African research assistants, carriers, scouts, and aides.[18]

Maria Mies's citation of the work of Martha Mamozai on the story of German colonialism is particularly relevant as a demonstration of the relationship between capitalist logic and 'woman's' categorical complicity with racism. Mamozai demonstrates that the logic of capitalism requires that only some women, those who become the property and reproducers of the privileged elite, rise to this status by perpetuating the subordination of 'other' women. It is racism and class that give bourgeois women their civilised status as 'ladies'. In Mies's words, Mamozai's 'study of the relationship of German colonial rulers to "their" subjects, and especially the women amongst them, has shown how the naturalisation of African and Asian women was closely connected with the "rise" of white German women to the status of "civilised" bourgeois ladies'.[19] The whiteness of the white woman in colonial Africa, even if she is a German baroness teaching her servants' children to read, or the wife of an American colonel studying Turkana woman, performs a symbolic appropriation and exploitation of cultural difference. White woman (re)produces the fertility of colonial capitalism.

To gain the status of a 'knowing human subject' has necessitated the appropriation and colonisation of those 'more natural' objects of nature who are supposedly less conscious, less civilised, and less human. While for feminists the circumstances necessary for the maintenance of a 'knowing human subject' have been recognised as seriously problematical, for Kant, whom Spivak takes as 'a metonym for the most flexible ethical moment in the European eighteenth century', this knowing subject was a self-evi-

dent Christian truth:

> Kant words the categorical imperative, conceived of as the universal moral law given by pure reason, in this way: 'In all creation every thing one chooses and over which one has any power, may be used merely as means; man alone, and with him every rational creature, is an end in himself . . . . With this agrees very well the possibility of such a command as: Love God above everything, and thy neighbour as thyself.'[20]

Thus, the power of colonialist cultural interpretation clearly derives from a disavowal of the cultural specificity of its own analytic. It is this philosopher's proclamation of the Christian command to love embedded within a specific knowledge system, a system which displaces human will and intention only to be universalised through the interpretive authority of colonialism's culture, that has so effectively rendered mute the racial, sexual, and intellectual limitations of whiteness. 'Wash me Redeemer and I shall be whiter than snow.' The letter sent in 1947 by the 'first white woman to study Turkana women' to the chairman of anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History is historically and anthropologically significant precisely because the differences between husband and wife, white and non-white, knowledge and nature, human scientist and Turkana, that make it meaningful are also the very differences that reproduce, in the name of love, the narrative significance of the text itself. The category of whiteness has been part and parcel of a social mission; white woman has literally and figuratively reproduced its meaning. And with this sentence we've returned to the dilemma of my text and its solution. For the cultural romance of 'white woman' needs to be rewritten without a plot device in order not to make her, her history, my story all of a piece.

Out of Africa/Into the Field/Through Flatt's Tent

> 'White women . . . have yet to get a critical handle on the meaning of 'whiteness' in their lives, the representation of whiteness in their literature, or the white supremacy that shapes their social status . . .
>
> bell hooks, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*[21]

If read against itself *The Singing Whakapapa* provides a handle on how the meaning of whiteness and its gendered representation in literature work as plot devices to piece together the kind of story in which the supporting structures crumble. For up until the very end of the novel we believe, like Hugh, that his forefather, John Flatt, was dismissed from his service with the Church Missionary Society of London because Flatt betrayed his fellow missionaries. He had offered testimony to the Society that caused great embarrassment and led to many missionaries losing their land. Indeed, *The Singing Whakapapa* tells the history of how Christian missionaries used their love of God and 'the heathens' to accumulate land from the Maori in violation of Church protocol. Many missionaries did establish large agricultural estates for their own personal prosperity. However, at the end of the novel — at a potent climax — we learn what really happened. Flatt had become unacceptable to the Society and it to him after his secret lover, the Maori chief's daughter, Tarore, was killed while trying to escape from Flatt's tent.

> On the night of 19 October 1836 all had happened as Flatt recounted it. He had fixed his tent. They had prepared supper and eaten it and he had called them together for family prayers. Then they had retired, he to his tent, they to their raupo whare. But in the night Tarore had come to Flatt's tent — probably not for the first time.
>
> Woken by their dogs that morning the Maori group had fled into the bush. Flatt and Tarore had not woken until the taua was outside the tent .... She was shot, then axed, while Flatt struggled to get out from under the canvas. He was in time to see her lying dead, a warrior hacking at her chest.[22]

After Tarore's death, Flatt left missionary work. But after returning to England, he wanted nothing more than to return to New Zealand. For Flatt's memory of looking upon its beautiful landscape evoked memories of the young Maori woman he once loved. Who, who said New Zealand is a landscape of too few lovers?

Aotearoa/New Zealand is one of the other former British colonies to which I returned to study anthropologists after once trying to leave anthropology and romantic love in East Africa. I headed to the Nairobi airport for a plane out of Africa and out of

anthropology after one of the social scientists in favour of the proposed graduate program in anthropology at the University of Nairobi told me about the District Information Centres being established in each district in Kenya. The Information Centres were places where all information deemed relevant for understanding the historical and cultural identity of Kenyan tribes, and where all information necessary for facilitating the development of tribal peoples, was to be collected. When I heard this, my desire to study those who study others and my ability to both appreciate and critique history as intellectual colonialism disappeared. Although I had wanted to demonstrate how practising anthropology in order to 'prevent Africa's past from disappearing' reflected the same social relations and knowledge practices that enabled colonialism, the method by which I was doing research, especially in light of the government's new information centers, made my own work too perverse. Participant-observation made too complicit my investment in my own anthropological desire to know. The government's investment in Information Centres, which were to be used to further colonise Turkana in the name of cultural understanding, exponentially compounded the perversity and the complicity. The meaning of words had become excessive. I saw no value in telling more stories. I wanted out of anthropology and out of Africa.

But the taxi driver was drunk, very drunk. By the time I reached the airport the Olympic Airlines flight was already on the runway cleared for take-off. I freaked out. I had so desperately wanted to wander Greece, to return to the 'home' of Western culture where I could begin to make sense of anthropology's oedipal complex. When my tears eased, there were no lights on the runway and no taxis. But there were eyes watching mine; my bags had been carried to the bar. The eyes were those of airport workers, all Indian (mostly from Goa) with the exception of one Swede. They were all men. I was invited for a drink. We talked and drank until dawn. Then my companions had one more round in preparation for their ritual death drive through morning rush hour traffic into Nairobi.

I learned much that night from story after story of their racial persecution, of economic, educational and religious abuse. Unsuccessful and thus 'nonexistent' coups were described: broken

windows, trashed cars and ransacked shops were always explained away as 'Asian and ethnic disruption'. Dissident people and revolutionary movements were 'disappeared' by the ruling tribe (the Kenyan government).

I was asked about the cause of my tears. Although rarely my drug of choice, alcohol in those hours before dawn allowed me to displace my self. I remember listening from outside my own skin, interested to hear what 'I' was saying about my desire to leave Africa, academia, and anthropology. I think I talked about how it all seemed bogus. Studying the Turkana and doing straight anthropology had been bad enough. But studying the anthropologist was really twisted. It didn't solve but rather amplified all the issues. During my first fieldwork in 1983 I hadn't even been able to 'see' the fundamental anthropological truth about East African pastoral nomads. As I saw it the Turkana didn't have a cattle complex, they had a bead complex.[23] And sure, Turkana are polygamous, men have many wives all right, but has any anthropologist, female or male, ever analysed what is going on every afternoon as the wives sit in the shade fixing each other's hair, rearranging and re-stringing beads, grooming each other for lice, oiling each other's skin, nursing and nurturing the children? And of my experiences with anthropologists . . . what was I supposed to do with the intimacy, the pain, the pleasures, the ego, the convictions, the knowledges and the memories of men who had spent years of their lives trying to understand the Turkana by measuring skin-folds, counting kilo calories, compiling kinship charts or mapping herd owners' grazing strategies?

My companions responded by telling me about their culture's extreme privatisation of women. At first this felt like condolence and support. It made sense of my predicament. My tears were a result of struggling against men in a particular kind of man's world. Why hadn't I married instead of going to college? Why hadn't I produced children instead of texts and degrees? What kind of life was it to be a female intellectual? There was such a familiar, almost comforting ring to these sentiments. But soon an anger broke through. I began to feel under attack and wielded western feminism as a sword. They countered by asking how I could not see, given the story I had just shared, that woman should define herself in relationship to home, husband, and children.

Couldn't I see that their culture actually demonstrated greater love and understanding of women? Couldn't I see what was cultural wisdom and what was sexism?

Was there a difference that mattered to me? The melancholia that normally accompanied such moments of acute subjective-cultural impasse was displaced by an insight. Could it be that despite all rhetoric to the contrary, anthropology, in the social, intellectual and sexual circumstances of its whiteness, has not theorised the cultural limitations of culture? I enjoyed a moment of clarity free from the libidinal attachment of my own mind to its cultural significance. I became acutely aware of a profound emptiness, a state of consciousness in excess of the ritual-like effects of our alcohol consumption, our collective mourning, and of night turning into day. Then the close mingling with death during the drive into Nairobi enabled all of us to be satisfied, momentarily, with whatever the day might bring. I did not travel out of Africa, but back to Turkana.

The Information Centre is located in Lodwar on the grounds of NORAD, a Norwegian aid and development agency, and contained a better collection of Turkana material (nearly all photocopies) than in any library or archive I had visited. The metal plate on a wall identified the Information Centre's dedication. The name on the plaque was Mr. Whitehouse.

In 1986 Mr. Whitehouse is serving very part-time as a judge. He remembers me from my visits in 1984. His first question is, 'Where is that young man you were with last time?' It was not only for the love of knowledge, but for the love of a 'young man' that I first came to Africa. After a summer spent in my quarter-meter square excavating rodent bones from a neolithic cave site in southern France, I was more than willing to 'marry adventure' and join this person who was already doing anthropological fieldwork in Turkana. After I arrived in Turkana to conduct a material culture survey, I discovered that my fellow anthropologist was measuring head circumferences and skin-folds. My romance with this anthropologist ended, as did my romance with the kind of anthropology he represented. I tell Whitehouse this time I've come armed with a tape recorder, which makes him laugh. He says he is reminded of another woman anthropologist who returned to visit him accompanied by a machine 'to get his words

on tape'.

I ask Mr. Whitehouse about the plaque I saw with his name at the District Information Centre. Does this plaque commemorate the colonising force of the intellect? Whitehouse just laughs. He tips his head and laughs. Then he says, 'They're even after me to start writing. The good Fathers, and the NORAD people want me to record everything I can remember.[24] See, the typewriter they've given me is over there.'

Whitehouse confesses that he doesn't know how to type. I inhale to speak, to tell him that I'll type for him, that I'll record and transcribe his words. But in the space between the inhale and an exhale I hear something else in what he has said. The urgency of the desire in others for his words, for his life put into writing, not only makes his all too apparent mortality loom large, but diminishes the meaning of his current, some would say effete, life. I stare at the typewriter and tell him about a Turkana woman saying to me that she would never understand about paper and pencils. But she knew it was a good thing to have one of her children go to town, a mission settlement, attend school, and learn to write just in case the Turkana lost their herds. None of this woman's daughters would learn to write because for daughters to go to school, to wear a uniform, to become Christian, meant losing their beads and, thus, all prospects of marriage to a 'real' Turkana. Whitehouse and I agree that this Turkana woman actually knew a lot about paper and pencils.

The Judge offers me a beer and asks if I remember how to open it as he showed me last visit, in a glass and upside down. I ask him to perform the trick again and I watch more carefully this time. I didn't know then to tell him about what another African woman said to another white woman anthropologist. 'That girl makes me tired with her everlasting paper and pencil: what sort of life is that?'[25] And I desisted from telling him, a former colonial officer, what Irene Morden, the white woman he classified as a tourist, wrote on her typewriter to anthropologist Shapiro in the letter that I had been carrying around for months: 'Dear Dr. Shapiro: The real job is begun! The flag of The American Museum of Natural History is flying at Lodwar, Turkana, Northern Frontier.'

Conclusion

> Thoughts of Lid still came to him. He [Hugh] still wished it were possible to see her, talk to her, hear her laugh and say witty things, fuck her. She existed in his mind as something possessed and lost. He wanted to possess her again, and by that possession to feel his own strength, the greater certainty she had given him that he existed.
>
> C.K. Stead, *The Singing Whakapapa*[26]

> Don't threaten me with love, baby. Let's just go walking in the rain.
>
> Billie Holliday

> [W]hite women are on the one hand recuperated as actors in the colonies, but simultaneously seen as the victims of colonial ideologies, which appear to be exclusively authored by men.
>
> Margaret Jolly, 'Colonizing Women: The maternal body and empire'[27]

The juxtaposition of these three epigraphs and the gaps of resonance between a pakeha man's love for a white woman, a black woman's preference for a walk in the rain rather than the threat of love, and a feminist postcolonial scholar's analysis of the impossible dualities of white woman's subject-constitution — this juxtaposition originally seemed a good conclusion. But another juxtaposition was suggested by an earlier reader who shared with me a compelling emptiness in the 'universal silence' written about by C.K. Stead and Janet Frame.

At the end of *The Singing Whakapapa* Hugh's research assistant has a baby. This baby, Hugh discovers, is his grand-daughter. The research assistant, Jean-Anne, turned out to be Lydia's daughter. 'Lid' had become pregnant shortly before Hugh left with his wife, 'Hat', for the overseas trip, and, having had no contact with him after he returned, she raised their daughter without his knowledge of her existence. So at the end of *The Singing Whakapapa* it is a quite nostalgic Hugh who goes to take a walk leaving Jean-Anne (his 'new' daughter) with his newly born grand-daughter in the hospital.

> He would drive out to the racecourse and walk once around

> the track under the stars, thinking about John Flatt, lying somewhere nearby in a grave now unmarked, and about the 'singing whakapapa' that had just issued its latest challenge to the *universal silence* which would always defeat it.'[28]

I've emphasised 'universal silence' to mark the relationship of this passage (and its 'reproductive' narrative closure) to another story.

In Janet Frame's 'The Terrible Screaming' a city is enveloped by a screaming so terrible and so pervasive that no one dares acknowledge the sound. A stranger who visits the city, a Distinguished Person, threatens to disrupt the cultural life of the city. He hears the terrible screaming and he asks others about it. Some people almost break their silences, but the stakes are too high. The stranger becomes embarrassed, apologetic, and says it must be his imagination. He ends up checking into a private rest home where he will 'recover from his disturbed state of mind'.[29] The Head of the Welcoming Committee, a respected inhabitant of the city, is very relieved. He would have been very upset had he had to acknowledge that he and others did in fact hear (and had heard for years) the terrible screaming. So instead of attending the welcoming banquet for the stranger, which has now been cancelled, the Head of the Welcoming Committee goes home to a simple dinner with his wife. 'Then he went to their bedroom, took off his striped suit, switched out the light, got into bed with his wife, and enjoyed the illusion of making uncomplicated love.'[30]

Uncomplicated love, like uncomplicated knowledge practices, is history. But stories about the cultural romance of 'white woman' rewritten not to describe but to embody postcolonial predicaments might make it feasible to imagine other kinds of love, other kinds of knowledge, and histories of otherwise impossible futures.

