

LINDA TUHIWAI SMITH AND DECOLONIZING  
METHODOLOGIES: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF  
'RESEARCH' TO INDIGENOUS INTELLECTUALS  
AND THEIR COMMUNITIES IN *POTIKI* AND *PEARS*  
*FROM THE WILLOW TREE*

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## CHAPTER I

### LINDA TUHIWAI SMITH AND DECOLONIZING METHODOLOGIES: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF 'RESEARCH' TO INDIGENOUS INTELLECTUALS AND THEIR COMMUNITIES IN *POTIKI* AND *PEARS FROM THE WILLOW TREE*

In Linda Tuhiwai Smith's analysis of decolonizing methodologies, it is her intention that history, writing, theory, and research, presented in a series of categories, provides an overview of the influence that Western-minded researchers have over Indigenous peoples. The ability to control language, theoretical approaches, and how past events are notated provide effective strategies that empower ethical research. Command of such areas mitigates unscrupulous practices and lessens vicious cycles of biased scholarship. Countless researchers implement these methods and inevitably undermine communities of Indigenous peoples throughout the world. In this essay, I use Smith's insider and outsider research and how acts of writing rebuild integrity that was taken from Indigenous peoples. Additionally, I explore the roles of Indigenous intellectuals relative to their own communities through acts of research. In light of this, I perform a

closer reading of two characters: Tangimoana, the daughter of Roimata and Hemi, who earns a law degree in a Western academy, from Patricia Grace's *Potiki*; and Seb, an idealist who is part of the lost generation in post-imperial India, from Violet Dias Lannoy's *Pears from the Willow Tree*. A comparative examination of both characters illuminates the relationship Indigenous academics have with others in their society. Through their Western education, each protagonist engages in acts that reacquire history or power that has been stolen or altered by a prevailing group. From this, an assessment of Smith's Maori theory and decolonizing methodologies is applied to Seb and Tangimoana. It must be noted that Seb's story is largely situated in a postcolonial context and it is my intention to perform an application of postcolonial studies on Tangimoana, which is an approach many scholars overlook. Whether it is Smith's decolonizing methodologies applied to a postcolonial text or a postcolonial lens used to analyze a Maori text, these theories uncover several strengths and weaknesses when juxtaposed with one another. Each theoretical lens strives to recover Indigenous peoples' stories, history, language, and culture, to name a few. Both attempt to empower Indigenous peoples by allowing them to rewrite the past and extend such knowledge to others. Each concept has an ability to reveal a consciousness to utilize Western education as a means to resist attacks on their societies by outsiders.

One of the more notable flaws of postcolonial studies incorrectly presupposes who is subaltern and who is not. In "Can the Subaltern Speak?," Gayatri Spivak discusses "subaltern" individuals, marginalized people unable to acquire agency or an identity that

dominant groups recognize. Indigenous people's voices cannot be heard since they lack the knowledge of Western thinking. To overcome this, natives must implement a Western mentality, becoming intimately familiar with the reasoning, language, and philosophies of Western intellectuals.<sup>1</sup> While scholars, at times, view marginalized people having an inability to speak as problematic, this perspective highlights "the inability to 'hear,' [which] opens up the possibility for building bridges across marginalized locations."<sup>2</sup> This notion stems from the gaps that occur between both sender (subaltern) and receiver (privileged).<sup>3</sup> As a result, indigenous and postcolonial studies strive to effectively communicate tensions that arise amongst colonized and non-colonized groups. In *Potiki*, Tangimoana uses her newfound knowledge of Western thought to assist the Maori and Te Opi societies. Tangimoana forms such perspectives around the foundational elements gained through the academic academy. Therefore, she develops an ability to gain insight on how to interact with the dominant group using similar rhetorical strategies and reasoning they use against them, but more importantly, Tangimoana possesses a profound understanding of the concerns that Indigenous people value. Tangimoana is in a position to match their reasoning and intellect when disputes arise between each community. Spivak asserts "The 'subaltern' always stands in an ambiguous relation to power—subordinate to it but never really consenting to its rule, never adopting the dominant point

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<sup>1</sup> Jace Weaver, Craig Womack, and Robert Warrior, *American Indian Literary Nationalism* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 25.

<sup>2</sup> Byrd and Rothberg, "Between Subalternity and Indigeneity," 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-6.

of view or vocabulary as expressive of its own identity.”<sup>4</sup> Spivak’s quote is fitting for Tangimoana. Tangimoana is aware that the only way to equalize the hegemony between each party is to use the same Western logic and reasoning that colonizers project onto inferior groups of people. For much of the story, Tangimoana possesses an ability to work on the land and participate in cultural activities, but more significantly, utilizes her education to empower the Indigenous peoples to oppose outsiders. Tangimoana’s aptitude to take control of situations depicts her as non-consensual to the dominant group’s ideals and shows her utmost dedication to the Maori people. In the latter half of the novel, Tangimoana retaliates due to the death of her brother and persuades the Maori people, who are employed by the Dollarman, to purposefully destroy the building at the construction site and drive all machinery into the ocean. Tangimoana states to the Maori people, “and you are the only ones who can believe... not high-up people. High-up people are evil, and blind. They’re weak... and doomed.”<sup>5</sup> Tangimoana’s position in the Western world and her own community is often difficult to assess because she is able to take on a dualistic role. That is, she has the ability to leave and return to either community as she wishes, but more importantly, can effectively communicate with each group, using her intellect to do substantially more for the Maori people.

Although Tangimoana has a Western education, she still possesses knowledge of Maori culture. As a result, she expands her overall knowledge and scope of perceptions.

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<sup>4</sup> Gayatri Spivak, “Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak,” in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, ed. Vincent Leitch (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001), 2194.

<sup>5</sup> Grace, *Potiki*, 177.

