

Figure One: The History of Maori Activism as outlined by Ranginui Walker.

- 1840 (officially) - The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi
 - Emergence of the first two Maori activist - Hone Heke and Te Rauparaha 1843.
- Kotahitanga Unity Movement which sought to prohibit land sales and the eclipse of Mana. Maori Motuhake movement, and produced the Maori King in 1858.
- 1860's Land Wars.
- 1864 Pai Marire Movement.
- 1868 Te Kooti conduct protracted guerilla war against Government however in;
- 1874 Te Kooti seeks peace and there is a move towards Pacificism.
- 1881 Te Whiti and his new Jerusalem Parihaka were destroyed.
- 1884-86 King Tawhio attempts to readdress Maori grievances and needs through petitioning the English Queen and the N. Z Government to set up a Maori Council for the administration of rights under the Treaty of Waitangi.
- 1892 Kotahitanga mo te Tiriti, o Waitangi (Maori Parliament), examining the Treaty.
- 1894 Hone Heke (elected member) trys unsuccessfully to introduce a Native Rights Bill.
- 1897 Leadership passes on to the old boys of Te Aute College, Pomare, Ngata and Buck.
- In the early Twentieth Century Ratana becomes the new prophet leader of the people (approximately in the 1930's).
- 1945 World War Two - the Maori arrive back from war.

Pictorially we can thus see how the Maori are now industrial proletariats, forced to sell their labour in a capitalist system, which destroyed their own modes of production. To further rub salt into the Maori wound of defeat, the Pakeha ...

"congratulated himself profusely on his tolerance and proudly proclaimed to the world that no color bar existed in New Zealand" (Ausubel, 1973: pg96, cited in Barchan: pg 64, Alternative Maharey and O'Brien).

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The Pakeha had well and truly defeated the Maori and were now content enough to leave the Maori in peace to die the natural death of assimilation. Maori people as a race no longer constituted a threat, however this is not the end of overt racism in this country, and the Maori were not the only people that the Pakeha felt endangered by.

The Chinese people also experienced massive racial discrimination since they arrived in New Zealand. The Chinese came to Aotearoa by invitation from several businessmen in attempt to boost up Aotearoa's scarce labour resources.

The first group of Chinese arrived in the 1860's and were mainly miners from the Californian gold mines, many Chinese later on came from China.

The Chinese had to adapt quickly into a strange and new society. This they achieved as they were highly organised and capable of creating their own network of businesses and could supply all their needs for their own community, in other words they became self sufficient and reliant on their own people.

After the gold rush was over, the Chinese moved to towns and cities to start with new businesses, namely market gardens and laundrettes. Within a very short time, the Chinese businesses were expanded and grew in prosperity. The Pakeha businessmen had not anticipated that the Chinese would adapt and do so well in Aotearoa.

The Chinese had shown that they were capable of making money and getting rich at a very short time. The Pakeha felt that their businesses and jobs would be threatened, the Chinese had become the white man's competition for resources. At this point in history we witness the beginning of overt Pakeha hostility towards the Chinese. Thus we can trace the economic rationale behind the type of racism displayed at this point in time. However racism can not only be explained in terms of economic arguments, there are other complex factors, such as the need to establish a British identity in Aotearoa.

Aotearoa at this time was a very young country struggling for independence. The Pakeha wanted to base New Zealand on British standards, tradition and identity. Thus the Pakeha saw the Chinese as a threat to their identity as British subjects. To make things worse, at this time (1880's) there was the depression. People were struggling for resources, and the increasing numbers of new Chinese immigrants were not desirable. The New Zealand politicians at the time such as Seddon, Reeves, Stout and Savage used this idea of the 'Yellow Peril' for their political advantage. They were using the Chinese as scape-goats for explaining the massive depression at the time. This can be seen as the State helping to justify racism and hostility against the Chinese. Chinese were attacked from all sides, socially, economically, physically, and morally.

The historical evidence had shown that since that time, the Chinese were treated very badly. The Pakeha tried every means possible to stop more Chinese from coming to New Zealand and give all the Chinese already here very hard times. To begin with, 1871 Report, we could see the changes of attitudes of Pakeha towards Chinese. Beforehand the Pakeha saw Chinese positively i.e., "industriousness, frugality, morality, ability to adapt", but by 1871, this all had changed into a very negative sentiment towards the Chinese, i.e., Chinese are now undesirable because "they are industrious, unfairly competitive, because they were adaptable or of questionable morality with too much ability, and now apparently were not going back to China as formerly anticipated" (Tauhiwi, pg49, C. Sedgwick). After this report there were few other changes and also introductions of new acts, they were:

1895 - Prior 'poll tax' being raised 90% from 10 pounds to 100 pounds.