* * *

Many readers contributed to this rewriting of 'white woman'. For their engagement with the process that enabled me to understand how the stories I wanted to tell did and did not work I

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* * *

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Notes

1. Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson, 'Introduction: The Textuality of Empire', in Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson (eds.), *De-Scribing Empire: Post-colonialism and Textuality* (Routledge, London, 1994) pp. 1–11, p. 3.
2. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism', *Critical Inquiry*, 12 (1985), pp. 243–261. Reprinted in Catherine Belsey and Jane Moore (eds.), *the feminist reader* (Macmillan, London, 1989) pp. 176–195.
3. Marc Laidlaw, 'Virtual Surreality: Our New Romance with Plot Devices', in Mark Dery (ed.), 'Flame Wars: The Discourse of Cyberculture', *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 92:4(1993) pp. 647–668, p. 667.
4. Contestations for originality are of particular significance in professional worlds where symbolic capital is evaluated relative to its location within the genealogy of a given field of scholarship. In the case in point, the Morden Expedition gains status by claiming to establish the beginning point of scientific discovery among the Turkana. An interesting and unanswered question is whether the Morden Expedition, the American Museum of Natural History, and the writers who represented the Expedition were not aware of, or intentionally chose not to mention, the German social scientists and explorers and the British geological surveyors who preceded the Morden Expedition.
5. Jean-Joseph Goux, *Symbolic Economies: After Marx and Freud* (Cornell, Ithaca, NY, 1990) offers an excellent analysis of the parallel ways capitalism and patriarchy make, value, and embody meaning.
6. Michael Morrissey, 'Generations' Song', *Listener*, 9 July 1994, p. 53.
7. C.K. Stead, *The Singing Whakapapa* (Penguin, Auckland, 1994) pp. 142–3.

8. ibid., p. 143.
9. ibid., p. 100.
10. ibid., p. 100. See also R.A.K. Mason, 'Sonnet of Brotherhood', *Collected Poems* (Pegasus Press, Christchurch, 1962. Reprinted: Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1990).
11. James Barber, *Imperial Frontier* (East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968) p. 7.
12. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Writers in Politics* (Heinemann, Nairobi, 1982) p. 15.
13. Barber, p. 86.
14. Stead, p. 144.
15. Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1989) p. 48.
16. Maria Mies, 'Introduction', in Maria Mies (ed.), *Women: The Last Colony* (Zed Press, New Jersey, 1988) p. 5.
17. ibid.
18. Donna Haraway, *Primate Visions* (Routledge, New York, 1989) pp. 164–170.
19. Mies, p. 5.
20. Spivak (1989) p. 181.
21. bell hooks, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (Routledge, New York, 1994) p. 104.
22. Stead, p. 285.
23. What I saw during my first fieldwork among the Turkana was the twenty to forty pounds of glass beads the women wear around their necks, twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. For a discussion of the political and symbolic economies of these beads relative to the cattle complex see my 'An Arche-Logy of Turkana Beads', in Ian Hodder (ed.), *Contextual Archaeology* (University of Cambridge Press, Cambridge, 1987) pp. 31–38.
24. The Catholic Church has a very high profile in Turkana District. Mr. Whitehouse still enjoys the relationship begun with the Lodwar Catholic Mission during his days as Colonial District Officer.
25. Denise Paulme, as cited by Trinh Minh-ha in *Woman, Native, Other* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1989) p. 7.
26. Stead, p. 291.
27. Margaret Jolley, 'Colonizing Women: The Maternal Body and Empire', in Sneja Gunew and Anna Yeatman (eds.), *Feminism and the Politics of Difference* (Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1994) pp. 103–127, p. 103.
28. Stead, p. 296.
29. Janet Frame, 'The Terrible Screaming', *You are Now Entering the Human Heart* (Victoria University Press, Wellington 1983) p. 106.
30. ibid., p. 107.

Structural Reform, Economism, and the Abuse of Scientific Authority

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The Coleman lecture has given me a rare and greatly appreciated opportunity to discuss the broad sweep of public affairs. The larger picture is too often unaddressed in our fragmented system of knowledge, yet it is with the framework of our understanding that critical debate must concern itself.

New Zealanders are at a difficult juncture. We confront momentous changes in the structure of the State. And now the mechanism of the GATT is imposing the same New Right regime on a global scale. The agenda of the GATT is the drastic restructuring of the relative power of states and of Transnational Corporations (TNCs). As the social costs of the changes become more obvious domestically there is no sign of a reconsideration of the direction or even the need for change. If anything it is becoming faster as government drives into a second phase of privatisation of public assets, especially in prisons, computing, land, housing, broadcasting, health and education.

Socially engaged women can then no longer be activists simply at the community level. To preserve the gains women have already made we must necessarily concern ourselves with the restructuring of the State and states. Take for example the women's health movement, with its long legacy of activism. Women's health achieved a new centrality after Cartwright and was put firmly on the policy and service agenda. Women's health achieved greater official prominence than in most other coun-

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tries in terms of both public consciousness and popular expectations. Although there have been few changes in the power structure of institutions some real gains in accountability have been achieved. In particular the recent passage of the Health and Disability Commissioner Act provides an opportunity for far reaching improvement in patient rights and medical ethics.

I have real doubts about how ethics has been academised by taking it out of the hands of women and into the hands of the academically identified elite. Medical ethics have been given respectability by de-legitimising those who had experience and commitment in the patient protection area. The inclusion of ethics in the medical curriculum has produced more jobs for the boys. Consequently the women's health movement perspective and analysis have been marginalised. What the people who took over the academic jobs teaching medical ethics had in common was that they were mostly men, they were white, they had little or no active experience in patient protection issues, and they were highly qualified in theoretical knowledge.

As these issues are academised and professionalised through gender and race elites there is a subtle shift in focus. They gain academic credentials as they become more abstract and detached. They increasingly address issues that raise rare, borderline or exceptional points of theoretical interest. What is discussed are interesting philosophical dilemmas or issues of definition that stimulate argument. The everyday issues of people caught up in powerful institutions slide from view. The processes and the politics by which institutions define and control problems are political but articulating that politics is not part of sophisticated philosophical thought. Ordinary, everyday abuse is of little philosophical or theoretical interest.

Once an academic subject is established on a rational and 'objective' basis and once the institutional politics are out of sight, then it becomes easier to see that the activists are 'biased'. Their very commitment means they have been captured by the problem, so much so that sometimes they are 'irrational'. Once the non-professionals have been marginalised then the subject will acquire sufficient academic credibility that the laity, as the non-professionals are so revealingly called, can be dismissed as 'not having the expertise'. The newly professionalised elite needs

a constituency. That constituency has been developed by the work of the activists, but it would damage professionals' status to recognise this.

There is nothing unique in this example which is quite typical of the general process of academisation in most fields, especially those with a high level of social content — social work, education, women's studies, or public health for example. Most social concerns about safety and security have been developed by activist women. They establish a case and the issue gains momentum. It then becomes professionalised through a process of assimilation to the gender and racial hierarchies of the academy. As it is theorised and given an objective basis the meaning of its concerns change. Once in the institution the influence of dominant economic interests also becomes stronger. The focus of accountability shifts. The interests served are transformed and the knowledge becomes much harder to challenge as it becomes entrenched, buttressed with 'objective standards' which establish who's best and who knows, and endorse the validity of the knowledge claims of the new professionals

The issue is of immediate significance in the current debate about the positioning of Women's Studies. At the beginning, the women's movement of the 1830s in the United States was concerned with many issues of personal and social safety — with education, with racial equality, with peace, and with public health. The movement examined the effects of violent behaviour, and the connection to alcohol, narcotics, diet, and urbanisation. The movement was closely allied with the popular health movement which vehemently opposed interventionist medicine, and took an interest in all aspects of preventive medicine including food safety and nutrition. The Grimke sisters, for example, who first spoke on public platforms in 1836, worked in a progressive school, ate a cold-water, vegetarian 'Graham' diet, were into dress reform, homeopathy, civil rights, racial equality, personal and social hygiene, and peace. They rejected all forms of violence, including capital punishment.

For the late-nineteenth-century women's movement, child protection was high on the list of priorities. They struggled to end child labour and exploitation. They worked tirelessly to reform the work-place and establish educational opportunities for girls

and racial minorities. Towards the turn of the century the agenda became more specific, more like the programme we call 'healthy cities', with its broad integrated agendas for the public health. For example, the Women's Christian Temperance Union was into temperance, but also sanitation, clean water, meat inspection, town milk supply, sound nutrition and food safety, education, and access to medical services, especially safe maternity services.

In New Zealand the Women's Christian Temperance Union was concerned with the double standard in the legal and judicial system and moved to control and prevent violence, and domestic abuse. They worked for the protection of girls from sexual harassment through legislation raising the age of consent. They also campaigned for women police officers and advocated jury service for women. World-wide, the Women's Christian Temperance Union supported 'international arbitration' as an alternative to war and went on to promote the League of Nations and international government as peace and security measures. Jane Addams, who won the Nobel prize for her peace activity, worked in a settlement house. The settlement houses were the first form of organised social work and were located in the slums of America and Europe. The settlement house workers lived and worked among the people whose lives they sought to improve. Dedicated to the values of cultural diversity and the political empowerment of their communities, these settlements were the prime sites of women's activism before the first world war. High on their list of priorities were children's labour and work safety.

The first school in social work was established at Smith College in 1919. During the inter-war period the subject gained enormously in academic credentials. It was increasingly theorised following the model of the social sciences which emphasised objective criteria. Professional opportunities expanded after the second world war with the development of the welfare state. By this time social work was deeply influenced by theories which explained social distress in terms of personal deficiency.

Much of the theory of social work was Freudian. Therapists were educated to regard reports of sexual abuse as Oedipal fantasies. A very large group of the professionals specifically charged with the care of the socially distressed were systematically trained not

to hear reports of sexual abuse as descriptions of reality but rather as accounts of neurotic minds. The theories of family and class normality and of 'adjustment' that dominated social work and therapy in the 1950s and 1960s were clearly a very far cry from the activist origins of social work.

The second wave of feminism has had a good deal of success in bringing the reality and seriousness of abuse into the open but feminists have had to do so in opposition to the professional hierarchy who control policy and institutions. Once again they have had to work from the margins, and without the credentials of 'objectivity' and 'rationality'. A rather similar analysis could be given of the academisation of education and of the current debate around the academisation of nursing. I am fascinated by the current struggle of nursing to academise outside of the paradigm of positivist science and develop a definition around very different epistemological positions. This is providing ammunition for some interesting gender fights as nursing struggles to consolidate its institutional position within the academy.

As these areas professionalise through gender and race hierarchies (and the universities have had more success in changing the gender than changing the race of academics), they fuel not only the idea that women are not the 'best', but also the idea that women have not done anything. The acquisition of scientific justifications for legitimacy fuels the myth of women's inactivity as the disciplines try to forget their activist past. Yet laying the public health foundations of modern urban life is not a mean achievement for the women's movement. Women have been the doers of most of that development although it is true that most of this work was not paid for; society got it for free.

Since food safety and adequacy is such a long standing interest of the women's health movement I set out to find out more about what had happened in the area of nutrition. I found it was a most instructive and interesting avenue to explore. Dorothea Turner, who was active in the New Zealand Women's Food Value League, founded in 1937, tells me that the League was an alliance of community activists and women academics to counter the knowledge claims of the food industry. The Home Science Department of Otago University collaborated and Professor Elizabeth Gregory, Professor Ann Gilchrist and Dr Muriel Bell

were all active. They had limited success with nutritional labelling, but were highly successful in improving the purity of our milk supply. However they were ultimately unable to resource an independent research laboratory and therefore unable to compete successfully with the commercial knowledge makers. It is an instructive example of those who would swim against the tide of commercial interests in the name of science and the community interest.

The current situation with food safety regulation provides a good illustration of why we must confront the restructuring of power. Under the GATT, control of food standards passes to CODEX, which is an organisation based in Rome comprised of WHO and FAO. This is engaged in the mammoth task of codification. CODEX will set the safety and labelling standards for the whole world. Apparently New Zealand chairs two significant CODEX committees, the Meat and the Milk Standards Committees. Considerable effort is being made by consumer groups to find out who the representatives on these committees are, but the information has not been forthcoming. The concern is that they represent industry interests and are not accountable to the public.

One provision of GATT is that anything which restricts trade is inadmissible unless it can be justified on objective 'scientific' grounds. Some examples of inadmissible laws are: the US passed a law protecting dolphins and other marine mammals by prohibiting the sale of tuna caught in purse seine nets. Mexico appealed and the US law was thrown out under GATT. Similarly Austria passed legislation to protect tropical rain forest by prohibiting the importation of hard woods. This law was disallowed as a trade restriction.

Recently the issue has arisen in this country with the importation of cattle foetuses and semen. There is a potential threat of mad cow disease, but this can not be proved because the details of how the disease is transmitted are not known. We don't know it is safe, but we can't prove it is dangerous, therefore we are not prohibiting it.

This is important for food safety. One of the key issues for CODEX is risk assessment. It is only permissible for a country to pass a regulation, for example restricting the use of toxins in

food, if these can be objectively scientifically proved to be a risk. But this will be extremely difficult. As the World Watch Institute points out in their 1994 Report, a number of carcinogens have been successfully identified. This is difficult to do because cancer may develop over a long time and we have multiple exposure to possible carcinogens. Cancer is however a discrete, identifiable, well-documented disease, so that despite vested interests these carcinogens have been identified, and the possibility of regulation therefore at least exists. But for exposure to the multitude of other potential risks the possibility of such proof is almost impossible.

Take a simple example of a potential risk where only one factor is involved. It is not certain that the exposure of fetuses to ultra sound scans is safe in the long term. This will be impossible to sort out because first, there is almost no control group of babies who have not been exposed, and second, there is no record of the intensity or time of exposure. With toxins these difficulties are compounded because they are diffused through our environment. We have all had long periods of multiple exposure to a huge assortment of substances. The load is already great and the health outcomes often non specific and difficult to measure. The chances then of being able of offer 'scientific' proof that they are harmful is slim.

Scientific models which deliver 'proof' of the sort demanded have difficulty seeing multiple effects, interactions, or long time spans. They work best on single causes of isolated outcomes in lineal relations where discreet entities have constant patterns of relationship. They are not very good on the complexity of bio-systems or human beings or interacting systems. The women's movement has been interested in these issues of safety since the 1830s, but to pursue them we must consider the structural changes engulfing us.

The women's health movement has been re-marginalised by the health reforms. The reforms made no mention of patient protection at all. The market is supposed to take objective rational decisions. Women's health is not a priority for the reforms (the priorities are child, Maori, and mental health — but don't be fooled, the situation has deteriorated in all these areas). Women's health is not even a service area. The Cartwright implementation

was at the second-in-command level in the Health Department. This vanished altogether as did the women's health unit of the Department. In the Ministry there is now nowhere to go if we want to make contact with the policy process, and no consultation therefore takes place. Women as such are no longer involved in policy development and indeed the commitment to develop women's health policy seems to have been abandoned.

This has been compounded by the recruitment into every area of the public service of the 'Coal Corp boys'. The idealisation of the private sector (please worship their success: Judge Corp., Gold Corp., Equity Corp. etc.) has led to recruitment from the corporate sector. These managers have no commitment or experience in health. They are whizz kids with wild schemes and a passion for measurement. They come from environments with no experience in negotiation, consultation, or concern with the public. One qualification is that they don't know anything much about health, since ignorance is a positive virtue which demonstrates that they have not been captured by 'providers'.