Tangimoana intertwines her original beliefs with the newfound awareness and reasoning she gains through the academy. This enhances her ability to effectively voice her community's concerns in a manner that is similar to the way communication is done amongst the dominant group. Spivak maintains that subalterns cannot formulate genuine reasoning due to aligning with Western thinking. As a result, this positions the subaltern to structure their own knowledge on principles that embody Westernized learning. While Spivak is correct that subalterns conform and devise knowledge through Western approaches, what prevents indigenous ideals to be voiced to prevailing groups? Perhaps this is where a lens of postcolonial theory fails to an extent. Subalterns have a capacity to speak through their actions regardless if they received an education in a Western academy. My position stems from Michel Foucault's and Gilles Deleuze's claim that "oppressed subjects can speak, act, and know for *themselves* [original emphasis]."<sup>6</sup> Earlier in the essay, Tangimoana's actions are a form of Maori research that parallels Smith's notion of what "research" strives for -- to recover the history and identity of Indigenous peoples. Tangimoana speaks through her actions, which alters Western claims of control. She participates in many of the Maori practices that her family performs and freely gives input to the community in a sincere manner. Individuals outside the community also show respect for Tangimoana whenever she spoke: "The men did listen to her. It's a way Tangimoana has, a sharp boldness that will make people listen to her. They had listened to and understood and believed what Tangimoana had said to them,

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<sup>6</sup> Priyamvada Gopal, "Reading subaltern history," ed. Neil Lazarus (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 148.



and had come to bring their aroha and their koha to us and to our child.”<sup>7</sup> She uses her own knowledge of Maori culture and Western education to formulate perspectives regarding issues threatening her native community. Thus, Tangimoana attains agency and establishes herself as an individual colonizers respect. Tangimoana is equipped with a variety of approaches that assists in the performance of her own research as an educated and culturally sensitive Maori woman. A combination of these attributes allows Tangimoana to increase her knowledge. This enhances her effectiveness to voice concerns to dominant groups, giving others within her community a new consciousness of how Western intellectualism aids in the increase of hegemony.

When considering *Potiki* as a whole, an important aspect to reflect on is the overall arrangement of *Potiki* and how acts of storytelling stand as a form of research.<sup>8</sup> Even though many scholars do not find fault with personal stories of Maori people acting as representations of research, most attach a definition to such narratives that only positions the meaning of “research” in the context of an academic setting. The goal of research is to empower Indigenous peoples and allow further control over how

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<sup>7</sup> Grace, *Potiki*, 177.

<sup>8</sup> For more information on the structure of *Potiki*, please refer to Miriam Fuchs essay entitled “Reading toward the Indigenous Pacific: Patricia Grace’s *Potiki*, A Case Study” in *Boundary 2*, 21:1 (1994), 165-84. Grace is a writer whose narratives and use of language repay consideration as well as the viewpoints of her characters. For instance, Grace does not disclose to readers that the concept of time in Maori culture drastically differs from Westerners. In Maori, *ngā rā o mua* means “look towards the days ahead,” while *kei muri* translates to “time in the past,” which would signal to readers that a great complexity exists in the voices and rhetorical devices of the characters and plot. This shows how Grace is preserving the culture and history of the Maori people. Grace is especially adept at discomposing the non-Indigenous reader so that outside knowledge is shown its limits in the reading process itself. It should be noted that very little scholarship exists on Grace’s *Potiki*.

investigations on their communities are conducted as Smith argues, “research is about satisfying a need to know, and a need to extend the boundaries of existing knowledge through a process of systematic inquiry.”<sup>9</sup> The definition of “research,” for the purposes of this essay, expands to include indigenous practices not typically considered, such as acts of knowledge-reclamation. Research needs to embody any action that serves to extend knowledge or strives to rewrite past accounts of Maori people that become common knowledge for researchers today. In *Potiki*, several chapters contain interwoven stories, where many of the topics often relate to the Maori’s way of life regarding land, culture, education, and values. For instance, in chapter five, Roimata states, “What was right for one who had a fear of disappearing and who could not find his stories? Everything we need is here. We learn what we need and want to learn, and all of it is here. We needed just to live our lives, seek out our stories and share them with each other.”<sup>10</sup> The act of reclaiming and sharing stories is a way to preserve Indigenous people’s own culture and identity. Smith maintains that research “is about centering [Maori] concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes.”<sup>11</sup> Stories pass down the values and beliefs of a culture to subsequent generations, which intertwine people and their actions with the past and future. Although Smith does not explicitly state that she accepts storytelling as a means of “research,” she believes “researchers are in receipt of

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<sup>9</sup> Linda Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (New York: Zed Books Ltd, 1999), 170.

<sup>10</sup> Patricia Grace, *Potiki* (London: Capuchin Classics, 2009), 46.

<sup>11</sup> Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 39.

privileged information (stories).”<sup>12</sup> Storytelling stands as a type of research because the goal of such studies is to preserve the language, culture, and practices of Indigenous peoples.<sup>13</sup> Storytelling places the hegemony with the storyteller rather than the researcher, which lessens the likelihood of distorted perspectives.

For Indigenous peoples, telling and retelling stories shows the significance of naturally creating personal narratives and how they act as a type of research. In chapter fifteen, Roimata and other children create books that portray their personal stories and history from their own lives. These stories are free from outside perspectives and shows how they contribute to the research process. Therefore, these people are in control of their own culture’s history and legacy, where every character is, and more importantly, actively playing a significant part. In “Blind Bread and the Business of Theory Making, by Embarrassed Grief,” LeAnne Howe argues:

Native stories by native authors, no matter what form they take—novel, poem, drama, memoir, film, or history—seem to pull together all the elements of the storyteller’s tribe, meaning the people, the land, multiple characters, and all their manifestations and revelations, and connect these

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 176.