1907 - " In addition to the Tax poll, the Government of N.Z, imposed the reading test, discontinued naturalisation, excluded

Chinese from old age pension and secured the right of entry to all Chinese homes and businesses on suspicion of opium use" (Tauwi, pg50).

The level of racism from this point in time did not decrease, it in fact ruthlessly increased. Post World War I had generated an anti-Chinese associations between the 'Returned Servicemen's Association (R.S.A)' and 'Anti-Chinese League'. These organisations pressurised Government to apply restrictions on Chinese immigration and economic activity, this led to the introduction of an Act in 1920, which demand that "all immigrants not British parentage or birth to obtain a permit from the Minister of Customs before entering the country" (Tauwi, pg52).

The above were just a few examples that had been gathered from various historical facts of how Chinese people had been severely attacked by racist Pakeha of New Zealand. There were many more incidents that happened during late nineteenth century and early twentieth century that clearly show the overt racism that the early Chinese settlers received from the State and the Pakeha. (for more detail please refer to figure two [2] on this essay). Therefore, not only the Maoris in Aotearoa suffered injustices and racial hostility but also the Chinese.

This incidence occurring during this period clearly justify the Pakeha's point of view of other racial groups. The Pakeha in general always believed that they held the cultural superiority above all other races in the world. Therefore, since their culture were so 'superior', they belief in dominating other cultures. This idea of 'cultural domination' were very important in Pakeha society, since it basically gives them power to do what ever they want they want with other people. Thus this so called 'cultural domination' blinded the minds of Pakeha and for them, other races were considered to either 'dumb' or having limited ability. Therefore when Pakeha invited the Chinese to come to New Zealand, they only considered the Chinese as just another available resources for them to take advantage of and when they were no longer needed, they could be easily dispose of. But when the Chinese proved that they could adapt to New Zealand way of life and do well in businesses, the Pakeha start to fear of loosing their power and resources. Many of the Chinese decided to stay on in New Zealand, this also imposed problems for the Pakeha, because they feared that New Zealand's white purity was under threat. The Pakeha wanted New Zealand to be as white as possible, they already have enough problems in

getting rid of the Maoris, the last thing they want is the Chinese to stay on and spoil their white destiny.

Thus we can see in our brief historical analysis of the Chinese, their experiences in Aotearoa, have been heavily influenced by:

[a] World wide and National economic situations e.g, Depressions = increase racial violence/tension and,

[b] The desire of Pakeha's to seep Aotearoa a British colony. Feelings of cultural superiority that had been developed over centuries of enslaving and degrading Black peoples, came to the force front here.

The Chinese still face racism today and have not as yet held positions of social power such as being a politician, or a charismatic leader.

This leads as onto the next section on the subjective experiences of being Asian in Aotearoa, in the present day context.

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In the beginning of our historical overview of racism in Aotearoa we used a quote that pointed, to the major factors that have shaped race relations... i.e:

[1] European capitalism destroying the opposing system of production and,

[2] the requirement of particular groups to meet the demands created by capitalism.

These two characteristics have been illustrated in the case studies of the Chinese and Maori and serves to reiterate the material basis and rationality behind racist ideology. We authors except this Marxist critique of the race relations model but are left with what Steve Fenton refered to as a 'lingering discontent' with the threatened superficiality of it (1980 - Race Relations in the Sociological enterprise, study guide 76.310). Ngahuia Awekotuku expresses our feelings well when she says:

"So many dimensions from the nastiness and blight of human experience can be so clinically articulated, and sat neatly on the academic record both sadden and excites the uninformed but involved ... the theories and material covered actually delineate and describe parts of my own life" (Tauwi, pg 246).

With our historical analysis we have given the case study of Chinese and Maori in Aotearoa some breadth however what is lacking in these cases so far is an account of the subjective experience of being black. In the next part of this exposition we will set out to rectify this.

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COLONISATION OF THE MIND.

"Before we authors begin this section, we would like to thank and acknowledge two very special people, Sam and Theresa who made the completion of this work possible".

"The problem of colonialism includes not only the inter relations of objective historical conditions but also human attitudes towards these conditions" (Black Skin, White Masks, F. Fanon).

How does one set out to destroy a people? How does one "skillfully inject fear, inferiority complexes, trepidation, servility, despair, abasement" (Cesaire) into two proud cultures and peoples? We have now reached the toughest part of this essay in which we will attempt to address the above questions, through using concepts utilised by Black Nationalists such as Awatere/Cesaire and Fanon; as well as drawing from the experience of people who identify themselves as belonging to one of the case study of the Maori and Chinese.

Fanon provides us with a clear illustration of how language and education are important phenomena's in understanding and

interpreting the relationship between colonialism and the deformation of personality of the men and women who were made inferior by Europe's expansionist drive (Black Skin, White Masks). Awatere draws much of her arguments in Maori sovereignty from his ideas and we authors will also use similar concepts and perspectives in looking at the Maori and Chinese experience with the language and the education system here in Aotearoa.