The politicisation of the public services was touted as a great boon by the government that passed the State Sector Act. Coupled with careful placement of new right devotees in the State Services Commission and Treasury, it has led to the dominance in the public service of true believers in neo-classical economics. They are accountable only to the Minister. Contracts, in which performance is judged by how much policy the Minister accepts, have spelt a new era of intellectual conformity and paradigm policing in the public service. And there is no democratic mechanism to dislodge these shallow 'experts' in public 'choice' theory.

The ideologues of the new right claim that theirs is the only rational position. They claim that the theory driving restructuring is objective — a simple statement of the way things are which has to be accepted. For all their boasted robustness and rigour, I doubt sometimes if they have even been presented with an argument to the contrary. One of the clues that this ideology rests on scientism and not science is that it generates a double standard about what is 'proof'. It sometimes seems that it is not necessary to have 100 percent proof that a substance or activity is safe for it to be on the market, but it is demanded that there be 100 percent

proof of damage to get it off. It is NOT necessary to have proof of safety but it is necessary to have proof of harm. The onus is on those who would be cautious not on those who would be reckless.

Scientism makes claims to knowledge as beyond dispute when that claim may be derived from narrow assumptions or definitions. This extends the claims of science into inappropriate and unexamined areas. And it may rest on unexamined acceptance of institutional authority. Scientism involves a pretentious overvaluing of empirical proof even when that is inappropriate, and a devaluing of other insights. In essence it is a pretentious, exclusive claim to certainty. Scientism borrows the scientific mystique and exhibits an arrogance based on the inability to accept the appropriate limitations of scientific proof. This demand for proof can be misapplied to discredit legitimate concerns.

Two examples explain what I mean. The first is the argument that action to restrict violent and pornographic images should not be taken because it is not possible to prove that they are harmful. All the cunning experiments set up to prove that they do harm are countered by evidence that they do not. New Zealand was enthusiastic in supporting American moves to completely deregulate the air waves under the GATT. They did not totally succeed but nevertheless new technology and partial deregulation are already irrevocably changing what is available to New Zealanders. Very big interests are at stake. It has been claimed that porn films gross a profit which is six times as large as the legitimate film industry in the USA.

The positivist argument against regulation demands inappropriate proof of harm. The notion of causation is simply too narrow, the premises about how people learn are inadequate. The understanding of how we develop behaviour and attitudes is too narrowly defined and the categories of measurement tend to miss the point. The attempted measurements of harm misunderstand the complexity of human learning. A little self reflection will tell us that the emotional climate of communication is vitally important as well as the overt content. Such reflection will tell us about the formative effect of images and the way in which exposure to violent images can and does normalise violence. A genuine look into how we acquired our attitudes will tell us more than any

amount of false empiricism. We should not be surprised when children injured with knives and guns are astonished to find that it hurts.

My second example is climate change (not warming, that's too cosy an expression). A great deal of evidence suggests that the earth's atmosphere is dangerously unstable. Storminess rather than warming is its salient feature. Yet action on the suspected causes is thwarted by the argument that it cannot be proved to be happening at all. This position has been promoted by the energy lobby just as the equivalent argument against tobacco regulation was supported by the tobacco lobby for years. But in the last eight years major storms have caused so much damage that it has destabilised the insurance industry. In fact the re-insurance industry is under threat. Lloyds has been greatly affected and Munich Re is beginning to feel it. Now these are very big players. They have hired their own climatologists who have, according to a major article in *New Scientist*, August 1993, advised that there is no doubt about the reality or seriousness of climate change.

The demand for proof is clearly being misused here, but it is also true that the type of proof being demanded is only possible where simple reductionist models of lineal causation are appropriate. The reductionism (that is reducing something to its parts and examining each and then believing that this examination will give understanding of the whole) is dangerously inappropriate for complex interactive systems.

Surprisingly, the way reductionism distorts our understanding is clear in another area of restructuring, namely education. This is the next major area to feel the effects of New Right ideology. In schools it is justified as parental choice where in fact it gives choice to the school. The ideology of choice exaggerates enormously the inequalities of access and reinforces the dynamics of class of differentiation. One of the new mechanisms for restructuring is the Qualifications Authority's National Qualifications Framework of unit standards. These are based on definitions of quantifiable outcomes that must be measurable. In practice this fits training in widgets and digits. When education is chopped up certain key elements fall through the cracks. What's lost is the X factor, real human development. The growth of informed judgement is an unmeasurable outcome of education. What is missing

is an understanding of the subtle nature of the educational transaction. In my view there can't be learning without teachers.

The reductionism of the education reforms can only measure technique and some skills but not learning, just as in health it can only measure procedures and not healing. The measures being applied are of through-put not of care or learning. Conceived of as an exchange of things, there is no idea of education as a social experience, let alone an expansive experience. Once again we have only to be minimally self-reflective to comprehend the enormous importance of the social milieu of learning.

It is the minimising and reductionist implications of the Qualifications Authority approach that have led the Vice Chancellors to hesitate in taking the universities into it. The universities have now joined but whole programmes rather than individual courses are to be registered on the Framework. This means that individual courses will not be broken down into component parts. This allows some possibility of retaining control of courses within the university.

The Framework is justified as democratising education. But it also facilitates two of the other stated goals of restructuring. One of these goals is to make education more responsive to commercial interests. Education is to gear its content more closely to the needs to employers. The Framework facilitates this by moving control outside the educational institutions into arenas where the representatives of industry have as much control as educators.

The second goal is to undercut the 'monopoly' of public educational institutions. The theory of the New Right maintains that efficiency in agencies which deliver social services will be produced through competition. Private providers are to be encouraged into the educational market to compete for public funds. The transferability of qualifications which is established by the Qualifications Framework facilitates the entry of multiple competing providers by supposedly ensuring the equivalence of all qualifications at the same level. This means that a degree course registered on the framework is supposed to be 'worth' the same irrespective of which institution provides it.

As in health, already there are private education providers receiving quite substantial amounts of public money. But for the

ideologues of the New Right they are still too few. They believe that private educational institutions have not come into the market because they cannot compete with the 'subsidies' available to public institutions. The 'subsidy' that publicly funded institutions receive is therefore being systematically reduced and at the same time there is sustained pressure to raise the fees for tertiary education. The idea is that if fee levels at public institutions are 'realistically' high then private providers will be encouraged to come into the market. It will minimise the differential between public and private institutions and increase the fees that private profit making institutions can charge before losing custom to public institutions. Fee hikes will therefore encourage the development of private degree giving institutions.

Like user charges in health, substantial fees will encourage people to turn to cheaper private providers. Why are private degree 'providers' likely to be cheaper? Firstly because they will not provide courses where the overheads are high. It is unlikely that they would provide medical education, for example. More importantly the medium of delivery is likely to be the information super-highway. The education they provide is likely to be delivered on a screen, devoid of any social experience, and conducted in students' homes. The resources will be produced on a large scale and will often be prepared overseas. Certainly there will be sophisticated delivery with interactive communications. The Qualifications Authority will guarantee the standard of the product. But is it the same product educationally?

There are in addition other routes to the market restructuring of tertiary education. Public education is not included in New Zealand's GATT 'offer', and therefore is not at present subjected to the deregulation GATT enforces on those areas which are. Nevertheless if the boundary between public and private provision becomes blurred the universities and polytechnics may well find that they are reclassified as in the private domain. For example, any voucher system would make universities and polytechnics private. If they are reclassified as private then they become subject to the rules enforcing an open competitive market which GATT stipulates. Well why not, one may argue? Already under the GATT it is permissible to bring in cheap academic labour for private providers. Further competition will cheapen costs, and therefore

be more 'efficient'. Should we not benefit from these efficiencies?

Information technology has an ambivalent potential for democratisation but also for unprecedented control. The globalised Ed Corp will have a very powerful capacity for control. How can the students reading the screen answer back? How can they question the source of the information? How can they interrogate Ed Corp? And where is it? However interactive the technology, these so-called education development initiatives are in reality one way streets. But education is more than technical exchange; it is about the reproduction of cultural values. Education is not about globally interchangeable units but is specific to each differing culture. With Ed Corp the erosion of possible independent critique will take another step toward thought control. Already research has been taken away from universities into the commercial environment.

The transfer of public research funding from the universities, Departments of State and the DSIR to control by FORST has enhanced inequalities in access to knowledge making and directed a far higher proportion of public spending to commercially oriented work. In the first year of operation, of the $273 million of public money spent on science research a meagre $150,000 went directly to Maori researchers. When commercial responsiveness becomes paramount social equality suffers.

The Ed Corp response is that New Zealand can market degrees overseas, just as it can run hospitals in Saudi. If the University of Timbuctoo sells here we can sell there. But size is important in world marketing. The market works systematically in the interests of the large and powerful. Restructuring shifts power towards the largest corporate interests. The promotion of economic growth has accelerated inequality both locally and globally. The allies of the corporate elite are doing well. By 1997 it is estimated that in New Zealand the top 20 percent of income earners will have 50 percent of income, while the bottom 20 percent currently have 3 percent. Meanwhile the gap between rich and poor nations is accelerated. Since 1960 the gap has doubled. Growth is not in human betterment and is not sustainable. In fact it is destructive of people, of their genuine needs, and of the environment which must sustain life.

I want to turn to the economism of the ideology driving restructuring. By economism I don't mean the belief that economics is

simply the rules in any society for what is given value and how, but rather the belief that it has the status of a neutral and objective description of reality which has the immutable force of a scientific law of nature. As if to say that when something is given the label 'economic', that makes it as immutable and unarguable as to say that it is 'scientific'. Hence it disguises what is political as inevitable.

The ideology running restructuring is based on neoclassical economics. It is a profoundly individualistic ideology which takes the lone isolated individual competing to maximise his advantage as axiomatic. The unrealistic degree of individual isolation and autonomy has profound consequences for the policies which flow from this theory. I have spoken before of the rationalism of the new right. Sue Middleton gives an extraordinary example from the key policy document *Government Management* (1987):

> the question of equitable access to child-care for working mothers is essentially one of public policy - whether affirmative action is required to assist the life-chances of women. The assumption is not just that the benefits of childbearing do not compensate for the disadvantages from what would be (without the compensation) the result of an irrational desire to have children. Or, in the case of unplanned children, that the public should compensate for the unexpected net loss.

It's obvious what is anti-social about this definition of reason as pursuit of self interest or even more crassly as monetary profit. The knowledge claims of the neo-classical paradigm however deserve close attention.

Neo-classical economics claims to be objective. Men are described as 'egotistic rational utility maximisers'. Having given this description of rational motivation, economism then accepts it as objective fact and therefore as normative. This is how people *should* behave. It is out of this competition that efficiency will emerge. In the struggle to under-cut, costs are reduced to gain competitive advantage. And everything, especially labour, will be cheaper. This is assumed to be good (if you happen to be the wealthy industrialist or T.N.C. executive). Because the theory is highly individualistic a very odd prescription for social well-being emerges. The definition of efficiency means doing more with

less, but with less people not with less material resources. (The green prescription is the opposite, it means using more people and using less material resources.) So to have half the people unemployed and the other half over-worked is a gain in efficiency. But from the view of the whole society this is a deeply irrational distribution of jobs and rewards. Middle class over-employment is a major complaint. There is an urgent need to take a more rational look at work and its distribution.

On this theory the pursuit of material gain is the only thing which is 'real' as well as rational. At the level of the state, this is expressed by an obsession with GNP and GDP, (with national income in exclusively money terms). The rational goal is to improve GNP, not to improve human well-being. What is measured is money exchanged, not human welfare improved. Any market activity contributes to GNP but non-market activity does not. There is an unspoken (and unprovable) assumption that growth and wealth will automatically improve society and protect the environment. Many destructive activities add to GNP but those that improve human well-being or conserve future resources do not. Spending that supports human beings is often seen as wasteful, but money spent ripping an environment to shreds is good, no matter how wasteful or exploitative. Any market activity is counted, such as creating a toxic waste dump. If it adds to money income it is a good thing. I came across a choice example the other day. Mrs Shipley claims to have spent $5.2 million more on health. A large proportion was money shifted from Social Welfare for disability services. Why? Well Social Welfare spending is not included in GDP but health is. Could it be that the redistribution boosted indicators of recovery?

One key debate is about indicators. A reassessment of what's measured is essential. There is a great deal of activity in this area at present and by people more qualified than me. Hazel Henderson suggests that current measures discount nature, and they discount the human community, and they devalue what she calls the 'love' economy — that is 50 percent of all productive work which is done in every society without pay. This 50 percent of unpaid work is what actually buttresses and subsidises the official Gross National Product. Marilyn Waring has shown the irrationality of this approach on a global scale. She has brilliantly

wrung out the gender implications, but I want to go into rather different implications of economism, especially the devastation of SAPs (Structural Adjustment Programmes) because these bring out the full irrationality of economism.

The changes imposed by SAPs on indebted countries (by IMF and World Bank policies) said they must focus on earning money income through trade (i.e. export led recovery). In other words they must earn more on world markets. This turned local people away from production of goods for their own use to producing commodities to trade. However as they did this, their debt increased and their level of self sufficiency went down. In addition, as food production for Western consumption increased world-wide, the value of their goods decreased. As production for home use declined and land was turned over to commodity production for export, nutritional levels drastically declined in many third world countries. The other part of the SAPs was cutting back spending, especially state spending. As a result spending on human welfare was cut drastically. Spending by the state sector which is seen as non-productive (producing human welfare not money) was seen as the source of debt. This was not true. State spending has been cut with drastic repercussions for the well-being of people, but debt has not in fact been reduced. Instead human misery has escalated.

What is needed are some concepts that the economy is about human welfare, not about accumulation of profit, and about long term benefit not short term profit. The determination to cut state expenditure and especially to privatise public assets is partly reflective of individualism, the theory which says there is no social good. They take as gospel the belief that efficiency is linked to competition, and that publicly held assets are not competing.

This is behind the irrationality of the health reforms. At least $1070 million has been spent since the 'reforms' began. The only improvements visible are some minor gains in numbers of surgical procedures. The system has been fragmented into competing parts by artificially producing a market of buyers and sellers. The idea is that this structure will be 'more efficient'. The enormous costs of running twenty-three CHEs and four RHAs, each with its own PR budget designed to promote its competitive

advantage is ignored. This has all gone wrong, they say, because too few private providers exist to really compete. So let us add $40 million of public money to subsidise the setting up of private health businesses. Health restructuring is purely ideologically driven. There is no evidence that the market does it better, well, or even at all. Maldistribution of private health insurance means that it sells too much to some, not enough to others and leaves those in middle terrified of major illness.

There is a disastrous illogicality in all this. This absence of logic is not obvious or admissible to those caught in the ideology — those for whom it is the truth. It is a belief so absolute that there is an extraordinary willingness to adjust the world to the theory. When doubt arises they work to redouble their efforts to change the world. Rather than redesign the theory a second round of privatisation has been unleashed.

GATT has created a new power to shape global realities. The World Trade Organisation will set the rules. It is further away, more undemocratic and harder to influence. It is the rules that have to change. Different indicators are essential. We must shift what is measured to what is real — to human well-being. We urgently need a people-centred economics. What we choose to measure is important.