<sup>13</sup> For more information on Maori storytelling traditions and its approaches in regards to textuality, please see Eva Rask Knudsen’s article “On Reading Grace’s *Potiki*” in *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* 13:2 (2011), 1-10.

in past, present, and future milieu (present and future milieu means a world that includes non-Indians).<sup>14</sup>

Although Howe is an author that primarily deals with American Indian experiences, her notion of storytelling embodies a similar purpose of what Maori storytelling seeks to accomplish. Members of both cultures share experiences with individuals in and out of their community, which positions Indigenous peoples in a particular place in time. Ultimately, such narratives are passed down through subsequent generations, strengthening the connection of the past with the future in regards to land and people. Whereas stories are not considered research in an academic sense, they essentially bypass the typical Western mentality to pursue higher education and illustrate how important research is outside of academic institutions. This is seen in “Postcolonial Ledger Drawing: Legal Reform” by James Youngblood Henderson, a native writer from North American contexts, who states, “Our humanity and our very essence as human beings are ignored for Eurocentric models.”<sup>15</sup> The conceptual framework of Henderson is significantly similar to Smith’s ideology. As Europeans began to conquer and colonize the world, judiciousness and the conceptualization of knowledge drastically changed. Primordial thought patterns are quickly replaced with Western forms of thinking, thereby creating distorted and untrue information. By ignoring natives’ cultures and personal

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<sup>14</sup> LeAnne Howe, *Reasoning Together*, ed. Craig Womack, et al. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 330.

<sup>15</sup> James Youngblood Henderson, *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision*, ed. Marie Battiste (Toronto: University of British Columbia, 2000), 164.

stories, a dismissal of each individual's livelihood occurs. The stories that Maori people write are predominantly Maori-centered. The Dollarman, a manipulative character, tries on several occasions to offer the Maori people economic prospects in exchange for their land. The Dollarman acts as a common Western researcher along with other outsiders who attempt to reconstruct the land of these Indigenous peoples that typifies Western society. This stands as an act of colonialism. While Dollarman's intentions are primarily concerned with corporate enterprise, in order to reach an agreement with the Maori people, two things must occur, which shows Dollarman as a researcher: 1) he needs to investigate what approach works best with the Maori people when discussing business negotiations; and 2) he must survey the land in order to maximize his earning potential. Smith contends, from an indigenous viewpoint, that Western research "brings to bear, on any study of [I]ndigenous peoples, a cultural orientation, a set of values, a different conceptualization of such things as time, space and subjectivity, different and competing theories of knowledge, highly specialized forms of language, and structures of power."<sup>16</sup> An examination of these various issues is highlighted throughout *Potiki*. More specifically, the Dollarman acts as a researcher in his examination of the logic the Indigenous people use, which according to him, exposes their incapacity to make sound decisions in corporate enterprise. He concludes that the Maori people are much different than he anticipates: "We're not getting very far with this are we? I mean you invited me here and . . . I must say I expected you people to be more accommodating. . . I didn't

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<sup>16</sup> Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 42.

expect people to be unreasonable.”<sup>17</sup> The Maori people are rejected by the Westerners because of their lack of conformity. Westerners, like Dollarman, through acts of interference and systematic inquiry, seek to disrupt Maori peoples’ stories by acquiring their land. After Dollarman finishes his research on the Maori people and their land, several mishaps occur: Toko, the brother of Tangimoana, is murdered, while fires and floods devastate the land of the community. More importantly, the fires destroy the whareniui, a communal house for significant gatherings. It appears that Dollarman is the one responsible for these actions. Without prior knowledge attained through research, he would have never known to burn this particular building down that stands as a significant part of Maori society.

To reiterate, the definition of research must incorporate personal stories of Maori people and any action that constitutes a recovery of epistemological foundations -- facilitating a reconciliation of issues from the past and relating them to the present. Smith’s conceptualization of Maori research is correct but she does not elaborate on what these specific practices entail. After all, Tangimoana possesses attributes that Smith believes should be the goal of Maori research: “She returned in the holidays and divided her time between sleeping and working in the wharekai or gardens. But also she had study and assignments to do.”<sup>18</sup> Tangimoana’s pursuit of a law degree and her involvement in the Maori community positions her in an untraditional role. Haunani-Kay

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<sup>17</sup> Grace, *Potiki*, 105.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 119.

Trask, an activist and scholar of indigenous movements, writes: “the young women who went beyond traditional roles did so, in large part, because they had been exposed to formal education, urban environment, and previous political struggles, both theoretical and practical.”<sup>19</sup> Tangimoana is able to function on the inside and outside of Maori society whenever the community needs her assistance. Smith states, “[research is a means] to fight back against the invasion of [Maori] communities by academic, corporate and populist researchers,”<sup>20</sup> which is what Tangimoana represents. In regards to Smith’s discussion of the insider and outsider researcher, Tangimoana fits this description since she builds close ties with the internal community while using the knowledge obtained from Western academies to promote cultural awareness and integrity. Tangimoana builds rapport between herself and other community members as a result of the whanau asking her to study law, where funds were provided for her to pursue a university education.<sup>21</sup> Hilary Weaver, a scholar who specializes in social issues of oppressed groups, states that “many students seek education in the helping professions so they can take the best of Western ways of helping back to their cultural communities without losing the best of their own traditions.”<sup>22</sup> This is what Tangimoana exemplifies in the story. She does not consent to the dominant group’s ideology simply because she is educated in a Western academic institution. Rather, there exists a mutual understanding of the importance of

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<sup>19</sup> Haunani-Kay Trask, *Fighting the Battle of Double Colonization: The View of a Hawaiian Feminist* (East Lansing: Office of Women in International Development, 1984), 10.

<sup>20</sup> Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 39.

<sup>21</sup> Grace, *Potiki*, 119.

<sup>22</sup> Hilary Weaver, “Balancing Culture and Professional Education: American Indians/Alaska Natives and the Helping Professions,” *Journal of American Indian Education* 39, no. 3 (2000): 1.

academics, where trust is established among the Maori community and Tangimoana to promote the interests of the Maori people through educational means. Thus, Tangimoana's acts of writing rebuild integrity that was taken from the Maori people, illuminating the role Indigenous intellectuals have with their own communities.