LINGUISTIC COLONISATION.

Language is used as a means of maintaining power in social relationships, it expresses which culture is dominant. Fanon was certainly directing us on the right track when he examines the life of the black Antillian in the lifespaces of language. By doing this he attempts to illustrate that pathologies of mental colonization which were ultimately derived from inequalities present within the wider social structure. As Fanon says in his own words:

"Every colonised people - in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality - finds itself face to face with the language of the civilising nation..." (Black Skin, White Mask, 1952).

and who are the colonising peoples in the case of the Black Antillian the white person of course, the same is true of Aotearoa. Aotearoa was colonised by Pakeha. The old mode of production, such as the Maori communally based enterprises were destroyed and the legal political, social and economical system from Britain was transplanted here. This system operated upon the medium of the English language. If you wanted access to court, business deals, into any elite occupations you had to speak English, Maori was relegated to the realms of antiquity. Fluent English meant that you had access to power. The Pakeha achieved the switch from bilingualism to English through the Education system and at times through sheer force.

Thus the Maori and the Chinese in Aotearoa are forced with the task to learn English as the only legitimate form of communication, take for example the case of one Maori:

"I remember speaking fluent Maori till I was five years old. I could speak in both English and Maori... but

at school I was only allowed to speak in English, even in the playground".

Q: What happened if you spoke Maori?

A: "We didn't or else we'd get thrashed!!"

Q: By Teachers?

A: "Of course, as well as our parents..."

Q: Why did your Parents discourage you?

A: "Well how else was I going to go out and make it. My mother and father realised that to be anyone of importance or even to get a decent job you had to have an education, and that mean't learning English".

Here we have a clear example of a man whose language is seen as of no use to get him anywhere. Does this not sound like Fanon's work, where he outlines how the Black Antilian hopes to gain access to the white world of power and status through learning how to speak the French language fluently.

Again in Malaysia we see this same rejection of ones language in favour of the British colonists language...

CHINESE:

"In my family never spoke Cantonese, Hawkian ever. Only sometimes conversationally with others... In West Malaysia we are proud to be more advanced, civilised than the East Malaysians... They can not speak English at all and they wear old fashioned garments that we no longer wear in the West".

Q: Did you ever try learning any other language?

A: "Yes, I did try to learn Chinese and French but my mother and Apoh (grand mother) encouraged me concentrate on the piano... I had to spend at least 7 hours a day on it ...".

Here we see the contrast myth of white superiority/Black inferiority being reinforced by close family members/as well as such institutions as the Education System, but on top of this we have the media playing an integral part of this ideological hegemony. For example, amongst both subjects (i.e Chinese and Maori) favourite films and 'pop stars' were all white people with the exception of Chuck Berry... Rock and Roll was their favourite music and both loved dressing in the height of fashion... They were what we would call trendy's nowadays.

Is this what Fanon was referring to when he speaks of the Antillian imitating the European's behaviour, manner of speech and dress as a defence against their race? It would appear that Blacks try to compensate for their skin colour by adopting the lifestyles and culture of their colonisers. This is done to quite some extent it even reaches into the sacred realm of their religious beliefs, e.g: When asked what they thought God looked like/on Jesus - their immediate responses were brown/blond hair, hazel/blue smiling eyes, etc..., features that belong to the Pakeha race.

When challenged on this point they immediately brought out pictorial bibles, cards depicting, Jesus, etc... "here is proof" they claim, "that they look like this". To follow this thinking through than ...

IF: "All men are made in the image of God; God as everyone knows is not Negro (Black). Therefore the Negro (Black) is not man". (Pg73, Where do we go from here?).

This is interesting isn't it, in the beginning of this exposition we referred to the folk concept of racism that existed in Europe prior to colonialism where Good = White and Black = Bad, we are hearing pre colonial racism expressed by black peoples. God is white - everything good is white - these people have unconsciously taken on the values and belief systems of the Pakeha. In the same way that the Black Antilles can thus see who holds the power in their society, the white, the French people do, the Maori and Chinese can identify who is all powerful, i.e, the Pakeha; and again we see similarities continue, as we see through the Education System and the media, the black Antilles adopt and internalise white values about black people, thus they begin to hate themselves, and the cultures of other Black peoples. The adoption of English as their main language and style of dress as well as this internalization of some white beliefs indicates

the extent to which these people have been injected with inferiority complex's, and their unconscious actions to be like white people.

Why do black people aspire to be white? The reason being that everything is portrayed as superior, through the education system, the media, i.e, institutional racism and also racism personally at an individual level. As Fanon says:

"It is the racist who creates his inferior" (Pg93, Black Skins, White Masks).