What this means is measures for factors other than GNP, ones which measure what we have left as well as what we have used. We must measure people's health and not just procedures, we must see money spent on law and order as a loss and not a gain. We must measure the care we have taken of what we have and it must not classify cleaning up road accidents as an improvement in GNP. We need measures which challenge our obsession with inflation, and measures which revalue employment; we need indicators that measure efficiency for people not accountants, and see as productive all those activities which enhance our lives.

Behind all these problems are issues of values and ethics, not of science or economics. They rest not on uncontestable knowledge claims but on decisions of value. We are not dealing here with immutable objective uncontestable reality but on ethics of social living and the possibilities of its continuance.

The theories of those in power rest on contested principles. A key one is the short term focus of economism's accounting

approach. Only the annual budget is real. It operates in terms of the short term profit and cannot see past it to consider the long term impact or anticipate the ramifications of decisions. It's all about cash flow now, not well-being later. Associated with this is reductionism, the chopping into small separate parts. Of course this approach can't look at long term impact or recognise overall impacts if it steadfastly denies connections. It focuses on the workings of separate elements of procedures in health, yet ignores the fragmentation of the entire service. But there is no such thing as a disembodied disease, people do not come as a collection of spare parts. They come as integrated persons with a past, a future, a social and a physical environment. They cannot be abstracted and survive. The opposite of short term is long term and the opposite of reductionism is wholism. If we are going to count the costs then it must be in the long term across and between all these systems. I am not saying anything new, but I am saying something urgent. Our major problem is challenging and abandoning the ideology of the New Right at the global level, a high shift in power alignment with which we will have to come to grips. Meanwhile, survival depends upon the small, the connected and the whole. It is time academics took on board these ideas from popular movements around the globe and especially from the women's movement, and this time took them on board in their full reality. Everyone's survival may depend upon it.

We have seen how the concern of women with human well-being was marginalised as subject areas were legitimated and theorised. We need to avoid such distorted expertise. Now the role, the legitimate role of academics is to place human well-being at the centre, to develop theories of connection not displacement. Our role is to work on these issues and work on them urgently, not to sell more education.

What's bothering me is that this new hegemony was established without a strong critique from the universities. In fact they are moving fast to align themselves with the new corporate order. Now given what I have said about their elites, I shouldn't be surprised. But the universities do have potential independence which other institutions don't enjoy. The commercialisation of knowledge production is deeply disturbing and research aligned to commercial interests just

makes the distortions deeper. There are very few positions which are on a base which is independent enough to launch criticism. The only alternative is to build again politically, from the bottom up. And I don't think those on the margins should be the only activists trying to do it all.

* * *

Phillida Bunkle, a Senior Lecturer in Women's Studies at Victoria University of Wellington, is a well-known political activist and the Alliance spokesperson on Health.

*The Patricia Coleman Lecture was established in 1987 by the Faculty of Home Science through a grant from the Association of Home Science Alumnae to recognise the contribution of Emeritus Professor Coleman as Dean of the Faculty of Home Science. The Lecture is delivered annually in Dunedin on topics related to Professor Coleman's interests and association with the School of Consumer and Applied Sciences.

Current Policy Issues for Women: Women's Access to Justice Project: The Law Commission

The Commission

The Law Commission/Te Aka Matua o te Ture is an independent, publicly funded, central advisory body established by statute to undertake the systematic review, reform and development of the law of New Zealand. Part of its statutory mandate is to recommend ways in which the law can be made more accessible and understandable.

The Project

The Commission's Women's Access to Justice project was announced jointly with the courts' Judicial Working Group on Gender Equity on Wednesday 15 March 1995. The aim of the Commission's project is to identify how laws and legal processes fail to take account of women's experiences and to recommend law reform and other strategies to ensure that law and its processes treats women fairly and equitably. It is expected that the project will be completed by the end of 1997. The Judicial Working Group is to be co-chaired by the Chief Justice Sir Thomas Eichelbaum and Justice Sylvia Cartwright and will focus on gender bias within the courts' structures and processes.

Both projects are very timely as there has been a lot of work done overseas, especially in Australia, Canada and the United States, which shows that elements of those countries' legal systems and law prevent women from obtaining fair and equitable treatment. Some of the problems are due to the physical environment of the courts, such as the lack of separate waiting areas for women victims of domestic violence. Some are related to the under representation of women in the legal profession and judiciary. Further problems stem from the assumptions that are made about women by law. An example of this may be that, in

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rape laws, it is the offender's view of whether a woman consented to sex which is important, rather than the woman's view. Still others stem from law makers failing to take account of the different life experiences of women. For example, the failure of the ACC system to take into account the value of unpaid work means that women cannot receive earnings related compensation or vocational rehabilitation if they are injured while working in the home.

The Consultation Process

Since September 1994 Joanne Morris (Law Commissioner) and Michelle Vaughan (Legal Research Officer) have been consulting with women around the country, hearing their views and concerns about the legal system. Those meetings have emphasised the critical importance of the process by which the project is defined and managed. As was said at one meeting, the process adopted in a project examining women's access to justice should be a role model for the outcomes it seeks to achieve. Consequently, the Commission is committed to following a process which involves to the fullest extent possible the women of Aotearoa/New Zealand and those who are influential in the design, application and administration of the law. Consultations so far have involved a wide range of community groups, rural women, Maori women, Pacific Islands women, relevant government agencies, university women and women lawyers.

The Commission is committed to using a consultative process as it researches different areas of law so that it can 'reality test' its policy conclusions against the lives of women in New Zealand. The Commission also hopes to use women's own accounts of their experiences with the law throughout its eventual report to illustrate and emphasise how the law fails to work for women. While the consultation process and focus group discussions will generate some such accounts, in addition the Commission intends to call for public submissions towards the middle of 1995.

The Scope of the Project

The Commission's meetings with women have highlighted the alien nature of the law and its procedures. Ten 'C' themes

emerged from the Commission's consultations. They describe reasons for the unfairness women experience in their dealings with the law. The themes are cost, culture, credibility, caregiving, connectedness, conditioning, confidence, community, choice and communication.

Several areas of the law and legal processes/services recurred during meetings as problem areas in need of some type of reform. These relate to:

- family/domestic relationships
- violence against women
- economic (in)dependence

The Commission has decided to focus its research on these very broad areas because it believes that the diversity of women and their lives and experiences do not fit neatly into narrow legal boxes. It will consider a number of specific laws under each of those headings, for example, matrimonial and defacto property, ACC, the Employment Contracts Act, tax, the allocation of benefits, and custody of children. The area of violence against women will include consideration of domestic violence and rape laws. With regard to rape law, problems have been identified in the process for the victim, ideas about consent, the limitations of the adversarial system, and the sentencing of offenders from a restorative justice perspective.

All these laws and legal processes/services have been raised in the consultations to date. Other issues raised include the cost of legal services, the availability of legal aid, the importance of information and education, and the problems that women have with the adversarial court process. The Commission is currently devising a plan for its research methods and deciding which issues to examine in depth first.

Maori Women's Dimension of the Project / Te Roopu Uho

The Commission is also in the process of appointing a 'core group' of Maori women to assist it in weaving the Maori women's dimension into the project. We are very pleased that Hepora Young, Te Arawa, (Waitangi Tribunal member, writer and historian) has agreed to be the leader (kaiarahi) of this group which will advise the Commission on consultation with Maori women, and

how to use all the material gathered in the course of the project so that it accurately reflects the concerns of Maori women.

Please Contact the Commission

The Commission wants to know what you think should be part of the project on women's access to justice. If you would like to be added to its mailing list, involved in consultation sessions held in your area, or if you want to provide advice on issues or research that may be relevant to the project (particularly the areas outlined above) it would like to hear from you.

Please contact:

Joanne Morris or Michelle Vaughan or Diana Pickard
Phone: (04) 473 3453
Fax: (04) 471 0959
The Law Commission/Te Aka Matua o te Ture
P O Box 2590, Wellington

Archives:
The Wages of Sin: Aspects of Nurse Training at Dunedin Hospital in the 1920s and 1930s

Patricia Sarginson

In the mid 1930s, the matron of Dunedin Hospital, Edith Tennant, wrote a long letter to the Director of the Division of Nursing in the Health Department, Mary Lambie, informing her of the circumstances surrounding the training of one of her nurses. Maire Fyfe completed her nursing training at Dunedin Hospital in the late 1920s, establishing an outstanding work record there before pregnancy forced her resignation.[1] Nursing leaders of the period agreed that this moral failure precluded her from continuing with her nursing career. Nurse Fyfe, however, was determined to use her training and established a successful private nursing practice in her home town. Despite Miss Tennant's best efforts to prevent her, she managed to complete her maternity training and at the time of Miss Tennant's letter to Miss Lambie, reprinted below, was undergoing midwifery training. The matron of her midwifery training school regarded her as an excellent nurse. Miss Tennant, however, believed Fyfe's behaviour had brought the profession into disrepute and provided Miss Lambie with the following summary of her career in the hope that Fyfe could be barred from further advancement:

> She began training [in the late 1920s]. Her health had been very satisfactory until [half way through her fourth year] when we noticed she did not look well. During that month she lost over a stone in weight. She was warded .... She complained of tiredness and general malaise. She was examined by Dr Thomson [the Medical Superintendent], Dr Carmalt Jones and Dr Lyth and her chest was X-Rayed on two occasions.
>
> Nothing definite was found in clinical examinations. The first X-Ray was not entirely satisfactory but the second X-Ray

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was clear.

As there was some doubt about her health in view of the rapid loss of weight and look of illness and the first X-Ray report, it was decided to give her three months' leave on salary .... She was looking much better and her parents were anxious to have her home ....

[Three months later] she wrote resigning from the staff but no reason for her resignation was given. Dr T. ... wrote to Dr Thomson at the same time to inform him that Miss Fyfe was pregnant. Her child was born ... [about six weeks after her resignation] in Dunedin. Her mother informed me of this fact.

Miss Fyfe took the three months' salary knowing her condition was due to pregnancy and she made no offer to return the money which I consider she accepted under false pretences.

Later on, I was informed that Miss Fyfe's father took action to obtain maintenance for the child from the supposed father, but as other men were involved, he had to drop the case and it was not brought to court. The following extract from a latter [sic] written to me by Mrs Fyfe ... would seem that this information was correct — 'I was foolish enough to tell the child's father, that I would not allow Maire to marry him. He then wanted to put the blame onto someone else. Our lawyer tells us if we will let him take it to the Court, he will win the case, but it would mean publicity in the papers.'

Miss Fyfe and her mother both wrote to me to ask for a testimonial for her but I replied that under the circumstances in which she left the staff, it was impossible for me to give her a testimonial.

Miss Fyfe applied to Batchelor Hospital and Alexandra Home for training. Both matrons wrote to me regarding her and I advised them I considered her unsuitable for maternity training.

Neither [the matron of Fyfe's maternity training school] nor [the matron of her midwifery training school] made any inquiry of me. If Miss Fyfe presented any testimonial from me to them, it would be a forgery. I am willing that you should inform Miss Fyfe that I have told you of the circumstances under which she left this Hospital. It would be inadvisable to mention the circumstances in regard to the action for maintenance as that is not first hand knowledge, though

> I know it is true.
>
> I consider Miss Fyfe's conduct that lead to her pregnancy was most discreditable and very much unpleasant scandal for the Nurse's Home was the result. The men with whom she had been involved treated the matter as a good joke and were not reticent about their conduct with her.
>
> Miss Fyfe's nursing work was very good indeed. Up to the time she was registered I had no reason to think her conduct was unsatisfactory. From then until she was warded, I had some occasion to be uneasy about her conduct though I had no definite grounds on which to speak to her.
>
> When Miss Fyfe was rejected by [the matron of Batchelor Hospital] her mother wrote to me. I replied that she could make application at other maternity hospitals if she wished. It never occurred to me that any matron would accept her without making enquiries from me.[2]

Miss Lambie replied to Miss Tennant's letter by promising to talk seriously to Fyfe after her training ended. In view of her excellence as a nurse, she did not believe Fyfe could be prevented from completing the course. In fact Fyfe did complete her training and registered as a midwife soon afterwards. She seems to have continued nursing in her home town at least until her marriage two years later and remained registered as both a nurse and midwife under her married name.

Nurse Fyfe's experiences of nursing in the 1920s and 1930s illuminate some of the ideologies which shaped nursing education at a pivotal time in the history of the profession in New Zealand. In an era of considerable social change, nursing leaders strived to maintain traditional standards within the profession by training only women possessed of the 'true nursing spirit'.[3] At the same time, however, modern medicine demanded higher levels of technical excellence and skill and gradually created new standards against which to measure worthiness within the profession.

Maire Fyfe's background was typical of many pupil nurses of the time, although she was rather better educated than most. She came from a small South Island town, where her father worked as a clerk.

> My age is 18 and a half years [she wrote in her application letter], height 5 feet 1 in., weight 9 st. I have always enjoyed

> the best of health and strength and succeeded in obtaining first place for gymnastics during my four years' term at the secondary school which I attended . . . while there [I] succeeded in gaining my Senior Free Place . . . . Since leaving school . . . I am employed on the clerical staff of [a local company].

While many prospective nurses emphasised the nobility of the profession as their reason for wanting to train, Fyfe said that she had 'always thought it would be desirable to equip myself for some occupation' and that nursing appealed because one of her cousins was a doctor and another a nurse who had already trained at Dunedin Hospital. Like most applicants, she asked local community leaders for references. The mayor of her town noted:

> I have known the bearer Miss Maire Fyfe since her childhood and I am pleased to say that she is an exemplary and promising young woman.
>
> She has had the advantage of being reared in a home where example and careful parental training are a first consideration while her education has been carefully attended to. I feel every confidence in saying that she will make good in anything she undertakes.

Fyfe quickly proved to be a most promising nurse. Her ward reports commented on her honesty, punctuality and neat personal appearance, her quiet and professional manner, her keen interest and intelligence and her willing and capable execution of her duties. After three years' training, she passed the State examination and was registered the following month. Miss Tennant's graduation report noted under the heading 'Nursing service' that

> Nurse Fyfe is very capable and trustworthy in the performance of all her nursing duties. She is very interested in the upkeep of the ward stock and economical in its use. She also realizes her responsibilties in the supervision of her juniors.

Tennant's report on Fyfe's conduct was less enthusiastic:

> Her conduct has been very satisfactory and her professional attitude good. She presents a curious contrast in her sense of

> responsibility as regards little duties in the Nurses' Home and her responsibilities in the wards. She is very careless about many little things in the Home that are not really important but are irritating if neglected or ignored.

Nevertheless Fyfe was asked to stay on at the hospital for a fourth year as a staff nurse, her service at the hospital ending only with the illness which resulted from her pregnancy.

Fyfe, with active encouragement from her parents, especially her mother, wanted to continue nursing in order to support herself and her child. In the days before single mothers were eligible for any form of state benefit, paid work was her only option if she was to maintain any independence. Fyfe quickly proved herself a very popular private nurse. Working with a local doctor who found her work 'splendid', she was seldom without a case, even in the depths of the Depression when many private nurses suffered longterm unemployment. But without further training, Fyfe's future was limited. She needed certificates in maternity nursing and midwifery, six month courses usually taken consecutively at different hospitals. An essential prerequisite for entry into these courses was a testimonial from the matron of her general training school.

Fyfe herself, after four years' indoctrination regarding the ideal character befitting a trained nurse, does not seem to have expected Miss Tennant to give her a testimonial.