Several women characters in *Potiki* are shown in non-confrontational situations with outsiders. This is a result of the traditional roles in their community and an absence of higher educational opportunities, leading to an inability to effectively counteract arguments. However, in chapter seventeen, Tangimoana displays authoritative control and is combative towards a camera man who wants permission to take photographs of Maori society: “‘Is there anyone in particular you would like to see?’ Tangimoana asked. ‘The chief,’ he said. ‘Perhaps I can help you?’ ‘Well, who’s in charge?’ ‘Of what?’ Her replies were becoming shorter. ‘Of... Of. Well, I haven’t got much time. And if I could go straight to the top?’ ‘What of? A tree?’”<sup>23</sup> Smith posits that aspirations of an insider and outsider researcher is to deconstruct and comprehend one’s cultural surroundings, while attempting to focus on what is deemed as important to the dominant group. In this case, Tangimoana attempts to breakdown the stereotypical notion of a singular person (or chief) as the only one capable of making important decisions. Tangimoana’s remarks to the camera man are stern and witty, showing how she matches the man’s intellect word-for-word. The individual in this scene is a Western researcher who conducts studies on the lives of the Maori people and their land. This is assumed due to the approach he uses

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<sup>23</sup> Grace, *Potiki*, 132.



to gather information -- done in a careless manner -- since he later states, “I actually need a few people, for the shots. If a few could get out, you know, where the water is . . . before it all goes down.”<sup>24</sup> As an insider and outsider researcher, Tangimoana has a profound comprehension of the duress her community is under, while possessing an ability to see through intellectual mind games that outsiders employ against Maori people. Smith’s various definitions of research would affirm that Tangimoana’s actions attempt to recover the Maori stories of the past, inherently standing as a form of research.

According to Smith, “while researchers are trained to conform to the models provided for them, Indigenous researchers have to meet these criteria as well as Indigenous criteria which can judge research ‘not useful,’ ‘not Indigenous,’ ‘not friendly,’ ‘not just.’”<sup>25</sup> Tangimoana illustrates this in chapter ten, where her brother, James, who is also schooled in Western academics, joins her in supporting the Te Ope people, who face a similar dilemma of non-natives’ attempts to take land away from them: “Te Ope was going to win now that the courts had found them to be right in what they had always claimed, and had made a decision in their favour. Well it was no distance for them to go with their koha, and Tangimoana and James had spent many weekends there over the past two years or so.”<sup>26</sup> Tangimoana and James are important not only to their own community but also to others who do not have members trained in Western academic traditions. The Te Ope community does not have an individual who can

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 133.

<sup>25</sup> Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 140.

<sup>26</sup> Grace, *Potiki*, 71.

logically reason and argue in a style the prevailing group will acknowledge. While not explicitly said, the Te Ope people want Tangimoana present when dealing with outsiders since she established a relationship with the Te Ope people over several years, possesses legal knowledge, but more importantly, developed an understanding of Western thinking. Smith declares:

Research has significance for Indigenous peoples that [are] embedded in our history under the gaze of Western imperialism and Western science. It is framed by our attempts to escape the penetration and surveillance of that gaze whilst simultaneously reordering and reconstituting ourselves as Indigenous human beings in a state of ongoing crisis.<sup>27</sup>

Tangimoana offers help from a distance, in the form of legal research, in conjunction with others who have a Western education. This deed stands as research, promoting knowledge and eradicating inaccurate histories written about Maori people. As a result, Tangimoana assists in preparing legal documentation to the adjudicators. The court's ruling assists the Te Ope people as they rewrite their own history: "Things were stirring, to the extent of people fighting to hold on to a language that was in danger of being lost, and to the extent of people struggling to regain land that had gone from them years before. The people at Te Ope were an example and it was looking good for the Te Ope

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<sup>27</sup> Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 39.

people now.”<sup>28</sup> Thus, the Te Ope community is in a position to represent themselves in similar affairs should they arise. Since colonialism essentially removes Indigenous peoples from the political realm and lessens their ability to attain authority, Tangimoana and James act as mediators to restore this sovereign right.

In order to fully consider Tangimoana’s actions and position in the novel, it would be useful to see if a postcolonial lens applies to Tangimoana. Robert Warrior demonstrates in his work on Spivak and Edward Said that there is a shared foundation that already exists amongst the two concepts, where Indigenous studies and postcolonial theory effectively work together.<sup>29</sup> According to Warrior, postcolonial studies “[have] become more and more visible in Native studies.”<sup>30</sup> For years, scholars in Native and Indigenous studies have shown a staunch opposition to theorists such as Spivak, as a majority of academics found such ideas irrelevant to their own work. However, subaltern studies have recently gained more support because it provides a framework for critics to examine subalternity in social and pecuniary spheres. Homi K. Bhabha argues, “postcolonial criticism bears witness to the unequal and uneven force of cultural representation involved in the contest for political and social authority within the modern

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<sup>28</sup> Grace, *Potiki*, 70-71.

<sup>29</sup> Jodi Byrd and Michael Rothberg, “Between Subalternity and Indigeneity,” *Interventions* 13, no. 1 (2011): 4.

<sup>30</sup> Robert Warrior, “The Subaltern Can Dance, and So Sometimes Can the Intellectual,” *Interventions* 13, no. 1 (2011): 89.

world order.”<sup>31</sup> It is beneficial to draw on postcolonial studies because it furthers the work of Indigenous studies since it focuses on approaches that mitigate disconnect between the colonial power and subjugated individuals. The perspective of postcolonial theory places an emphasis on the examination of boundaries that exist in the political and cultural domains. The constructions of these restrictions often result in a division of classes amongst society. As a result, many minorities -- like Tangimoana -- adopt the critical tools (e.g. Western academic theory, reasoning, and language) that dominant groups exert over them in order to gain agency and alter the discourse.

In *Potiki*, Tangimoana demonstrates an ability to embody Western thought and seeks to disrupt the hegemony that Westerners hold over her: “Well, their ancestors had been rubbished in schools, and in books, and everywhere. So were their customs, so was their language. And if those things were being rubbished then it was an attack on you, on a whole people. You could get weak under the attack, then again you could become strong.”<sup>32</sup> Rather than becoming weak and stagnant, Tangimoana aspires to receive a higher education and devotes her scholarly abilities for the Maori society. Her motivation to seek a Western education stems from the desire to counteract the negative treatment the Maori people experience from the dominant group. For much of the story, Tangimoana is shown in positions of power in relation to outsiders who seek to disrupt

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<sup>31</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, “The Postcolonial and the Postmodern: The Question of Agency,” in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 171-173, quoted in Neil Lazarus, *Postcolonial Literary Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 3.