At a personal level both people who drew their sense of identity from claiming to belong to the Maori or Chinese ethnic group, had been actively encouraged to learn a foreign cultures language i.e, is Pakeha. The implications of rejecting your own people means of communicating are seen here in this quote:

"If the Mother Language is the basis of thought and the means by which we appraise that world, disintegrates, so does the fabric of thought and feeling" (Pg15, Research needed in the Education of Maori Children, 1962, N.Z Council for Education Research).

There was no doubt about the values one could get if you could get on in a Pakeha world, however both of these people constantly were faced with personal racism that negated their efforts to get on in this Pakeha world e.g, Chinese.

"I spoke English very well, with hardly any strong Malaysian accent. It is after all my first language. However when I met people they would talk very loudly and slowly, as if I was thick. Even when they can see, I understood perfectly, they persist on speaking in this manner".

MAORI:

"Some people, mainly in the working circles, seem to speak to you as if you're dumb, and you've never ever

met then and all ready they've make up their minds about you"... "Even friends (Pakeha) call you names such as 'Sambo', as a joke of course, but sometime... it does get on your nerves."

Thus we can see how language is used to put a person down, and how the Pakeha can show that no matter how hard a Black person may strive, they (the Pakeha) can simply slap them into place by clearly talking to Black peoples in an insultingly simpleton type language, "smirking, whispering, patronising, cozening" (pg31, Fanon).

This situation is comparable to the one described here by Fanon:

"To speak pidgin to a Negro makes him angry... this absense of wish this automatic manner of decivilising him, that makes him angry" (Pg32 Fanon).

All these factors are part of the complex phenomena of Linguistic Colonisation. At this point we would argue taht colonial attitudes that enable the enslavement of many black peoples today, and overt racism still plays a major role in oppressing a person at an individual level. e.g Chinese:

"When I first went to work all the Army fella's would joke about us Asians, they would say we were bought wives..., it was if they were classifying all of us as prostitutes for sale..., I always feel so angry, humiliated even though I knew this was all false".

Even the so called progressive liberal students at University (i.e, the Social Work students), displayed a shocking degree of patronising attitudes toward the Maori at a resent workshop and at University we witness the recent capping stunt that depicted the sale of Phillipino wives.

These are all situations where the Maori and the Chinese suffer a person attack that leaves them feeling degraded, and it serves to illustrate that although racism is perpetuated at an institutional level, and at some points can be explained by a Marxist analysis

"Oppression cannot always be conceptualized in abstract terms" (pg212, quote from Britain and Maynard).

As this section on language has shown:

"At one level oppression is extremely personal, and at other level the personal is political".(pg213, Britain and Maynard).

Finally we would like to end this section with the following quote that re-intensates our feelings:

"We are re-emphasizing here a point made consistently throughout this book, namely that the experience of oppression cannot be reduced to one simple formula... we are committed to both the reality of what the oppressed have to say about their experience of domination". (Pg206, Britain and Maynard).

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CONCLUSION

We authors have sought to present a case of Chinese and Maori people in Aotearoa. Throughout our essay one can note strands of Black Nationalism and the use of Marxism to describe ...

- [1] The origins of racism against these two ethnic groups.
- [2] The national economic base of racism.
- [3] The subjective experiences of being black.

Race relations is a complex phenomenon, and this is what we have sought to illustrate through these case studies. We did not seek one theoretical perspective to explain the racism etc..., against the Chinese and Maori as for us that was far too deterministic. We also felt the real need to bring home the fact that black people are not objects to study, and academise, their personal experience of racism cannot be dismissed, and their voices have to be heard in any overview of a peoples history.

Writing this piece of work has been a personal challenge to us authors as the subject matter dissects our lives and describes degradation, humiliation and racism that we have felt.

However it is useless to be eternally introverted to write about the case study of a group is not so that we can say how bad things were and still are; our aim is to go on from this point and learn from our past so that it directs us into the future for as Martin Luther King has said so aptly:

"We are now faced with the fact that tomorrow is today. We are confronted with the fierce urgency of now. In this unfolding conundrum of life and history there is such a thing as being too late. Procrastination is still the thief of time. Life often leaves us standing bare, naked and dejected with a lost opportunity. The 'tide in the affairs of men' does not remain at the flood; it ebbs. We may cry out desperately for time to pause in her passage,

but time is deaf to every plea and rushes on. Over the bleached bones and jumbled residues of numerous civilizations are written the pathetic words: 'Too late.' There is an invisible book of life that faithfully records our vigilance or our neglect. 'The moving finger writes, and having writ moves on....' We still have a choice today" (Pg191).

Finally we would like to end this exposition on a positive note:

"Our only hope today lies in our ability to recapture the revolutionary spirit and go out into a sometimes hostile world declaring external opposition to poverty, racism and militarism. With this powerful commitment we shall boldly challenge the status quo and unjust mores and thereby speed the day when 'every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the crooked shall be made straight and the rough places plain.'" (Pg190).

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