> Miss Tennant, I would very much like to have a reference from you [she wrote wistfully] but under the circumstances if you prefer not to give me one I shall quite understand.

Her mother, however, was made of sterner stuff. Mrs Fyfe's letter which is quoted in part by Miss Tennant, hinted at the possible unsavoury consequences of the matron's refusal to support Fyfe:

> Our lawyer tells us if we will let him take it to the Court, he will win the case, but it would mean publicity in the papers, also bringing several of the nurses as witnesses & showing up the Nurses' Home & Hospitals, we are the last people to wish this, but if Maire is to be kept back from going on with her training, then we will have to make the father pay for his child, I do hope Miss Tennant you will see the position.

In a further letter, Mrs Fyfe tried an appeal to the heart, pointing out that her daughter's whole future depended on Miss Tennant's reply.

> Now Miss Tennant, you trained her, & if you do not feel like giving Maire a reference do it for Mr Fyfe and myself & you will never realise how we appreciate it, if it is just on her work, although I may say it myself, Maire is very well liked ... & people ask for her in preference to another nurse. Dr S. will substantiate all I have said ... they are talking of starting a cottage hospital here & I am sure he would put her in charge of it, if only she had her maternity. Now Miss Tennant, think kindly about it ....

Miss Tennant remained unmoved. 'I regret that under the circumstances in which you left the staff, I feel it is impossible for me to give you a testimonial', she wrote to Fyfe, following this with a cold note to Mrs Fyfe in which she saw 'no reason to alter my former decision regarding the matter'.

The interwar period was one of considerable change within the nursing profession. It was a time of increasing job opportunities for girls, whose expectations of work conditions were also changing. A serious shortage of applicants for probationer nurse positions resulted, particularly in the early 1920s. In order to staff hospitals, it was found necessary to accept probationers at a younger age, even although matrons regarded them as less reliable and insufficiently mature to handle the responsibilities of nursing. Public opinion and government pressure forced reluctant hospital boards to increase trainees' salaries from a range of about 12 – 40 pounds in 1918 to a range of 30 – 100 pounds, to reduce hours to the statutory eight per day, to allow one day off per week, to extend annual leave to three or four weeks per year and improve staff health by giving regular medical examinations and taking precautions against tuberculosis and other infectious diseases. Nursing leaders focused on improving training standards by selecting applicants with higher levels of schooling, introducing preliminary classes for probationers before they were thrown into ward work, appointing tutor sisters who were responsible for pupil training, and providing opportunities for university and postgraduate education for senior staff.

The pace of change during the 1920s was an important factor in shaping Fyfe's nursing experience and the responses of senior nurses to her situation. Many of these women believed the very foundations of nursing were being threatened by the new emphases on technical and scientific knowledge rather than practical skill and character, and on material well-being rather than self-sacrificing service. Nurses who grumbled about long hours and poor pay could not be 'regarded as women faithfully serving the sick, loyally supporting their hospitals and upholding the ideals of the profession'. Scientific teaching and financial concerns had 'overshadowed the true nursing spirit'; it was no longer 'as Florence Nightingale meant it to be'.[4] Nursing leaders thus campaigned actively to return nursing to the ideals on which it had been established. Miss Campbell, matron of New Plymouth Hospital, for example, refused her board's offer for nurses to have one day off per fortnight in 1923,[5] and as late as 1931, the medical superintendent of Wanganui Hospital declared that nurses were well looked after and did not need a day off a week.[6] Millicent Ashdown's *A Complete System of Nursing*, the 'nursing Bible' of pupil nurses in New Zealand in the 1920s,[7] described the ideal nurse in words with which these women fully identified. The nurse, she wrote:

> must be punctual, good tempered, obedient, and loyal to all rules as the foundation of her work. She must also be active, yet quiet and deft; methodical, reliable, careful, clean and neat; observant, intelligent, and economical; possessed of self-control, persevering gentleness, tact, sympathy, and common sense; careful to repect professional etiquette, remembering what is due to those in authority . . . . Nurses should always remember the sacredness of their profession, and hold it in such respect that they will never bring discredit on their uniform . . . . They must ever remember that discipline and obedience are the keynote to satisfactory and efficient work . . .[8]

In face of all the other challenges to their profession, nursing leaders were determined that a registered nurse would remain a woman 'fit, morally, mentally and physically' for the work before her.[9] Moral character as much as nursing skill therefore would still be the focus of judgements made on pupils at all stages of

their training course.

The selection process was a matron's first tool in weeding out the unfit. Deborah Dunsford found that at Auckland Hospital between 22 and 40 percent of candidates were rejected at the application stage between 1913 and 1947.[10] References in the Dunedin Hospital nursing files of those accepted in the later 1920s indicate the types of probationers matrons favoured. One young woman had a 'quiet, ladylike appearance and manners ... [her] moral character ... beyond reproach', another was 'thoroughly upright'. Some were said to be 'amenable to rules', others 'deferential to authority' or 'tactful, careful and obedient'. Many references, like that of Nurse Fyfe, mentioned the respectability of the family and the devotion of the daughter to family interests, while religious conviction was also important. As we have seen, a good secondary education such as Nurse Fyfe received was also preferred, although lack of academic distinction was certainly no barrier to a girl otherwise possessed of worthy character.

All pupil nurses were placed on probation for the first three months of their service. At the end of this time, they might or might not be asked to sign on to the permanent staff. At Dunedin Hospital in the period 1921-1926, approximately one third of pupils left at this stage in the years 1921, 1925 and 1926, one sixth in the years 1923 and 1924 and an astounding two-thirds in the year 1922.[11] Some left of their own accord either for health reasons or because they disliked the work but most were found unsuitable by the matron. Probationers were variously noted as 'unsatisfactory', 'untruthful', 'not good enough type', 'tone of converation very undesirable' or the ubiquitous 'totally unsuitable for training'. Matrons were particularly rigorous during the probationary period because once nurses were 'on the books', matronly power was somewhat curtailed. Hospital boards were reluctant to lose their investment without extracting a full measure of work service in return and it was often 'difficult for a matron to find convincing reasons for the termination of... training'.[12]

In order to preserve the high moral character of the nurse, hospitals assumed the right to control not only her working day but also her off-duty time. During the probationary period in the 1920s, nurses were allowed no late leave at all, and thereafter

they were expected to be home by 10 p.m. every night, with a late leave of 11 p.m. once a week. The Home sisters patrolled the corridors at 10 p.m. to make sure that all nurses were in bed with lights out and those who were even a few minutes late were sent to the matron's office the next morning.

In making these rules, matrons sought to protect their charges from moral temptation and to prevent them from bringing their profession into disrepute. It is fair to say that in this, they had the support of many parents, who were not prepared to allow their daughters to take up any but the most respectable occupations. Matron Helen Brown of Dunedin Hospital wrote despairingly after dismissing nurse Betty Hunter in 1923 for staying out all night in the company of a medical student that

> The poor mother . . . told me that she was not anxious about her daughter because she thought she was so well supervised and I felt as if I had failed her.

Brown was appalled at the prospect of a public inquiry into the matter because other nurses would have to give evidence and she was sure 'their mothers [would] take them home if they [were] dragged into it'.[13] Similarly, Matron Tennant's resentment in Nurse Fyfe's case was greatly exacerbated because of the scandal which damaged the reputation of the Nurses' Home. In threatening more unfavourable publicity through a possible court case, Mrs Fyfe was making the most of an issue on which matrons felt very vulnerable.

Some nurses, however, especially those in their third or fourth year of training and 22 or 23 years of age, found Nurses' Home rules 'ridiculously strict'. It was impossible to keep a boyfriend in these circumstances, said one of Fyfe's contemporaries; he would simply drop you at the Home at 10 p.m. and 'waltz off' with someone else. Thus many nurses returned at 10 p.m., were checked in, waited till all was quiet and then left again via a window until the early hours of the morning. The only trick was to remain uncaught.[14]

Nevertheless, Nurse Fyfe might not have won much sympathy from her own peer group had they known of her condition. One of her contemporaries admitted that as a trainee she had little compassion for the young single girls who entered Dunedin

Hospital's gynaecological ward after botched abortions or to give birth.[15] Matron Brown's information in the case above came from other pupils, while Bridget Ristori noted in her autobiography that, when training at Masterton Hospital in the early 1920s, she and others signed a petition requesting dismissal of a nurse with a 'bad name' who had been seen kissing a patient.[16]

Yet as Fyfe's contemporary also pointed out, young women in the 1920s weren't 'sweet and innocent, [they were] just plain ignorant' about sexual matters.

> If anything had happened to us, we would have been to blame. Our parents sent us off with no information at all we just didn't know what in the world to expect and nothing was told us in hospital. In all our lectures and that sort of thing in hospital, nothing was even mentioned.[17]

In her reminiscences of nursing in the 1920s Marion Sainsbury also discusses her shock at having to deal with miscarriage patients and others in the gynaecological wards at Dunedin Hospital, and describes how innocent she and her friends were and how little they were told about sexual matters, either at home or in the hospital.[18] It seems quite possible that Nurse Fyfe's ignorance was such that she was unaware of her pregnancy when she first became ill, since had she known she would surely not have sought medical examination by the hospital's doctors.

Most nurses in the 1920s believed that sexual misconduct meant instant dismissal from the hospital. In practice, however, as matrons were aware, nurses were dismissed before completing their training only 'in cases of flagrant misconduct', particularly if patients or medical students were involved.[19] As we saw above, Betty Hunter was dismissed from Dunedin Hospital for remaining out all night in the company of a medical student. Elsie Knight was found guilty of 'gross dereliction of duty' when she and a medical student were seen sitting in a ward side room while Knight was on night duty. Knight was, however, permitted to sit the state examination before being discharged. In 1925 Dorothy Grandison resigned after a Hospital Committee inquiry into allegations that she had been going out with a married ex-patient. Grandison's removal was one of four engineered by Miss Tennant within the first few months of her appointment as

matron in February 1925. A woman of forceful personality whose 'high ideals ... strongly influenced her life's work',[20] Tennant was particularly uncompromising in her determination to preserve the high moral tone of the nursing profession. Matron Brown found disciplining her staff made 'life almost unbearable at times'[21] but no such misgivings seem to have disturbed the sleep of her successor. Nor did hospital authorities usually feel it incumbent upon them to reprimand the male parties to these crimes. Miss Tennant was perfectly ready to believe that Fyfe's child was not fathered by one man simply because he chose to blame someone else, while Betty Hunter's medical student friend was banned from the hospital for a year only after a long and bitter dispute in which 'all sorts of influence [was] brought to bear on the matter on the boy's behalf' by the Medical School hierarchy.[22]

Although they could not always prevent 'unsatisfactory' nurses from becoming trained, nursing leaders sought other ways to prevent 'discredit' to the profession. As was pointed out in *Kai Tiaki*, nurses required testimonials at all stages of their careers,[23] and in Miss Tennant's chilly words, it was her 'unfailing rule ... to give recommendations only to those whose work and conduct has been quite satisfactory during their training'.[24] National controls were instituted in 1925, when Miss Tennant suggested that a 'black list' of unsuitable trainees should be issued to all matrons,[25] and Miss Bicknell requested that all matrons send a short report on each pupil prior to the State examinations, describing her work skills, professional attitude and conduct, the reports to be used in making future appointments.[26] In the last resort, a nurse could even be refused registration. The Registration Board was obliged to register only those of 'good character and reputation' and could decline any person who did not meet this standard.[27]

Like Fyfe, many disgraced nurses did not accept their fates meekly but few achieved Fyfe's success in continuing their careers. Without testimonials their future remained bleak. All four of the nurses dismissed by Matron Tennant from Dunedin Hospital in 1925 attempted but failed to get into other training schools. Nurse Grandison applied unsuccessfully to at least two other hospitals and also appealed to Miss Bicknell,[28] Nurse Hunter lost her case after a hospital board inquiry, and Elsie

Knight, although she obtained work in a small country hospital, was unable to secure a better position.

Fyfe was able to surmount the power of her matron for several reasons. First, her parents continued to support her and fight for her future.[29] Second, the unthinkable occurred and Fyfe's applications for further training eventually went through without referral to her former matron. In the end, however, all was known and still Fyfe was allowed to register as both nurse and midwife, even although Miss Tennant herself was a member of the Registration Board at the time. It would seem that in the final judgement, Fyfe's sin was outweighed both by her dedication to nursing, demonstrated in her determination to succeed against all odds, and by her excellence as a nurse. Not only did she pass all her examinations with high marks but she was also an outstanding practical nurse.

During the 1920s and 1930s, the wages of sin remained death to a nursing career for most and Miss Lambie made it clear that Fyfe's sin too would preclude her appointment to a senior nursing post. Nevertheless, Fyfe's experience reveals both the limitations of matronly power and the changing standards which were beginning to impact on the nursing profession. While moral respectability was still a significant factor in defining a nurse's worth, the time would come when skill, efficiency and competence would count as much or more.

* * *

Patricia Sarginson is a tutor in New Zealand history at Canterbury University. She is completing a PhD on the history of nursing in New Zealand.

Notes

1. The names of all nurses in training mentioned in this article have been changed.
2. Miss Tennant's letter and the letters and reports which follow come from the file of one of the nurses who trained at Dunedin Hospital in the 1920s. The files of the nurses who completed their training at the hospital in the period 1910 – 1930 are held at the

Hocken Library, 37/94. Personal names have been changed and other identifying details obscured.

3. This phrase was used frequently in testimonials and confidential reports on nurses in the 1920s, not only at Dunedin Hospital but also at Christchurch.
4. *Kai Tiaki*, October 1927, p. 216.
5. Letter to Hester Maclean, 9 July 1923, N.Z. Health Department, H1 21/23/12, National Archives.
6. *Taihape Times*, 19 June 1931, ibid., H1 54/11/19.
7. Dorothy Compton, NZ Nursing and Education Foundation (NERF) oral history project, tape 29, NZ Oral History Archive, Alexander Turnbull Library.
8. Ashdown, *A Complete System of Nursing*, 3rd ed., (Dent, London, 1922) pp. 1-2.
9. *Kai Tiaki*, 18:2 (April 1925) p.54.
10. D. Dunsford, '"The Privilege to Serve Others": The Working Conditions of General Nurses in Auckland's Public Hospitals, 1908-1950', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1994, p.146.
11. Dunedin Hospital Nursing School. Pupil registers, 1921 – 1926, Hocken Library 37/94, box 6a.
12. *Kai Tiaki*, Jan 1927, p.39. To counter this, matrons sought unsuccessfully to extend the probationary period from three to six months in 1927. Although the formal probationary period remained at three months, the Hospital Boards Association agreed that matrons and medical superintendents could extend it up to six months if required.
13. Brown to Maclean, 4 October 1923, N.Z. Health Department, H1 21/23/47.
14. Agnes Orr (Taylor), Reminiscences, NERF oral history tape 154.
15. ibid.
16. B. Tothill, *Patients in My Care: The Autobiography of a Nurse* (Elek, London, 1967) p.37.
17. Agnes Orr.
18. Marion Sainsbury, Reminiscences, NERF oral history tape 65.
19. Matron Stott of Wellington Hospital to Hester Maclean, 29 August 1918, N.Z. Health Department, H1 21/23/19.
20. Dr Thomson, speech at the laying of a memorial plaque to Miss Tennant, *New Zealand Nursing Journal*, 24:4 (15 June 1949) p. 115.
21. Helen Brown to Hester Maclean, 15 October 1923, N.Z. Health Department, H1 21/23/47.
22. Letters from Matron Brown to Hester Maclean, 15 October 1923 and 3 March 1924, ibid., H1 21/23/47.