<sup>32</sup> Grace, *Potiki*, 76.

Maori life. From this, the Maori people appear to have a basic understanding of the significance a Western education has on preserving their culture. Yet, a resistance to Western education surfaces through several characters, most notably Reuben from the Te Ope people: “‘Aren’t I something already? Aren’t I? That’s all I learn at school—that I’m not somebody. You’re telling me that too.’ ‘It’s not that, Son. It’s not what we mean. You’ve got the brains. You should use them.’ So Reuben returned to school because he couldn’t get his parents to understand.”<sup>33</sup> Reminiscent of Hemi, Reuben holds a belief that the land provides individuals with the necessities required in life. Spivak views postcolonial studies “as a new instance of an attempt to liberate the other and to enable that other to experience and articulate those parts of itself that fall outside what the dominant discourse constitutes as its subjecthood.”<sup>34</sup> At age twenty-one, Reuben decides to leave his studies and live on the land. Why does Reuben, unlike Tangimoana, give up the pursuit of an education in order to return to the land? It is quite the contrast in motives between the two characters. Reuben realizes his strong disdain towards the dominant group during his studies. That is, he no longer wants an affiliation with them and rejects Western academies as a whole, but the reasons for this abrupt change are ambiguous. Perhaps Reuben does not perceive his Western education as a means to emancipate others in the Indigenous community. On the other hand, Tangimoana sees the knowledge and power an education provides an Indigenous individual. She hopes her actions will

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 86-87.

<sup>34</sup> Gayatri Spivak, “Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak,” in *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, ed. Vincent Leitch (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001), 2194.

influence others in Maori society and instill similar aspirations to pursue higher education in order to preserve the culture of Indigenous peoples.

Countless Indigenous societies are aware of the positives that come from a Western education and the knowledge it provides individuals. But why are so many Indigenous peoples split on how they view Western education? Many natives see Western academies as elitist establishments “[reproducing] themselves through various systems of privilege.”<sup>35</sup> Smith states:

Indigenous communities continue to view education in its Western, modern, sense as being critical to development and self-determination. While criticizing Indigenous people who have been educated at universities, on one hand, many Indigenous communities will struggle and save to send their children to university on the other.<sup>36</sup>

Similar to Reuben from the Te Ope community, Indigenous people hold a disdain for Western education because it is often too difficult to change the academy. Spivak argues, “I would say that if one begins to take a whack at shaking the structure up, one sees how much more consolidated the opposition is.”<sup>37</sup> Perhaps Indigenous peoples would find no fault with Western academies if researchers could change their methodologies and

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 129.

<sup>36</sup> Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 71.

<sup>37</sup> Gayatri Spivak, “Criticism, Feminism and the Institution,” in *The Post-Colonial Critic* (London: Routledge, 1990), 6, quoted in Linda Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies* (New York: Zed Book Ltd., 1999), 71.

accurately portray information. In order to look at this issue more closely, it would be beneficial to examine Smith's assertion that the perceptions of how one acquires knowledge for research are where many Western academics unknowingly fail. Smith argues that educational academies inherently link together hierarchies of knowledge and imperialistic views of various cultures: "These are deeply implicated in each other and share genealogical foundations in various classical and Enlightenment philosophies."<sup>38</sup> Consequently, this propels knowledge to be categorized into classifications systems, which inevitably produces theories of marginalization in regards to Indigenous peoples. As previously stated in the essay, Smith's applicable definition of the term research should be expanded. To help elucidate this issue, an examination of subjective idealism would prove useful. This concept advances Smith's claims of why Western intellectuals find difficulty in cognitively processing knowledge about Indigenous peoples.

Smith believes "Western research draws from an 'archive' of knowledge systems, rules and values which stretch beyond the boundaries of Western science to the system now referred to as the West."<sup>39</sup> To explain how the ordered world appears to us, Vasubandhu, a fifth-century Buddhist philosopher from India whom Western philosophers often reference, acknowledges two means of knowledge acquisition: direct perception and rational inference. The knowledge of the reality of the object is distorted by the personal perception and by subjective mental conceptualization. What is real for

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<sup>38</sup> Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 65.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

him is the representation only. Smith's view aligns herself with Stuart Hall, who asserts the West as a concept, where it constantly views images of other societies through a series of categories and a system of representations.<sup>40</sup> As a result, this promotes knowledge to be continuously altered and perceived in a state of continuous flux, which often makes it difficult for the researcher to accurately depict knowledge in a truthful manner. Western schools are seen as a colonial tool that implements erroneous practices. These oppressive procedures hide the Indigenous people's knowledge from history, which further neglects the perceptions of these people.

To further explain how the physical world appears, Vasubandhu examines the epistemological examination of the perception that is the difference between the direct perception of the object and the mental grasping of that direct perception. The traditional disciplines in Western education are "grounded in cultural world views which are either antagonistic to other belief systems or have no methodology for dealing with other knowledge systems."<sup>41</sup> Consequently, the basic theories that are taught in Western schools obscure the perceptions of Indigenous peoples and indirectly lay a foundation for biased perspectives. Vasubandhu's analysis of perception is directed against the existence of the metaphysical subject and the belief that it is not possible to know anything purely objectively. The process of conceptualization is based on the interaction of the unconscious tendencies and the imagination created by previous experiences and

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<sup>40</sup> Stuart, Hall, et al. *Formations of Modernity*, ed. Stuart Hall and Bram Gieben (Cambridge: Open University, 1992), 292-293.

<sup>41</sup> Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 65.



those springing up from the store-consciousness.<sup>42</sup> Recognition is not a projection of consciousness rather it is a karmatically-determined interaction of senses and the sensible object. This concept correlates with Smith's idea of Western educational systems themselves. That is, colonialism positions Indigenous peoples in a Western view of history that does not conform to what is correct. The curriculum format and basic philosophies of Western academies have essentially redefined the world around them. Subsequently, this places Indigenous peoples in the position where Westerners deem appropriate, making it difficult to change the history written about Indigenous peoples. While the Western viewpoint of Indigenous peoples appears difficult to overcome, Smith is hopeful that language, history, culture, and identity can be recovered by the ideologies of Indigenous researchers.