23. *Kai Tiaki*, October 1927, pp. 203–4.
24. Letter to a nurse, 20 March 1931, Dunedin Hospital Nursing School nursing files. The first conference of matrons in 1927 passed motions on both these issues, resolving that no nurse who left training for other than health reasons should be taken on elsewhere, and no registered nurse should be appointed to a position without a satisfactory reference from her training matron, *Kai Tiaki*, July 1927, pp. 142-3.
25. Tennant to Bicknell, 16 November 1925, N.Z. Health Department, H1 21/23/47.
26. Circular letter from Jessie Bicknell to matrons, 22 October 1925, Christchurch Hospital, Lady Superintendent's Office, Miscellaneous correspondence, 1923–1930, CH 426/26a, National Archives, Christchurch.
27. Secretary of the Board to Dr Fox, Christchurch Hospital, 18 August 1933, N.Z. Health Department, H1 21/18.
28. Tennant to Miss Bicknell, 9 September 1925, ibid., H1 21/23/47.
29. Fyfe continued to live with her parents until her marriage. Although it is unclear from the records, they may also have taken care of the baby while Fyfe continued nursing.

Reviews

Feminism and the Politics of Difference
Sneja Gunew and Anna Yeatman (eds.)
Bridget Williams Books, Wellington/Allen and Unwin, St Leonards, 1993. $34.95

Justice and Identity: Antipodean Practices
Margaret Wilson and Anna Yeatman (eds.)
Bridget Williams Books, Wellington/Allen and Unwin, St Leonards, 1995. $39.95

The possibilities, problems and practice of feminist and post-colonial politics are the core concerns of these collections of essays. Jointly produced by New Zealand and Australian publishers, they are the product of new intellectual networks in Australia, New Zealand and Canada and contemporary demands on feminists, political theorists, lawyers and sociologists to rethink old assumptions about selfhood, sovereignty, difference, identity and citizenship.

Both these collections refuse an opposition between 'here' and 'there', the 'local' and the 'global', and assume the advantages of thinking instead about the local and the global — the simultaneous possibility of difference, specificity and connection across ethnicities, national boundaries and regions (*FPD*, p. xvi). In this respect they speak in pertinent ways to readers in the New Zealand context where 'biculturalism' and 'multiculturalism' are often opposed as mutually exclusive alternatives.

The contributions to *Justice and Identity* focus predominantly, but not exclusively, on the context of New Zealand Aotearoa. *Feminism and the Politics of Difference* is more international in its orientation. However, its contributors, including those with New Zealand connections, are predominantly located in Australian or Canadian universities, many of them immigrants or the daughters of immigrant parents — representing in their own lives the discontinuities in location and the flexible identities characteristic of many intellectuals and other migrant workers in the late twentieth century.

One of the forms of continuity across these texts is the editorial

hand of Anna Yeatman, formerly professor in Women's Studies at Waikato University and now professor and chair of Sociology at Macquarie University in Sydney. Her interest in forms of feminist theorising which address difference, contest assumed essential identities and problematise aspects of feminist rhetoric are evident in both collections of essays. Her intellectual networks within New Zealand Aotearoa and internationally and her commitment to post-structuralist feminisms which challenge identity politics significantly shape both these books.

Australian literary scholar Sneja Gunew shares Anna Yeatman's enthusiasm for post-structuralist feminisms. As a result *Feminism and the Politics of Difference* has a more consistent theoretical orientation than the volume which Anna Yeatman has jointly edited with Margaret Wilson, Professor of Law at Waikato University. Contributions to *Justice and Identity* encompass a wider variety of orientations to postcolonial politics and include essays which look positively at forms of identity politics which are subjected to the full force of post-structuralist critique in *Feminism and the Politics of Difference.* Its contributions are also more accessible, more likely to weave analysis, substantive information and political critique and less likely to focus on positioning their authors relative to other protagonists in an intellectual field. While Wilson and Gunew contribute lively opening essays to each collection, Yeatman has the final word in both books. Her densely argued and fairly abstract essays echo the version of postmodern emancipatory politics articulated in her *Postmodern Revisionings of the Political* (1994).

While each of these texts addresses crucial political questions, neither is very accessible to a general reader interested in contemporary debates about otherness, difference, feminism, justice, sovereignty and identity. Both include pieces which are likely to confound readers who are not accustomed to daily engagement with the work of Deleuze and Guattari, Rawls, Butler, Said, Kristeva, Lacan and Spivak. Much of the writing is academically dense. For example, in their introduction to *Feminism and the Politics of Difference,* Gunew and Yeatman state that :

> . . . a binary identity politics develops when it is forgotten that the identity of the excluded comes into being only within

> the political relationship of a contested universalism, when indeed this identity is retroactively projected as something that was always there and that is a given as far as politics is concerned. When identities are lived in this way, politics gets to be subordinated to the ritual enactment of ontologized difference. Such ritual enactment substitutes force of various kinds for the delicate and interlocutory contingencies of political contestation (p. xxii).

This passage highlights the ways in which relational political identities (like 'oppressor' and 'oppressed', 'coloniser' and 'colonised') are defined in terms of the essential attributes of political groups claiming resources, equal treatment or changes in the organisation of some aspect of society. As they make these political claims, groups organised around some attribute of difference like gender or ethnicity draw on general moral and political principles (e.g. 'justice', 'equality', 'fairness') and hence insert themselves into what Yeatman refers to as a 'contested universalism'. While this is a useful way of analysing political claims by women, indigenous people or immigrants, the extract above is indicative of the work the reader needs to do before they can engage with the arguments advanced by some contributors to this collection of essays.

Such criticisms of post-structuralist writing are addressed by Vicki Kirby in her contribution to *Feminism and the Politics of Difference.* She argues that those pursuing complexity are often accused of lack of clarity by others who want them to make 'this new material immediately accessible' (p. 26). The complexity of complexity is certainly a key feature of this collection of essays. For those who seek intellectual stretch and are familiar with the sources used by the contributors, these essays are an excellent source of stimulation and confirmation of intellectual identity. For those less familiar with post-structuralist sources, the debate is likely to seem very academic, philosophical and detached from the everyday politics of doing difference in community organisations, workplaces, unions, classrooms and political parties.

In their introduction to *Feminism and the Politics of Difference* Gunew and Yeatman argue that 'the ability to deal with difference is at the centre of feminism's survival as a movement for social change' (p. xxiv). Poststructuralist and postcolonial theory

is offered as a way of addressing difference, identifying the different speaking positions of women, their competing interests and the complex connections between them. This is posed as an alternative to 'homogenising categories' like 'oppressor' and 'oppressed' which require deconstruction.

Gunew and Yeatman identify themselves as those who have been caught up in particular debates about difference in both Australia and New Zealand. Gunew has been involved in the politics of constructing and deconstructing the category 'multicultural writing' — simultaneously challenging the hegemony of English literature and resisting the homogenisation of writing by Australians whose first language is not English. Yeatman has encountered what she refers to as 'cultural fundamentalism' in New Zealand — a commitment to addressing difference between indigenous peoples and Pakeha at the expense of attention to other forms of difference and an exploration of differences within each of these opposed ethnicities. Wendy Larner's contribution to *Feminism and the Politics of Difference* articulates the significance of these other forms of difference in the context of an examination of immigration to New Zealand and its relationship to labour markets and gender. However, there is no Maori feminist analysis of the issues surrounding biculturalism and multiculturalism in *Feminism and the Politics of Difference* — a significant absence for New Zealand readers.

The location of the editors in contemporary debates around biculturalism and multiculturalism is also explored in the introduction to *Justice and Identity*. Wilson and Yeatman provide a lively introductory essay which poses questions about what it means for universities or particular departments or faculties within them to be 'bicultural'. As administrators of academic programmes identified as ideally placed to respond to pressures on universities to be 'bicultural', they look critically at the absence of available understandings about what this might entail. The lecture series which provided the basis for the book was a response on their part to the need to stimulate debate about the place of biculturalism in New Zealand universities in the late twentieth century.

The outcome of this lecture series is a lively and varied collection of essays which combines contributions from lawyers, politi-

cal activists, policy analysts, sociologists, anthropologists and post-structuralist/postcolonial theorists. It encompasses discussion of the *Ka Awatea Report*, *The April Report* of the Royal Commission on Social Policy and discussion of Te Ohu Whakatupu as a model of partnership within the Ministry of Women's Affairs. There are also more philosophical essays by Andrew Sharp and Anna Yeatman. Robert Mahuta provides an exceptionally timely account of Tainui's struggles with the Crown over land in the Waikato while Paul Spoonley makes a convincing argument for the analysis of 'Pakeha' as an available postcolonial political identity. In one of the most interesting contributions to this collection Australian philosopher Paul Patton weaves a discussion of society as process and transformation into an analysis of the Mabo judgement about Aboriginal 'native title'.

While the contributions to *Justice and Identity* focus on political claims organised around ethnicity, most of the contributions to *Feminism and the Politics of Difference* attend to the production of texts about gender and ethnic difference. Vicki Kirby looks at issues related to the writing of ethnography, Sneja Gunew discusses multicultural writing in the Australian, Canadian and New Zealand contexts and Laleen Jayamanne provides a Sri Lankan reading of *Night Cries*, a film by Aboriginal Australian film-maker, Tracey Moffat. Jackie Huggins, an oral historian, looks at the process of producing a text about her mother's life and Midori Matsui provides a dense Lacanian reading of feminised boy characters in 'boy-boy comics' aimed at Japanese girls. Margaret Jolly offers a critical reading of two texts about white women in the colonies as a background to her reflections on the lives and texts of two such women in the Pacific, while Efi Hatzimanolis focuses on Anna Couani's text *The Harbour Breathes* as an example of ways in which non-Anglo-Celtic Australian women's writing 'negotiates ideological assumptions about class, sex/gender, race and cultural differences' (p. 137). Different ways of addressing 'otherness' are explored by Smaro Kamboureli through her discussion of contrasts between Nino Ricci's novel *Lives of the Saints* and Ven Begamudre's *A Planet of Eccentrics*.

Among the contributions I found most engaging was Daiva Stasiulis' case study of the pursuit of 'authenticity' by the Canadian feminist publishing house, Women's Press. She looks

critically at the establishment of a set of guidelines for censoring accounts of lived experience which 'by virtue of race or ethnicity, is substantially removed from the writer' (*FPD*, p.39). Stasiulis explores the essentialist assumptions which underlie the censorship of such writing and makes an excellent case for the alternative strategy of widening the publishing opportunities of those whose life experience and political analysis has not been represented in mainstream publishing. Along the way she provides an excellent review of the way 'others' have been represented in Canadian, Australian and New Zealand fiction.

Stasiulis argues that developments in Canada which facilitate the publication of writing by women who are indigenous, women of colour, immigrants and those whose native language is neither English nor French are connected to 'postmodern feminist, leftist and Third World deconstructionist approaches to literary criticism' which affirm difference rather than deny it. However, the focus is on political issues associated with the publication of women's writing rather than her engagement with these intellectual trends. Theory weaves through her writing rather than being an end in itself. It is a resource rather than a preoccupation.

For more personal reasons I was drawn to contributions to *Feminism and the Politics of Difference* which addressed the phenomenon of the 'border' and the complexity of 'hybridised' identities. A hybrid daughter of an English mother and an Afrikaner father I was born in one country, grew up in another and have spent my adult life as an immigrant in a third. I am a non-Polynesian immigrant in the context of Aotearoa, but in South Africa a descendant of Huguenot settlers who fled persecution in France to assert 'white' power at the tip of the African continent. In Britain my mother's German family name marks me as the descendant of yet another set of European immigrants. I juggle these identities, prioritising them in different contexts, but live them as the effects of layers of migration, meeting, mating, colonialisation and assertions of sameness and difference in a variety of contexts. This kind of complexity is addressed by Annamarie Jagose in a skilful and elegant essay which critiques Gloria Anzaldua's construction of 'utopic hybridization' in *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. Jagose argues poignantly that, despite hybridization, we can never transcend the duality of

the border, nor undo the construction of differences and distinctions.

Elizabeth Grosz's endorsement of *Feminism and the Politics of Difference* declares that it is 'a courageous book'. Both these collections are courageous in their determination to embrace difficult agendas. They also demand intrepid, persistent and courageous readers interested in complexity and multiplicity and understandings of selfhood which resist 'authoritative closure' (Mohanram, *FPD*, p. 191). Provocative and intellectually stretching, these texts articulate some of the ways in which we can address the consequences of colonisation and our collective, but differently experienced, 'hybridization'.

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Vision Aotearoa: Kaupapa New Zealand
Roslie Capper, Amy Brown (interviewers), Witi Ihimaera (ed.)
Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993. $34.95

What is kaupapa? Williams' dictionary lists twelve definitions from which I would choose for this book 'plan, scheme or proposal' — or perhaps 'agenda'? This exploration of New Zealand identity focuses on kaupapa as vision — subsequent to the 1990 'celebrations' of the Treaty of Waitangi. Eleven women and nine men, twenty people of whom eleven primarily identify as Maori, discuss our position now and their vision for the twenty-first century.

The juxtapositions of the double title suggest a dislocation or an attempt at bicultural fusion where the words do not directly translate, reflecting both the political discomfort and persistent idealism of the Treaty partners contemplating their future alliance. Roslie Capper in her introduction states 'I wanted to place before the wider community the visions of people who stand clearly in this land and who have thought deeply about the future. And, having heard some profoundly different visions from Maori and Pakeha, I wanted to put them alongside each other to find the powerful connections I hoped were there'.

The contributors, described as change-seekers, are neither

flamboyant nor flagrantly radical. Each has established a high public profile of service at a national or iwi level and reveals a passionate response to the future. These are articulate statements of integrity polished from years of experience and persistence. This is not a record of reminiscences, although some fragments of life histories emerge. Apart from three very brief statements by the editor and interviewers, the contributions are printed without editorial comment or analysis. The reason for division of the book into two parts is not apparent. In general the contributions alternate between male and female and Pakeha and Maori, all with differences of perspectives and priorities — a collection of monologues rather than conversations. There is in each contribution a clear sense of the individual voice uncluttered by set interview format or editorial intrusion.

Each of the Maori contributors has a different point of entry to the central issue — the attainment of tino rangatiratanga. Tipene O'Regan concentrates on the economic base for Ngai Tahu, Georgina Kirby considers the political position of Maori women through her connection with Kahungungu kawa, Matarena Rau-Kupa focuses on the continuous Taranaki Parihaka. Mason Durie, Matiu Rata, Sandra Lee, Wakahuihui Vercoe, Irihapeti Ramsden all seek wider expressions of rangatiratanga through the extension of existing Maori congress or political parties. They do not speak with one voice but there is an insistent tension which will relax only when the clauses of the Treaty are honoured in New Zealand institutions and legislation.

Relatively few of the contributors devote much of the discussion specifically to women. 'My vision is that New Zealand is a place where women have genuine equality, not lip service' (Margaret Mulgan). 'I would like to see women's skills brought into policy .... Women take well to co-operative ways of working. [This] brings out the best in people so they have faith in themselves and are not frightened to offer solutions' (Marie Bell). Several of the contributors see education as crucial to the rebuilding of a just society for the twenty-first century. 'I take my hat off to the initiatives of women educators. Of all the Maori women working towards change today, these teachers are the most important' (Sandra Lee).

Various Maori perspectives on Mana Wahine are presented.

Bishop Vercoe explains his refusal to attend Bishop Penny Jamieson's ordination in Dunedin. Marjorie Rau-Kupa discusses challenges to the present status of Maori women on the marae and believes that change will come. Denese Henare states: 'unless the status of Maori women is recognised, appreciated and enhanced I believe we are going to see a continuing erosion of Maori society. We cannot exist without these fundamental values, precepts and ethics that Maori women bring to decision making.' Irihapeti Ramsden speaks of the necessity of writing women into Maori history. Georgina Kirby expresses hope for the success of the Fish/Waring petition for gender-balanced parliamentary representation which could have possibilities not only for Maori and Pakeha women's political status, but for an electoral system that includes a Maori electoral system.

While most of the contributors are concerned with social and economic policy, the perspectives of Michael Fay and Brian Richards provide a literal change of pace, creative energy of the marketplace, fewer hard questions and more optimistic assertions. Contributions by George Salmond and Ken Piddington discuss New Zealand's future in an international context.

Does a kaupapa New Zealand emerge from the collection? Concern is tempered with hope and a general acceptance that working towards a common vision progresses slowly. Pakeha acknowledge that they are not one with Maori. As five generations have passed Britain is no longer home. Pakeha belong here with Maori only by virtue of the Treaty.

There are warnings as well as visions. There is a pervasive awareness of the collapse of the egalitarian society (whether a myth or not): increasing violence, inequities in provision of availability of health and education, and increasing privatisation accompanied by materialistic individualism. We have left Godzone and it will be a long way to the promised land. Nevertheless there is a strong consciousness of the uniqueness of New Zealand's opportunity, even duty, to show the rest of the world something new. 'We have the opportunity to restore and achieve social equity .... We have cultural diversity as well as environmental diversity. We could serve the planet well by showing what is possible for the rest of the world' (Sandra Lee).

The different visions for Maori and Pakeha are evident, but

diverse perspectives within these two groups present a challenge which the collection itself does nothing to resolve. I found myself wishing that the book had included an epilogue which identified the 'powerful connections' and analysed the contributions to a 'meta vision'. The articulation of a synthesis, if this is possible, is left to the reader.

Shared qualities emerge but from different cultural viewpoints: respect for the past, hard work, identification with this land. The search for security and the fostering of national, iwi and individual mana are strong connections throughout these contributions. The voices are optimistic with an underlying faith that these goals can be reached — eventually. Democracy, full consultation and consensus decision-making are the means of achieving social justice. The voices heard in this collection are diverse but the visions are harmonious.

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Pirating the Pacific: Images of Trade and Tourism
Ann Stephen (ed.)
Powerhouse Publishing, Sydney, 1993. $24.95

Pirating the Pacific is a publication focusing on images of colonial trade and tourism within the Pacific. Comprised of three essays and a series of captioned photographs that focus on different themes of the colonial experience, it sets out to critique Europe's fascination with the Pacific, re-stating the well-known fact that the colonial Pacific became a site for economic exploitation and a dream, an idealised paradise — constructed in both respects for and by white men. The text presents 'evidence' of this construction from writings as diverse as missionary journals and romantic novels and of course a wide array of photographic images. So what's so new or different about this publication you might well ask?

The construction of the text, which is divided into a number of essays and photographic captions, emerges as immediately problematic. What I find most disturbing is the lack of attention given to the effects on Pacific cultures and individuals, and the emphasis on the 'white expert' as writer, a very colonial notion in

itself. This is perhaps most explicit in the editor's decision to allow six 'comments' from 'South Pacific Islanders' living in Australia, who are only allowed to comment on one photograph each! Stephens in her introduction mentions these caption writers and adds that she hopes these voices will 'provoke other non-European responses' (p. 19). Perhaps a few decades ago this kind of attitude would have been expected, but in the nineties there are more than a few 'experts' of Pacific ancestry, who are more than 'qualified' to write whole essays on the material exhibited in this show. *Pirating the Pacific* would have proven so much more challenging and insightful had the editor given Pacific writers and academics the chance to offer their own readings of these artefacts of colonialism.

From the outset, Ross Gibson in his essay, 'I Could Not See as Much as I Desired', establishes a most unfortunate 'them and us' relationship, by stating that 'The South Pacific is bigger and more various than anyone can perceive. So how is it that we understand it?' (p. 22). The failure to state exactly who the 'we' represents is testimony to his presumption that the voice of the intended reader is western — something that he seems to take for granted. Gibson discusses the experience of the Pacific from two European male perspectives — Pedro Fernadez de Quiros, a Portuguese mariner, and an Australian trading company, Burns Philip and Co Ltd.

Writing about cross-cultural issues today, writers need to situate themselves firmly within their own cultural backgrounds, in order for their work to be seen in context. Constant references to 'we' and 'us' creates an 'us and them' relationship which both marginalises those represented in the images, and also works to exclude non-western readers.

Nicholas Thomas in, 'The Beautiful and the Damned' describes exotic and missionary constructions of Pacific Island cultures. He writes that 'whether as specimens of "New Georgia Natives", or as objects of desire in "Tahitian Girls", island women and men are rendered anonymous and generic' (p. 49) — and they remain so within the context of his essay and this publication. Apart from the photo captions, no voice is given to the people re-presented and once more the text becomes a western quasi-academic exercise in cross-cultural theorising.

Questions about the politics of consent — the relationship between the sitter and the photographer, the set-up dynamics of the photographer's studio etc. — could have been issues which, if developed, would present the 'colonised's' experience as opposed to re-presenting stereotypes of cultural oppression and pacification. Some mentions of the social, economic and political events going on at the time would also have shed some light on the context in which these images were being 'taken' and collected.

Thomas's simplistic conclusion — 'It was the culture of the white settlers in the island, not that of the indigenous peoples, that was fated to pass away' (p. 59) — further emphasises the etic nature of this publication. By distancing himself from the damaging times of 'white settler' the writer conveniently sites himself in a time or context 'post' colonial oppression and racist agenda. The Pacific that Thomas writes about then would seem to be no longer a 'field of disputed meaning' (p. 46).

Ann Stephen also chooses to write from the outside looking in. She states from the outset that her view is purely etic: 'My scrutiny of the images will concentrate on how they represent white Australia's attitudes and values in regards to race' (p. 64). Juxtaposing a number of personal family snap shots with colonial images, she sets up a somewhat incongruous compare and contrast exercise. The writer contrasts a personal photograph of her father and uncle dressed in military uniform with an obviously staged studio photograph featuring two 'anonymous' Solomon Island warriors appropriately dressed, and writes: 'Placed beside these other two, whose lives and deaths were unknown, we only see them standing quite formally captured in a photo-graphic studio in ceremonial dress. What do their beaded "Union Jacks" signify? Did they live to see their island become the Pacific theatre of that same war?' (p. 70). Unknown to whom?

Publications of this nature — a mass gathering of numerous constructed cultural stereotypes which focuses on description as opposed to any attempt to convey an indigenous context or significant voice — often fall into the trap of reducing those re-presented to the level of the fiction of the stereotyped images they reflect. I'm sure the two Solomon Island men photographed

and their families were just as much aware of life, death and contemporary political and social events of their time as the two European soldiers contrasted with them. I am also sure that if a Pacific Island writer was enabled to respond, many of Stephen's questions may have been answered, and more importantly some balance to her approach would have been achieved.

While this publication does offer insightful accounts about European perceptions of 'the other', its failure to incorporate any substantial voice for Pacific people emerges as highly problematic. This is not to imply that only people of Pacific descent can write about Pacific culture, but rather to highlight the need for an acknowledgment and acceptance of the importance of indigenous views. By writing about images and concentrating on western photographic analyses, the writers fail to give any attention to the indigenous cultural significance. These writers all implicate themselves within the very structure they have set out to critique. The inclusion of comments by South Sea Islanders — many of whom are not identified as coming from any particular area within the South Seas — emerges more as a token voice, snippets of exotica, offering insights so brief that they have more in common with their ancestors' photographic images than with the western essay writers.

Gibson, like Thomas and Stephens, speaks for and represents the beliefs and value systems of the European analysing images and texts of non-western people and cultures and presents yet another form of cultural imperialism. By analysing and discussing non-western cultural forms and imagery from a western perspective, even in a critical fashion, the west as focus or subject remains firmly sited. What has changed? When will Pacific Islanders get the opportunity to speak, to reply? It would seem that the Pacific remains still a site of European agenda and desire.

Caroline Vercoe, Art History and Theory, University of Otago

Carol Brown
Three Dances: *Anatomy of Reason/Post-Colonial Waltz/The Sea*
Pre-view Performance, Dunedin, January 1995

When Carol Brown, expatriate Dunedinite, visited home in January , she presented her works in progress — three dances she performed as the presentation works for her PhD thesis in Dance at Surrey University, England, early in 1995. The three pieces were choreographed and performed by Carol, with live music by her partner Russell Scoones. The works, which represent the culmination of her reading for and writing of her thesis, are grounded in feminist texts on philosophy, embodiment and subjectivity. The dances express Carol's journeying through intellectual terrain, physical (dance) terrain and her global relocations over recent years.

From her intellectual travelling in the works of writers such as Julia Kristeva, Judith Butler, Luce Irigaray, Rosi Braidotti and Gayatri Spivak the dances posit challenges to conventional forms of female embodiment and conceptions of women. The dances make the theory transient and fixed simultaneously; there's an elusive quality as the imaging presents identities, transforms them and snatches them away into something new. Carol creates a text, encrypted in dance, of the tensions of women's embodiment. She told me that her dancing counters the philosophical notions of disembodied reason and transcendent thought. Her resistant body challenges the category 'woman' as a unitary inclusive category. The choreography asserts a competent, self-possessed, knowing woman/dancer, not passive or supplicatory.

The exciting variability of the physical terrains Carol incorporates reveals her experience in various dance disciplines. Another impetus to this choreography is Carol's locatedness and associated dislocatedness as a New Zealander of Irish descent living in the UK. She is 'nomadic', of vacillating identities, never quite belonging or fitting in.

The first dance, *Anatomy of Reason* with original music by Russell Scoones unravelled the opening conventional chic image of the woman in a black dress to reveal the fleshed under-clothed body of the dancer. Chic and cultured, the woman extracts a naked girl doll from her briefcase and places it on stage.

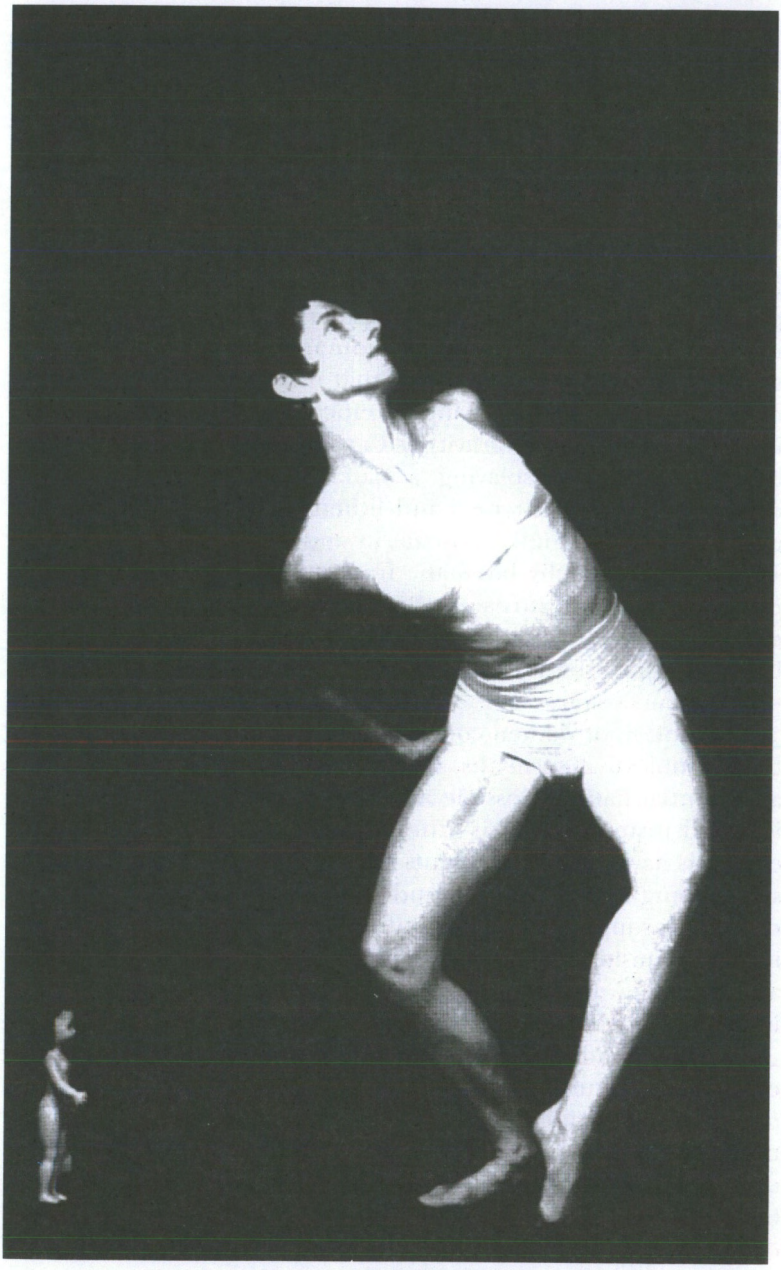
Observed woman becomes an observer of the doll, which represents the abiding unitary 'woman', invested in reproduction, not production, nature not culture, corporeality not reason. The dancer assumes self, while the doll possesses the constructed historical self. Carol's repeated eye-contact with the audience and use of spoken phrases institutes herself as story teller (the one with the right to tell), the one who initiates the gaze.

The under-clothed dancer, clad in 1950s satin bra and pantigirdle has located herself as other to the doll, a body exploring physicality, an athletic mover of mesmerising rhythms. The fleeting appearance of the nubile woman is obliterated by the strength and agility of movement that reconfigures the contours of the female body, displaying an efficacious body. The patterning of the dance defies gravity as Carol rebounds from the floorboards, twisting and splaying, a matrix of reconfigurations. The dance resists the petiteness and litheness of Carol's body, suggesting instead strength, muscularity and momentum.

The choreography has static frames; we glimpse elusive and chameleon-like figures — the 'body-builder' or the 'rock-climber' — signifying reconstitutions of self. Carol's muscular body is a mobile surface which announces new corporeal texts/discursive messages.

The notion of women compliantly living in socially prescribed forms/subjectivities/myths, is disrupted along with any idea of an essential nature. Possible and alternative forms of being are inserted instead. Carol is attuned to her body in motion, her energy is harnessed, movements rebound one on the other: a self self-shaping herself. The bounded and under-clothed image is dislodged, supplanted by alternative forms, emerging, transforming, relinquishing, at times fleetingly, but nonetheless concrete and lingering. I found the piece wonderfully provocative, evoking tantalising possibilities in an artful, yet sobering way.

In the second dance Carol uses the waltz as a metaphor for civilisation, culture, sophistication and colonisation. The choreography is aptly titled *Post-Colonial Waltz*, with Russell's accompaniment of Strauss and traditional Czech/Romany folk music. As the waltz is paraded for the audience it becomes a spoof. Elegant balletic waltzing is usurped by unfettered unrestrained waltzing of the bazaar/bizarre. The costuming indicates binaries:



coloniser/colonised; migrant/ native.