Similar to Tangimoana's actions in *Potiki*, Violet Dias Lannoy's *Pears from the Willow Tree* also includes a protagonist, Seb, who attempts to use his Western-like education to change policies in post-imperial India. Seb, the instructor of a remedial class, is part of the Lost Generation, which is similar to his students. The individuals in this novel were to reap the benefits of Indian independence and the ideals of Gandhi that were laid before them. However, the characters in the story must overcome power struggles if they are to return to a pre-colonial society. While a postcolonial theory is certainly relevant to this novel, I perform an analysis of how Smith's methodologies are applicable to Seb and others in the story, which further elucidates the approaches of

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<sup>42</sup> Vasubandhu, *The Vimsatika*, ed. Eliot Deutsch (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1997), 356-357.

decolonization. It is important to put postcolonial and indigenous approaches into conversation with one another because it uncovers the “matter of urgent translation -- translation in all its senses, linguistic, cultural, and spatial.”<sup>43</sup> Postcolonial studies acts as “conceptual tools” for Indigenous studies, where both studies struggle to “articulate the tensions between overweening colonial power and resilient, resistant actors.”<sup>44</sup> Each theory strives to actively open up space for a multitude of different voices that seek to be heard. The subaltern is an entity whose proclamation is ignored or subdued. The primary goal of a subaltern is to destabilize the Western mindset, allow the spaces and voices to be heterogeneous, and offer alternatives to the discourse the dominant culture espouses, which is similar to the objective that decolonizing methodologies strives for.

Smith argues “decolonization is a process which engages with imperialism and colonialism at multiple levels.”<sup>45</sup> The two terms are “interconnected” and appears that “colonialism is but one expression of imperialism.”<sup>46</sup> These concepts examine how Indigenous peoples are exploited and subjugated by dominant groups. It is Smith’s intention to break this cycle, where Indigenous peoples reclaim ownership of their own knowledge and histories. Through Western research, the imagery of “primitive peoples [were] that [they] could not use [their] minds or intellect,”<sup>47</sup> which is what Seb attempts to counteract throughout the narrative. As a result of the different castes the boys are

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<sup>43</sup> Byrd and Rothberg, “Between Subalternity and Indigeneity,” 4.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>45</sup> Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 20.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

categorized into, Seb works to remove such boundaries and integrates into the students' minds a sense of equality. The story begins with Seb taking over the "Dump," or the repeater's class, which is where the boys who fail their finals on two successive occasions are sent. The Dump is a one room building located in the City of the Holy Lake. It is called the Dump because children would be "dumped" here by society since they were considered unfit for learning basic fundamentals of reading and writing.<sup>48</sup> Therefore, "imperialism provided a means through which concepts of what counts as human could be applied systematically as forms of classification."<sup>49</sup> "To consider Indigenous peoples as not fully human, or not human at all, enabled distance to be maintained and justified various policies of either extermination or *domestication*."<sup>50</sup> Society deems these children as intellectually worthless, where they are unable to make something of themselves. Smith posits:

By lacking such virtues we disqualified ourselves, not just from civilization but from humanity itself. In other words we were not 'fully human'; some of us were not even considered partially human. Ideas about what counted as human in association with the power to define people as

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<sup>48</sup> Violet Dias Lannoy, *Pears from the Willow Tree* (Washington: Three Continents Press, 1989) 48.

<sup>49</sup> Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 25.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 26; emphasis added.

human or not human were already encoded in imperial and colonial discourses.<sup>51</sup>

Here, Smith reiterates the notion of subjective idealism. Based upon the children's lack of cognitive skills and potential, colonizers view them as unfit to use their intellect, thereby designating them as creatures uncivilized for society. Each child in this class has a mindset that automatically assumes the incapacity to create history, imagine, or use land. As a result, how can these individuals rewrite their own history and establish an identity colonizers can recognize? Since these children are deemed as non-human, these children are not in a position to produce research.

In the early stages of the novel, Seb tries to figure out why everyone, especially Ashok, is in this class. Seb also tries to uncover the reasons that he is drawn to Ashok. As a result of conferences and closely reading the students' writing, Seb discovers information that suggests Ashok may be the brightest student in the school. Smith believes that the intellectuals "importance in nationalist movements is related to their abilities to reclaim, rehabilitate and articulate Indigenous cultures, and to their implicit leadership over 'the people' as voices which can legitimate a new nationalist consciousness."<sup>52</sup> Seb sees Ashok as someone who has potential to usher in change and improve the entire community. This is comparable to the relationship between the siblings of Tangimoana and James. Both are unafraid of Dollarman and assist each other

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 69.

in matters that involve the Maori people's livelihood. Furthermore, Tangimoana and James both attend school together, where "school had a place for them."<sup>53</sup> According to Smith, "research activities are mostly organized around the interests of like-minded people. Most research activities which operate at a group level share either topics of interest or methodologies of interest."<sup>54</sup> Thus, Seb envisions Ashok as a researcher similar to himself who can execute approaches that empower other Indigenous peoples through academics. Ashok ponders whether Seb will mold and shape him according to his beliefs of Western education, or let him find his own life without forcing him to become someone he is not. This is reminiscent of Reuben's situation and his desire to live on the land rather than abiding by his parent's wishes to receive a formal education: "Aren't I something already? Aren't I? That's all I learn at school – that I'm not somebody, that my ancestors were rubbish and so I'm rubbish too."<sup>55</sup> Ashok wants Seb to recognize him as a normal human being who is already considered something in life and simply seeks guidance from Seb to become a man based on his own decisions.

Several of Smith's decolonizing methodologies are projected through Seb. Smith believes that Indigenous peoples have a capacity to imagine and produce something of value through writing. This is later seen in the story when the Dump is assigned to write and perform a play based on an essay Ashok wrote for a class assignment. The students present their play in front of the whole Center and Master Kamadamana, the headmaster

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<sup>53</sup> Grace, *Potiki*, 47.

<sup>54</sup> Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 130.