Strapless green satin encases Carol's chest, a voluminous skirt is gathered by the hem and bunched into a bridesmaid-like bouquet clutched to her breast. The bulbous skirt mocks a tutu; underneath bare legs hint at sassy defiance of a tacit formality. The image implies both the coloniser and colonised and displays the corruption inherent in the dynamic of colonisation. Alternatively, the image alludes to the experience of someone displaced, distanced from her own culture: always a foreigner whether at home or elsewhere. We see the waltz go awry and become askew, a new dance is released from eurocentric formalism. The 'corrupted' dance becomes an indulgent celebration of soil, skin and earth, delighting and surprising in its originality.

A.R.D. Fairburn's poem 'The Sea' inspired the third dance, set to music and sung by Russell. The dance space is redefined as Russell is seated with guitar, on stage. Carol dances as 'herself' in dungarees, signifying the person on the street. This dance deals with dislocation and distance from 'home', family and friends. The movement conveys longing riding on waves and tides, carried in a state of flux, the ebb and flow of times and places. For those familiar with Carol's choreography, this piece is reminiscent of the landscape style dances that characterised some of her earlier works. We are caught up with her in the continuous fluid momentum of eloquent phrases; surges of gathered energy carry Carol's torso as she tosses and drifts. The movement at times is poised in suspension on the crest of the waves, cascading into the furrows and troughs. She dances as a person in reverie of shores traversed, familiar yet strange. Poignantly, repetition and sequencing convey her coming and going. The lasting impression is buoyant and hopeful.

Carol danced in the February open season at The Place, London, in the *Resolution* series to wide acclaim, followed by further invitations as a guest artist with contemporary companies in the UK. Carol returns to perform in Aotearoa in July/August.

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Women and Economics: A New Zealand Feminist Perspective
Prue Hyman
Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1994 $39.95

I was reading this book on the train when the ticket collector came round. 'Women and economics!' he said, and laughed disdainfully. 'I won't say nothing . . .' But he went on nevertheless: 'It would be more economical without them'. Thinking about this incident led me to consider the many prejudices which surround the topic of women and economics. Perhaps the ticket collector's remark is not so very far from the formulation adopted by Becker in his Nobel prize-winning book on the economics of the family? In discussing the allocation of household income, Becker distinguished between the 'altruistic benefactor' and the 'selfish beneficiary', commenting in the footnote that '[t]o distinguish the altruist from the beneficiary, I have used the masculine pronoun for the altruist and the feminine pronoun for the beneficiary'.

In such an intellectual climate Prue Hyman's *Women and Economics* must be welcomed with open arms. One reads it with a sense of relief that at last a scholarly mind has tackled some of the problems which have made conventional economics so unsatisfactory, both for feminists and for many others. However, for this particular reviewer, the book was inevitably judged by an unusually demanding standard, since the hope was that it would prove itself useful, not just within New Zealand, but throughout the English speaking world.

After an initial introduction the book is divided into four parts. Part One is concerned with how feminist analysis could and should change economics. Five areas of economics are identified as subject to feminist criticism. First there is the overall framework of consumer theory, in which the economically rational agent maximises individual and household satisfaction. This ignores or inadequately analyses interdependency and conflict and gives legitimacy to the dichotomy between the private world of households and the public world of markets. The second issue is the methodology of orthodox analysis, which claims to be based on value-free, positive analyses and scientific status, but which disguises the underlying normative structure and values

involved. A third area of criticism concerns definitions of economic activity which omit unpaid work of all types and deal inadequately with activity detrimental to the environment. A fourth issue is the analysis of discrimination within orthodox economics, which is based on circular explanations of occupational segregation and pay differences. It thus reinforces existing distributions of paid and unpaid work and resources and justifies inequalities based on factors such as gender, race, class and age. Finally, orthodoxy pays insufficient attention to economic and social outcomes. Its frameworks for analysing the differential gender impact of economic systems, circumstances and policies are inadequate.

The rest of Part One develops these points and considers the reasons why feminist critiques of orthodox economics have been neglected and how feminist arguments have been twisted and subverted. It also includes some interesting empirical evidence about the nature of economists themselves. For example, in experimental situations, free-rider behaviour has been found to be significantly more prevalent among economics graduate students than among other students. In experimental games, selfish behaviour was more common among men than among women, and among economics majors than students in other disciplines. Other research has reported a tendency for economics professors to give less than their colleagues to charity! (pp. 33-4)

Some interesting ideas are put forward for the development of a positive feminist economics, based on what Hyman calls a 'capability approach'. She suggests, for example, that we should see well-being less in terms of a neo-classical utility function, and more in terms of the capability to be and to do many things, such as to eat, be adequately clothed and sheltered, be able to read and write, be free of violence and take an active part in one's community. More specifically, she proposes alternatives to rational choice theory. For example, if some people derive satisfaction from the nourishment of their children and others only from their own nourishment, efficient resource allocation, defined as the maximisation of total utility, will devote more resources to the selfish and less to the altruistic. This means that the unequal division of resources may not appear as a problem within neoclassical economics, where it is defined as the outcomes of rational

choice. By contrast, the capabilities approach provides an underpinning for studies of the distribution of food, money, and health care within the family, as well as between families.

There is an interesting critique of the United Nations System of National Accounts (UNSNA), which is the basis for most national systems. Annual growth rates are calculated from the increase, or decrease, in monetary transactions recorded. This automatically excludes unpaid work from all national accounts. The UNSNA conventions mean that in international reports women tend to be statistically or economically invisible, while war and the destruction of the environment are recorded as growth.

Throughout Part One, Hyman draws on a wide range of sources taken not only from New Zealand and Australia, but also from North America and Britain. This part of the book would be of interest to all economists, as well as to others with an interest in economics. The gap which currently exists between the debates taking place within existing 'economics' and the feminist critiques of the assumptions on which the debates are based, means that most feminist analysis is currently located outside orthodox economics. However, anyone who reads this book will not be able any more to ignore what must be one of the most exciting growth areas in the subject.

Part Two is concerned with equal pay and with the struggle for pay equity in New Zealand. There are chapters on the history and concepts of equal pay and pay equity in New Zealand, on job evaluation and levels of industrial bargaining, on international comparisons of the earnings gap and pay equity, and on equal pay for women after the Employment Contracts Act of 1991. Here the focus is on New Zealand, though international comparisons provide a wider framework.

Part Three is entitled 'A modest safety net? Women, the state and social policy'. It includes chapters on income maintenance and economic independence for women, on income adequacy for older women, and on women and housing policy. The material which is presented means that the book will be of interest, not only to economists, but also to those concerned with social policy. The history of the welfare state in New Zealand, from its early origins to its recent retrenchment, gives this section wide relevance. For example, it is interesting to read that as early as 1896

the New Zealand National Council of Women passed this motion: 'That in all cases where a woman elects to superintend her own household and to be the mother of children, there shall be a law attaching a certain just share of her husband's earnings of income to her separate use, payable, if she so desired it, into her separate account' (p. 178).

The conclusion looks to the future and to the development of a radical agenda based on a movement away from the orthodox economic paradigm. Such a change may be forced upon us all, anyway, by the globalisation of economic activity, by technological change and by threats to the environment. Prue Hyman looks towards radically different ways of organising society based on sustainable development, recognition of the value of all useful activity and a distribution of wealth which provides adequate living standards for all. Reading this book underlines the importance of the discipline of economics in constructing the ways in which we think about our world, and the failure of most economists to engage with the realities of women's lives. The book has important messages, both for economists and for policy analysts, both in New Zealand and elsewhere: I hope that it will have the wide readership which it deserves.

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Shards of Glass: Children Reading and Writing beyond Gendered Identities
Bronwyn Davies
Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1993.

In this eagerly-awaited work, Bronwyn Davies discusses a project which aimed to teach young children to examine the constructs of gender, power, and sexuality in their own lives and in popular fairy-tale and myth. Davies believed that children could be enabled to write new stories that disrupted traditional ideas about gender. For Davies, the basis of the problems with gender, power, and sexuality resides in what she calls 'the male/female dualism'.

Davies' work is particularly fascinating on several counts.

Firstly, this text illuminates the deficiencies of recent government publications that aim to promote gender equity in education: *The Curriculum Framework* (1992), the *Draft English Curriculum* (1993), and *Countering Sexism in Education* (1989). Davies' research shows clearly why the gender equity projects in education will not succeed: a simple re-positioning of gendered students as 'equal', or teaching students to analyse language, sex roles, and gender simply misunderstands the nature of gendering. The importance of Davies' work lies in her descriptions of how gender is 'taken up' by children, and how the very constitution of masculinity means personhood, power, activity, and resistance to control.

Secondly, in this work the reader is introduced to poststructuralist theory, and shown how it can be used in classroom practice. Davies adopted this form of analysis because it enabled children to see how they were 'embedded in ways of seeing, knowing and being that were made available to them' through gender discourse (p. 10). Davies' research therefore provides an exciting model for classroom teachers, showing how young children (including five to ten year olds) talk about the way their ideas and beliefs about gender are encoded in their own bodies and in texts, both visual and written. Dialogues from children's gender study groups (led by Davies' researcher, Chas Banks) are a central part of the book, and make enthralling reading. In the year-long groups, children from a variety of schools were led to articulate their conceptions of gender; then to see the ways in which gender discourses act upon children, setting up for them what they are to be, to want, and to look like. For example, this is Victoria and Marcella discussing the requirements of appearance:

> Victoria: And women are always wearing shorts, skirts and everything like so you can see their legs.
> Marcella: And it looks real nice if your legs are shaved
> Victoria: Yeah, see it doesn't, it doesn't look nice if you walk around with hairy legs like that
> Chas: But men walk round with hairy legs all time
> Jacqueline: yeah, but they are different ... like women have got to look good ...(p. 81)

Children in the study groups discussed the child-adult dualism, the discourse of the 'good child' and the gender prescriptions

which accompany the discourse. The children also examined the relationship between power and maleness, and how they could disrupt these gender categories and positioning in their own lives and in their writing of new stories. Here is part of a discussion exploring the links between positioning, gender, power, storyline, and desire:

> Chas: So in fairy tales boys are always positioned as the heroic rescuers/
> Jennifer: Muscular/
> Chas: and girls generally are positioned as the ones to be rescued, the victims/ . . .
> Stacey: The ones that can't defend themselves but have to be defended by others
> Chas: Right, so in fairy tales you're positioned powerfully if you're a boy . . . and if you're a girl you're positioned powerlessly as the victim usually, can you see that?
> Several at once: yeah (p. 163).

In spite of the depth of analysis obtained by the children and by Davies, which makes this text so interesting to read, I have significant reservations about Davies' approach. Firstly, the structures of the research design and practice resulted in continual sexual tyrannising of girls by boys. Secondly, Davies misunderstands the heart of the problem of gender (the male/female dualism).

Davies openly (and unproblematically) admits that the discussions 'included the boys' open attacks on the girls . . . which usually took the form of sexualising them, making them vulnerable to sexual attack . . .' (p. 6). Davies does not seem to be concerned about how it feels to be a girl in the study groups. Davies writes that one girl 'feels really sick' (p. 7) whenever the study group meets; that female inferiority was achieved in the groups through 'observations of the social rules and structures which discriminate against women' (p. 67), and through boys' unremitting positioning of the girls as 'inferior, as objects of sexual talk and speculation' (p. 67); that the boys were 'relentless . . .[in] attacking and undermining girls who [did] not know how to correctly position themselves as female' (p. 136); that boys used 'aggressive sexual talk' when participating in writing new stories (e.g. females in stories should be 'sexy', 'scared', 'fuckin' ugly' (p.

106)). Davies admits that, on the whole, the groups did not manage to shift oppressive patterns (p. 174). The reader finds that the response of the group facilitator, Chas, to the problems of sexual domination and tyranny is simply one of using tyranny as part of the research design. In order to proceed with the research aims of deconstructing texts and establishing discourses of resistance, Chas uses and elaborates the sexual tyrannising (e.g. p. 134).

Why then, has Davies failed to register the grossness of the content of many of the dialogues? How is it that the very evident sexual tyrannising, and the boys' insistence on domination, is not a source of outrage for Davies? I think the answer lies in the theoretical basis to Davies' research. Davies shares the forms of idealism that many poststructuralists share: the privileging of language/discourse over the real structures of the world. Davies understands that masculinities and femininities are constituted 'in relation' to each other, and they cannot be constituted independently (p. x). This understanding of the phrase 'in relation' means that Davies unwittingly transposes a theoretical being-in-relation of the masculine and feminine as categories onto the children in the research groups. Davies' poststructuralist theory leads her to design her research on the mistaken premise that the actual male and female children in the research groups have an equality derived from their membership of the related categories masculine and feminine. But a theoretical being-in-relation of gender categories provides no protection for the girls in these hierarchical groups. Davies wishes to preserve the (private, individual) freedom of the children and the researcher to develop deconstructive readings and positionings, but she is unwilling/unable to register the (public, structural) sexual tyrannising that must occur within the groups because of the very nature of masculinity-as-dominance.

Also, within Davies' version of poststructuralist analysis, each instance of oppressive behaviour is seen as an example of a 'discourse': the discourse of the female as victim, the discourse of the male saviour, the discourse of male power and control over girls/women. Because poststructuralist analysis privileges discourse over the real relations and (oppressive) structures of the world, it ultimately unhinges discourse from the world. Davies is as much

an idealist as the traditional idealists, for she seeks social transformation simply by the transformations of individual mind and behaviours (i.e. through children learning to identify and deconstruct gender discourses), rather than through transforming the world by social and political action.

A further major problem in this research is that Davies' work shows a confusion about what she herself calls the heart of the problem of gender: the male/female dualism. Following Wilshire (1989), Davies sees that dualist conceptions are descriptive and constitutive of gender (p. 95), but she writes of this in many confusing ways. Davies sees the male/female dualism as a relation of interdependence (p. x), yet also as a relation of unequal power. Davies commonly uses the male/female dualism as describing opposition, division, pairing, or negative and positive 'halves' (pp. 4, 18, 22, 55, 77, 139, 148), and this is sometimes combined with the concept of hierarchy (pp. 18, 89, 113). But as Nancy Jay (1991) clearly explains, in dualist thinking one of the categories is regarded as having existence, meaning, and being, and the other is nothing, is not at all. The male/female dualism, correctly understood, makes the female/feminine to be nothing.

Davies dangerously misreads dichotomous distinctions as complementary distinctions, and by doing this throughout her research design and implementation, does not recognise the continual positioning of the female/feminine as nothing, which is reinforced by both the girls and the boys and by the group facilitator. Davies' research aimed to teach children to deconstruct sexist discourse, as if all the children began on the 'level playing field' in complementary positions, but as a full understanding of dualism shows, there is no conceptual 'level playing field' in either the symbolic or the material structures of gender. This error in understanding dualist thinking means that Davies' research is fundamentally flawed, for she views the categories male and female as 'in relation' (p. x), rather than one category, the male, being constituted as real, as powerful, as existing, the other as not. Davies' research then, only focuses on changing and developing the choices and selections of gender, for the boys as well as the girls, and Davies misses the full meaning of the continual sexual tyrannising found in her study groups.

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