<sup>55</sup> Grace, *Potiki*, 86.

of the school. The Dump acts out a scene from *King Lear* for Seb. After their scene finishes, Seb is curious as to the message the boys try to make: “I’d never seen the connection before, but I got rather confused toward the end. What does it all mean, really?”<sup>56</sup> Here, Seb is engaging in “research,” similar to what Tangimoana displays in *Potiki*. The question that Seb poses is a pedagogical practice that derives from his knowledge of research and his wish to recover the past that has been taken from his students. Ashok responds by telling Seb that King Lear leaves because he is scared to see all those mad people around him: “we must be mad, Sir, because the world is mad. But the madman must be king. But when he makes them mad, he must not leave them just like that, for then they’ll all be destroyed.”<sup>57</sup> The ability to formulate valuable writing is evident by these students. This scene parallels the children from *Potiki*, where they write and share their own stories (storytelling) that reclaim their history, time, and language: “And this train of stories defined our lives, curving out from points on the spiral in ever-widening circles from which neither beginnings nor endings could be defined.”<sup>58</sup> Seb initiates the process of writing and storytelling for the students. Storytelling, for Indigenous peoples, acts as a means to rewrite their past, which westerners have often masked with false information.

For Smith, writing is a vital part of decolonizing methodologies, which stands as a representation of “a very powerful need to give testimony to and restore spirit, to bring

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<sup>56</sup> Lannoy, *Pears from the Willow Tree*, 99.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>58</sup> Grace, *Potiki*, 50.

back into existence a world fragmented and dying.”<sup>59</sup> The concept of writing is seen as a status of power and a mark of supremacy. Many societies are judged by their inability to critically think or construct written works that are of substance. Ashok sends Seb a clear message through the writing of this play, showing his ability to write something of cultural value. In terms of imagination, “this kind of writing assumes that the centre does not necessarily have to be located at the imperial centre. It is argued that the centre can be shifted ideologically through imagination and that this shifting can recreate history.”<sup>60</sup> The performance of the play parallels the dual role Tangimoana exemplifies, where she is able to use her Western education to support her community. This mirrors the way Seb utilizes his own education to benefit lesser individuals in society. Seb wants his students to write candidly about how they view their current society and not worry about the consequences that may arise from their viewpoints. At the end of the play, Seb is praised for his decision: “Through your play you showed to the school, and to the parents, how we can keep faithful to our own native culture while meeting the demands of the twentieth century.”<sup>61</sup> This reaffirms the notion of what the subaltern, such as Tangimoana, strives to do with the newfound knowledge of Western academics. That is, these individuals must improve their native community’s interests through the skills and actions learned from the academy. This scene reveals writing as an act of “representation,

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<sup>59</sup> Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 28.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>61</sup> Lannoy, *Pears from the Willow Tree*, 215.

[which] is important as a concept because it gives the impression of ‘the truth.’”<sup>62</sup> This is similar to the approach discussed earlier in the essay, where I broaden the definition of research to encompass any act that reclaims Indigenous peoples’ culture, language, and knowledge.

Seb’s ultimate goal is to train these Indigenous students to recapture their history through educational means, even though he is sometimes too forceful in his approach. He also wants to eliminate the negative experiences Indigenous peoples share with both women and minority students in an academic setting. Smith asserts, “for many [Maori] students [this] can be an alienating and destructive experience,”<sup>63</sup> which is seen through the relationship of Seb and Goba, an unpopular student in the Dump. Seb feels sorry for Goba because he is heavy set and his fellow classmates do not accept him or involve him in any of their activities, likely due to his status of a lower caste. Seb remarks, “perhaps Goba would like to hand around the essay books this morning? I don’t think he’s ever had a chance.”<sup>64</sup> Goba is in disbelief when he hears of this opportunity. Smith contends:

Negotiating entry to a community or a home can be daunting for Indigenous researchers. For some Indigenous students one of the first issues to be confronted is their own identities as Indigenous and their connected identities to other Indigenous peers.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 35.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 134.

<sup>64</sup> Lannoy, *Pears from the Willow Tree*, 82.

<sup>65</sup> Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 136.



Seb tries to position Goba in a powerful role that is coveted by other students. This builds personal relationships and practices of reciprocity with other students in the class. Prior to the selection of Goba, Seb reads the students' essays and discovers that all of the essays were similar, which Seb took as an offensive gesture by the students. After Seb initiates his plan with Goba passing out the essays, Seb then poses several questions to the students about how detrimental their conduct is to their own culture. He gains information from a majority of the students about why they carried out this plan and shows why they were wrong. Here, the actions by Seb represent a form of research, where Seb actively pursues the attainment of knowledge. Seb uses this moment to reveal to the class that they should seek out information about writing in English books and mirror what they see, which may help them compose better essays. If we briefly return to Tangimoana in *Potiki*, her situation may turn out differently if she does not gain the respect of the Maori community. This would inhibit Tangimoana to pursue a higher education, but more importantly, prevent her from performing acts of research to strengthen the Maori society. Seb knows that Goba needs to be accepted by others in the class in order for him to elevate his own goals as a new intellectual. This would likely propel Goba to pursue acts of research similar to Tangimoana, where he assists in reclaiming the culture and identity of Indigenous peoples. Goba, according to Smith, is "struggling to make sense of [his] own world while also attempting to transform what counts as important in the world of the powerful."<sup>66</sup> Goba is awestruck as to why Seb

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 39.

would suggest that the son of a campus sweeper distribute essay books to higher caste boys. Seb integrates a different approach to situations than the former headmaster of the school, Sikanda. That is, Seb cares for individuals such as Goba, where Sikanda would simply ignore such individuals when he was leader. Seb knows that he must implement different practices than Sikanda. Seb attains information about Sikanda through correspondences (a form of research) with several characters: “‘Sikanda told me we must not think that the worm is ugly,’ the boy said, watching the teaspoon wind around and around the cup. ‘He was right; I’d meant it quite superficially, only to illustrate my point. The worm is actually very beautiful,’”<sup>67</sup> Seb added. In a book review of *Pears from the Willow Tree*, Charlotte Bruner states “‘the Dump class does react to Seb’s understanding, his concern for them, [and] his innovative methods.’”<sup>68</sup> Both Seb and Goba attempt to recover their own cultural history by rewriting the past that has been altered by outsiders. That is, Seb sees how unfair it is for others to not accept Goba because of the caste he is in and Seb does everything in his power to mitigate this issue. As a result, Seb elevates Goba to a position where he now can conduct research that reclaims his identity.

Throughout the novel, Ashok manipulates other students to ask his own questions to Seb through an act of research. For Maori people, Smith argues: “Surviving the experience of [hostility] while gaining the qualification produces a range of strategies which are employed to varying degrees by Indigenous students. These strategies range

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<sup>67</sup> Lannoy, *Pears from the Willow Tree*, 104.

<sup>68</sup> Charlotte Bruner, review of *Pears from the Willow Tree*, by Violet Dias Lannoy, *World Literature Today* 64, no. 4 (1990): 698. Please note that little work has been done on Lannoy’s *Pears from the Willow Tree*.

from becoming as invisible as possible to becoming as visible as possible.”<sup>69</sup> An example of this occurs when Seb secretly asks the “English” boy to pose a particular question about “being mad” to Master Kamadama. Munthu, a student in the class states, “yes, Ashok even told the ‘English’ boy what to ask, and now everyone is saying see how clever he is,”<sup>70</sup> which shows Ashok as witty and remarkably resourceful. While Ashok is cunning, he wants to keep his identity and his own questions separate from one another. Ashok has the ability, according to Smith, to be both invisible and visible based on the situation he is in. Ashok portrays Smith’s theory of the insider and outsider researcher: “At a general level insider researchers have to have ways of thinking critically about their processes, their relationships and the quality and richness of their data and analysis.”<sup>71</sup> Ashok acts as an “insider” researcher by “building particular sorts of research-based support systems and relationships with their communities,”<sup>72</sup> or in this case, Ashok’s classmates and Seb. On the other hand, Ashok attempts to be an “outsider” researcher by veiling questions and his identity through other students. In the end, Ashok is capable of critically analyzing different approaches that help him uncover issues that need to be resolved so the class can find an identity unaltered by Western thought.

Since Western colonization, Indigenous communities all over the world fight to exercise a fundamental right to represent themselves in a manner that is not distorted by

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<sup>69</sup> Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 135.

<sup>70</sup> Lannoy, *Pears from the Willow Tree*, 149.

<sup>71</sup> Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 137.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

outside (dominant) perspectives. From a political vantage point, colonialism purposefully bars Indigenous peoples from the ability to make decisions. The voices of natives are thereby ignored and unable to impact their position of power in relation to the dominant group. Tangimoana, Reuben, and Seb illustrate their capability of sound reasoning. In this instance, Smith's in-depth discussion of research is invaluable to the analysis of Tangimoana because it reveals an elevation in her power (status) and the advantages a Western education can bring to Indigenous peoples. In the essay, I expanded the term "research" to embody any action that reclaims Indigenous peoples' history, language, and identity. Through acts of research, Tangimoana shows her power to represent herself and the Maori community in a manner that is truthful. On the other hand, while Reuben never completes his Western education, he still protests against outsiders and is reprimanded by authorities. Even though Reuben does not carry out research in an academic means, he still has an ability to make a personal decision to live on the land and resist Western invaders through acts of dissension. However, a closer examination of Seb exposes a more forceful approach of using Western education ideals to transform the students into vehicles of change. Seb does not always allow his students to make decisions for themselves, which acts, at times, as a colonial practice and is Ashok's main complaint. While such forcefulness by Seb is a bad practice, it may serve Indigenous students well. It allows these students to realize the potential change they can bring to society through the knowledge of their own culture and Western education.

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Thesis: LINDA TUHIWAI SMITH AND DECOLONIZING METHODOLOGIES: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF 'RESEARCH' TO INDIGENOUS INTELLECTUALS AND THEIR COMMUNITIES IN *POTIKI* AND *PEARS FROM THE WILLOW TREE*

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Findings and Conclusions: An examination of Tangimoana from Patricia Grace's *Potiki* and Seb from Violet Dias Lannoy's *Pears from the Willow Tree* reveals how Indigenous intellectuals utilize their Western education to assist their respective communities. Through their Western schooling, each protagonist engages in acts that reacquire history and power that has been stolen or altered by prevailing groups. When juxtaposed with one another, an application of Linda Tuhiwai Smith's decolonizing methodologies to a postcolonial text or a postcolonial lens used to analyze a Maori text uncovers several strengths and weaknesses. Each theoretical lens attempts to recover Indigenous peoples' stories, history, language, or culture. The two theories empower Indigenous peoples by allowing them to rewrite the past and extend such knowledge to others in their own community. These concepts possess an ability to reveal a consciousness to utilize Western education as a means to resist attacks on Indigenous societies by prevailing groups. Scholars of postcolonial studies and Indigenous studies often disagree with one another's approach concerning the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the influences of Western culture and society. In particular, the institutionalization of Indigenous studies into educational academies forces a closer examination of Western education and Indigenous peoples. However, postcolonial and Indigenous studies can systematically work in conjunction with one another. That is, each theoretical lens communicates tensions that arise amongst the colonized and non-colonized groups. This essay explores how Indigenous peoples use their newfound knowledge of Western academics alongside their understanding of their own culture to benefit individuals in the Indigenous community. As it stands, the term "research" in Linda Tuhiwai Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* becomes problematic at times and is expanded to embody any act by an Indigenous person that strives to recover history, culture, language, and writing. If Indigenous peoples gain control of such areas then they can mitigate unscrupulous practices and lessen vicious cycles of biased scholarship that is written about them. These acts of reclamation ultimately allow Indigenous peoples to recover their original identities. Countless researchers implement these methods and inevitably undermine communities of Indigenous peoples throughout the world. By continuing to recognize and debate what the term "research" should represent, Indigenous peoples can begin to utilize Western education, and more importantly, acts of research, to help sustain their own communities.

ADVISER'S APPROVAL: Dr. Lindsey Claire Smith